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Fulvia: The Mother of Christianity? *

This question may be surprising. For today, Fulvia, the first woman, to have her portrait imprinted on Roman coins¹—as a comparison the first man to have this honor was no one less than Caesar, her contemporary and ally—has been at best forgotten, or vilified to the point of demonization. Plutarch wrote, not without irony, that after her death Antonius and Octavian agreed she alone was responsible for the war with Octavian over the allotment of farmland to veterans,² while Drumann, the same great scholar who concealed the date of Caesar's funeral³—blatantly accused her of starting the war.⁴ He indiscriminately and without any form of critique follows those remaining, one-sided sources⁵ which simply describe her as a greedy and lustful, if not overbearing and murderous woman.⁶ Those who have tried to diminish this devastating verdict have only succeeded in trivializing her, taking away together with the blame unfortunately also her power.⁷ She was, however, much greater than hoped and much worse than feared.⁸ Indeed, the surprising result of our investigation is that Christianity exists due to her.

We were not aware of this when *War Jesus Caesar?* was first published as a monograph in 1999. For a seemingly insignificant reason: At that time Caesar's funeral date was listed inaccurately and differently in reference books and relevant literature. Although according to ancient historiographers it was supposed to be the 17th of March, most modern historians assumed it to be the 20th or even later, and because of this widespread ambiguity, we were forced, until now to abstain from drawing any conclusions.

In the interim, after thoroughly researching this subject,⁹ it can be stated with certainty that the ancient historiographers were correct. Caesar's funeral took place on the *Liberalia*—the feast day of *Liber Pater*, the Roman Dionysus-Bacchus.

That may appear irrelevant, but it has consequences—quite significant ones.

First of all, we now understand why Christianity is a Mystery Religion,¹⁰ and a distinctly Dionysian one, with wine and bread on the altar:¹¹ The historical event that gave new meaning to the original rites, was the rebellion of the people against Caesar's murderers at his funeral, on the feast day of the wine god Dionysus-Bacchus, who was connected to the Ceres cult—a true reoccurrence of the Dionysian proto-tragedy, with the death and resurrection of the Twice-Born.

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Fulvia—the creator of the Good Friday liturgy?

The second consequence is that with the determination of Caesar's funeral day, the authorship of the Christian Good Friday liturgy is definite as well. In fact, during the 1950's, the theologian Ethelbert Stauffer recognized Caesar's funeral ritual as a unique passion liturgy, later found in the Roman Good Friday liturgy.¹² As we have seen, the staging of Caesar's funeral has to be attributed to Fulvia,¹³ then the wife of Antonius. Antonius held the eulogy, and Fulvia had Caesar's bloodstained garments,¹⁴ and even his bloody, defiled corpse on display for the people, using an effigy fastened to a cross-shaped tropaeum raised above the bier.¹⁵ This incited the people to revolt and thus, we thank Fulvia for the original performance of Easter, as it is reflected in Christian Easter, i. e. the most important, and for a long time, only Christian celebration.

This is hardly surprising. Certainly, sources do not name her by name, but comments by Plutarch, stating that Caesar's funeral turned into a reproduction of Publius Clodius' funeral¹⁶ are telling. Fulvia had been the wife of Clodius, who turned from adversary to friend of Caesar, and was murdered in a street fight. Fulvia displayed his dagger-pierced, blood drenched corpse to the people, thus provoking a rebellion.¹⁷ By the time of Caesar's funeral she had become the wife of Antonius, who held the eulogy. Since Caesar's dagger-pierced, bloody corpse was shown to the people, even though in effigy, and likewise provoked a rebellion, one can assume that Fulvia was again involved.¹⁸ The difference between Clodius, whose wounded body Fulvia exhibited and the wax effigy of Caesar with reproductions of his wounds instead of his actual body, is explained by the fact that Fulvia's second husband, Curio also died,¹⁹ while in service to Caesar in the African War.²⁰ For Curio she could only arrange a *funus imaginarium* in Rome, at which, according to custom, a life-sized *imago*, a wax effigy was displayed in place of the missing body.²¹ At Caesar's *funus* both rituals were combined, that of Clodius and that of Curio, being both present, the corpse and the *imago*: Caesar's corpse laid unseen, because it had been placed flat on a bier on the rostrum, within a shrine modeled after the temple of Venus Genetrix.²² Someone lifted a complete, true to life replica of Caesar above the shrine for the crowd, already agitated, to see. Then with the help of a rotating device, the wax figure was turned in all directions, displaying twenty-three horrendous wounds over the entire body and face.²³ This lamentable sight was heartbreaking and the people were furious and pursued the murderers and devastated the curia where Caesar had been killed. Caesar's body was cremated on the Forum itself, on an improvised pyre, made up of wood found lying around, and people ran wildly while carrying burning torches towards the houses of the conspirators in order to burn them down. Only the pleas of frightened neighbors, fearing for their own homes deterred the crowd from setting the fires—apparently the memory of Clodius' funeral, where the curia burned along with his body was still fresh in their minds.

In any event, the *modus operandi* bears the distinctive mark of Fulvia. The only difference is that at the earlier funeral, that of Clodius, the people were shown the real

body, and at Caesar's they were shown an effigy, which was absolutely true to life, as expressed in the original word, ἀνδρείκελον, indicating a flesh-colored «image of a man». It was a wax figure, on which the bloody wounds were painted deceptively realistically; the figure was moveable, so that it could be raised and fastened to something, which had a *mêchanê*, a rotary device, that could have been mounted on the foot of an idol of Dionysus²⁴ or else of the tropaeum, on which Caesar's blood-stained garments hung.²⁵ Since all the wounds had to be shown,²⁶ including the deadly one on his side,²⁷ a figure with moveable joints would have been used, something already known to the Romans and often used in funerals.²⁸ It was likely fastened to the tropaeum with outstretched arms, so that the wounds on the side could be seen, and not hidden as they would have been if the arms hung downwards.

Fulvia is not mentioned by name. It is noteworthy, however, that in reading the documents, names are generally not used: τις, «someone» raised the wax figure over the bier,²⁹ *duo quidam*, «two unknowns» lit Caesar's bier.³⁰ Here, it might have actually been unknown or unnamed people from the crowd, but names are missing also where they are expected to be found, such as Nicolaus Damascenus, who in his report on the deliberations of the Caesarians after Caesar's murder, says, only vaguely, that οἱ, «some» prepared Caesar's funeral.³¹ Surprising, because shortly thereafter he reports on the funeral and states that Atia, Octavian's mother, who had been entrusted by will to prepare the funeral, could not, prevented by the people who violently forced the funeral:³² ὁ ὄχλος, «the crowd, the people», they are the ones—and Nicolaus thus avoids again mentioning names. It was also the people that acted at the funeral of Publius Clodius: «the people [...] took the body of P. Clodius into the Curia and cremated it»; but on that occasion it was also mentioned why the people acted as they did: «The indignation about the deed grew, as Clodius' wife, Fulvia, displayed his wounds, while wailing passionately». In Caesar's case, however no wailing woman was named; only that Atia was not present. Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, is not mentioned as attending the funeral, although it was her father, Calpurnius Piso, who in the Senate had ensured the funeral of the Pontifex Maximus and then had the body of his son-in-law carried to the Forum.³³ One only hears of Calpurnia's lament on the day of the murder, when her husband's body was brought home. On the day of the funeral—on which, as Quintilian reported, the grieving people were not simply shown that Caesar had been murdered, but his blood soaked garments suggested he was being murdered there, on that spot, at that moment³⁴—there is no mention of Calpurnia. Apparently it was not her day.³⁵

It was the day of Antonius. He is mentioned, as eulogist. He had been chosen for that task not only as the consul, but also because he was related to Caesar. In the absence of other women of Caesar's family,³⁶ Fulvia, as the wife of Antonius, the consul and eulogist³⁷—who furthermore was the designated *flamen Divi Iulii*, therefore high priest of the god to whom Caesar was to be posthumously elevated, and which made Fulvia the designated *flaminica*³⁸—could well have been in charge of the funeral and all the more act as *praefica*, as mourner, for which the precedent of Clodius and her

position predestined her.³⁹ Antonius held the eulogy so that Caesar's funeral became similar to that of Clodius. Fulvia had been Clodius' wife, and was now the wife of Antonius. Decisive moments were staged by unknown persons: «a few», «someone», «some». Were they not known, or purportedly undefined? Did one, first and foremost, want to conceal the name of their patroness?

In retrospect, there was indeed a reason to conceal Fulvia, especially for Nicolaus, Augustus' court historian, because she had waged war on Octavianus in the *bellum Perusinum*. But there was also a reason for the Antonian sources, since Antonius, who abandoned her, later also blamed her for the war against Octavianus, so that after her death, public memory of her was either negative or completely erased⁴⁰ and her great moments readily forgotten. If knowledge of her earlier deeds is preserved, it is indirectly and almost as if by mistake. If we did not have Asconius' commentary on Cicero's apologia concerning the murderer of Clodius, from the ancient historians alone we would know nothing about her role in the funeral of Clodius. Her not being mentioned in historical records on her probably greatest day, the day she succeeded in transforming Caesar's funeral into a posthumous victory, is hardly surprising. On the contrary, the fact that her role was concealed is all too blatant for it to mean nothing.

Even Cicero, who usually has no qualms about mentioning her every chance he could to embarrass or intimidate her husband Antonius—e. g.: she already sent two husbands to death, he would be the third⁴¹—does not refer to the small child that Antonius gave as a hostage to the conspirators after Caesar's murder—something Cicero regarded as a great feat, the pawn for «peace», i. e. the amnesty for his admired «tyrant-killers»—as the son of Fulvia, but that of Antonius.⁴² And when Cicero does attribute the young child to Fulvia, he speaks disparagingly of the *Bambalionis nepos*, the grandchild of the stammerer, using her father's nickname in order not to have to mention Fulvia favorably.⁴³

Despite the irony and the snub, Cicero thus acknowledged that after Caesar's murder, peace, even if temporary, had been achieved through Fulvia's noble gesture of placing her child—at that time perhaps just about one year old⁴⁴—into the hands of the murderers as hostage. Considering the tender age of the child and Fulvia's notorious control over her husbands in general, and Antonius in particular,⁴⁵ it is inconceivable that Antonius would have ordered this without her consent. Indeed, she most probably accompanied the child and held it on her arm rather than led it by hand. She would hardly have left that duty to a wet nurse alone. Later, when the issue was the division of land after Philippi, she personally appeared at the site with both of Antonius' children.⁴⁶ She would hardly have acted any differently at the sealing of the amnesty after Caesar's murder, where she functioned as hostess, when, after delivering the hostage, Antonius received Cassius, one of the two main murderers, in his home for a meal.⁴⁷

And yet, all this was repressed. Orosius would credit Cicero for the amnesty after Caesar's murder.⁴⁸ This is correct only insofar as Cicero wanted to have the graecism *amnestia* used for the non-avengement of the murder instead of the Latin *oblivio*, which

would have been reminiscent of the mutual «forgetting» propagated by Caesar to end the civil wars,⁴⁹ while *amnestia* was a reference to the old tyrant murderers that were glorified in Athens. And in fact, soon thereafter statues were dedicated to Brutus and Cassius as the new ones there.⁵⁰ Orosius associates Antonius with the vengeful Octavianus, although the former had opposed the latter for a long time, and Fulvia is not mentioned at all.

The church father probably only had sources at his disposal that had been purged during the long reign of Augustus,⁵¹ and in which Fulvia was no longer mentioned in connection with the amnesty. Nonetheless, since he doubtlessly saw the originality and innovation in Caesar's attitude that cost him his life—in the same work Orosius presents as a known fact that Julius Caesar was murdered because he had founded a political system built on clemency, contrary to the example of his predecessors⁵²—Orosius should have realized that the amnesty in favor of the murderers of Caesar had been nothing other than the dramatic continuation of that *oblivio*, of the forgetting in favor of the cessation of the civil wars, prescribed by Caesar—that the amnesty therefore could not possibly have occurred due to Cicero, the glorifier of Caesar's murderers, but that this unheard of attitude which anticipated the Christian «Love your enemies» could only emanate from someone who belonged to the innermost circle of the Caesarians, with the most intimate understanding of the teaching that prompted it. If not to Fulvia, he should at least have attributed this to Antonius. The more so as Antonius, at the meeting of the Caesarians after Caesar's murder, had advised against burning down the Capitol complete with the murderers, who had barricaded themselves there. Orosius does mention it⁵³ but without naming Antonius or realizing that this restraint—probably partly dictated by the negative experience with the precedent of Clodius, when the burning of the senate building had caused more outrage than the murder of Clodius and thus had benefited the murderer⁵⁴—already anticipated the amnesty that was decided in the Senate the next day.

This serious blunder by the church father shows that, together with the memory of Fulvia's deed, the scope of Caesar's words was no longer recognized, and thus at the latest by the time of Augustine and his circles, their relevance for the Christian command of forgiving and forgetting wrongs suffered had been repressed.⁵⁵ Orosius must still have known the following words, preserved in a source of Augustan tendency:

«Let us, therefore, Senators, remain united with confidence, *forgetting* all past events as if they had been brought to pass by a divine plan, and begin *to love each other* without suspicion as if we were new citizens.»⁵⁶

That the most important words ever to come out of the mouth of Jesus Christ—the new, highest commandment of *Love your enemies*—originated here, seems oblivious to him, much less that therein was rooted Fulvia's courageous act, which does not fit with her distorted image: the surrender of her own child as hostage to Caesar's murderers, i. e. as guarantee for the forgetting, if not forgiving, of their crime.

Fulvia—the founder of the Eucharist?

On the day of Caesar's funeral, the feast of the *Liberalia*, according to custom, the priestesses of Liber-Dionysus, old women wreathed with ivy, sat in the city distributing flat-cakes called *liba* of which they sacrificed parts for pious takers on sacred, portable, small stoves.⁵⁷ These flat-breads were imprinted by the cult association of Liber Pater, the Roman Dionysus-Bacchus, with the grain goddess Ceres,⁵⁸ the Roman Demeter, whose two symbolic elements, wine cup and bread host, live on in our Christian Eucharist. The ritual interpretation of the flesh and blood of God was already familiar to the *Liberalia*-celebrating initiated $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ because part of the myth of Dionysus was that he had been killed and eaten by Titans. This, of course, did not prevent him from being born again by Zeus himself—according to one version of the myth, by Zeus feeding the heart to the mother so that he was conceived again. Unlike in the other official Roman cults, which were generally presided over by male *flamines*, the priestesses of Ceres were women who were taken from Greek Southern Italy,⁵⁹ and the Liber-Dionysus-Bacchus cult was the domain of women as well, whether they acted as peaceful *liba*-baking nannies of Dionysus or as frenzied maenads. That men, too, were allowed to participate, however in women's clothes—the god himself is depicted wearing them from time to time, occasionally on coins⁶⁰—was a scandal to the Roman conservatives, particularly as the mingling of the sexes went hand in hand with that of the classes, and they had once reacted allergically by prohibiting the Bacchanalia.⁶¹ It is documented that it was Caesar who introduced the cult of Liber Pater in Rome⁶²—probably meaning the reintroduction after the ban of the Bacchanalia.

As we shall see below, Publius Clodius, however, once more caused a scandal by invading Caesar's house dressed up as a woman and joining the feast of the Bona Dea—the «Good Goddess», as the mother of Dionysus was called—which was reserved to women only. This had to be regarded as an attempt to change the feast into a bacchanal, and it did not only compromise Caesar's wife, but also Caesar himself as pontifex maximus. A charge of sacrilege was brought. Caesar distanced himself from the affair gracefully and even exonerated Clodius, who became his friend.⁶³ Since Publius Clodius married Fulvia that year, the marriage was probably a pledge of loyalty, and one assumes that they did not only belong to the party of the *populares*, but that a *thiasos*, a cult society of Dionysus was already religiously and politically active in Rome, if not without protest and friction, at least with a purpose.⁶⁴ It can therefore be supposed that at Caesar's funeral Fulvia was not only in her element because of the precedent of Clodius' funeral, but precisely because it was the day of the *Liberalia*, the more so as women directed the rites anyway.

Now, on the day of Caesar's funeral, a most dramatic incident occurred which was to have serious repercussions:

At the sight of Caesar's bloodstained toga and the stab wounds made visible all over his body, the people, beside themselves with rage, chased the sympathizers of the murderers, and in their fury and anguish they tore apart Caesar's bosom friend, the people's tribune Helvius Cinna, whom they mistook for a renegade with the same

name: they mangled him in a bestial manner so that «no part of the body was found for interment»—a euphemistical paraphrase for the infamous maenadic *diasparagmós*, the tearing-to-shreds of the sacrificial animal with ritual omophagy, the orgiastic «raw-eating» of the Dionysus cult.⁶⁵

This may seem inhuman and barbaric, but it is typical of Dionysian rites. In any case, no one in Rome complained about it, not even Cicero. One obviously attributed it to being possessed by the god. As is generally known, such an act was the work of women, of the maenads seized by the god Dionysus. It seems obvious that Fulvia took part and indeed was the instigator.⁶⁶

An orgiastic omophagia with vicarious ingestion of the victim. Being a bosom-friend of Caesar's,⁶⁷ Helvius Cinna had, even if reluctantly, provided his living flesh and blood, so to speak, to the already dead friend. As he had dreamt the previous night, when it seemed to him Caesar had asked him to his table and, since he refused the invitation, Caesar had taken him by the hand and pulled him away, so it came to pass when he heard that Caesar's body was being burned on the Forum he went there despite the nightmare and his fever in order to pay his last respects to the dead.⁶⁸ He had, after all, finally gone to Caesar's table in order to be eaten himself, thus acting, similar to the wax figure, as a substitute for the body. This historically real and yet so mystical occurrence provided the Dionysian rite of omophagy with a new character, which we find again in the Christian Eucharist, where, with respect to the Last Supper, only bread and wine are taken, but perceived as the transubstantiated body and blood of Christ.⁶⁹

The explosive political importance of this incident is seen in Antonius' opposition to Octavianus' sought-for election as people's tribune as a replacement for the ingested Helvius Cinna which offended Octavian and initiated their falling-out. Obviously he—respectively she, because this, too, bears the signature of Fulvia, after all, the heritage of her courageous act was at stake—did not want to grant such a sacral identification with Caesar to Octavianus, to whom then only the way as adoptive son remained open. Sure enough, Octavianus later, after his victories first over Fulvia and then over Antonius, managed to achieve the *tribunicia potestas*, and even one annually renewed: obviously it was eminently important to him, and not only politically, but religiously. It might be no coincidence that precisely the Augustan-permeated Gospel of John not only contains the words of the Eucharist «this is my body, this is my blood»,⁷⁰ but the demand to eat and drink them is much stronger: «If you do not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you. Anyone who does eat my flesh and drink my blood has eternal life.»⁷¹ Is this not an expression of an attempt to compensate for the painful frustration of not having taken Helvius Cinna's place and thus not having himself become the body of Christ?

Against this historical background, it becomes understandable that Christians are accused of cannibalism. An accusation which, however, is completely erroneous because Dionysian omophagia is in no way to be confused with cannibalism. Indeed, it constitutes its opposite, after all, the grain goddesses, Isis-Demeter-Ceres, were the

ones who had forbidden cannibalism,⁷² whereas the target of the Dionysian omophagia were those who starved the people. In our case, it was the other Cinna, Cornelius, who was targeted, who had turned against the dead Caesar⁷³ and thus against the preservation of his agrarian laws and land distributions to the veterans and proletarians. This had to be regarded as sacrilege against Ceres, as an attempt to deprive the people of basic food resources and thus punishable by death.⁷⁴

The act of the Roman maenads, probably led by Fulvia, therefore also had a political relevance, and it is only logical that it was Fulvia who advocated for a just land distribution to the veterans, as well as against expropriation of older, uncorrupted land owners and against the excessively large distributions of Octavianus to his own soldiers. These were made possibly by thievish, unjustified expropriation of the older established farmers, and, instead of reestablishing traditional Roman peasantry as supported by Caesar, they reintroduced a new latifundism, an early form of the feudal system. An echo of the disappointment caused by Octavianus' betrayal and mistake can still be read in Vergil, Propertius and even Horace.⁷⁵

The fact that the Christian Eucharist refers to the Last Supper, but the command to receive Communion specifically applies to Easter, makes it clear that the origin is to be found in events during Caesar's funeral. By the way, they were also the origin of that which did not happen, e. g. the setting on fire of buildings. If nowhere else, the Eastern Church has preserved the tradition of the Easter fire—it has meanwhile been reintroduced with Roman Catholics, too—⁷⁶and in Greek churches one sees young people running out of the church carrying torches. This behavior more truthfully represents the events at Caesar's funeral, during which outraged people ran to the houses of the murderers carrying burning logs in their hands in order to torch them, than our Liturgy of the Light with well-behaved believers, who after the service contemplatively walk home with a candle in their hand. But the houses of the enemies are no longer set on fire.⁷⁷ This, too, has its origin in the funeral of Caesar, whose body was not burned in the curia—apparently, Fulvia had learned better, since the burning of the curia at Clodius' funeral had caused more outrage than his murder⁷⁸—indeed, the boldest youth were ruggedly prevented from setting a blaze at all, and if it did happen, one was immediately on the spot to extinguish it.⁷⁹ Interestingly enough, this has been preserved by tradition as well, in that, after the lighting of the candles in the Easter vigil, the believers and their candles are immediately sprinkled with holy water.

Summing up, one recognizes that not only the *expositio crucis*, but the entire Easter liturgy can be traced back to Caesar's funeral and bears the signature of Fulvia, who through her actions achieved Caesar's posthumous victory, his resurrection from the dead.

When, in the Gospel, Mary Magdalene is shown at the foot of the cross,⁸⁰ and when she is the one to whom the newly risen first appears, and the one who tells the disciples of the resurrection of God,⁸¹ then the question arises of how much of Fulvia is in Magdalene.

The identity of Mary Magdalene may be considered as established since in the Gospel of John she actually provokes the footrace between Simon Peter and that other beloved disciple, John, to Jesus' empty grave site.⁸² As previously shown Simon Peter and John the Disciple are the diegetic transposition of Antonius and Octavian respectively, and since Fulvia was the link between them in their dispute, as wife of one and also for two years as the mother-in-law of the other, this leaves no doubt that Mary Magdalene is the narratively transposed Fulvia.

It is thus no surprise that in the same passage the famous *noli me tangere!* / Do not touch me! is spoken by an unexpected, unknown «Jesus», whom Magdalene does not see lying in his grave, but standing in front of her and she doesn't recognize him as Jesus. This all too clearly reminds one of the repudiation of Fulvia's daughter, Clodia, by the aspiring new Caesar, Octavian, which simultaneously meant the rejection of his mother-in-law, Fulvia, who did not recognize him as the sole heir of Caesar: Family strife, which anticipates the imminent war of succession and religion (concerning this subject: vide infra). It should be noted that in the original Greek, Μή μου ἅπτου, translated in the Vulgate as *Noli me tangere!*, can be read in classical translation as «Do not lay a hand on me / Do not fight me», which fits the soon to erupt *bellum Perusinum* perfectly. The fact that this second «Jesus» who appears to her is the young Octavian, is substantiated by his own words, that at this point in time, he has «not yet ascended to his father», who is at the same time his God and about to become the God of all: the consecration of *Divus Iulius* as his adoptive father had not yet taken place — which is also chronologically correct, because it became official only after Mutina and the establishment of the second Triumvirate —, hence the rise of Octavian as *Divi filius* had not yet been consummated.

Fulvia as Mary Magdalene in the Gospel

When we namely look at the occurrences of Mary Magdalene in the Gospel, it is striking, that Magdalene plays the same role concerning Jesus, as Fulvia with Caesar.

She is the first mentioned among the women who were there when Jesus breathed his last and was declared the Son of God by the centurion, which *mutatis mutandis* corresponds to the function of Fulvia at Caesar's funeral, which she directed while Antonius held the eulogy for the new God. It is, however, also said that the women were among the followers of Jesus when he was in Galilee and ministered to him, which corresponds especially to Fulvia because the most useful man in Rome for Caesar, who was waging war in Gallia, was Publius Clodius Pulcher, Fulvia's first husband.⁸³

While it is said that Mary Magdalene, with the other women looked on from afar as Jesus died, but together with the other Mary, the mother of James, they saw where he was laid and had prepared for the anointment of the body by purchasing spices. But in vain, since he had already risen.⁸⁴ This too occurs in the burial of Caesar when Atia, Octavian's mother, who was stipulated in Caesar's will as executor of his funeral could not fulfill her function because the people used violence to force a quick burial; the

disappearance of the body, might be traced back to the decree of the Triumviri forbidding the relatives the use of any images of Caesar during the funeral celebrations, as was still the custom at that time, because having been raised to the gods, he could no longer be regarded as dead.⁸⁵

When Jesus rose, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene alone,⁸⁶ which underlines her eminent position, not only among the other women, but also among the Apostles, who did not believe her when she told them of the resurrection. This too is found in the story of Fulvia, who arranged that Caesar's funeral would lead to his resurrection, thanks to the revolt of the people, which she provoked. One can even question if the child which she conceived at this time and notably did not call Antonius, but of all names, Iullus, was not the mystical child of Caesar, which she hoped would represent his corporal resurrection, at the same level as Cleopatra's Kaisarion or Atia's Octavian.

That in the same fundamental sentence, in which the singular role of Mary Magdalene at the resurrection is emphasized, seven spirits are mentioned, is significant. In Mark's gospel they were cast out from her. In Luke, however, who brings this in context with the enumeration of those who support his preaching and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God, namely the twelve and the women, who ministered unto him of their substance, the seven demons had gone out from her.⁸⁷ The King James version however translates the Greek ἐξελλύθει here with went, so that one thinks of cast devils, but correct would be had gone out so that one would first think that from a woman they would have come from her womb. By their δαιμόνια, their demons, one would imagine something other than devils, namely genii, divine power, for instance her children and her husbands, whom she had put in the service of the Lord - which again would fit Fulvia who made her three husbands comrades-in-arms with Caesar, including the four children from her three marriages.

That Magdalene was also named Mary, as was the mother of Jesus, and was counted among the three Maries, makes her to a close relative of the Lord—which also fits Fulvia as the wife of Antonius whose mother was a Iulia.

Concerning the enigmatic name, *Magdalene*, which causes bible critics considerable concern, because if one imagines *Magdalene* as if named after the locality *Magdala* at Lake Gennezaret then the problem arises that the *variae lectiones Magadán, Magadá, Magedá* cannot be localized. The key could be in the mythic place *Magedôn* of the Apocalypse, better known as the *Armageddôn* of the *textus receptus*, which in the manuscripts is occasionally conceived as separated: *Ar Magedôn*.⁸⁸ This in turn would perfectly fit Fulvia the notorious *arma gerens, armigera*, in the sense of «being armed» as well as «waging war», because she appeared armed on the battlefield and even before senators, and she also raised armies, recruited soldiers, when not waging war herself. Fulvia as *arma gerens* and *armigera* would through *Armagedôn* and *Ar Magedôn*, have become the woman from *Magdala*.⁸⁹

The origin of the name *Magdalena*, however, would have been a different one. Coins were preserved that show a winged, i.e. victorious, Fulvia on the obverse, with a lion on the reverse (*infra*, fig. 1).

«Lioness» (poetically also «lion») was *leaena* in Latin. Therefore we can assume that *Magnalena* is the contracted form of an original *Magna-Leaena*, «the great lioness», and that is what Fulvia actually became during the aforementioned funeral of Caesar, where the assassins were literally mauled in what was almost a real-life reenactment of Euripides' Greek tragedy «The Bacchae».

MAGNALEAENA, changing via *MAGNALENA* to *MAGDALENA*,⁹⁰ could have been the original version of Magdalena's name, an archaic Latin form that denotes the one who declaims the *Magnalia Dei*, the encomia and laments for the Christ. It would have been an epithet fitting to Fulvia who as *praefica* had played such an essential role during Caesar's funeral ceremony.

Fulvia – the author of the oldest Gospel?

From the first edition of *Was Jesus Caesar?* we know that the Gospel of Mark recounts the reports on the Roman Civil War, from the crossing of the Rubicon to the murder and burial of Caesar, and is transposed into the life of Jesus, from the baptism in the Jordan until the capture and crucifixion of Christ. We also know, however, that the Gospel of Mark—as well as the synoptics, Matthew and Luke, who follow him—dedicates an extraordinary amount of space to the anecdotes of Publius Clodius Pulcher.

Now, Fulvia's first husband Clodius, like Caesar, had been murdered, and she had shown his martyred body to the people at that time and thus caused a rebellion. For this reason, it can be assumed that we owe the Gospel to her also, at least the oldest one, the one of Mark, named after her last husband and fellow campaigner at the *Liberalia*: Marcus Antonius.

Since the German edition of the monograph *War Jesus Caesar?* is out of print, for the sake of recollection, let us here reproduce in extenso the passages concerning Clodius:⁹¹

MUTATION OF THE NAMES

The word corruptions observed in the Gospel conform to the basic principle of the diegetic transposition: the approximation.⁹² The story approximates itself to its audience, is updated, relocated and retold in a demotic, figurative language: The companions of Odysseus mutate into swine.

So the Evangelists remain within the norm. In order to see whether in our case this rule applies or whether it is only a matter of coincidences, we want to draw some conclusions from the description outlined above and then see if they can be verified in the text.

If, in a well-known Caesar anecdote, someone pops up with a name that can be misunderstood as an affliction, and if Caesar rebuked him, he is naturally a candidate for being healed by Jesus. The Romans liked to use bodily characteristics (*Rufus* the red-haired, *Lentulus* the slow, etc.) as names, including many that refer to deformities, such as *Claudius* or *Clodius* the Hobbler or *Caecilius* the Blind. It is fitting that Caesar had conflicts solely with people with such names. In addition to a *Lentulus* there were many *Claudii*, especially a *Clodius*, as well as many *Caecili* so that we must expect to find the healing of several lame and those with gout, as well as various blind people.

Caecili, «blind», and *Claudii*, «lame». Many of Caesar's enemies are so named, notably those who had played a decisive part in the outbreak of the civil war.⁹³ Some were given eyes for hindsight, others got healed legs and a kick in the hindquarters. «The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk» as the Gospel states (11:5). Jesus healed so many blind and lame people that it became his trade mark.

However, one *Claudius* particularly stands out: *Publius Clodius Pulcher*. The way in which he crosses Caesar, and the way in which Caesar—contrary to all expectations—takes him under his wing so that in the end Clodius becomes one of his political friends, all this is so saliently typical for both Caesar's clementia and his political superiority: ergo the Clodius-anecdote must be found in the Gospels. If not, it would have to be regarded as a falsification of our hypothesis. If we find it with all its props, however, the hypothesis can be regarded as verified. We expect to find the Clodius-anecdote as an important story in the healing of a lame person.

Publius Clodius Pulcher

Clodius, at that time still *Claudius*, named *Pulcher*, «pretty boy», wild and foolhardy, was a friend of Cicero's, and the latter's enthusiastic helper in the suppression of the Catilinarians as well as a ruthless bodyguard. Caesar tried, however, to give the Catilinarians a fair trial and put his own life in danger in the process. This is the background of the *Bona-Dea*-scandal.

Caesar had already been named *pontifex maximus* and had meanwhile been elected *praetor*, the highest judicial official, so he was staying in the city. Thus, in that year 62 BC the *Bona Dea* festival took place in Caesar's home.⁹⁴ Men were excluded from the secret celebrations of this feminine divinity. Clodius was under the nasty suspicion of having violated the religious celebration because of Caesar's wife Pompeia. With the help of Pompeia's maids, he supposedly dressed as a woman and slipped into the house in order to reach her chambers but became lost in the house and was discovered.⁹⁵ The invasion of Clodius had to be regarded as an attempt to change the feast of the Bona Dea into a bacchanal. The active help given to Clodius by the lady's maids of Pompeia is indicative for the continuing popularity of this feast form. Presumably, he also felt encouraged to do this by Caesar's attitude, who had rescinded the prohibition of the Bacchus cult.⁹⁶ Either out of Dionysian solidarity, because of Clodius' great popularity, or because he himself was regarded as a great seducer of

respectable women,⁹⁷ Caesar did not accuse him but nevertheless had his wife served with the divorce papers.

Caesar's political opponents sensed the possibility of ridding themselves of both of them and so took Clodius to trial for committing a sacrilege.⁹⁸ Because of his behavior, the priests declared the holy ceremonies invalid, and the most powerful men in the Senate all stepped forward as witnesses against Clodius. They accused him, among other evil deeds, of adultery with his own sister, and the husband who was cheated on witnessed it.⁹⁹ Even his political friend Cicero testified against him.¹⁰⁰ But Caesar, who was heard as head of the household, spoke in his defense and claimed he had heard nothing of the sort. Asked why he had divorced his wife in spite of hearing nothing, Caesar replied: «Because members of my household ought not only be free of guilt but also free of the suspicion of guilt.»¹⁰¹ Clodius was acquitted: whether out of fear of the people, who were apparently on the side of the sacrilegious Clodius, because of their hatred of the hypocritical self-righteous, or because they were bribed, as Cicero claimed, most of the senators withheld their vote by handing in voting stones with unclear letters. Thus Caesar's wife who had implicitly been accused of adultery and sacrilege was also acquitted of any wrong doing.¹⁰²

From that point on, Clodius was changed into a political friend of Caesar who made him a people's tribune: in order to make this possible, Clodius became a plebeian and changed his patrician name from *Claudius* to *Clodius*. Then he turned against Cicero, accused him of having the Catilinarians executed without due process and actually managed to force him out of the city.

As expected, we find the kernel of Clodius's story again as the most famous healing of a lame person, who, as a *one-sided paralytic*, is called a *gout sufferer* in old translations.¹⁰³ This time too, we take the more differentiated reading of Mark [and place in brackets the most important variations of the other Gospel writers]:

«... and it was noised that he was in the house. And straightway many were gathered together, [which were come out of every town (Luke)] insomuch that there was no room to receive them, no, not so much as about the door: and he preached the word unto them. And they [men (Luke)] come unto him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was borne of four [... brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy (Luke) / ... lying on a bed (Matthew)]. And when they could not come nigh unto him for the press, they uncovered the roof where he was: and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay. When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins be forgiven thee. But there were certain of the scribes sitting there, and reasoning in their hearts, Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God only? And immediately when Jesus perceived in his spirit that they so reasoned within themselves, he said unto them, Why reason ye these things in your hearts? Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he saith to the sick of the palsy,) I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house. And immediately he arose, took up the bed, and went forth before them all; insomuch that they were all amazed, and glorified God, saying, We never saw it on this fashion.»¹⁰⁴

Here again it is the same staging with the same props:

It was noised that «he» was in the house: as the rumor went round about Clodius, so it went round about «he»—Jesus or the sick of the palsy? There are men who are not in the room, not even outside in front of the door: just as at the *Bona Dea* festival from which men were excluded. The festival, the nightly hustle and bustle, is missing. But Luke says that they came

«out of every town»:¹⁰⁵ *kômê*. And the word *kômos*¹⁰⁶ means festivity, cheerful procession, carousing, night music, noisy, drunk people: as at the *Bona Dea* festival.

Then we have Jesus who preached the word to them, just as Caesar had to testify as a witness.¹⁰⁷ The paralytic, «borne of four, carried by four» to enter the house as Clodius used the maids to gain entrance. «By four»: *hypo tessarôn*—*hypo therapontôn* means «by the servants».¹⁰⁸ In the one story a lame person on a bed was brought in by four others and in the other the maids wanted to bring a person to bed: Clodius to the bed of Caesar's wife. But where is the wife? Instead of bringing the lame person to the bed of the woman they rip off the roof: «of his wife» *uxoris suae*¹⁰⁹—*exoryxantes* «ripping open».¹¹⁰

Then Jesus recognizes their belief and forgives the paralytic his sins, just as Caesar did not punish the sacrilege at the holy ceremony¹¹¹ because he chose to believe the accused, Clodius, his wife and the maids.

The scribes sit and secretly think that Jesus has no right to forgive sins, just as some accused Clodius: *graphê* in Greek means both script and accusation¹¹² and thus accusers could be seen as scribes. Just as Caesar, as *pontifex maximus*, was reproached for allowing a misdeed to go unpunished, Jesus was reproached for forgiving sins and making himself similar to God.

Both stories have a happy ending: just as Clodius was acquitted of adultery and sacrilege and set free with the help of Caesar, so the paralytic was forgiven his sins and able to take up his bed and return home, to the great horror of his accusers and the amazement of all, because the unbelievable had taken place in religious things.¹¹³

Thus we have found our most significant «paralytic», *Clodius*, again in his transposed context. It is obvious, however, that this Clodius anecdote is much longer and that the story of the healing of the lame is insufficient in comparison. Sin is only spoken of in general terms and there is no specific reference to sacrilege. There is no crossing over of Clodius to Caesar's side, no change of Clodius' name nor the ousting of Cicero from the city. Most importantly, the accusation of the woman's adultery, the corrupt judges, the voting stones with illegible letters, the writing of divorcement, etc. are all missing from the story.

However, we need only glance at the Gospel of Mark, before and after the passage of the paralytic, to find the rest of the story: the opening is found in the healing of a leper, the closing in the calling of Levi. It is striking that these three parts have been preserved as a coherent story in Mark. Only the aspect concerning the woman, Jesus and the adulteress, is missing. Excluded in Mark, it became stranded in John—Mark and Matthew retain the writing of divorcement.

*The healing of the leper*¹¹⁴ appearing in Mark is, sensibly enough, located directly before the healing of our paralytic, and in its structure it seems to be a summary of the following story and could be seen as a doublet, if a leper had not replaced the paralytic here:

«And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus, moved with compassion [some manuscripts: And he was incensed], put forth his hand, and touched him, and saith unto him, I will; be thou clean. And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. And he straitly charged him, and forthwith sent him away; And saith unto him, See thou say nothing to any man: but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them. But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter, insomuch that

Jesus could no more openly enter into the city, but was without in desert places: and they came to him from every quarter.»

Just as the paralytic is forgiven his sins, so here the leper is cleansed. Jesus is moved with compassion or is incensed, without reason, but Caesar has reason to feel resentful towards Clodius. Jesus stretches out his hand and cleanses the leper, just as Caesar stretches out his protective hand over Clodius. Noticeable is that Jesus straitly charges the leper, forthwith sends him away and says to him: «See thou say nothing to any man.» Caesar did the same: he pushed his wife away and Clodius had to deny everything in order to be cleansed. The fact that the paralytic shows himself to the priest also has its pendant: Clodius first justified himself before the *pontifex maximus*¹¹⁵ Caesar, and then Caesar has to appear as a witness himself.

The interesting point here is that for the priest the cleansing is about what Moses has commanded: *Môsês*—*mos* the «customs», the «mores», were what the *pontifex maximus* had to keep watch over.¹¹⁶

Instead of the story remaining secret, it was made known, here as well as there. And the end of the story is anticipated: he could no more openly enter into the city, but was without in desert places; and they came to him from every quarter. That is exactly what Cicero experienced: Clodius' pushy endeavors forces him into exile, and it did not help that his political friends accompany him a great part of the way.¹¹⁷

Looking closer, this passage of the Gospel may also have its parallel in Caesar's proconsulship in Gaul, which Clodius helped him achieve and is mentioned by Appianus in the same breath as the expulsion of Cicero.¹¹⁸

Now that we know we are definitely dealing with Clodius, we should look at the names more closely, because here Clodius is not the paralytic, but the leper, *lepros*. Clodius was *pollutarum caeremoniarum reus*, «accused of polluting ceremonies», in a *quaestio de pollutis sacris*, a trial about «polluted worship.» In the sense of sacrilege. But the sound of *pollutor*, or *pollutarum reus* is closer to *lepros*, «leper» than *asebês*, «sacrilegious person», just as *polluta sacra* to *lepra*, the «leper», especially since this disease is the quintessential «pollution» in the eyes of the people, while disease in general is seen as God's punishment for personal sin.¹¹⁹

Thus we would have found our sinner again, this time as a leper.

The calling of Levi in Mark immediately follows the healing of the paralytic and corresponds structurally to Clodius joining Caesar after his acquittal. The only difference: he has yet again another name and he has changed his profession: Levi, son of Alphaeus.

«And as he passed by, he saw Levi [Jacob (variant of some manuscripts of the Mark Gospel)] the son of Alphaeus [a publican, named Levi (Luke); a man, named Matthew (Matthew)] sitting at the receipt of custom, and said to him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, that, as Jesus sat at meat in his house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many, and they followed him. And when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners? When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.»¹²⁰

Paragôn, «as he passed by» as it is normally translated, could also mean «brought into (court) as witness» and «enticed, tempted». That is what Caesar's leniency towards Clodius did. This corresponds to the next words also: «Follow me!» Which he did, here the publican, i. e. tax collector Levi, there Clodius. And already he is in the splendid company of bon

vivants, here the publicans and sinners, who surround Jesus, there the tax farmers, whom Caesar had just exempted from a third of their obligations, and from whom he then borrowed money to finance public shows that were far more lavish in décor and costumes and dazzling gifts than had ever been known before. In the eyes of the outraged senators this represented great sin because tax-farmers normally did not belong to their class, but to the equestrian order.¹²¹ Well, tax-farmer and publican are the same in Latin: *publicanus*.

Here we get a poke in the eye concerning the name. As we know, the full name given to Clodius is *Publius Clodius Pulcher*. In the Gospel his pendant is the «publican Levi, son of Alphaeus»—*telônês Leui (h)os tou Alphaiou*. If we write the full name of Clodius in capital letters without spaces in the usual manner of the time:

PVBLIVSCLODIVSPVLCHER

It is obvious that if the name is separated incorrectly—

PVBLIVSC LODI VS PVLCHER

—it gets a completely different meaning.

PVBLIVSC can easily be read as PVBLICVS and understood as PVBLICANVS, «publican/tax collector». LODI leads to «Levi». VS is a popular form of the Greek «son»¹²² and resembles *(h)os*, «the/that (masculine)». PVLCHER sounds as if it were derived from *puls*, «porridge»¹²³ in Greek *alphi*.¹²⁴ Thus we would have for VS PVLCHER *(h)os tou Alphaiou*, «that (= the son) of the porridge maker», or «son of Alphaeus»:

Publius Clodius Pulcher > «publican Levi, son of Alphaeus».

The variant <Iakobus>, «Jacob», as seen in some manuscripts, is revealed to be a hebraized version of *Clodius* with the usual Greek article:

(h)o Klodios > *Iakôbos*

—here the proper name of the «called one» would be maintained, whereas the variant «Matthew» (Greek: *Matthaios*) stresses the evil deed: *mataios*—«the sacrilegious one».

In between we note that tracing the Gospel back to the corresponding Caesar source can explain why the Gospel writers show such variance in what names they use for one and the same person—here Levi, another time Jacob, then Matthew¹²⁵—for which neither the old exegetes nor the modern textual critics have a plausible explanation.

The pendant for the adulterous wife of Caesar is the *pericope of the adulteress*; this pericope is not found in the synoptic Gospels, but exclusively in John.

It may appear improper for us to use this pericope, but it is well known that it only landed in John because it was deleted elsewhere: Where exactly, the textual critics do not know. We can only say that we are lucky to have it at all, for again and again, attempts have been made to remove this «foreign body» from John, ultimately for so-called purely formal reasons, because it does not fit the style of this particular Evangelist. Augustine delivers the real reason: the leniency Jesus demonstrates towards the adulteress might be misunderstood!¹²⁶ Even in the bible text used today, it is only referred to in parentheses or with a preceding question mark, meaning it is mentioned with reservation:

«? And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst, They say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act. Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou? This they said, tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without

sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground. And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.»¹²⁷

Here we have the persons and props from the Clodius anecdote that were not used yet:

The «scribes»—whom we already know are the «accusers» (see above)—and the «Pharisees»—who correspond to the «patricians» with Caesar, because his opponents were in their majority *optimates*, the <noble ones>: PATRICII > ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ.

The adulteress—the fact that she is not the unfaithful wife of Jesus is of no contradiction because Jesus as a cuckold would have been more than the church fathers could handle, to whom his leniency towards the adulteress was a thorn in the flesh.

Caught in flagrante—both of them.

The trial—with both of them: here the woman is placed «in the midst».

The threatened sentence—here stoning, there being hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

The law that must be obeyed and which is placed in question, by Jesus and by Caesar—here the law of «Moses», there the *mos*, the *mores*.

The questioning of Jesus as well as Caesar as competent people and as witnesses—but in both cases only for «tempting him, that they might have to accuse him.»

The liberating, two-part pronouncement for the woman—here «He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her», there «Because members of my household ought not only be free of guilt, but also free of the suspicion of guilt.»

The stones that kill—here the stoning stones, there the voting stones.¹²⁸

The unreadable signs—here when Jesus stoops down and writes with his finger on the earth, there the senators, who also write «on the earth» because the voting stones on which they made their illegible signs were made of clay.¹²⁹

None of the accusers are without sin—here the transgressions are unspecified, there the supposed sins of adulterous and bribed senators.

The vote, in the usual sequence—here «beginning at the eldest», while there, as usual in Rome, the senators vote according to rank.

The acquittal and the refusal to convict—here Jesus's as there Caesar's.

Finally the sending away of the woman—here «go», there «repudiation».

The writing of divorcement is missing here, too. Certainly it is so because otherwise, the woman sent away would then have been revealed as being the wife of Jesus. But since it was a sensitive matter to add words to, or subtract words from the Scripture, we have to expect that the writing of divorcement is to be found somewhere else, for Caesar did divorce Pompeia.¹³⁰

The problematic issue of divorce is found in all of the synoptic Gospels, the writing of divorcement is found in Mark as well as twice in Matthew. In both cases—in opposition to Moses—it is stressed that divorce is admissible only in cases of adultery:

«They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And I say unto you, Whosoever

shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.»¹³¹

This corresponds precisely to the case of Caesar, who felt devotedly attached to his previous wife Cornelia and later Calpurnia.¹³² While the «man of principle», Lucullus, accused the woman he divorced of incest with her own brother Clodius; while Mr. Clean, Cicero, wanted to divorce his wife in order to marry the other sister of Clodius, whom people called «quarter whore» (cheap whore), and whose brother he had incriminated because of the family facade in the Bona Dea trial;¹³³ while the vice hunter, Cato, ceded his young wife to a rich old man and then remarried her when she had become a well-to-do widow,¹³⁴ there on the other hand was the supposedly immoral Caesar, who only divorced the clumsy Pompeia. He declined to marry rich Cossutia in his youth. He was true to Cornelia in spite of Sulla, whose treacherous assassins followed him. The immoral proved to be more moral than the moral ones—Jesus more Moses than «Moses», Caesar teaching mores to the moralizers.

Thus we find almost all of the props from the Clodius anecdote in the Gospels, spread out in different pericopes, but at least in Mark they form a whole. Only the pericope of the adulteress is separated and has stranded with John. However, it remains in another place in some manuscripts: at the end of Luke 21, which begins with *the widow who contributes her mite*.

From Mark, who also used this pericope, we learn that the mite of the widow was a *quadrans*, a Roman «quarter». *Quadrantaria*, «quarter whore» (cheap whore), was the name given to Clodia, Clodius' sister. Her relationship to Cicero—who wanted to marry her, but out of fear of his wife Terentia he spoke out against Clodius—would have been the undoing of her brother if Caesar had not taken him under his wing.

At the end of the Clodius anecdote we want to now see how the story of the *quadrantaria* Clodia relates to the one of the poor widow with the mite.

Clodius' sister Clodia was married to Metellus Celer, who died shortly after the Bona Dea trial (59) and even during his lifetime did not stand in the way of Clodia's love affairs. Apart from Cicero, who later paid her back with burning hate and helped to establish her reputation as the most immoral lady in Rome, the merry widow maintained relationships with many men, among others with Caelius Rufus, whom she later accused and who was then defended by Cicero. She became famous, however, as the lover of Catullus, who sang her praises as Lesbia. Plutarchus tells us how she received her nickname:

«The latter [Clodia] was called *Quadrantaria* because one of her lovers had deceived her with a purse of small copper money instead of silver, the smallest copper coin being called a *quadrans* [a quarter of an *as*]. Because of this sister, Clodius had a particularly bad reputation.»¹³⁵

Let us compare this quadrans of Clodia with the mite of the widow. This is a word for word translation of the Greek [and in brackets are the word variations as found in most bible translations]:

«And he sat down opposite the treasury [collection plate], and watched the multitude putting copper coins [money] into the treasury [collection plate]. Many rich people put in large sums. And a poor widow came, and put in two small copper coins [mite], which make a quadrans [penny, tuppence]. And he called his disciples to him and said to them: Truly I say to you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury [collection plate]. For they all contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, her whole living.»¹³⁶

In both cases we deal with small copper coins instead of a great deal of money that the rich have; in both the small copper coin is called *quadrans*—observe how the Gospel writer hangs on this quadrans although half quadrants were apparently also in circulation at that time: *lepta dyo*, «halfpenny two» (= «halfquadrans two»). The difference is in the fact that the *quadrantaria* corresponds to the «poor widow». However, it is theoretically not impossible that the words «poor widow» might have been in the Latin example of Plutarchus, since this reflected Caesar’s opinion—compare the expression «the poor woman» which Caesar used to refer to the «working and money-making» widow of Cato.¹³⁷

With that, we have perused our «paralytics».

As one can see, the Evangelist Mark adopts the whole Clodius-anecdote during the Bona Dea scandal, does not drop anything but processes that which does not fit into the first of his pericopes and what is left over into the next one, and what remains left after that in the following one, until he has incorporated all the props. This shows that the Clodius-anecdote took a great deal of space in the Roman source that served as basis for Mark’s re-editing. Now, the Bona Dea scandal took place in 62 BC, i. e. 13 years before the crossing of the Rubicon, in 49 BC, which, transposed as the baptism in the Jordan, constitutes the beginning of Mark’s Gospel. So there was no chronological reason to deal extensively with the Bona Dea scandal in the period covered by Mark’s Gospel from the Jordan to the crucifixion—i. e. transposed, from the Rubicon to the murder, thus from 49 to 44 BC. It might at most have been briefly mentioned on occasion of an event that related to it, as e. g. Appian does, when he reports about the election of Publius Clodius as people’s tribune for 58 BC.¹³⁸ For the basis exemplar of Mark, however, there was no connection because Clodius had already been killed in 52, three years before the beginning of the Markan Gospel at the Rubicon/Jordan.¹³⁹ The only reason for the adoption of the Clodius-anecdote of the Bona Dea scandal into the Gospel was the similarity between the funeral of Clodius and that of Caesar, and also to highlight the formation of their friendship, when Caesar changed an insult into his advantage by doing a favor to an enemy in order to fend off another one.¹⁴⁰ Since they both eventually became victims of the common enemies, it was, from the evangelical perspective, still important to emphasize the beginning of that friendship which, at the same time, documented the first act of that unheard-of and prudent *Clementia Caesaris* that was to change the world.

But in whose interest was it? In some way, it was also in Antonius’ interest, who had earlier been a close friend of Clodius and later married his widow, Fulvia, becoming the step-father of Clodius’ children. There were, however, also rumors that the two had not always been on good terms,¹⁴¹ and after Fulvia’s demise, Antonius had no scruples marrying the sister of Octavianus, although her brother had disowned Clodia, the daughter of Clodius and Fulvia, his stepdaughter. Fulvia certainly had the

greatest interest in putting the Dionysian scandal involving the «lame one»—as the first of the two to undergo the same passion—at the beginning of the Gospel account, ending with the passion of Christ Caesar, because she had succeeded in turning the funeral of both, Clodius and Caesar, into victories.

In doing so, she also demonstrated what to her was the most important event of that time, which, in the ominous year of Cicero’s consulate, 63 BC, had seen the election of Caesar as Pontifex maximus in Rome, and in Jerusalem the capture of the temple by Pompeius: not the birth of Octavianus—in the Gospel of Mark the childhood history is missing—but the so-called Bona Dea scandal, the Dionysian event that had reshuffled the pack, the true beginning of a new era.

Therefore, it can be said with certainty that she was the principal and patroness of the Gospel, if not even the author herself: The fact that, as *Evangelium Marci*, it carries the name of Marcus Antonius, who was her last husband, does not contradict that, because she, being a woman, could not hold public office in the Rome of that time. Nevertheless, her portrait appeared on coins of Antonius, as winged Victoria, with the lion on the reverse side (ill. 1) which we find again as the symbol of the Evangelist Mark.



1. Coin of Marcus Antonius from Lugdunum (Lyon) with image of Fulvia, winged; Rs: lion.



2. Aureus of Marcus Antonius: Lion with sword. 3a. Venetian gold coin: winged Markan lion with sword.



3b. Venice: winged Markan lion.¹⁴²

It is assumed that the lion traces back to him because the Antonii were considered descendants of Hercules, the conqueror of the Nemean lion, and, in fact, on an aureus of Marcus Antonius from the same time one sees Hercules draped with the lion's skin and with lance and sword.¹⁴³ However, the lion on the above mentioned quinarius with Fulvia's portrait is not defeated, but itself victorious (ill. 1), as it appears on another coin of Marcus Antonius only four years later, with the sword in its paw (ill. 2 & 3a). Exactly such a lion with a sword had already been depicted on the signet ring of Pompeius, which after his beheading was handed over to Caesar; the same signet ring could later, after Caesar's murder, together with Caesar's archive, have been turned over to Antonius by Calpurnia.¹⁴⁴ This suggests the assumption that the prevailing lion with the open jaw and without sword on Fulvia's coins is neither of Pompeian nor of Heraclidean, but of Dionysian origin—as it appears, e. g. in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, as the omophagous lacerator¹⁴⁵—and really points to Fulvia herself and her victory, achieved without a sword: the expulsion of the murderers at Caesar's funeral. From this perspective, one should note that Fulvia's coin from Lugdunum does indeed not feature a sword, but all props of a sphinx—lion's body, woman's head and wings—the guardian of tombs, which will also later play a significant role in Christian iconography.

Thus the occasionally brandished sword is most likely that of Marcus Antonius, the ever appearing wings, however, on the Markan lion (ill. 3a & 3b) come from Fulvia, who on all her coins is constantly depicted with wings (ill. 1, 4a & 4b), also on those of the city of Eumeneia in Phrygia—rechristened *Fulvia* for her—where she appears alone.



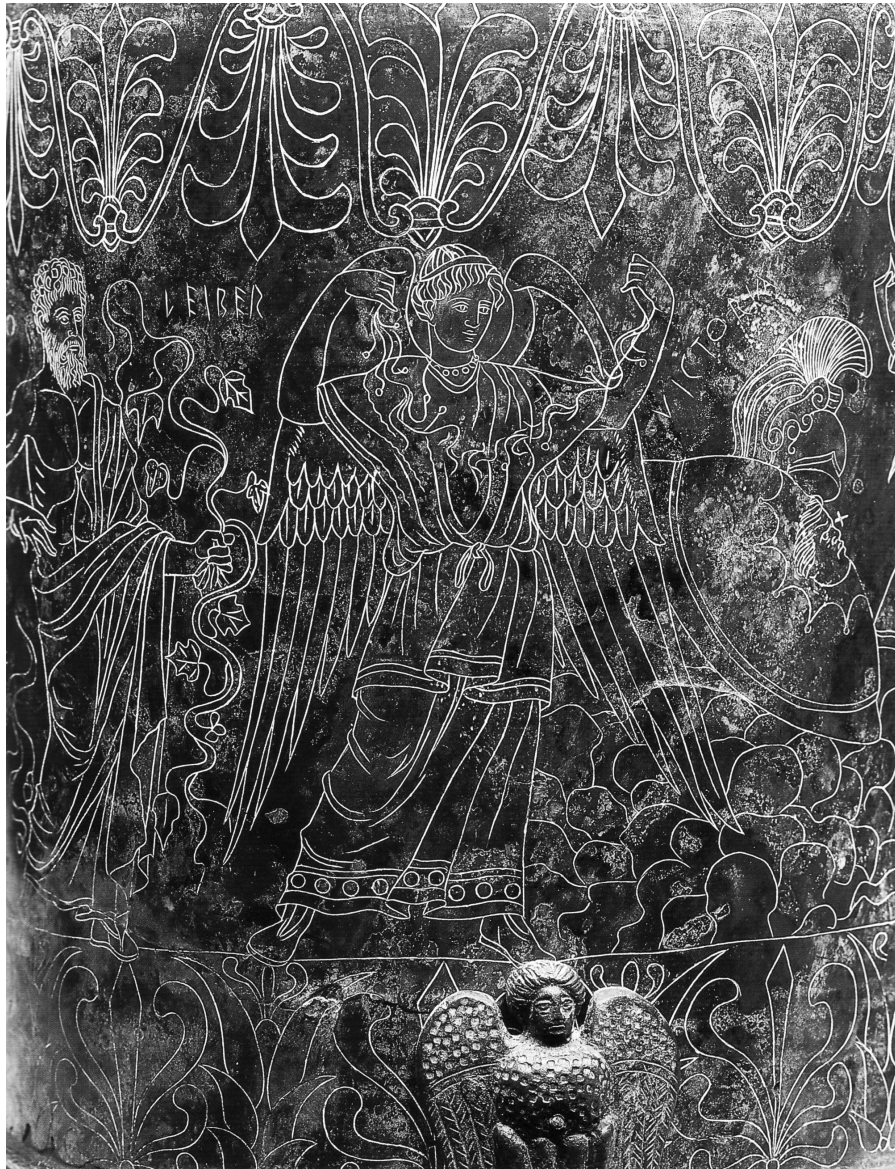
4a¹⁴⁶ & 4b¹⁴⁷. Coins from Eumeneia (Phrygia) with image of Fulvia, winged.

In light of this constant, we may ask ourselves, whether the winged figure on the Buca denarius (ill. 5a & 5b) centrally standing between Caesar, depicted as the sleeping Endymion, and Selene kissing him awake, which could be indentified as Aurora,¹⁴⁸ a posteriori, by the then beholders of the coin, were not be perceived as Fulvia, depicted at her appearance during Caesar's funeral, with the torch for lighting the pyre in her hand and the outstretched wings representing the postumous victory over the murderers that was achieved there. The scene, even here transferred into myth, could then all the more easily be transposed as Christian resurrection.



Ill. 5a: Denarius of Buca: Caesar as sleeping Endymion, 44 BC.¹⁴⁹

This, in turn, would pose the question, whether Fulvia, at the time of the Perusine war, chose the city of Praeneste as her head quarters not only for strategical reasons, but also due to the established veneration of the Victoria of Liber Pater, what she herself represented since Caesar's funeral on the Liberalia (ill. 5b).



Ill. 5b: Liber Pater (written Leiber) and Victoria in an engraved frieze of a Praenestian bronze cista.

That Fulvia is to be regarded as the possible author and patroness of the Gospel of Mark, is also not contradicted by the fact that it is the *Historiae* of Asinius Pollio, which (though lost), in the form adopted by Appian and Plutarchus, enable us to place the Caesar story side by side with the Gospels—as we saw in *War Jesus Caesar?* (1999). For Asinius Pollio was an Antonian and was close to Fulvia—at her behest, he had tried to relieve Lucius Antonius who was besieged in Perusia. Although he was often an eye-witness—e. g. at the Rubicon, in Pharsalos or in Munda—, at the time of Caesar’s murder and funeral he was in Spain so that he received his information regarding the events which, as passion story, constitute the heart of the Gospel, from his friends who were present in Rome, Antonius and Fulvia *in primis*.

Even the childhood story, which the two other synoptics, Matthew and Luke, include, and which is evidently borrowed from the one of Octavian Augustus,¹⁵⁰ could derive from Fulvia. For, although she later clashed with Octavian, she had at first, at the

formation of the triumvirate with Antonius and Lepidus, as a pledge of peace given him her daughter with Clodius, Clodia as his wife. That he then cast her out in order to be free to wage war against the mother-in-law without any moral inhibitions, does not change the fact that Fulvia at first meant him well and was serious towards her son-in-law. Thus, one may think that the childhood story of the Christ child Octavianus did not necessarily find its way into those two synoptics against Fulvia's will but with her consent—otherwise, assuming an Augustan last hand, the pericopes stemming from Publius Clodius about gouty and company would have likewise been erased. Those were probably inserted when she still nourished hope that she might manage to do the same thing as previously with Clodius and Curio: turn enemies into friends through marriage. Octavianus, however, incapable of any love,¹⁵¹ was unresponsive to her embrace as well¹⁵² and represented the limit of Fulvia's Dionysian efficacy through love. After the fall of Perugia in 40 BC, at the latest after the sea battle of Actium, 31 BC, the purely Augustan copy for the Gospel of John came into existence, in which there was no room for such puerilities, it is all about inheriting, the only thing that the born-under-oxen¹⁵³ Octavianus Augustus understood.

Fulvia's drama—Octavianus: the other Jesus, the Christ child, the Counter-Evangelist

In the first edition, we also saw that the other Gospel, the one of John, which contains the claim of the Son that all that is of the Father belongs to him only,¹⁵⁴ originates from Octavianus Augustus, who, using brute force, asserted himself as son and sole heir of Caesar, whom he had elevated to godhead.

This, combined with the integration of the childhood story of Octavianus Augustus at the beginning of the synoptic Gospels of Matthew and Luke,¹⁵⁵ has created an amalgam between Jesus Christ—the great Caesar, the Father—and the Christ Child respectively the Resurrected One—the new Caesar, the Son: Octavianus Augustus. Since both were Son of God—Caesar of the Goddess Venus, Octavianus of the deified Caesar¹⁵⁶—this easily led to confusion so that it is no longer clear that the Christ on the cross is not the same as the Christ Child—although it should be conspicuous because the one has black hair and black eyes, while the other has reddish-blond hair and greenish-blue eyes, just as Caesar and Octavianus Augustus, respectively. What is worse is that it has also led to confusion, even replaceability, between the merciful Christ and his judicialistic heir so that their roles were blurred, for instance, that from the Christ comes the utterance: «He who is not against us is for us» as correctly reproduced by Mark, and not «He who is not with me is against me», twisted as it appears in Matthew, or with Luke, who renders it one time one way and another time in another way, without being concerned about the contradiction.¹⁵⁷ Actually, here the Christ is confused with John the Baptist, but it would not have been possible had Octavianus Augustus not been Pompeian in this point, and had he not, unlike Pompeius, been successful with it.

These two Jesuses, the one New-, the other Old-Testamentarian in the question of love and clemency, respectively vengeance, although contrary and essentially incompatible, are not kept apart and cause constant misunderstandings and distortions, not only in the texts, but also in the relationship to religion, especially regarding the attitude of the church towards typical issues as sexuality and latifundism. The only seemingly contradictory result is, then, that, whereas Christianity generally, clearly is a religion of the peasants, the churchly hierarchy might stand on the side of the large landowners in the agricultural issue, while the «red» rebellious land workers, of all people, nevertheless remain the most zealous at the processions with the suffering Christ during Holy Week, as can be observed, for instance, in Spain.

This schizophrenia of Christianity, with two antagonistic souls in one and the same mystical body, has its root cause in the opposition between two irreconcilable conceptions: the *Divus Iulius* of Octavian and the *Parens optime meritis* of Fulvia and Antonius. Actually, having become the Christ, the *Parens optime meritis* prevailed, and remained in the background as the pole of opposition to the emperor cult, which developed from the pole of *Divus Iulius* and *Divi filius*. But unfortunately not only. The retention of its never amputated siamese twin was already ensured by the emperors, who after a long period of suppression allowed Christianity, but under the sign of Octavianus-Augustus: Constantine's Christ Monogram, the *chi-rho*, is nothing other than the *sidus Iulium* of Augustus,¹⁵⁸ and Constantine came to the veneration of Christ via that of *Sol*, of the Sun, of the Augustan Helios-Apollo.

Fulvia's signature and the development of Christianity

The knowledge that the original version of the Good Friday liturgy as well as the Gospel of Mark, along with the synoptics, trace back to Fulvia, enables us to get a better overview of the history of the development of Christianity.

Christianity originated in Rome, as the religion of the landless in the struggle against the Roman latifundists. The first prominent martyrs were the Gracchi, whom many followed, until a change came with Caesar, insofar as, although he was also murdered, his agrarian laws were not annulled, and he himself was elevated to God status whereby his land distributions remained sacred and inviolable. He is the Christ to whom the small Roman peasant owes his piece of land. When during the Spanish Holy Week the ritual saying «*el Cristo es la tierra*», «the Christ is the Earth» is sounded, nothing else is expressed than the memory of the great emperor who, by his sacrificial death, guaranteed to the small veteran his piece of farmland. This name *Christós*, in its original form *Chrestós*,¹⁵⁹ «the good, the best, the useful one», corresponds to the compromise formula negotiated with the murderers, according to which the murder of Caesar was not to be judicially pursued, but all of his measures and decisions should nevertheless keep their validity: «because this served the best interest of the city.» For the friends of the pardoned murderers had, for their own safety, most emphatically insisted that Caesar's measures should not so much retain their validity for legal reasons, but «because (they are) useful»: *διὰ χρείαν*¹⁶⁰—in

which the root of χρηστός can be recognized, and by which Caesar had been declared «the useful one», i. e. «of outstanding merit to the state, meritorious».

The name expresses the same in Greek as that which was engraved on the base of the statue that Antonius erected for the murdered Caesar in the autumn of 44 BC: PARENTI OPTIME MERITO, which is usually translated as «to the most meritorious father», although, at that time, «most meritorious» did not signify only the citizens who had rendered outstanding services to the state, but especially those who had given their lives,¹⁶¹ the moribund fallen in battle, the martyrs.

The inviolability of the *Acta Caesaris*, which Antonius bought with the amnesty of the murderers, and the funeral, which Fulvia understood to form into a Dionysian resurrection of the murdered one, marks the posthumous victory of the *Clementia Caesaris*, but, at the same time, the beginning of a new drama. Because the testamentarily adopted Octavianus not only claimed his share of the inheritance, but the entire, exclusive inheritance, not only privately, but also politically. He did dissimulate at first, but no sooner had he, with the help of Antonius' brothers, managed to be acknowledged as *Cai filius*, as «Son of Gaius»,¹⁶² did he endeavor to let Caesar be declared a god, *Divus Iulius*, so that he himself could advance to *Divi filius*, «God's son». Antonius opposed that; as long as Fulvia lived, he refused to inaugurate as *flamen Divi Iulii*.¹⁶³ The sources don't say frankly what might have been the reason—probably because it was obvious: Even in Caesar's lifetime Antonius was designated a form of *flamen Dialis* for the new god, not only of *Divus Iulius* alone, but at the same time his *Clementia*, together with which a temple was to be dedicated to him.¹⁶⁴ With Octavian as *Divi filius* however, he could only be a high priest of Caesar, and not represent his *Clementia*, because as son, Octavian was obliged to avenge him. With Caesar as God, the adopted Octavianus was the Son of God: living heir of a sacred dynasty, with claim to total power, earthly and heavenly. This was dangerous enough—but it also implied a fatal consequence: As son, the former Octavius now had the duty of *pietas*, of filial love towards his adoptive father, that is to say, since his adoptive father had been murdered: he had to avenge his death.¹⁶⁵ Vengeance, however, was not only the opposite of the *Clementia Caesaris*, but also of the amnesty that had been granted to the murderers to prevent the annulment of the *Acta Caesaris*, which had not only made the distribution of land to the veterans possible, but, more importantly, preserved Octavianus' inheritance. Although the omission of criminal prosecution of the Caesar murderers was incomprehensible to the people, even detested by them, Octavianus could not enforce his vengeance plans immediately and legally—election as tribune of the people, enabling him to drag the murders before a people's court, was denied to him by Antonius—but finally through his private army, thus illegally. After the undecided battle at Mutina, Antonius had to join him anyway, and together with Lepidus, who had been in favor of an immediate retaliation campaign against the murderers even on the evening of the Ides,¹⁶⁶ they formed the triumvirate. They stated that since Caesar's *Clementia* had been misused by unfaithful backstabbers in order to kill him, they preferred to counteract them rather than suffer

under them.¹⁶⁷ The condemnation of the sympathizers of the Caesar murderers ensued, with the terrible proscription lists and the war against Brutus and Cassius, who were defeated at Philippi. The price for the vengeance was enormous: The estates of the towns of Italy blacklisted by the triumviri did not suffice for the allotment of land to the countless soldiers who had been recruited for the victory at Philippi, others had to be dispossessed because the monies Antonius was supposed to collect in the East for the settlements could not meet the exorbitant requirements, either. Octavianus enforced the expropriations recklessly and brutally, Fulvia tried to at least prevent the worst; the situation escalated, war broke out, which, despite the support by Lucius Antonius, who even wanted to put an end to the triumvirate, was lost for Fulvia. The reason was that his brother Marcus Antonius, the triumvir, who stayed with Cleopatra, did not send clear orders to his legates in Italy. With the capitulation of Perusia Fulvia's dream ended.

Interestingly, lead projectiles that both parties slung at each other's heads during the siege of Perusia, carry the usual numerous obscene insults, but some also have the inscription «Divus Iulius»,¹⁶⁸ which seems astounding in the otherwise trivial context, a sure sign that it was a religious war as well.¹⁶⁹ Or even primarily a religious war. For after his victory, Octavianus, posing as the triumphant Son of God, had 300 knights and a number of senators slaughtered like sacrificial animals at the altar of his *Divus Iulius*. And that it was vengeance, is unmistakably made clear by the date, because it happened on the Ides of March 40 BC, on the fourth anniversary of the murder of Caesar. The politics of vengeance had prevailed over the politics of *clementia*, the Son of God, in order to inherit his power, had reversed the moral-political heritage of the father into its opposite; precisely by making the father a god, he had bereaved him of that which had constituted his divinity: it was a catastrophe. Fulvia, who to no avail sought Antonius' help, was broken by this. Antonius blamed her and left her without a farewell, exhausted and sick in Sykion, where she died.¹⁷⁰ Basically, she was sacrificed by the Son of God to his God Iulius on the *arae Perusinae*, the horrible altars of Perusia.¹⁷¹

In any event, since Antonius finally did inaugurate as *flamen Divi Iulii* after the demise of Fulvia and his marriage to Octavianus' sister «in order to do Octavianus a favor»,¹⁷² one has to assume that it was Fulvia who originally opposed it. So she is the one to whom the counterdraft to *Divus Iulius*, «God Iulius», that *Parens Optime Meritus*, «Most Meritorious Father»—that «Christ» ante litteram—must be attributed: the emphasis lies on the self-sacrifice of the martyr, not on the filial commandment to vengeance; also, he is not called *Pater*, «father», but *Parens*, actually «birth giver»,¹⁷³ as if Caesar had been more mother than father, which referred to the empire he had given birth and reminds of Dionysus, born from the thigh of Zeus.

So it was about religio-political issues. An earlier incident casts it in an unexpected light. It astounds that the historian Cassius Dio mentions a Tiberius Cannutius among those sacrificed on the *arae Perusinae*, «who earlier as people's tribune had gathered

the people for Caesar Octavianus». ¹⁷⁴ Well, when was that? Four years earlier, when Octavianus had run for the office of people's tribune:

Immediately after Octavianus had arrived in Rome following Caesar's murder, and after the brothers of Antonius had arranged for the recognition of his adoption and he had reconciled himself with Antonius (who at first had thwarted it, ¹⁷⁵ when Octavianus applied for the vacant office of the «accidentally dead» ¹⁷⁶ people's tribune Helvius Cinna) Antonius had suddenly and unexpectedly opposed it. Thereupon Octavianus had won the tribune of the people, Tiberius Cannutius, over to his side and achieved through him to be introduced to the people, whom he promised the immediate payout of the monetary gift that had been bequeathed by his father Caesar to every Roman citizen, in order to thus coerce Antonius to return the monies of Caesar—Antonius refused, arguing that Caesar's state coffers should be set apart from his private assets. Since said Cannutius, at that time, had aided Octavianus, his execution after Perusia is only understandable if he no longer stood on Octavianus' side. But since he was sacrificed on the altar of *Divus Iulius*, we should see, whether the lost election was not based on something sacral also.

By counteracting the election of Octavianus as people's tribune, Antonius supported the Senate, which feared, Octavianus might, as tribune, drag the murderers of his father before a people's court. Because as son, which he qua adoption now was, the *pietas* demanded of him to avenge the murdered father. This would, however, not only have been the end of the politics of clemency and reconciliation, but especially of the amnesty for the murderers, which, in turn, would have endangered the *acta Caesaris* and consequently the land distributions to the veterans. Had, therefore, Octavianus not only been *Cai filius*, but even *Divi filius*, then the duty for vengeance would no longer have been only his private one, but a sacral one that would have pertained to the whole state and thus to all citizens. And indeed—as we saw—after the fall of Perusia, Octavianus had 300 knights and senators sacrificed to *Divus Iulius* on the *arae Perusinae* on the Ides of March of the year 40 BC ¹⁷⁷—the definite rejection of the politics of amnesty.

The initial resistance of Antonius—and no doubt mainly Fulvia—against the candidacy of Octavianus for the vacant office of the unfortunate Helvius Cinna, had influenced the religious options of Octavianus in another respect as well.

There were also formal reasons for the Antonius' refusal to support Octavianus' candidacy because the office of people's tribune was reserved to Plebeians, Octavianus, however, had been made a Patrician by Caesar, what he was now a *fortiori* by adoption into Caesar's family—and not yet a Senator, which was also required. ¹⁷⁸ To this Antonius appealed, proclaiming that Octavianus should not undertake anything unlawful. Appianus, however, mentions that Antonius may also have had «personal reasons» ¹⁷⁹, without specifying them, which is not surprising, since the sources are always elliptical when it comes to Fulvia. Yet, when in light of their relationship, it is undeniable that it was Fulvia who personally led Antonius, ¹⁸⁰ her reasons were not

simply personal. The fact that Antonius suddenly interrupted the people's assembly, which incidentally he himself had summoned, is indicative of a religious taboo having intervened, and that can only have come from the Dionysian *thiasos*, i. e. from Fulvia, also.

Could the old animosity towards the Octavii have played a role? After all, it had been an Octavius who had given the Optimates a pretense to lynch Tiberius Gracchus, which also cost two Fulvii, allies of the Gracchi, their lives—and Fulvia was a descendant on both sides, because via her mother Sempronia she descended from the Gracchi as well. Or was it the memory of her first husband, Publius Clodius, who conversely had changed from the Patrician class to the Plebeian one in order to be able to become people's tribune and in doing so had abandoned the noble name Claudius for the more demotic name Clodius? Could the Antonii and Fulvii, who belonged to the Plebeians, not forgive the former Plebeian Octavius that he had become a Patrician? But was it even the election as people's tribune that was denied to Octavius, or was it perhaps this very election instead of the torn-apart and incorporated-by-the-people Helvius Cinna: the main part of the mystical body of the Roman Dionysus? The election was inhibited not only by the fact that the adopted son of Caesar no longer was a Plebeian, but above all by his claim to be *Divi filius*, because Caesar as *Divus Iulius*, as new, but traditional, Roman god, would have been the opposite of a Dionysus. He would rather have been something like a new Romulus, carried away as god Quirinus to an unlocalizable heaven and locked away in temples—no hero, no martyr, no living god any more who, resurrected from the dead, continues to act in the world—and, on top of that, with a male *flamen*, the embodiment of stately patriarchal religious control—the opposite of a female-led Bacchic-Dionysian *thiasos*. Behind it, moreover, was the intention on the part of Octavianus to found a dynasty, which Antonius refused, at least so long as Fulvia was alive.

The prevention of his attempt to occupy the office of people's tribune, left vacant by the lacerated Helvius Cinna, definitively frustrated Octavianus in his hopes to at least mystically and post festum partake in the Dionysian funeral of his adoptive father, at which he had not been able to be present, and his mother, too, who although commissioned with the funeral, had been prevented from carrying it out. So he directed his frustrated hopes to post festum participate in the Dionysian resurrection from the dead on the Apollonian birth, for chance would have it that Caesar not only was buried on the day of the *Liberalia*, but also born on the day of the *ludi Apollinares*,¹⁸¹ thus set into the world under the sign of the one god, Apollo, and transferred to the other world under the sign of the other, Dionysus. And since Fulvia and Antonius simply had the monopoly on Dionysus—Antonius, as is known, was soon to behave as a new Dionysus¹⁸², and coins with Dionysian ivy are documented with Fulvia also¹⁸³—he still had Apollo, however, who as god of vengeance fit his plans and also had a connection to the funeral, insofar as verses of the Electra had been sung by the choir there,¹⁸⁴ and Elektra had been moved by Apollo, after all, when she asked her brother Orestes to avenge the murder of the father. Since, however, in that year the

ludi Apollinares were organized by Brutus officiating as *praetor*, he resorted to the games held shortly thereafter on the occasion of the consecration of the temple of Venus Genetrix, arranging them in his dynastic sense—meanwhile he was adopted into the family of the Iulii as son of Caesar. At that time, as if called for, the comet appeared that the people regarded as the soul of Caesar; he, however, interpreted it as a sign of his own birth.¹⁸⁵ Secretly, for a comet was actually a bad omen, therefore he rather called it *sidus crinitum*, a «hairy star», and had it placed above the head of the statues of Caesar as aureole. For himself, however, he preferred the sun as bringer of an auspicious sign, e. g. as aura around his head in significant moments, or as radiant sun in the dream of his father at his birth. This fit with the sun god Apollo anyway, after all, it was told that his mother had conceived him from Apollo himself.¹⁸⁶ Later, he himself even posed as Apollo, inter alia in the notorious secret feast of the twelve gods, which he was not afraid of hosting, of at all times, during a period of famine. With the people, who cried out the next day that the gods had eaten up all the grain, which earned him the epithet «Apollo the torturer», under which name the god was worshiped in a city quarter.¹⁸⁷ Apparently, Apollo was not that which could make him popular with the people, to whom Ceres—because from her came the grain, thus the bread—remained more important and with her Dionysus, her cult-associate who, at the latest after his identification with Osiris, was not only regarded as wine god, but also as originator of grain cultivation.¹⁸⁸

After the death of Fulvia when it came to the division of the empire between the two, this was not only a political, but also a religious one: Antonius as new Dionysus in the East, whom first Octavia as successor of Fulvia officiated as partner, but then Cleopatra as living Isis—which meant that the East stood entirely under the sign of Dionysus-Osiris, while the West, particularly *tota Italia*, which Octavianus had brought to swear on him,¹⁸⁹ was in the hands of Apollo.

The course had already been set for this before the Perusine war, immediately after the death of Caesar, when the issue at stake was the Dionysian *Parens optime meritis* or, alternatively, the *Divus Iulius*, the latter essentially being Apollonian, already because it contained the obligation to vengeance.

Even then, both sides insisted on their concept, and war broke out, which Fulvia conducted alone because Antonius was meanwhile with Cleopatra in Alexandria. It was said that Fulvia had been incited to wage war against Octavianus to convince Antonius to hurry to her help and he would thus be separated from Cleopatra. Now, it was not necessarily jealousy, for Fulvia knew the escapades of Antonius, and at that time Roman women obviously behaved differently from what we can imagine today, after all, Octavia, the later wife of Antonius, accepted the children he had with Cleopatra, her rival, into her home in Rome after the suicide of their parents. Furthermore, Antonius, as Neos Dionysos, was obliged to hierogamy as well as Cleopatra, as Nea Isis, and as such, they had first met in Tharsos. The reason could be that Fulvia admittedly regarded Cleopatra as an ally, after all, Egypt was the land of Osiris, who was equated with Dionysus,¹⁹⁰ however, at the same time, imputed to her

the pursuit of the same dynastic concept as Augustus: that eventually for Cleopatra it was about Kaisarion, the son she had from Caesar, as a new Horus becoming the heir of the father Caesar-Osiris, in competition to the adoptive son in Rome, Octavianus. That Octavianus also regarded it this way, is shown by the fact that he later declared war on Cleopatra, just when Kaisarion reached the age in which he, Octavianus, had come into the inheritance of Caesar: he had simply wanted to liquidate his dynastic rival.¹⁹¹ That here, too, it was about *Divus Iulius*, is shown by the fact that while he was at it, he not only had Kaisarion killed, but also Antyllus, the son of Fulvia and Marcus Antonius, the one who had once as a one-year-old boy been handed over to the murderers of Caesar as hostage and guarantee for safe conduct: he tore him away from the cult statue of *Divus Iulius*, where Antyllus, after vainly begging for mercy, had sought refuge and which he apparently hung on to, before they butchered him.¹⁹² Octavianus could not have demonstrated more unambiguously that to him *Divus Iulius* was not the god of clemency, trust and settlement of disputes, as the people saw his cremation site in Rome¹⁹³ and therefore regarded Caesar's statues throughout the Empire as places of asylum, but as altars of merciless vengeance and human sacrifice—just like with the *arae Perusinae*. Having his temple of *Divus Iulius* built exactly at that cremation site was only consistent. At first, he let the column erected by the people stand, but then he had it walled in when turmoil broke out: Obviously, he had not been able to enthrone everyone for mutating the clemency of Caesar into its opposite, even though instead of building the previously decreed temple to Caesar's *Clementia*, he had one built to the avenging Mars.

The adopted son had carried the duty of vengeance so far that he had not only hunted down the murderers of his father, but finally also the latter's son Kaisarion, his brother, and all others, who had been in favor of the amnesty, to which he himself in the first place owed his heritage, for it had secured the *acta Caesaris*. Now, as sole survivor, only-begotten son and universal heir, Octavianus Augustus had succeeded in founding his dynasty after all—but not completely. Because, although he advanced to the position of *Augustus* and eventually to *Divus* himself, since he had no successors, he had to adopt some, amongst them the later emperor Tiberius, the child, of all people, of the wife of a man, who had fought on Fulvia's side against him in Perugia and who after the fall of the town had to save herself from him and, like Fulvia, had fled to Antonius—which was to become the flight to Egypt in the Gospel.¹⁹⁴ Tiberius, however, placed no value on being deified himself and distanced himself from his predecessor in that eminently religious question. The further emperors of the Julio-Claudian house, Caligula, Claudius and Nero then originated, irony of fate, from Antonius, of all people, too, via the daughters he had from Octavia, the sister of Octavianus. As successor of Antonius, already the first of them forbade the celebration of the victory of Octavianus over Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium, which subsequently saved the honor of Antonius.

This rehabilitation of Antonius, which occurred under the Claudii, could in turn have favored the fact that among the later emerging Gospels, the ones with Antonian—resp. Fulvian—tendency are preserved also.

When the Julio-Claudian dynasty died out with Nero, and the following one, the Flavian dynasty, established itself with Vespasianus, the Gospels, in the version known to us today, emerged: and, lo and behold, they narratively relocate the events from Gallia—the land where Caesar had risen to power—to Galilaea—the land where Vespasianus, for his part, had come to power—whereby the foundation account of the first dynasty was adapted and made usable for the second one.

The four canonical Gospels show clear tendencies: the one according to Mark, which does not bear the name of Marcus Antonius by chance, and consequently is probably the oldest, exhibits an Antonian, or more precisely, Fulvian tendency; the other two synoptics, Matthew and Luke, show, by the addition of the childhood story, that is clearly cribbed from the one of Octavianus Augustus, a stronger Augustan tendency;¹⁹⁵ the Gospel of John is purely Augustan and, accordingly, the youngest one.

The true soul of Christianity is contained in the oldest Gospel, the one of Mark. The others have only been dragged along because they were the versions of those liturgical texts used in the colonies founded by Augustus. That, however, at least the synoptics, Matthew and Luke, experienced a certain de-Augustization, is shown by the genealogies, which were rewritten so thoroughly that, unlike in the childhood story, it is no longer recognizable that it originally was the one of Octavianus-Augustus.

The persistent—even if not always consistent¹⁹⁶—opposition of Christianity against the emperor cult, against the *Divi*, traces back to Fulvia's—and initially also Antonius'—opposition against the name *Divus Iulius* and the dynastic claims of the *Divi filius* connected with it. If an amalgam seems to have taken place, it is because in the Gospel of Mark we find that formula—«Truly this man was the Son of God»¹⁹⁷—which fit Caesar because he was regarded as the son of Venus,¹⁹⁸ which, however, Fulvia would have never accepted for Octavianus.

The diegetic transposition from *Gallia* to *Galilaea*, which occurred under the Flavii in the colonies of Caesar's veterans founded by Herod, mostly Gauls and Germans, whom he had received from Antonius, made it possible that the rewritten sacred accounts about their revered emperor, founder of the empire, land distributor and martyr could be used in the attempt to convert the Jews, who had been defeated by Vespasianus and Titus, to the new religion, and to thus better integrate them into the empire. This relocation of the original historical account was from the start been prepared by the fact, that Iulius Caesar had been the one, who had settled the veterans of Pompeius—with whom Pompeius had captured Jerusalem together with the temple, whom, however, he could not provide the promised land allotments—into colonies in Campania. A favor, by which he won over his political opponent as well as his veterans. In their view, because they had not just simply fought against the Jews, but for the Jewish high priest Hyrcanus in Jerusalem against the usurpator Aristobulos—therefore themselves took sides in inner-Jewish throne conflicts and

thus had been part of Jewish history—the *Hierosolymarius* (as Cicero had called Pompeius) who had not been able to give them the promised land, had to appear to them as a new Moses. The Roman High Priest Caesar, however, who had finally led them into the promised land, had to appear as a new Jesus—thus the name of Joshua used in the Greek bible translation, the *Septuaginta*. Herod, who by adoption of his father through Caesar had become a Iulius himself, had continued in his area what Caesar had begun in Campania and which seemed like a repetition of the same story in a different place so that the holy texts of the founder could easily be adopted.

The adaptation was conducted so accurately, with substitution of the geographical names—*Gallia* becomes *Galilaea*, *Corfinium Cafarnaum*, *Bithynia Bethania* etc.—as well as the personal names—(Cassius) *Longinus* becomes (miles) *Longinus*, *Iunius* (Brutus) *Iudas*, *Nicomedes Nicodemus*, etc.—some of which are actual historical figures—e. g. *Pilatus* and *Herodes*, with whom *Lepidus* and an Egyptian *Rhetor*¹⁹⁹ respectively were confused—that it created the impression of the story having originated there rather than having been relocated there. That there were some unavoidable inconsistencies such as the fact that Nazareth had never been a big town with a synagogue, that the Sea of Galilee is not a sea, or—a bagatelle!— the fact that Jesus is not mentioned by any historian of the epoch—the alleged written evidence like the *testimonium Flavianum* are late and look like interpolations—did not disturb anybody for almost two millennia because the historical existence of Christ was not questioned by anybody, not even by the opponents of the Christians.

The inconsistencies became a problem only with the enlightenment, and since one was fixated on Galilee and despite intense digging could not unearth him there, some decided that he was a myth who had subsequently been granted a historical existence. This, in turn, cannot explain the sudden and universal rise of precisely this alleged legend to the status of world religion, and it does not disturb the believers at all, for, when one already believes in the resurrection, one is not deterred by such bagatelles.

Insofar, one could opine that the knowledge that *Christ(us)* is the Christian cult name of Caesar, and that the producer of the Good Friday liturgy and author of the oldest Gospel was a Roman woman, does not mean much. But the fact of the matter is that diegetical transpositions can indeed have a long life, it is, however, always shorter than the life of the original history.²⁰⁰ There are indications which suggest that the story line, as it is told in the Gospel, has become outdated, that it does not reach rationally thinking, modern people anymore. The original history, however, could be all the more interesting and also make the diegesis more accessible again.

Especially since a return to the sources would help to distinguish between the two souls of Christianity, the Fulvian and the Augustan one, which like Siamese twins always appear together, which are, however, constantly bashing each other and whom would be helped, if they were surgically separated—if they could survive that. Because their respective ethics are fundamentally different: clemency, forgiveness, love, liberation on the one hand, and, on the other hand, merciless vengeance, legacy-hunting, the inability to love and oppression.

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Picture credits

1. CRAWFORD 489/5: Quinar of Marcus Antonius from Lugdunum (Lyon), 43-42 BC. The number XL (40)—on other similar coins XLI (41)—indicates his age at the time. Vs: Bust of Fulvia as winged Victoria, to the right. Rs: Striding lion, right side; bottom, LVGV; top, in a circle counterclockwise, DVNI; to the left, A; to the right, XL.
Picture credit: Classical Numismatic Group. Source: cngcoins.com.
2. CRAWFORD 533/1. Aureus of Marcus Antonius. Rs: Standing lion to the left, holding a sword in its paw; top, star; clockwise in a circle, III·VIR·R·P·C·COS·DESIG·ITER·ET·TERT. Lost, formerly in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cf. GRUEBER, vol. II, p. 506.
- 3a. Venezianische «Osella» (Commemorative coin with the value of a quarter ducat). Gold, minted 1703, in the fourth year of the reign of Alvise II Mocenigo. From the collection of the Italian king Vittorio Emanuele III, currently in the Roman national museum Palazzo Massimo. Marcan lion, holding a sword in the right paw, in the left paw the open book.
Picture credit: commons.wikimedia.org . Source: Jastrow (2006).
- 3b. Venice. Winged Markan lion, holding the open book with both paws with the inscription: PAX·TIBI·MARCE·EVANGELISTA·MEVS, «Peace with thee, Mark, my Evangelist».
Picture credit: commons.wikimedia.org . Source: Nino Barbieri (2004).
- 4a. RPC 3140, Fulvia AE 17, from Eumeneia, Phrygia, renamed Fulvia. SNGvA 8367. Ca. 41–40 BC. Vs: Draped bust of Fulvia as winged Nike, to the right; Rs: ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙ | AN N | ZMEPTOPI, «Zmertorix, magistrate of the Fulvians», three lines within ivy wreath (leaves and berries).
Picture credit: Classical Numismatic Group. Source: wildwinds.com
- 4b. RPC I 3139, Fulvia AE 19, from Eumeneia, Phrygia, renamed Fulvia. Ca. 41-49 BC. Vs: Bust of Fulvia as winged Nike, to the right; Rs: City goddess in the form of Athena, standing to the left, holding shield and spear; ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ ΖΜΕΡΤΟΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ, «Zmertorix, Son of Philonides, Magistrate of the Fulvians».
Picture credit: Classical Numismatic Group. Source: cngcoins.com
- 5a. CRAWFORD 480/1; BMC R 4161.
- 5b. Prenestian bronze cista, last quarter of the 4th cent. BC.: Liber and Victoria. Berlin, Antikenmus. 6239. Cf. SIMON (1990), plate 6 between p. 128/129.
6. a & b: ILLRP 1116 = CIL II, 6721.26: L·XI / Divom / Iulium. Cf. ZANGEMEISTER (1885), plate IX, 7.

NOTES

- ¹ For a coin with Fulvia's portrait, cf. article «Liberalia Tu Accusas!» Ill. 4.
- ² The Perusine war, arisen from the conflict between Fulvia and Lucius Antonius on one side, with Octavianus on the other side, about the dispossession of Italic towns for the allotment of farmland to the veterans of Octavianus and Antonius after the war against Caesar's murderers. Cf. Plut. Ant. 30.6: [...] καὶ Καῖσαρ ἦν φανερός ἐκείνω μὲν οὐθὲν ἐγκαλῶν, αὐτὸς δ' ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τὰς αἰτίας τῆ Φουλβία προστριβόμενος, οὐκ εἶων [δ'] ἐξελέγχειν οἱ φίλοι τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ διέλυσον ἀμφοτέρους καὶ διήρουν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν [...] – «[...] and when it turned out that Caesar [= Octavianus] did not at all reproach Antonius and put the blame for what he was accused of on Fulvia, the friends of the two men did not permit any examination of the real reason, but reconciled them [...]».
- ³ Cf. «Liberalia Tu Accusas!». Drumann was a professed Prussian monarchist—cf. Drumann² 1, p. VI, closing words of the preface: ἡ μοναρχίη κράτιστον—and the question is, whether his always positive characterization of Octavian Augustus, accompanied by an always negative one of the latter's opponents, has something to do with it.
- ⁴ Cf. Drumann² 1, p. 288sq; p. 293: «Peace was incompatible with Fulvia's plans»; p. 294: «Thus a new civil war was ignited by the ambition of a woman [...]».
- ⁵ Cf. DRUMANN² 2, p. 310sq. Cf. GUNDEL, H. G. in: *Der Kleine Pauly*, s. v. «Fulvius 32», II 634: «The unfavorable assessment by DRUMANN² 1,288 ff. 2,310 ff is hardly maintainable».
- ⁶ E. g. Velleius, 2.74: *Ex altera parte, uxor Antonii, Fulvia, nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens, omnia armis tumultuque miscebat.* – «On the other side Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had nothing feminine about her, except her body, was creating general confusion by armed violence»; Cass. Dio HR 48.10.4 describes her in Praeneste as a commandant issuing instructions to senators and knights, usually girt with a sword, giving out watchwords to the soldiers and addressing them in speeches.
- ⁷ Rehabilitation of Fulvia with SYME (1939) p. 208 n. 3, referring to MÜNZER, RE VII 283sq. The leitmotif is the attempt to present the worst deeds ascribed to her as «unlikely», e. g. the defilement of dead Cicero's head, cf. GUNDEL, *loc. cit.*, or the claim that Cassius Dio (HR 48.4, 48.10.3) exaggerates, when he reports that Fulvia, as the wife of one triumvir (Marcus Antonius), mother-in-law of a second (Octavianus), and sister-in-law of a consul (Lucius Antonius), had seized complete power in Rome (cf. also Orosius, *hist.* 6.18.17sq).
- ⁸ This is not the place to write a biography of Fulvia. We shall only list the points that should be taken into account in a possible rewriting of her biography. In any case, when it is written about her that she was the first wife of a ruler in Rome who felt and behaved as such (MÜNZER, RE VII 284) that is still an understatement. Because she was not only the wife of Antonius, but earlier also of Clodius and of Curio, and Fulvia helped them to achieve, more than her husbands helped her. Since women were excluded from public offices in Rome, they could only make politics through the men of their families, which meant their fathers, their brothers or their children—like Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi—some also through their husbands—like Porcia, the wife of Brutus, who is said to have encouraged him to the murder. With Fulvia, however, we observe something very special. Belonging to the highest nobility of the Populares, the people's party—on her father's side she originated from the Fulvii, of which two had lost their lives together with the Gracchi in the struggles for a more just distribution of the farmland; on the side of her mother Sempronia she even originated from the Gracchi themselves—she was predestined to become the Pasionaria of the Populares. Rich (Cicero in *Phil.* 3.16: *locupletis*, «propertied»), unprejudiced and self-confident, already with her first husband, Clodius, she chose the most audacious bearer of hope of the counter-party, the Optimates, paid his debts—in those times, in order to make one's career an ambitioned prospective Roman politician had to borrow enormous amounts of money—reconciled him with Caesar, and brought him to become the spearhead of the Populares,

as tribune of the people. When Clodius was murdered, she instigated a people's revolt by exposing his defiled body—before repeating the same with the next one, Curio, who also was a bearer of hope of the counter-party, whose even greater debts Caesar paid (whom she probably indemnified with the plot of the old basilica Sempronia he used for his larger new basilica Iulia at the Forum), and helped also him to the office of people's tribune. He wasn't murdered, this time, only because he fled early enough, together with Antonius, to Caesar at the Rubicon; instead, he then died in the campaign in Africa. Now Fulvia married Antonius, who already stuck by Caesar but had gotten off the straight and narrow, and brought him back on track so that he became the right-hand man of Caesar. (How she managed it, has not been handed down explicitly, but it is easy to imagine. She would have paid Antonius' debts. Antonius, namely had bought up Pompeius' palace in Rome which had been put up for auction after his defeat. However, he was, to his great amazement, required by an angry Caesar to pay the full purchase price, as was everyone else, Plut. *Ant.* 10. He did, even if reluctantly. Suddenly he could. Which funds could he have used, when not the dowry Fulvia brought to the marriage they contracted at that time?) When Caesar, as once Clodius, was murdered, Fulvia repeated what she had accomplished with Clodius, and even more successfully by exposing his martyred body: She not only achieved a people's revolt, but also the expulsion of the murderers from the city. With her politics of amnesty she had saved the essential part of Caesar's legacy: the agricultural laws, the distribution of the latifundia to the veterans and proletarians, the new sowing of that small peasantry that had made Rome great and which was to sustain it for a few more centuries. When Antonius then joined the triumvirate, she tried to repeat with Octavianus what she had succeeded to do three times, by giving him her daughter Clodia as wife. This failed due to Octavianus' rejection of Fulvia's token of love. He repudiated her and sent the young girl back to her mother, untouched, in order to unimpededly wage war against the mother-in-law, to distribute the land only to his own veterans, in the process expropriating many blameless peasants, sometimes just to create new latifundia. Instead of standing by Fulvia, Antonius, who meanwhile stayed with Cleopatra in Egypt, let her down. Solely supported by Lucius, the brother of Antonius, she finally lost the war, fell ill and died soon thereafter. Antonius and Octavianus blamed her for the war, her memory was dammed, her offspring gradually liquidated by Octavianus—so that no descendant was left to commemorate or rehabilitate her. End of the passed down, known story.

But we now want to follow the blurred, yet not completely erased, traces and show that her behavior is only understandable within the Dionysian mystery religion and that therefore her legacy is nevertheless preserved—even if in a different, unexpected form: that of Christianity, which, against any expectation, we no doubt essentially owe to her.

⁹ Cf. the article «Liberalia Tu Accusas!» in this anthology.

¹⁰ Cf. Loisy (²1930).

¹¹ Wine and bread, appropriate for the Son of Venus because, as was said: *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus* – «without Ceres and Liber Venus feels cold», i. e. «without bread and wine love cools off» (Ter. *Eun.* 732). Libera, to whom the Liberalia were dedicated together with Liber, was at times also equated with Venus.

¹² STAUFFER (1957), p. 21: «The funeral ritual for Divus Iulius [is] a unique passion-liturgy [...]. For this celebration is one of the most essential events of New Testamentary contemporary history. There have always been lamenting rites for suffering and dying gods in the ancient Orient. But here these ideas of the Passion are connected to the violent death of a man of flesh and blood, and this man is the most audacious politician that antiquity has ever put forth. Here the political gospel of Caesar's clemency becomes a passion lament, but this passion lament becomes in turn an accusal and a message of judgement. What's more, 75 years before the death of Jesus, certain motifs are anticipated here, which later have a great history in the Good Friday liturgy of the

Roman mass».

- ¹³ Cf. the article «*Liberalia Tu Accusas!*», notes 85 to 88 and corresponding main text.
- ¹⁴ Suet. *Caes.* 84: [...] *et ad caput tropaeum cum veste, in qua fuerat occisus.* Quint. *inst.* 6.1.25–31: [...] *ut populum Romanum egit in furorem praetexta C. Caesaris praelata in funere cruenta.* Nic. Dam. 17.50: καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα εἶδεν ἡμαγμένην καὶ τὸ σῶμα νεοσφαγῆς [...].
- ¹⁵ Cf. the article «*Orpheos Bakkikos*» in this anthology.
- ¹⁶ Plut. *Brut.* 20.5.2: ὡσπερ ἐπὶ Κλωδίου τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ πρότερον.
- ¹⁷ App. *civ.* 2.21; Asc. *Mil.* 28.19, 35.21: *Perlatum est corpus Clodi ante primam noctis horam, infimaeque plebis et servorum maxima multitudo magno luctu corpus in atrio domus positum circumstetit. Augebat autem facti invidiam uxor Clodi Fulvia quae cum effusa lamentatione vulnera eius ostendebat. Maior postera die luce prima multitudo eiusdem generis confluit, compluresque noti homines visi sunt. [...] tribuni plebis accurrerunt: eisque hortantibus vulgus imperitum corpus nudum ac calcatum, sicut in lecto erat positum, ut vulnera videri possent in forum detulit et in rostris posuit. Populus [...] corpus P. Clodi in curiam intulit cremavitque subselliis et tribunalibus et mensis et codicibus librariorum; quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravit, et item Porcia basilica quae erat ei iuncta ambusta est.*
- ¹⁸ For the role of Fulvia with Caesar's funus cf. Babcock (1965), p. 21, n. 34.
- ¹⁹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.11.
- ²⁰ Caes. *civ.* 2.23–44.
- ²¹ For the *funus imaginarium* of Drusus cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.5, of Pertinax cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 75.4.3, of Septimius Severus cf. Herod. IV, 2. Cf. ARCE (1988) p. 51.
- ²² Suet. *Iul.* 84.1: *Funere indicto rogos extractus est in Martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum ueste, in qua fuerat occisus.* Quint. *inst.* 6.1.25–31: *ut populum Romanum egit in furorem praetexta C. Caesaris praelata in funere cruenta. Sciebatur interfectum eum, corpus denique ipsum impositum lecto erat, [at] uestis tamen illa sanguine madens ita repraesentavit imaginem sceleris ut non occisus esse Caesar sed tum maxime occidi uideretur.*
- ²³ App. *civ.* 2.147.612: Ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεπονημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὠφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνά τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι.
- ²⁴ Cf. «*Liberalia Tu accusas!*» ill. 1 and 2.
- ²⁵ Cf. Sueton and Quintilian, *supra*, note 22.
- ²⁶ This was what mattered, that all people could see all wounds, as can be observed in both accounts, the one about Clodius' and the one about Caesar's funeral, cf. App. *BC* 2.147.612, *supra* note.23; Asc. *Mil.* 28.19, 35.21: *vulgus imperitum corpus nudum ac calcatum, sicut in lecto erat positum, ut vulnera videri possent in forum detulit et in rostris posuit.*
- ²⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 82.3: *nec in tot vulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat.*
- ²⁸ Cf. marble relief of Amiternum, article «*Orpheos Bakkikos*» in this anthology, ill. 25a and 25b.
- ²⁹ App. *civ.* 2.147.612: [...] ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεπονημένον·
- ³⁰ Suet. *Iul.* 84: *lectum [...] repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt.*
- ³¹ Nic. Dam. *Bios Kaisaros* 26a.98: Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τάφον ἠϋτρέπιζον – «these were now preparing for his burial». Cf. also below, note 53.
- ³² Nic. Dam. *Bios Kaisaros* 17.48–50: ἐπισκήψειε δὲ καὶ Ἀντία τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ταφῆς

ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ὅπως τε ὁ ὄχλος βιασάμενος ἐν μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ αὐτὸν καύσειέ τε καὶ θάψειε·

³³ App. civ. 2.135.566–136.569, 2.143.598.

³⁴ Quintilian, v.s. note 22.

³⁵ The fact that, according to Nicolaus, Atia, the mother of the testamentarily adopted Octavianus, was commissioned with his funeral by Caesar—see note 32 above—indicates that Calpurnia was not. Apparently, the care for the burial resided with blood relatives. Cf. SCHMITTHENNER (1973) p. 35: «Perhaps the obligation was connected with a bequest in her [scil.: Atia's] favor to which a certain duty belonging to the funerary cult, which could only be exercised by a woman, was linked».

³⁶ Caesar's mother and daughter had died; Atia, the mother of Octavianus, although she was related was not a Iulia, her son only adopted by testament and absent, and she did not get around to doing it anyway; Calpurnia indeed was the wife, but also not a Iulia and childless, at least so it seems; Cleopatra, at that time in Rome also, admittedly was mother of a child of Caesar, but illegitimate and a foreigner. According to the account of Asconius, Fulvia, then the wife of Clodius, had not washed his body but laid it on the bier with all the wounds visible, thus naked and unwashed—*corpus nudum ac calcatum*—which was then carried to the forum and put on the rostra like that: Asc. Mil. 35.21: *tribuni plebis accurrerunt: eis que hortantibus vulgus imperitum corpus nudum ac calcatum, sicut in lecto erat positum, ut vulnera videri possent in forum detulit et in rostris posuit*. One can, therefore, assume that also in the case of Caesar the making of the wax figure simulating the body was more important to her than the washing of the body, which perhaps did not take place, as might be supposed from the hint of Nicolaus that Atia did not get a chance because the people forcibly forestalled her.

³⁷ App. civ. 2.143.599: ὁ Ἀντώνιος [...] ἡρημένος εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἷα ὑπατος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενῆς συγγενοῦς (ἦν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενῆς) [...] – «Antonius [...], as consul chosen to pronounce the eulogy for the consul, as friend for the friend, as relative for the relative (on the maternal side he was related to Caesar) [...]».

³⁸ Cic. Phil. 2.110: *Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius?* The sources do not mention this as reason for Antonius being commissioned with the *laudatio funebris*: formally it was sufficient that he was blood-related and, furthermore, consul, thus colleague of the deceased. However, in the funeral oration he will praise him as being of divine descent, and his deeds as miracles, repeatedly raising his hands towards heaven so that he acted as *flamen Divi Iulii* there already. The office of *flamen Divi Iulii* had been created after the model of the *flamen Dialis*, the high priest of Jupiter; with this one, however, the *flaminica*, the wife of the *flamen*, was so important that her husband lost his office when she died.

³⁹ She was a descendant of the Fulvii and the Gracchi at the same time, and as successive wife of Clodius, of Curio and of Antonius had advanced to being the most important champion of the *populares*.

⁴⁰ App. civ. 5.6.59; Plut. Ant. 30.5sq; Cass. Dio HR 48.28.3.

⁴¹ Cic. Phil. 2.11: *cuius [Clodii] quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domi tuae est quod fuit illorum utrique fatale*; 5.11: *mulier sibi feliciores quam viris*; 2.113: *Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx quam ego sine contumelia describo nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem*.

⁴² Cic. Phil. 1.31: *cum tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit!* – «when your little boy, sent to the Capitol by you, was a hostage of peace!»

⁴³ Cic. Phil. 2.90: *Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem* – «The peace we would have had, which was achieved by giving as hostage a noble child, the grandson of the Bambalio». Note the intended irony of this *puerum nobilem*, «noble child», in connection with *Bambalionis nepotem*, «grandson of the stammerer». In order for it to work at all

and sound derogatory, Cicero omits the gentilicium *Fulvius* in the name of *M. Fulvius Bambalio*, in fact one of the most noble names in Rome, since the *Fulvii*, ancestors of Fulvia, had been allies of the Gracchi, whose martyr's death for the cause of the peasants expropriated by the latifundists, they shared. Via her mother Sempronia, Fulvia was a descendant of the Gracchi as well, making her status and reputation untouchable. Cicero could only ironize about the *nobilitas* of Fulvia's son by not mentioning the name and instead alluding to the alleged stuttering of her father. An alleged stammerer, for in a speech against Cicero Quintus Fufius Calenus doubted that, cf. Cass. Dio 46.7.1: καὶ πόσω κρείττον ἦν καὶ σὲ Βαμβάλιονα γεγονέναι, εἰ γέ τις ὁ Βαμβάλιον οὗτός ἐστιν – «How much better would it have been for you, [Cicero], too, to become a Bambalio—provided such a Bambalio exists at all». Fulvia did certainly not stammer, after all she had inflicted a painful defeat on the great vain orator in the trial against the murderer of her first husband Clodius, Milo, whom Cicero defended: Cicero lost the trial, Milo had to go into exile—and died later in the civil war against Caesar (Asc. Mil. 35.20: *Vltimae testimonium dixerunt Sempronia, Tuditani filia, socrus P. Clodi, et uxor Fulvia, et fletu suo magnopere eos qui assistebant commoverunt*; Caes. Civ. 3.21: *Milonem [...] qui Clodio interfecto eo nomine erat damnatus*; 22: *Interim Milo [...] lapide ictus ex muro perit*).

⁴⁴ Fulvia married Antonius in 47 or 46, cf. Babcock (1965), p. 15. The first son from this marriage will therefore have been born not earlier than 46 or 45, and then on the Ides of March 44 have been at most two years of age, possibly only one.

⁴⁵ It was told about Antonius that already with Fulvia—the widow of the demagogue Clodius, whom he had married under pressure from Caesar, who thereby wanted to make him give up his reckless and debauched way of life, a woman, who did not have wool works and domestic economy in mind, who also was not content with dominating an ordinary man but wanted to lead a leading man and command a commandant—he had learned to submit to a woman's rule, for that, Cleopatra actually owed Fulvia an apprenticeship premium, since she got him in hand as a man who was already completely tamed and from the beginning had learned to obey women. Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 10.4–6: Ἔοικε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτερίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωτίας ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθήτως τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος. ἀπαλλαγείς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου γάμῳ προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδ' οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγούντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον, ὥστε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλβία τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρασίας ὀφείλειν, πάνυ χειροῦθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναικῶν παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν.

This did not constitute a disgrace to Caesar, after all, he once defended himself against the mockery that, as a woman, he could not conquer Gaul, by pointing to Semiramis, ruler over Syria, and to the Amazons, who once held a great part of Asia (Suet. *Iul.* 22.2). That this was not only a joke, but program, is testified by the sentence at the beginning of his commentaries on the said Gallic war, where he writes that the Belgians were the most fearsome among the Gauls because they were farthest away from culture, cult and humanity of the Roman Provence so that merchants hardly ever reached them, and they hardly imported all that which contributes to «make the soul feminine». Caes. *Gall.* 1.3: *horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important [...]*. It is, indeed, regularly translated with «effeminate the mind», but Caesar wrote and meant «to make the soul feminine», and in precisely that he saw a civilizing function—completely in the spirit of the Dionysian movement, to which apparently both, he as well as Fulvia, belonged, and where eventually Antonius also felt comfortable and became a better man (cf. Plut. *Ant.* 10.7sq).

⁴⁶ App. *civ.* 5.14.56; meanwhile a second son had been born, whom, notably, was given the first name

Iullus, an old cognomen with the Iulians. *Iullus* matched with the byname of the first son, *Antyllus*, which stood to *Antonius* like *Iullus* to *Iulius*: «little Antonius» and «little Iulius»— as if this child was from Caesar. Was *Iullus* so named only because the mother of Antonius was a *Iulia*, or also because he was sired around the time of the Ides of March resp. the *Liberalia* 44, and mystically named after Caesar? In any case, he was not murdered after Actium by Octavianus unlike his brother and *Kaisarion* but raised in Rome by Octavia. He was later forced to marry her daughter. Eventually, however, he, too, was executed by Octavianus, meanwhile Augustus, because of love to the latter's daughter *Iulia*, which was interpreted as treason.

⁴⁷ Cass. Dio *HR* 44.34.7. Cf. Plut. *Brut.* 19.3, *Ant.* 14.1. Lepidus, who had also given a child as hostage, simultaneously entertained Brutus. Fulvia evidently had enough influence to also induce the wife of Lepidus, who was out for immediate vengeance, (cf. Note 53), to give her child as hostage to the murderers.

⁴⁸ Oros. *hist.* 7.6.5: *illam praeclaram et famosam Atheniensium amnestiam, quam quidem Romae inducere Iulio Caesare interfecto senatus Cicerone suadente temptauerat, sed Antonio et Octavianiano propter ultionem extincti Caesaris inrumpentibus in irritum cesserat* – «that glorious and famous amnesty of the Athenians which, of course, the Senate in Rome tried to initiate upon the advice of Cicero after Caesar's murder, which, however, had remained futile because of the violent intervention of Antonius and Octavian, who strove for vengeance for the slain Caesar».

⁴⁹ Cass. Dio, cf. note 56.

⁵⁰ Cass. Dio *HR* 47.20.4.

⁵¹ Augustus had even prohibited the publication of the youth writings of his adoptive father Caesar, and had them removed from public libraries, amongst them «Praise of Hercules», the tragedy «Oedipus» and «Collected Aphorisms» (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 56), which thus all got lost to us—including the poems and speeches, some of which he even wrote during his captivity with the Cilician pirates (Plut. *Caes.* 2.4).

⁵² Oros. *hist.* 6.17.1: *Caesar Romam rediit: ubi dum Reipublicae statum contra exempla maiorum clementer instaurat, auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, conscio etiam plurimo senatu, in curia viginti et tribus vulneribus confossus interiit.*

⁵³ Oros. *hist.* 6.17.2: *duo Bruti et C. Cassius aliique socii strictis pugionibus in Capitolium secesserunt. diu deliberatum est, utrum Capitolium cum auctoribus caedis oporteret incendi.* Nic. Dam. *Bios Kais.* 27.106: «The supporters of Antonius, before undertaking anything, sent messengers in order to negotiate with those, who had gathered on the Capitoline, but later, emboldened by the amount of their arms and the number of their men, they felt justified in taking full charge of the government, and ending the disturbance in the city. First of all they convoked their friends and took council how they ought to act toward the assassins. Lepidus was of the opinion that they should immediately attack them and avenge Caesar. Hirtius in contrast proposed that they should discuss the matter with them and come to friendly terms. [Balbus] expressed the opposite opinion, saying that it would be sacrilegious to pass by the murder of Caesar unavenged, and furthermore, it would not be safe for all those who had been his friends, adding: «Even if the murderers are inactive for the moment, as soon as they manage to get more power, they will go much further!» Antonius agreed with Hirtius, and voted to save them. Some even advised that they be dismissed from the city under truce ... ». In this entire passage, Nicolaus casts Antonius and his friends in a negative light, therewith following the purport and tendency of the autobiography of Augustus, according to which Antonius had failed to take immediate vengeance, when the relative strength was advantageous for that from day one. A different judgment is given by SYME (1939) p. 97sq, who appreciates Antonius' politics of those days.

From our perspective, it should be noted that here the conspicuous $\delta\iota$, «some» returns, which, as we saw, conceals a name that one does not know or want to mention: that one must not mention?

And since it cannot be Antonius, who is mentioned by name in the same passage, and whom Nicolaus would have liked to pin that on also—as he already did in 17.50: «It was Antonius, too, who enabled the murderers of Caesar to escape safely from Rome to Antium»— if the proposal had come from him. And since οἱ cannot refer to Cicero either, who did not belong to the Caesarians but was still located on the Capitoline together with the murderers at this particular time, it can only have been Fulvia with her friends. Here is still called truce, what the next day in the Senate was to become *oblivio* resp. amnesty.

⁵⁴ Asc. Mil. 20.13–14: *Populus duce Sex. Clodio scriba corpus P. Clodi in curiam intulit cremavitque subselliis et tribunalibus et mensis et codicibus librariorum; quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravit, et item Porcia basilica quae erat ei iuncta ambusta est. [...] Incendium curiae maiorem aliquanto indignationem civitatis moverat quam interfectio Clodi. Itaque Milo, quem opinio fuerat ivisse in voluntarium exsilium, invidia adversariorum recreatus nocte ea redierat Romam qua incensa erat curia.*

⁵⁵ Whether their glorification of the dogged enemy of Caesar, Cato, was responsible for that should be examined.

⁵⁶ Cass. Dio HR 43.17.4–5: ὥστε θαρσούντως, ὦ πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶμεν, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὶ δαιμονίᾳ γεγονότων, ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς καινοὺς πολίτας φιλεῖν, ἴν' ὑμεῖς τε ὡς πρὸς πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τὴν τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς παίδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελῶμαι, πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα αἰεὶ γίγνεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων δὲ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται. – «Let us, therefore, Senators, remain united with confidence, forgetting all past events as if they had been brought to pass by a divine plan, and begin to love each other without suspicion as if we were new citizens. So that you will treat me as a father, enjoying my care and protection without fearing anything unpleasant, and I will take thought for you as for my children, praying that all your deeds may always be the best, and yet enduring perforce the limitations of human nature, rewarding the good citizens with fitting honors and correcting the rest as far as that may be possible»

⁵⁷ Ovid. *fast.* 3.733–4: *nomine ab auctoris ducunt libamina nomen libaque, quod sanctis pars datur inde focus; liba deo fiunt [...]*; Varr. *ling.* 6.14: *Liberalia dicta, quod per totum oppidum eo die sedent sacerdotes Liberi anus hedera coronatae cum libis et foculo pro emptore sacrificantes.*

⁵⁸ Ovid. *fast.* 1.128: *cui cum Ceriale sacerdos imponit libum farraque mixta sale.*

⁵⁹ Cic. *Balb.* 55.

⁶⁰ Cf. Coin of Antonius in the article *Liberalia Tu accusas!*, ill. 6.

⁶¹ For the ban on the Bacchanals cf. The Publius Clodius Bona Dea scandal further below in the article.

⁶² Serv. *eccl.* 5.29sq: *Hoc aperte ad Caesarem pertinet, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transtulisse Romam. <curru> pro <curru>. thiasos saltationes, choreas Liberi, id est Liberalia.*

⁶³ See further below.

⁶⁴ An attempt to demonstrate the affiliation of the young Caesar to a Dionysian milieu is made by: GIOVANNETTI, *La Religione di Cesare*, 1937, cf. BRUHL, *Liber Pater*, p. 126 and note 34.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Liberalia Tu accusas!*, note. 71 and 72.

⁶⁶ That Fulvia was capable of that—or at least considered capable—is testified by an anecdote circulated by an Augustan source that she later took Cicero's severed head on her lap, defiled and spat at it, then opened the mouth and pulled out the tongue in order to pierce it with her hairpins, making many gruesome jokes. Cf. Cass. Dio 47.8.4: ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε ἐκομίσθη σφίσι (φεύγων γὰρ καὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐσφάγη), [...] ἡ δὲ δὴ Φουλούια ἐς τε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθῆναι ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμπικραμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπύσσα ἐπὶ τε τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διανοίξασα τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξείλκυσε καὶ ταῖς βελόναις αἷς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρήτο

κατεκέντησε, πολλά ἄμα καὶ μιὰ ἀπροσεπισκώπτουσα.

⁶⁷ The cognomen Cinna was associated with Caesar anyway, for the famous old Cinna had been Caesar's first father-in-law and also the ally of Marius, Caesar's uncle.

⁶⁸ Plut. *Caes.* 68.

⁶⁹ Cf. the attempt of the believers reported by Egeria to bite off pieces of the Holy Cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem, which was, admittedly, intended to take away parts of the worshipped and desired relic but possibly still passes on traces of the old communion ritual: *Itinerarium Egeriae* (ca. 380 n. Chr.), *Pars secunda: De operatione singulis diebus in locis sanctis, Capitulum XXXVII (2): Cum ergo positum fuerit in mensa, episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet, diacones autem, qui in giro stant, custodent. Hoc autem propterea sic custoditur, quia consuetudo est, ut unus et unus omnis populus ueniens, tam fideles quam cathecumini, acclinantes se ad mensam osculentur sanctum lignum et pertranseant. Et quoniam nescio quando dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasse de sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus, qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne qui ueniens audeat denuo sic facere.*

⁷⁰ Mk 14:22-26, Mt 26:26-28, Lk 22:19-20, Paulus *Kor.* 11:23-26.

⁷¹ Jn 6:48-58.

⁷² Cf. Revelation speech of Isis, in: MERKELBACH (1995), p. 116, 118:

(21) ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὀσιριδος τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπαυσα. – «I have, together with my brother Osiris, put an end to anthropophagy».²

²Through the introduction of agriculture. Cf. the comic Athenion with Athenaios XIV 80 p. 660E-661D (Kaibel 3,461-3) = Kassel-Austin, *Poetae Comici* IV 13-16.

§ 217 Agriculture: She has taught men to grow grains, put an end to cannibalism, and is the bringer of law and custom, like Demeter θεσμοφόρος.

⁷³ App. *civ.* 2.122.509, 526sq, 570, 613. L. Cornelius (RE 107) Cinna, related to Caesar by marriage, had commended the assassins as tyrannicides on the forum, and taken off his vestment as praetor like the gift of a tyrant, which, however, he put on again the next morning to go to the Senate session in the temple of Tellus, whereupon he was stoned and chased with burning logs by Caesar's veterans. Helvius Cinna was mistaken with this Cinna and torn to pieces. Cornelius Cinna, however, got caught as well, and his head, too, was impaled on a spear and carried around Caesar's cremation site, cf. Suet. *Iul.* 85: *occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit*; Val. Max. 9.9.1: *ut caput Helvi perinde atque Corneli circa rogum Caesaris fixum iaculo ferret.*

⁷⁴ Cf. SIMON (1990), p. 44: «[...] Ceres, who [...] retained much of her earlier power dating back to matriarchal times. It can be compared with that of her Greek counterpart Demeter Thesmophoros [*<the bringer of laws>*]. [...] Ceres is [...] one of the few deities that was mentioned in the law of the XII tables dating from the 5th century BC. (Plinius, *nat. hist.* 18, 12 = Tafel VIII 9): Anyone who let field crops produced by others be grazed or cut at night had forfeited his life. Fallen under the vengeance of Ceres, he was hanged on a tree». So from ancient Roman perspective, the cattle-breeding, slave-holding latifundists, who expelled the farming free peasants precisely by letting their crops be grazed off by herds of cattle smuggled in at night, were subject to Ceres' wrath, especially since, as a result, there was more meat available for the rich, but less bread for the people. The partial dispossession of the big landowners, and the redistribution of the farm land to small colonists by the successive agrarian laws, from the Gracchi to Caesar, was in the spirit of the old-Roman order represented by Ceres. The agrarian question was not only a socio-political one, but first and foremost a religious one. The opposition of Fulvia against the exaggerated dispossessions and distributions of Octavianus, which destroyed peasantry and created new latifundists, naturally had to gain a religious dimension as well.

⁷⁵ Verg., *eccl.* 1.9; for the incidents—where the poet was almost slain—with the confiscation of the demesne of Virgil in Mantua because the March of Cremona was not sufficient, cf. SCHANZ, *Gesch.*

d. röm. Lit. II 1, p. 36sq. The country estate of Horace at Venusia was confiscated also (Hor. epist. 2.2.49sq), and the farm of Propertius, inherited from the father, was divided (Prop. *el.* 4.1.129sq). Propertius, as expropriated landowner, himself participated in the war against Octavianus. In two elegies he mourns the fate of a relative who as a captive was butchered and sacrificed by Octavianus' soldiers on the *arae Perusinae* (Prop. *el.* 1.21 u. 22). That the land expropriations of Octavianus led to a new latifundism and feudal conditions, is illustrated by the satire 2.2.112–115 of Horace, using the example of the countryman Ofellus, whom he got to know in his youth at Venusia as a propertied peasant. The assignations deprived him of his land, but the veterans of Octavianus reinstated Ofellus in derision into his old property as tenant. Nothing in the house and farm belongs to Ofellus anymore, he has to work his land for the new owner and pay lease rent to him. Cf. HINRICHS, *Ansiedlungsgesetze*, 1957, p. 261–279.

As SYME (1939) p. 208 emphasizes, the resistance against Octavianus was also the last rekindling of a *Bellum Italicum*, which, however, this time did not emanate from the wild tribes of the Apennine mountains, but from the most fertile and cultivated regions— Umbria, Etruria and the Sabine land—which, at that time, had been loyal to Rome but then had fought for the cause of Marius against Sulla. Now they experienced Octavianus as a new Sulla, who once again denied them justice and stole their liberty. Indeed, this time he even stole the land itself, the means of existence, from them. As the soul of the *populares*, Fulvia lent support to the Italic people, the Marians, and—as much as she represented the interests of Antonius' veterans, who wanted their own piece of land—the old-established and now, through no fault of their own, dispossessed peasants.

⁷⁶ In 1951 the Easter vigil was reintroduced into the Catholic liturgy; it had been forbidden by pope Urban VIII in 1642, allegedly because the young people at the Easter fire exchanged the Easter kiss, not always in a chaste manner; an unexpressed reason for the curtailment of the Easter week was, however, that precisely the Easter festivities gave cause for insurrection to the oppressed, see the Sicilian Vespers 1282—and they still do, see the Easter rebellion of the Irish in 1916 and the Easter marches, which are conducted until today.

⁷⁷ Except in former times, when people's revolts against alien occupiers broke out especially at Easter.

⁷⁸ See above, quote of Asconius, note 54.

⁷⁹ App. *civ.* 2.126.527, 2.147.614.

⁸⁰ Jh 19:25.

⁸¹ Mk 16:9–11; Mt 28:1; Jh 20:11–18.

⁸² Jh 20:1–10.

⁸³ Mk 15:40–41; Mt 27:56.

⁸⁴ Mk 15:47, 16:1–8; Mt 28:1–8.

⁸⁵ Cassius Dio, *HR* 47.19.2.

⁸⁶ Mk 16:9–11.

⁸⁷ Mk 16:9; Lk 8:2.

⁸⁸ Apc 16:16. Cf. BAUER, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 6. Auflage, Berlin/New York, 1988, s. v. Μαγαδάν, Μαγδαλά(ν), Μαγδαληνή, Μαγεδών, col. 983, as well as s. v. Ἀρμαγεδών (Ἄρ Μαγεδών), col. 215.

⁸⁹ V. s. n. 6. Velleius' choice of words—2.74: *Ex altera parte, uxor Antonii, Fulvia, nihil muliebri praeter corpus gerens, omnia armis tumultuque miscebat*—which in the negative form described her abbreviated as *arma gerens*, and once migrated into the gospel, might have led first to *Armagedôn*, and then by losing the separated *Ar*, via *Magedôn*, *Magadán*, *Magdalá(n)* to *Magdalene*—which then in the transposition made sense, even if another sense, because contrary from the other names a *Magdala* at Lake Gennezaret can be found.

⁹⁰ Th letters *N* and *Δ* are confusable in Greek writing: both consist of three strokes, with only the third one having a different ductus (*ΜΑΓΝΑΛΗΝΗ* > *ΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗ*). This can also be observed in other cases, e.g. in the transition from *Iunius* to *Iudas* (*ΙΥΝΙΥΣ* > *ΙΟΥΝΑΣ* > *ΙΟΥΔΑΣ*), cf. CAROTTA (1999).

⁹¹ CAROTTA (1999), p. 189–201, 243.

⁹² Cf. GENETTE (1982), LXII, p. 431: «Comme on vient de l’entrevoir à propos de la nationalité, le mouvement habituel de la transposition diégétique est un mouvement de translation (temporelle, géographique, sociale) proximisante: l’hypertexte transpose la diégèse de son hypotexte pour la rapprocher et l’actualiser aux yeux de son propre public. À cette dominante, je ne connais aucune exception». Cf. CAROTTA, F. (2007): «Die Evangelien als diegetische Transposition», in this volume.

⁹³ The most well known are: Q. *Caecilius* Metellus Celer, who opposed Caesar’s land legislation in 59 BC (he was unhappily married to Clodia, sister of Clodius); Q. *Caecilius* Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, whose daughter Cornelia married Pompeius after the death of Iulia, was co-consul in 52 BC (defeated at Pharsalos and again at Thapsos, he committed suicide); L. *Caecilius* Metellus, tribune of the people in 49 BC, unsuccessfully opposed Caesar’s loan for armaments from the Aerarium (in the temple of Saturnus); Publius *Clodius* Pulcher, (changed his name from Claudius to the plebeian Clodius for political reasons in 59 BC), the notorious tribune of the people who in 62 BC intruded into Caesar’s house during the feast of the *Bona Dea* in order to seduce Caesar’s wife (he was accused of sacrilege, charged by his friend Cicero but exonerated by Caesar and so was set free; from then on he opposed Cicero and supported Caesar); Appius *Claudius* Pulcher, brother of Clodius, father in law of Marcus Brutus, Censor 50 BC, then he was Proconsul in Greece as a follower of Pompeius (died before Pharsalos); M. *Claudius* Marcellus, Consul for 51 BC (accepted Caesar’s mercy 46 BC but was killed in Piraeus 45 BC); C. *Claudius* Marcellus, cousin of the previous, he was also an opponent of Caesar, although he was married to his grand-niece Octavia, Consul 50 BC: he proclaimed the state of emergency against Caesar without a decree from the Senate (changed sides to Caesar in 49 BC); C. *Claudius* Marcellus, cousin of both of the aforementioned, Consul 49 BC, together with L. *Lentulus* Crus: he declared Caesar’s soldiers enemies of the state and drove the tribune of the people Antonius out of the Senate (in 48 he was still an admiral of Pompeius’, died before Pharsalos); L. Cornelius *Lentulus* Crus (*Crus*, ‘leg’, was his nickname: *Lentulus* *Crus*, ‘lame leg’), in 61 BC he was the chief prosecutor of *Clodius*, Consul in 49 BC, together with C. *Claudius* Marcellus (see above). After Pharsalos he fled to Egypt with Pompeius, where he was arrested and killed.

It is known that in their *fescennini*, the old-Italic mocking and teasing verses which they sang during a triumphal procession and which often degenerated into coarse and unrestrained sprees, the legionaries did not even spare the triumphator, their imperator. By the way, this tradition lives on in our carnival processions and carnival speeches. If Caesar was mocked like that, as we know, it is easy to imagine how they will have sneered at the «blind» (*Caecilii*) who did not get a look in, and the «lame» (*Claudii*, *Lentuli*, *Crus*, etc.) who were made to get a move on! And since Caesar was looked upon as the therapist of the state (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 28.6, where monarchy was regarded as medicine for the sick state, whereby some meant Pompeius as wished-for dictator, but it was Caesar, who became it) he thereby became the «healer» of those «lame» and «blind» ones in the vernacular—like Jesus. It is a pity the biting irony got lost in the change.

⁹⁴ The ceremony called *Damia* had to take place during the first week of December with the participation of the vestal virgins at the wife of a magistrate *cum imperio* who himself had to leave the house. At the time of the event, Caesar already was *Praetor*, and as *Pontifex maximus* he lived in the venerable *domus publica* at the Forum. The secret ceremonies of the female deity who was associated with Faunus/Lupercus resp. Dionysos/Liber were said to occur at night also, with

wine, music and dancing as well as myrtle twigs playing an important role in them. Plutarchus says about them (*Caes.* 9): «Now the Romans have a goddess whom they call the Good one, the Greeks call her Gynaecia, i. e. the goddess of women; the Phrygians who claim her for themselves say she had been the wife of king Midas, whereas the Romans regard her as a nymph of the woods who united with Faunus, and the Greeks take her for that mother of Dionysos whom they dare not name. When, therefore, the women hold the festivity, they cover the tents with vine-twigs and lay a snake beside the goddess, according to the myth. While the holy mysteries of the goddess are celebrated, no man is allowed to attend, not even to stay inside the house. Completely apart, the women perform many actions during the divine service which are said to resemble those of the orphic mysteries. So when the time of the feast approaches, which must be celebrated in the house of a consul or praetor, the same and with him all male persons go out. The wife takes over the house and prepares everything for the ceremony. The most important acts are celebrated at night. Frolic and much music accompany the nightly goings».

⁹⁵ Cf. App. *BC* 2.14.52-4; Plut. *Caes.* 9-10 and *Cic.* 28-30; Suet. *Jul.* 6 and 74. According to Plutarchus, the beardless «beauty» dressed up as a female harp player and sneaked into Caesar's house with the help of one of Pompeia's lady's maids, but his voice betrayed him.

⁹⁶ Cf. Servius, *Ad Verg. Buc.* 5.29: *daphnis et armenias c. s. t. i. hoc aperte ad Caesarem pertinet, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transtulisse Romam. <curru> pro <curru>. thiasos saltationes, choreas Liberi, id est Liberalia.* As if on cue, Caesar's ultimate victory in Munda was to fall on the Liberalia: on the 17th of March.

⁹⁷ It is reported that amongst them were also the wives of Sulpicius, of Gabinius, of Crassus and even of Pompeius and last, but not least Servilia, the sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, and also her daughter Tertia. Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 50.

⁹⁸ As an office-holding magistrate—he was praetor in this year—Caesar was granted immunity. But if Clodius had been sentenced for sacrilege, Caesar—who had not persecuted him, although he was *pontifex maximus* and *praetor*, making him a *praefectus morum*, «arbiter of morals», twice over—would have found himself in a bad situation and certainly would have had to pay for his former vain attempt to defend the Catalinarians.

⁹⁹ Lucullus.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarchus narrates that Cicero was forced into it by his wife Terentia. She was jealous of Clodius' sister Clodia, called *quadrantaria*, «quarter-whore» (cheap whore). Cicero had a special relationship with her and had even promised to marry her.

¹⁰¹ This is less to be seen as a reprimand of Pompeia whom he backed with it, but as a side blow at his own mother Aurelia and sister Iulia who had accused Pompeia (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 74). This family quarrel could also explain the divorce. Differing from Suetonius—«Because members of my household [...]»—Plutarchus reports Caesar's answer as: «Because my wife should not only be free of guilt, but also of suspicion», but he adds that «only some believed that Caesar spoke seriously». Indeed, the quick-witted answer was taken to be an expression of the *ironia Caesaris*. Appianus and Dio Cassius do not mention this sentence.

¹⁰² In the case of a conviction, Clodius could have been whipped to death and Pompeia could have been either buried alive or thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

¹⁰³ Mk 2:1-12; Mt 9:1-8; Lk 5:17-26.

¹⁰⁴ Mk 2.1-12: Καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν· καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοὶ ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσενέγκαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ὅπου ἦν, καὶ ἐξορύξαντες χαλῶσι τὸν κρᾶβαττον ὅπου ὁ παραλυτικὸς κατέκειτο. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ· Τέκνον, ἀφίενται σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις

αὐτῶν. Τί οὕτως οὕτως λαλεῖ; βλασφημεῖ. τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἀμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός; καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λέγει αὐτοῖς. Τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; τί ἐστὶν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ. Ἀφιένται σου αἱ ἀμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν. Ἐγειρε καὶ ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει; ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἀμαρτίας— λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ. Σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. καὶ ἠγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, ὥστε ἐξίστασθαι πάντας καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντας ὅτι Οὕτως οὐδέποτε εἶδομεν.

¹⁰⁵ Lk 5:17: ἐκ πάσης κώμης [...].

¹⁰⁶ Cf. «comedy», from the Greek *kômôidia*, in fact «singing of a *kômos*, i. e. a festive parade, a banquet, revel, carousal, merry-making», cf. also Latin *comis*, «cheerful, affable, gracious, having good taste», as well as *comitas*, «cheerful mood, brightness, graciousness, good taste».

¹⁰⁷ *Logos* in the sense of a testimony is substantiated here. Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 10:8–9: μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθείς, οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γινώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατηγορὸς ἠρώτησε “πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;”. Because Caesar was praetor at this time, the presence of the term *legem dicere* in the Latin source used by Plutarchus has to be considered. This could have been used by Mark to change it to ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον: *logon* would then stand for *legem*.

¹⁰⁸ Mk 2:3: ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. Plut. *Caes.* 10: ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδυίας θεραπεινίδος.

¹⁰⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 74: in *Publium Clodium, Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caeremoniarum reum, testis citatus negavit se quicquam comperisse, quamvis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide rettulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem: «Quoniam», inquit, «meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere».*

¹¹⁰ Whereas we believe that the Evangelist tells us how to enter an Oriental house with an inside court (respectively a Roman Atrium house), namely via the roof, he seems, in reality, to conceal Caesar’s (respectively Jesus’) adulterous wife: Not the woman, but the roof is ripped open.

¹¹¹ App. *civ.* 2.14.52: ἔτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσεβείαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων.

¹¹² For «accused» Plutarchus says *egrapsato*, cf. Plut. *Cic.* 28: καὶ δίκην τις <τῶν δημάρχων> ἀσεβείας ἐγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

¹¹³ Note the following: instead of «go thy way», *peripatei*, some manuscripts have *hypage*, which not only means «lead away, take away, break away» (in a saving sense), it also means «accuse» and finally also to «entice (away), to win for oneself». It seems that in this polysemy we can also find the transition of Clodius to the man who saved him. The words of Jesus to the lame man also point to this transition: «Son» and the command: «Arise»—*egeire*, actually, «wake up, move».

¹¹⁴ Mk 1:40–45; Mt 8:1–4; Lk 5:12–16.

¹¹⁵ One could object that a «priest» is not a «High priest». Now, it is true that the Greek Gospel text we have received uses «priests» here, but the Vulgate has *principi sacerdotum*, «High priests», as expected. One has been surprised that Hieronymus, in his emendation of the *Vetus Latina* on the basis of Greek manuscripts, did not change *principi sacerdotum* to *sacerdoti*. (Hieronymus *De vir. inl.* 235: «*Novum Testamentum graecae fidei reddidi*»); he changed the text of his copy in 3500 places); (cf. *Vulgata*, Aland & Nestle, 181957). Here again, the reinterpretation of the Gospels as the *Vita Caesaris* gives us the solution to a heretofore unexplained peculiarity in the handing down of the texts: Hieronymus was not mistaken. He simply found «High priest(s)» in the Greek manuscripts—at least in some of them—that were still available in his time.

¹¹⁶ Particularly over the *mos maiorum*, the custom of the ancestors. Traditionalistic Romans regarded this as the constitution, and Caesar was repeatedly blamed for having broken it in order to introduce *novae res*, «new (i. e. revolutionary) things». As is known, this opposition of the new to

the old («It has been said by those of old, but I say unto you...») is typical of Jesus' message—where we find the *terminus technicus* «custom of the ancients», *mos maiorum*, as «Mose and the prophets» (via *praefectus morum?*) and in the generalization as the opposition implied in «New and Old Testament». It is striking that in ancient manuscripts Μωσῆς (Greek transcription—*Môses*) consistently appears, whereas modern text critics in a know-all manner correct it to Μωϋσῆς (Greek transcription—*Môysês*), supposedly in order to standardize the orthography (according to Aland & Nestle, sic!), as if they knew better and as if the spelling were irrelevant in just those texts. So they themselves partly destroy the painstaking listing of the handwritten variations by straightening out the orthography. For example, it is only noticeable in the facsimile that in the Vulgate manuscripts the town, corrected to and known as *Kapharnaum* respectively *Kapernaum/Capernaum* today, was originally written *Cafarnaum*, which allows us to recognize it as a miswriting of *Corfinium*. It must be stated: With the slogan that Aland-Nestle & Co. adopted: *Te totum applica ad textum: rem totam applica ad te* (J.A. Bengel) text critics only sometimes track down the old corrections that made things worse.

¹¹⁷ App. civ. 2.15.53: δημάρχους δὲ ἤρεϊτο Οὐατίνιον τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπίκλην, ὃν τινα αἰσχροὺς ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὃ μὲν Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐ κατέπειν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἐτέρου.

¹¹⁸ App. civ. 2.13.49: ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εἶλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐπὶ πενταετῆς ἄρχειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα. Und 14: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Jn. 9:2: «And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?» The association with the *leper* might originally have been caused by the end of this story—«he was out there in desolate places» (Mk. 1:45)—or by the beginning of the next—where one is «not in the room» or supposed to «remain outside the door». Also conceivable is a Latin source wherein Faunus as *Lupercus* and Dionysos as *Liber* were mentioned in connection with the Bona Dea. Two names that just would have to evoke the lection *lepros*. Or maybe another source in which the looks of the joking beauty *Pulcher* were characterized as *lepos*, *leporis*. The cognomen *Pulcher* could, as synonym of *lepidus*, also have been rendered with the Greek λεπτός, which under influence of the idea of defilement would have led to λεπρός.

¹²⁰ Mk 2.14–17: καὶ παράγων εἶδεν Λευὶν τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἄκολούθει μοι. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. Καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει; καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] Οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς.

¹²¹ Cf. i. a. App. civ. 2.13.47–49.

¹²² Cf. the Greek play on words of Augustus—that in the house of Herodes a swine lived less dangerously than a son (Herodes, who according to the Jewish law would have been supposed to abstain from pork, had both sons of his Jewish wife Mariamme executed)—is only a play on words if a υῖος oder υῖος oder υῖος for «son»—but not a υῖός—corresponds to the «swine» υῖς.

¹²³ «Porridge munchers», that is what the Romans were called as today the Italians are called «spaghetti munchers»: cf. the jocular *pultiphagus* in Plautus. This is still preserved today in the slightly altered form of *polentone*, «polenta muncher», an invective for northern Italians (*polenta*

comes from *puls*, pl. *pultes*, presumably via the accusative *pultem*, and is possibly related to the German *Fladen*, flat cake; the English *poultice* demonstrates the same etymology).

¹²⁴ *Alphaios* looks like a metathesis of *Pulcher* (via *Ulpher*—with aspiration dissimilation?). But we have seen above that in Appianus the name *Clodius* is followed by *Gallia*, *Cisalpinga* and *Ulterior*, of which Caesar became proconsul with the help of Clodius: *Galatia (h)ê tē entos Alpen kai (h)yper Alpeis*, «Gaul on this side and the other side of the Alps». Did the *Alps* become *Alphaeus*, did *Cisalpinga* become *(h)os (tou) Alphaiou*, «that of Alphaeus», i. e. «son of Alphaeus»? Did Mark find his inspiration for the translation of *Pulcher* as «son of Alphaeus» in the *Alps*?

¹²⁵ An uncertainty that, by the way, we find again in the listing of names in the calling of the apostles: For example in Mt. 10:3 Matthew is the publican, but the son of Alphaeus is Jacob, whereas Levi as the name of an apostle is not mentioned by any Evangelist.

¹²⁶ Augustinus *De adult. coniug.* 2.6: *Sed hoc videlicet infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicae fidei vel potius inimici verae fidei, credo, metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud, quod de adulterae indulgentia Dominus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis, quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit: <Iam deinceps noli peccare>, aut ideo non debuerit mulier a medico Deo illius peccati remissione sanari, ne offenderentur insani.*

The controversial passage that linguistically does not accord with John and appears in the wrong context was inserted there (7:53-8:11) in view of the verses 7:51 («Doth our law judge [any] man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?») and 8:15 («I judge no man»). But in the manuscripts of the so-called Ferrar group the pericope about the adulteress is located after Lk. 21:38 (following the passage about the poor widow—which shows parallels to Cato's marriage to a widow: see below).

¹²⁷ Joh 7:53–8:11: [[Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. ἄγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατελιμμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατελιπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη· ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις; τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον· καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα. ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Γύναι, ποῦ εἶσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, [καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε.]]

¹²⁸ Compare: «voting stones (pebbles)» *psēphos*, pronunciation *psiphos/lithos* «stone», ΨΗΦΟC / ΛΙΘΟC – resp. lat. *tessera / lithos*, TESSERA / ΛΙΘΟC.

¹²⁹ The condemning voting stones carried a C (*condemno*), the absolving ones an A (*absolvo*). Seeming difference: here the illegible signs are written by «the one stooping down with his finger», there they are written by the sentencing judges: stooping down with the finger, *katō kypsas tōi daktylōi* – *katapsēphisamenoi tōn dikastōn* means «the sentencing judges». Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 10: ἀποφεύγει δ' οὖν τὸ ἐγκλημα, τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένοι τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδόντων, ὅπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι, μήτ' ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις. Joh 8:6: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. bzw. Joh 8:8: καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. If the misspelling took place in the Greek tradition, one would have to compare, on the one hand *KATAΨΗΦΙCΑ(MENOI)* with *KATΩΚΥΨΑC* resp. *KATAΚΥΨΑC*, on the other hand *ΔΙΚΑΚΤΩΝ* with *ΔΑΚΤΥΛΩΙ* – or else, in the case of a direct misunderstanding of the Latin original copy: *KATΩΚΥΨΑC* with *ACCVSATORES* (*AC... TO >*

KATΩ; CVSA... RES > KYΨAC) resp. IVDICIO with DIGITO (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 74).

¹³⁰ Suet. *Iul.* 6: *In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit [...]; cum qua deinde diuortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio [...]; ibidem 74: [...] interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem [...];* Plut. *Caes.* 10: ὁ κατήγορος ἠρώτησε “πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;”.

¹³¹ Mt 19:7–9; cf. also Mt 5:31 sq; Mk 10:4–12; Lk 16:18.

¹³² Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 1: «At the age of sixteen he lost his father. In the following year he was nominated priest of Jupiter, he broke an engagement made for him while he was still a boy, to marry one Cossutia, who came from an equestrian family but was very rich. Instead he married Cornelia, daughter of that Cinna who had been Consul four times, and later she bore him a daughter named Julia. And under no circumstances would he allow Sulla to force him to divorce her». Plut. *Caes.* 5: «Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was first to do so when his own wife died. This also brought him much favor, and earned him the sympathies of the multitude, who looked upon him as a man of great tenderness and kindness of heart. After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain as quaestor [...]. When he returned from the province, he married Pompeia as his third wife, already having by Cornelia a daughter who later became the wife of Pompeius the Great».

¹³³ See above.

¹³⁴ Cf. Cicero's *Cato* and Caesar's *Anticato*. Cato's «leasing out» of his wife to the elderly Hortensius—who bequeathed her all his possessions—only to remarry her as a wealthy widow, played a major role in this polemic. Cf. Plut. *Cat. Mi.* 25; 52: εἰς ὃ δὴ μάλιστα λοιδορούμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ Κάτωνι φιλοπλουτίαν προφέρει καὶ μισθαρνίαν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ. τί γὰρ ἔδει παραχωρεῖν δεόμενον γυναικός, ἢ τί μὴ δεόμενον αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ δέλεαρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείθη τὸ γύναιον Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ νέαν ἔχρησεν ἵνα πλουσίαν ἀπολάβῃ;—«Caesar castigated this deal in the sharpest tone and accused Cato of having debased marriage out of disdainful avarice to a money transaction: <If he needed a wife, why should he give her to somebody else? And if he did not need one, what caused him to take her back? Did not he use the poor woman from the beginning just as a bait for Hortensius? He lent her out while she was young that he might take her back as a rich widow.>»

¹³⁵ Plut. *Cic.* 29: πολλὴ δ' ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὦν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος <ὁ> Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἦν Κουαδρανταρίαν ἐκάλου, ὅτι τῶν ἔραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβάλων εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε. τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδράντην Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλώδιος.

¹³⁶ Mk 12:41–4: Καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου ἐθεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· καὶ πολλοὶ πλούσιοι ἔβαλλον πολλὰ· καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶν κοδράντης· καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἢ πτωχὴ πλείον πάντων ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς.

¹³⁷ See above. On the level of the spelling it is striking that the second part of «halfquadrans two», *lepta dyo*, graphically almost completely resembles that of the name Clodia (*dyo/dia*), while the first parts both contain an «l», and furthermore a «p» for a «c», as is common between Latin and Greek (cf. *equus* and *hippos*, «horse»). If the text had normally said, without inversion, «two halfquadrans» *dyo lepta*, this would not have been the case.

¹³⁸ App. *civ.* 2.14.52–53.

¹³⁹ No correspondence in the Gospel is known of the death of Milo in 48 BC, either.

¹⁴⁰ App. *civ.* 2.14.53.

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- ¹⁴¹ Cicero relates that Antonius chased Clodius with the sword on the Forum, and this one narrowly escaped (Cic. *Phil.* 2.21, 2.49, *Mil.* 40sq).
- ¹⁴² The continuation of the quote that can be read on the open book—*Pax tibi Marce, Evangelista meus*, «Peace to thee, Mark, my Evangelist»—in fact an epitaph, reads: *Hic requiescet corpus tuum*, «here thy body shall rest». According to Venetian tradition these are the words that an angel spoke to Saint Mark during his visit in Venice; they serve as justification for the translation of the bones of Mark to Venice, which previously lay in Alexandria, where Marcus Antonius died and was buried. A DNA-analysis of the bones of Saint Mark remains to be done. The image of the winged lion with the book inscription has become the emblem and landmark of Venice.
- ¹⁴³ Crawford 494/2a, 42 BC.
- ¹⁴⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 80.5. After the death of Pompeius, Antonius had already bought his house, which was offered for sale by auction, Plut. *Ant.* 10.3.
- ¹⁴⁵ 987sqq, 1141sq, cf. article *Liberalia tu accusas!* note 72.
- ¹⁴⁶ For the interpretation of this minting cf. Article «*Liberalia Tu Accusas!*» in this volume, p. 82sq.
- ¹⁴⁷ For Fulvia, as one carrying arms, cf. Velleius, 2.74, Cass. Dio 48.10.4; for the espousal of the New Dionysus Marcus Antonius with Athena, Cass. Dio 48.39.2.
- ¹⁴⁸ Cf. F. CAROTTA, «Excursus: Aurora sul denario di L. Aemilius Buca coniato dopo la morte di Cesare.» In: «*Il Cesare incognito – Sulla postura del ritratto tuscolano di Giulio Cesare*», *NAC* 45, 2016, 129-179.
- ¹⁴⁹ For this denarius of the money master L. Aemilius Buca, cf. article «*Orpheos Bakkikos*» in this volume, note 63; for the interpretation of the central winged figure cf. note 64 and 65.
- ¹⁵⁰ Cf. CAROTTA (1999), p. 345sqq.
- ¹⁵¹ As evidence for the inability to love, in physical as well as affective respect, here only this shall be given: Fulvia's daughter, whom he had married at the formation of the triumvirate, he sent back to her mother almost three years later *intactam adhuc et virginem*, «still untouched and a virgin». Allegedly, she was *vixdum nubilis*, «hardly nubile» (Suet. *Aug.* 62.1), but after almost three years of marriage, she yet had grown so that «one thought that the young woman had remained a girl in his house so long a time for other reasons» (Cass. Dio *HR* 48.5.3). Among the reasons his friends gave, was also this gem that at an age, where young people most brim with sensual desire, he abstained from any sexual activity for quite a while in order to thus strengthen both his voice and his body (sic! Nic. Dam. *Bios Kaisar.* 15.36). In the course of this, he is said to have «manfully» rejected Fulvia herself, who allegedly made advances to him (Martial 11.20, v. i.). From the next wife, Scribonia, he got divorced, allegedly, as he wrote, *pertaesus morum perversitatem eius*, «weary of the perversion of her manners» (Suet. *Aug.* 62.2)—choosing for the divorce, of all days, the day on which she had born him a daughter (Cass. Dio *HR* 48.34.3). Apparently, he presumed that she had cuckolded him and the child was not his, for the next one, Livia, he married when she already was heavily pregnant; he did not get own children from Livia. The daughter of Scribonia, Iulia, he forced to marry whom he wanted, and to get divorced when he wanted in order to marry the next one whom he provided for her for his dynastic plans. When everything failed, and she desperately sought support from Iullus Antonius, Octavianus, allegedly all of a sudden surprised about her immoral way of living, had her deported to a lone island together with her mother, where she had to live in the most severe ascesis (Suet. *Aug.* 65.2–4), and Iullus Antonius he had executed. He also banished her daughter Iulia Agrippina, his granddaughter, for the same reasons and prohibited that she acknowledge and raise the child she gave birth to after her condemnation. He called them his boils and cancers (Suet. *Aug.* 65). He is said to have had amours with married women, however not out of lust, but to sound them out about their husbands (Suet. *Aug.* 69); fitting to this would be that his wife Livia sought out the concubines for him, and his friends took a close look at them beforehand. That his enemies blamed him to have prostituted himself in his

youth was part of the usual repertoire, however, he was also mocked on stage as an unnatural voluptuary and castrated Gallus of Cybele, to which the whole people agreed, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 68: *sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobavit versum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris deum tympanizante: videsne, ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?*

¹⁵² In the known epigram 11.20 Martial attributes to Augustus—whether true or feigned—these verses:

Caesaris Augusti lascivos, livide, versus

Sex lege, qui tristis verba latina legis:

'Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam

Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.

Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret

Pedicem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.

"Aut futue, aut pugnemus" ait. Quid, quod mihi vita

Carior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant!'

Absolvis lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,

Qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.

Attempt of a new, more accurate translation:

<Of Caesar Augustus read, you livid face, six lustful
verses, you who moodily reads Latin words:

<Because Antonius fucked Glaphyra, Fulvia set me
this punishment that I should fuck her, too.

And I shall now fuck Fulvia? What if Manius begged me
to engage in paederasty with him, should I do it? I think not, if I am wise.

<Either fuck, or there is war>, she says. What if my life is
dearer to me than even my prick? Blow the signal to battle!>

You, Augustus, certainly absolve the witty little books,
you who know how to speak like a Roman simpleton>.

Drumann (DRUMANN² 1.289) says about this: «No historiographer confirms that she [Fulvia] offered herself to Octavian in order to make him dependent and actuated a war among the Caesarians because of spurned love», but he adds: «Gardthausen, *Aug. u. s. Zt.* II 93, 27 considers the impure proposals of Fulvia as fact». That it cannot be a fact is answered for by Fulvia's impeccable conduct as a wife, who was accused of many things, but never something like that. With the invective we are clearly in the context of the Perusine war, the vulgar verses are as such not to be taken differently than the obscene slogans on the lead bullets. They obviously have the function of blanketing Fulvia's exasperation over the repudiation of her daughter by Octavianus, perhaps prompting in a coarse manner the obviously impotent husband to eventually fulfill his conjugal duties towards his wife, instead of getting rid of her so that the family bonds would no longer be a hindrance to the war that he wanted to wage. The *romana simplicitas* of the verses of Octavianus would then have probably been a disguise for ultimate mendacity, thus to be understood as irony on the poet's part.

For it is striking that in these alleged verses of his own, Augustus puts the supposed proposal of Fulvia to have sex with her on a level with a possible other one of her advisor Manius that he would prostitute himself to him. It is understood and translated the other way around, to be sure, but since the verb *paedicare* (from gr. παιδικός, «concerning the child», in turn from παῖς, «child») means «to engage in unnatural fornication, especially with boys», «paederasty, boy abuse», and it was Octavianus himself, who was generally called *puer*, «child, boy»—cf. note

143—the allusion was surely clear to the reader of the time. In any case, this Augustus does not seem to have seen the difference between sex with a woman and a man—by which the opprobrium actually turns against Octavianus himself. Indeed, because of the example made by Marius, Caesar’s uncle, who had not punished, but on the contrary lauded and decorated a legionary who had killed an officer who attempted to rape him (Plut. *Mar.* 14.3–5), homosexuality was scorned among the Caesarians. What finally made it absolutely detestable was the fact that the caesaricides, Brutus and Cassius, had a group of statues erected to themselves in Athens, following the example of the tyrannicides Aristogeiton and Harmodius (cf. Dio Cass. 47.20.4), a pederastic couple; regardless of whether or not Brutus and Cassius actually had such a relationship with each other, by identifying with their Greek model Caesar was symbolically murdered by a homosexual couple—that is, using the crude language of veterans—by faggots. Contrary to a widespread misconception which takes vituperation against him at face value, Caesar was not a homosexual, but very attached to women. This, by the way, corresponded to the Dionysian attitude, according to which men did occasionally dress up as women, but not out of homosexuality, but rather as a ritual playful acknowledgement and homage. Caesar was proud of being mocked as a woman and compared himself with Semiramis and the Amazons (cf. note 45), but he felt hurt about the verses of Catullus, who reproached him with homosexual relations with Mamurra, hurt so much that he was given great credit for nevertheless continuing to be on hospitable terms with Catullus’ father (Suet. *Iul.* 73): a proof that it was made up, for had it been true, a Caesar would have stood by it, at least it would not have offended him. This constant aversion against paederasty precisely as disparagement of woman was reflected in the myth, according to which Orpheus had no longer worshipped Dionysus after his return from Hades, but Helios-Apollo; for that reason the insulted god had him torn apart by his maenads and his limbs scattered—thus theology. As purely human motivation for the orgiastic deed, it was stated (thus first Phanokles), however, that Orpheus had provoked their anger because, after the loss of his spouse and the return from Hades, he had rejected all women and turned to paederasty (cf. ZIEGLER, K. in: *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. «Orpheus», Bd. 4, Sp. 355). The reasoning of the alleged Augustus in this poem is thus absolutely not Dionysian, practically Apollonian, at any rate only seemingly Caesarian because there is a lack of distinguishing ability bringing about an impossible amalgam of contrasts, his allround-chastity and manly refusal is actually a parody. This would rather indicate that the verses are not from Augustus but have been palmed off on him by Martialis—or the original he used—in order to ridicule him as notorious «Gallus» (cf. note 139). The *romana simplicitas* would then probably be meant by Martialis as an example not of «Roman plainness», but «Roman simple-mindedness»—thus our translation with «Roman simpleton».

¹⁵³ He was born in Rome in a region of the Palatine called *ad capita bubula*—«at the Ox-heads»—where later stood his *sacrarium* (Suet. *Aug.* 5). The ox was later joined by the donkey as second symbol-animal because he met one called *Nikon*, «victor», complete with donkey driver *Eutychos*, «bringer of good fortune», before the battle of Actium. He interpreted that as an omen of victory (Plut. *Ant.* 65). Both animals, ox and donkey, stand in the Christian manger, where traditionally among the sheep there is always a billy goat to be seen also, in memory of the Capricorn, which Augustus chose as his sign of the zodiac.

¹⁵⁴ Joh 3:35: «The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand»; 5:23: «He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him»; 17:10: «And all mine are thine, and thine [father] are mine», and others.

¹⁵⁵ Probably due to a shift: Originally, the childhood story of Octavianus, the new Caesar, was located after the story of the murder of the old Caesar, as with Cassius Dio, where it finds its chronologically correct place at the beginning of book 45 of his Roman History. With Nicolaus of Damascus’ biography of «Caesar», *Bios Kaisaros*, the perspective changes: He first narrates the

childhood story of the young «Caesar», as he already calls Octavius, who was later adopted by Caesar, then he narrates the events which led to the murder of the great Caesar, and then again continues with the story of the new «Caesar». Thus, the Caesar in the Caesar biography of Nicolaus is two persons, a deliberate amalgam of the great and the young Caesar, in order to lend the old grandeur to the new one and a new life to the old one. This amalgam is found again in the two synoptics Matthew and Luke, and one can ask oneself, whether they follow the scheme of Nicolaus, or whether it just arose as a result of technically regarding the end of the preceding gospel in the collection as the beginning of the subsequent one. Hence, Octavianus became the Christ child in the gospel. This was facilitated by the fact that Octavianus, because of his young age and generally by friend and foe, was called *puer*, child, boy, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 12, Cass. Dio 46.41.4.

¹⁵⁶ In Classical Greek the word «God» is grammatically common to both genders, θεός means both «God» and «Goddess» depending on the article: ὁ θεός, «the (masculine) God», ἡ θεός, «the (feminine) God»—therefore «the Goddess». As descendant of Venus, indeed as her son (cf. Servius note 184), Caesar thus was «Son of God» just as later Octavianus as *Divi filius*, Son of the God Caesar, and so quite confusable, especially if used *anarthrous*, without article, as υἱός θεού, for example in Mark 15.39 (cf. KIM 1998).

¹⁵⁷ Mk 9:39. Variant: «for he that is not against us is for us» (Lk. 9:50); see also Mt 12:30 and Lk 11:23.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. CAROTTA (1999), p. 91sqq.

¹⁵⁹ Both words, χρηστός und χριστός, were pronounced identically in the course of the itacism incipient from the 1st century and were accordingly often confused, as is known in the Christian manuscripts, also in the derived Latin forms, like e. g. *chrestiani* and *christiani*.

¹⁶⁰ App. *civ.* 2.135.563–564.

¹⁶¹ Caesar calls *optime meritis* the Centurio Crastinus, who in his probably most important battle, the one against Pompeius in Pharsalos, deliberately disregarding death and heroically fighting, thrust right through the face by a sword had fallen. Caes. *civ.* 3.99.2–3: *interfectus est etiam fortissime pugnans Crastinus, [...] gladio in os adversum coniecto. [...] sic enim Caesar existimabat eo proelio excellentissimam virtutem Crastini fuisse optimeque eum de se meritum iudicabat.* The inscription on the statue erected by Antonius—*Parenti optime merito*—alluded to that, for Caesar, too, had consciously accepted death—and found it. (In retrospect, the words of Caesar introducing Crastinus beforehand—Caes. *civ.* 3.91.1: *Erat Crastinus evocatus in exercitu Caesaris*—are eerily ominous, for *evocatus* does here signify the veteran soldier, who, when the fatherland was in danger, was again summoned to service. But it can also signify an awakened deceased, someone who is summoned from the netherworld, from the graves—just as Caesar manifested himself through his postumous victory over the murderers.)

¹⁶² On a *lex curiata*, cf. App. *civ.* 3.94.389sqq, Cass. Dio *HR* 45.5.2–4. At first probably only a matter of private law, cf. Cass. Dio, *HR* 45.5.1: «In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen [...]. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it».

¹⁶³ In the year 44, in his second Philippic, Cicero scoffs at Antonius, who, dedicated as *flamen* of *Divus Iulius*, did not inaugurate, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.110: *Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? Cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: conlegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es sive quod mortui!* Antonius inaugurated only at the peace treaty of Brundisium in the year 40, after the death of Fulvia, on the occasion of his marriage with Octavia, cf. Plut. *Ant.* 33: αὐτὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἱερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος. – «As a favor to Caesar [Octavianus], he [Antonius] let himself be appointed as priest of the elder Caesar».

¹⁶⁴ Cass. Dio HR 44.6.4: καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ <τ'> Ἐπεικεία αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.

¹⁶⁵ Octavianus Augustus himself stated precisely this as inducement and cause of all the wars that he considered nothing more appropriate than to avenge the murder of his great-uncle—and adoptive father—and to defend his official acts, cf. Suet. Aug. 10: *omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta*. Since the *acta Caesaris*, however, had been preserved already and precisely by means of the amnesty, the inducement and cause of all the wars was mainly blood vendetta.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. note 53.

¹⁶⁷ App. civ. 4.8.32–33.

¹⁶⁸ ILLRP 1116 = CIL II, 6721.26: L·XI / Divom / Iulium.



ZANGEMEISTER (1885) thinks, a [*ulciscamur*] *Divom Iulium*, «[we want to avenge] the Divus Iulius» should be substituted mentally. WEINSTOCK (1971) p. 41 note 3, takes the view that Octavianus fought in the name of the new god. CLAUSS (1999) p. 61 assumes a *peto*, which also appeared on other acorn-shaped bullets from Perugia: [*peto*] *Divom Iulium*, «[I seek, aim at, hit] the state god Iulius»; the soldiers of Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, would have written this on the bullets and meant Octavianus with it.

What appears difficult with this suggestive thought is that Octavianus was not himself *Divus Iulius*, but *Divi filius*, that according to Zangemeister and Weinstock the XIth legion fought on the side of Octavianus and that on the back side of the same lead bullet a bolt is depicted, which was often used by Octavianus—on other bullets with the inscription *Caesar* that unambiguously are directed against Fulvia (ZANGEMEISTER p. 55, n. 56 = CIL I n. 1507: [*fulmen*] / *pet[o]* / [*la*]ndicam / *Fulviae*), as well as on coins—and might derive from the identification of *Divus Iulius* with Iupiter, cf. Cass. Dio HR 44.6.4: καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, «and eventually they really called him Zeus (Iupiter) Iulius»—equating lat. *Divom*, accusative of *Divus* with gr. *Día*, accusative of *Zeus*.

The mental addition of *peto* could nevertheless be correct because it also means «to seek, demand», and [*peto*] *Divom Iulium* then means «[I demand] the Divus Iulius», i. e. his recognition as state god—which was the main demand of Octavianus so that he could officially become the son of the state god, that is to say, himself, as a living person, have god status. Apparently Fulvia begrudged him that, even though he was her son-in-law.

So, while his soldiers wrote kind remarks on the bullets aimed at Fulvia indicating which body parts they wished to hit, like for example (ZANGEMEISTER, *loc. cit.* 52): *Fulviae [la]ndicam peto*, «on Fulvia's clit», to which those of Fulvia responded with (58) *pet[o] Octavia[ni] culum*, «in the ass of Octavianus», he would have liked to bring the debate to another level by giving the word *peto* another meaning, completely statesmanlike and completely chaste. On the level of the sexual attacks he apparently lost, for innuendos like (60) [*s*]alv[e] *Octavi fela[n]s*, «all hail, Octavius, you cocksucker», resp. (62) with a depicted erected phallus and the invitation *sede Octavi laxe*, «sit on it, Octavius, with your saggy asshole» – were answered, e. g. (65) with *L. A[ntoni] calve [et] Fulvia, culum pan[dite]*, «Lucius Antonius baldhead and Fulvia, open your asses», but to the

address «Octavius», which doubted the adoption by Caesar, Octavianus responded by in contrast having *Caesar* or *Caesar Imp.* written beside the bolt (63, 66).

Although the question of which was the throwing and which was the thrown at side can only be clarified, when it is certain on which side the Legio XI fought and where exactly the bullets were found, it is undisputed that opinions differed about *Divus Iulius*, that one threw him at one another's head, and with dead-certain arguments to boot: as lead sling bullet. That after the won war, on the Ides of March, Octavianus had 300 people of gentility slaughtered as human sacrifices on the altar of *Divus Iulius*, makes it clear that that inscription was not an empty word, but the doctrine of a religious war.

¹⁶⁹—and perhaps should make one think, whether precisely the obscenities have a religious aspect, considering that sexuality, and a rustic one, was part and parcel of the Dionysus rites, with phallus processions, disguising of men as women, and unbridled maenadism of women, while in the competing one of Cybele, the self-castration of the Attis-emulating Galli was central.

¹⁷⁰The news of her death reached Antonius in Southern Italy. Thereupon he is said to have regretted having treated her in such a manner. This did not prevent him, however, from reconciling himself with Octavianus, marrying his sister and, not least, inaugurating as *flamen Divi Iulii* after all—i. e. bearing co-responsibility for the massacre at the *arae Perusinae* after the fact.

¹⁷¹It is striking that both authors who report on the *arae Perusinae*, Suetonius and Cassius Dio, do so indirectly—Suet. *Aug.* 15.2: «some account»; Cass. Dio 48.14.4: «as lore at least has it»—as if it had been a tabooed topic.

¹⁷²Plut. *Ant.* 33, cf. note 151.

¹⁷³That really *parens* and not *pater* was written there, is evinced by the inscription on the statue that was erected by the people at the cremation site, cf. Suet. *Iul.* 85: *parenti patriae*, s. note 179. Cicero, among others, had been called *pater patriae* because of the execution without trial of the alleged supporters of Catilina that Caesar had attempted to prevent. Obviously, one wanted to demonstratively distance oneself from this with the inscription for Caesar. Augustus, in contrast, will later adopt the title *pater patriae*, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 58.

¹⁷⁴Cass. Dio *HR* 48.14.4; 45.6.3.

¹⁷⁵Cass. Dio *HR* 45.6.3–4.

¹⁷⁶Suet. *Aug.* 10.2: *in locum tr. pl. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit.*

¹⁷⁷Suet. *Aug.* 15.2; Cassius Dio *HR* 48.14.4. The capitulation of Lucius Antonius in Perugia occurred at the end of February 40 BC. Octavianus obviously conceived that war as an act of vengeance for the murder of Caesar (cf. *CIL* 1¹, 686; 697) to which he, as the son, was obliged through the *pietas* toward the father; the elevation of that father to godhead gave the *vindicta* a stately-sacred status and then had to demand a particularly high blood toll.

¹⁷⁸Suet. *Aug.* 10; Nic. Dam. *Bios Kaisar.* 15.34.

¹⁷⁹App. *civ.* 3.31.121.

¹⁸⁰See above note 45.

¹⁸¹On July 13. Later the celebration of Caesar's birthday was preponed by the triumviri to the 12th so that it would not coincide with the feast day of the god Apollo.

¹⁸²Plut. *Ant.* 24.

¹⁸³Cf. coin ill. 4 through 6 in the article «Liberalia Tu Accusas!».

¹⁸⁴Suet. *Caes.* 84.2: *inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacuvi Armorum iudicio: 'men seruasse, ut essent qui me perderent?' et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam.*

¹⁸⁵Suet. *Caes.* 88; Plin. *nat.* 2.94.

¹⁸⁶Suet. *Aug.* 94.

¹⁸⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 70: *Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo δωδεκάθεος vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum [...] auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur.*

¹⁸⁸ Diod. 3.64.1–2, 73.5–6, 4.2.5, 4.1–2; Tib. 1.7.29sq; Plut. *Is.* 13.356 AB.

Towards Ceres, Augustus had an ambivalent relationship. For although he had let himself be initiated into the Eleusis-mysteries, and after the fire of 31 B.C., to which many temples had fallen victim, also ordered the one of Ceres to be rebuilt, he obviously let the work proceed sluggishly since it was only completed under his successor Tiberius. Cf. *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 20.4, *Tac. ann.* 2.49.1. This means that he left the Roman plebs more than 40 years without their main sanctuary, whereas the one of Cybele on the Palatine, burnt in 3 BC, he had rebuilt immediately. This one he enhanced in status by building his house and his temple to Apollo beside it. Cybele, the aristocratic alternative to Ceres, fetched from Asia Minor to Rome at the time of the threat by Hannibal, as lady of the Ida mountains in the Troas was regarded with the Romans, who considered themselves descendants of the Trojans via Aeneas, not as alien, and Augustus himself, as adopted Iulius, regarded her as tutelary goddess. On the *Gemma Augustea*, the large sardonyx cameo in Vienna, Cybele puts an oak wreath on the head of Augustus, on another one from the same collection Livia is depicted with the attributes of Cybele. Her cult he controlled directly, after all she had been brought to Rome at the behest of the Sibylline Books, which were guarded and consulted by the priests of Apollo—different from the cult of Ceres, which was in the hands of the plebs and their tribunes. Personally, too, it had to appeal more to him than the phallic processions at the Liberalia because she was considered as the keeper of chastity, for her fanatical supporters, by means of music, howling, dancing and flagellation, would work themselves up into a trance up to self-castration, like Attis in the Cybele myth. If he was mocked on stage in Rome as unnatural voluptuary and castrated Gallus, to which the whole people acclaimed (Suet. *Aug.* 68), then it was an innuendo that he promoted the cult fitting to him. The cult of Cybele was especially cultivated by the *gens Claudia* because, according to legend, it had been a Claudia Quinta, who, accused of unchastity, refloated by her own strength the ship carrying Cybele to Rome that had run aground in the Tiber estuary—which was deemed proof that she was chaste. And it was to be a Claudius who as emperor introduced a new two-week feast for the Attis-Cybele cult in Rome, which, lo and behold, began on Ides of March. The initiation ceremonies with the auto-castration of the entering Galli took place in the *Phrygianum*, the sanctuary that Cybele and Attis had in the Vatican (cf. GRAILLOT 1912, p. 147), at the place, where coincidentally even today sit the rigid advocates of the priests' celibacy and chastity, this mental castration of Augustan-Claudian origin.

¹⁸⁹ *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 5: *Iuravit in mea ver[ba] tota Italia sponte sua, et me be[lli], quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem ver[ba provi]nciae Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardinia.*

¹⁹⁰ Among others Herodot, *Historiae*, 2.42.2, 144.2.

¹⁹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 17.5: *item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare patre Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit.* It was said that Augustus decided to murder the bodily son of Caesar and Cleopatra, Kaisarion, due to the wordplay of Areios οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαριή—«a multitude of Caesars is no good thing» (Plut. *Ant.* 81), a paraphrase of the one of Odysseus οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη—«a multitude of rulers is no good thing» (Hom. *Ilias* 2.204).

¹⁹² Death of Antyllus: Suet. *Aug.* 17.5: *Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit.* Plut. *Ant.* 81, 87. Caesar's cremation site as place of asylum: Suet. *Caes.* 85.

- ¹⁹³ Suet. *Iul.* 85: [plebs ...] *postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit <in>scripsitque parenti patriae. apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.*
- ¹⁹⁴ After the fall of Perugia, Livia fled from Octavianus' vengeance with the two-year-old Tiberius at her hand and pregnant, at first together with her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, who then, like Fulvia, let her be brought to Greece to Antonius, who came from Egypt. Back in Italy and well advanced in pregnancy, Octavianus married her, and to this end demanded her divorce from her husband. Suet. *Tib.* 4.1sq, 6.1; Tac. *ann.* 5.1; Cass. Dio 48.15.3, 48.44.1; Vell. 2.75.1sq, 2.76.1.
- ¹⁹⁵ Just as the Gospel of Mark carries its name after Marcus Antonius, likewise the one of Matthew possibly carries the name of Gaius Matius, from whose letter to Cicero, the mental attitude that would lead to the Gospel becomes apparent already. Cic. *fam.* 11.27, 11.30.
- ¹⁹⁶ Cf. Clauss (2001) p. 420sq.
- ¹⁹⁷ Mk 15:39: Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευσεν εἶπεν, Ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν. – «And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that he so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God». Luke, though later than Mark, seems to have preserved an older version with his «righteous man» instead of «Son of God», Lk 23:47: Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης τὸ γενόμενον ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεὸν λέγων, Ὅντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν. – «Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man». κεντυρίων might not have meant a person in the original copy of Mark, but the *centuriae*, i. e. the people's assembly, in front of which Antonius read Caesar's last will and testament which showed clearly that Caesar bequeathed great gifts to the people and thus was not considered a tyrant, but a patriot:
Cf. App. *civ.* 2.143.596sq: Διαθῆκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὤφθησαν φερόμεναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατρίδος Ὀκτάουιος, τῷ δὴμῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὄντων ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα Ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο αὐθις ἐς ὄργην ὁ δῆμος, τυράννου μὲν κατηγορίας προπεπυσμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἀνδρὸς ὀρώντες.
Since in the same will Caesar adopted the grandson of his sister, Octavius, this explains that an amalgam has occurred with the later *lex curiata*, by which the adoption was accepted by the people's assembly. That it was a *lex curiata* and not *centuriata*, did not disturb the vocabulary, for in practice the *comitia centuriata* had meanwhile largely replaced the *curiata*. (By the Greeks they were often confused anyway and sometimes both called ἐκκλησία, likewise *curia* and *centuria* were often both called λόχος and φυλή), cf. MAGIE (1905) p. 54, 56, 57.
More about that in EICKENBERG, A. (2013), *Die sechste Stunde – Synopsen zum historischen Ursprung der Wunder und Naturkatastrophen in der Passion Christi*. Kiel.
- ¹⁹⁸ Actually Caesar was regarded as descendant of Venus—*Venere prognatus* (Cic. *fam.* 8.15.2.14)—however, this was abridged and Venus simply called his mother, cf. Serv. *ecl.* 5.23: [...] *si de Gaio Caesare dictum est, multi per matrem Venerem accipiunt.*
- ¹⁹⁹ The Samian rhetor Theodotos, the teacher of the thirteen-year-old king Ptolemaios, who demanded the head of Pompeius, who had fled to Egypt. This anecdote was transposed in the Gospel into the one about the end of the baptist. Cf. CAROTTA (1999), p. 267–270.
- ²⁰⁰ Cf. GENETTE (1982) XII p. 83: «Mais comme toute actualisation, celle-ci ne peut être que momentanée et transitoire. Après quelques décennies, le travestissement perd son actualité, et donc son efficacité : il s'enfonce à son tour dans la distance historique, et au contraire du texte original qui se maintient et se perpétue dans sa distance même, il se périmé pour s'être voulu, et pour avoir été, dans le goût et dans la manière d'un jour. Le travestissement est par nature une

denrée périssable, qui ne peut survivre à son temps, et qui doit être constamment *réactualisé*, c'est-à-dire en fait remplacé par une actualisation plus actuelle».

The disguise that the apokryphal gospels constitute, in fact, survived only a few decades respectively. If the canonical ones survived longer—for two millennia by now—it is because they were closer to the original story of Caesar, of which they provided the first transposed rewriting, i. e. the written form of a local reading of a preexisting and underlaid universal text. But, although its half-life period is therefore much longer, the biological clock is ticking for the canonical scripture as well, simply because it is not an original, but the first transposition. Its hypotext however, if it is the real one, and not a fantasized-for pseudo-hypotext, can provide the invigorating source for the hypertext, as a consequence prolonging its life and perhaps ensuring its survival.