

MARCUS AURELIUS AND RELIGION

C. MOTSCHMANN: *Die Religionspolitik Marc Aurels. (Hermes Einzelschriften 88.)* Pp. 296. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. Paper, €74. ISBN: 3-515-08166-6.

In the 'Forschungsüberblick' of this Berlin dissertation (presented in 2000), Motschmann justifiably notes that his subject has not previously been treated in a monograph. He has five main chapters, each with subheadings: Chapter 1, 'Introduction' (pp. 11–32); Chapter 2, 'Roman Religiosity, Philosophical Worship—A Contradiction?' (pp. 33–69); Chapter 3, 'Religious Policy and Legitimation of Rule' (pp. 70–102); Chapter 4, 'Religion as an Instrument to Overcome Crises' (pp. 103–204); and Chapter 5, 'M. Aurelius and the Monotheistic Religions' (pp. 205–71). These are followed by Chapter 6, 'Conclusion' (pp. 272–4), a bibliography (pp. 275–84) and indexes (pp. 285–96). Chapters 2 and 3 each have a summary, while Chapters 4 and 5 have several intermediate ones. The 864 footnotes refer to most modern works according to the 'Harvard system'. By mishap, a few are missing from the bibliography: Maier (1985), p. 12 n. 4; Jobst (1978), p. 126 n. 374 and p. 140–1; Workman (1906), p. 222 n. 692. Among items that M. does not cite, one may mention: K. Rosen, 'Marc Aurel und die Christliche Apokalyptik (*HA*, v. *Marci* 13.6)', in *Charistion C.P.T. Naudé* (Pretoria, 1993), pp. 73–86; H. Wolff, *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 32 (1990), 9–29 and id., in H. Friesinger *et al.* (edd.), *Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen* (Brno, 1994), pp. 73–83, arguing in support of Dio's date for the Rain Miracle, A.D. 174; the valuable discussions of martyr acts by J. Bremer and J. den Boeft, *Vig. Christ.* 35 (1981), 36 (1982), 39 (1985), 45 (1991); G. Buschmann, *Martyrium Polycarpi. Eine formkritische Studie* (Berlin and New York, 1994) and his commentary, *Das Martyrium des Polykarp* (Göttingen, 1998)—M. cites only that scholar's article in *Vig. Christ.* 49 (1995), 105–45. L. Aelius Caesar is misnamed Aelius 'Verus' (pp. 49–50 and index). M. claims that no senator is attested as a Mithraist before the fourth century (p. 87 n. 246); but cf. M. Valerius Maximianus, as *leg. Aug. (leg. XIII Gem.) (CIL III 1122, Apulum)*, c. 180–2, and id. (*AE* 1915, 28 and 1955, 79, Lambaesis) as *leg. leg. III Aug.* a year or two later (texts cited on p. 169 n. 507)—yet Maximianus is indexed as 'Isisanhänger'. It is odd after the appearance of the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* to call the *SC de sumptibus gladiatoris minuendis* 'the first publication of a complete senatorial protocol', p. 257 n. 824.

In Chapter 2, M. outlines Marcus' religious beliefs and practice, concluding that his monotheism did not involve any 'Gegensatz' to the state religion's polytheism. In Chapter 3 he stresses that as Marcus was *pontifex maximus* while Verus was only *pontifex*, this gave him a 'religiöse Alleinherrschaft'; then tackles emperor worship, the cult of the *divi* under Marcus, and the 'Propagierung' of Commodus as successor. In Chapter 4, the most substantial part of the work, there is detailed discussion of the *lectisternia* of A.D. 167, the cult of Serapis, the Rain Miracle, the 'laws on religion' (*Dig.* 48.19.30; *Sent. Pauli* 5.21.1–2; *Dig.* 48.13.4.2; *Coll. Mos. et Rom.* 15.2.5), and measures to deal with religious 'Unruhe'. Chapter 5 begins with a valuable short discussion of Marcus and the Jews, then concentrates on the Christians (already mentioned several times in connection with the Rain Miracle, Peregrinus Proteus, and Alexander of Abonuteichus). On pp. 223ff., M. favours Eusebius' date for Polycarp's martyrdom, under Marcus, *HE* 4.15.1, specified as A.D. 167 in the *Chron.*, which M. modifies to 166. He seems not to appreciate sufficiently Eusebius' confusion over the Antonines and his *idée fixe* that persecutions only happened under certain bad emperors. For

Eusebius, the persecutor is 'Antoninus Verus', the 'pro-Christian' emperor who allegedly credited Christian soldiers with the Rain Miracle the latter's brother, 'Marcus Aurelius Caesar': see T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), pp. 137, 141–2. At least one martyrdom happened under Pius (Ptolemaeus and Lucius, sentenced at Rome by the urban prefect Lollius Urbicus, *HE* 4.17). Why not Polycarp too? The date under Pius preferred by many depends on the identity of the proconsul, named in the *Mart. Polycarpi*, but not by Eusebius, as Stadius Quadratus, who must be the *cos. ord.* 142, attested epigraphically and by Aelius Aristides. M. postulates an otherwise unknown Quadratus, not called Stadius; but the list for A.D. 160/1–166/7 seems to be complete (six or seven names, but no Quadratus), as M. could have seen by consulting B. E. Thomasson, *Lateralculi praesidium* I (Göteborg, 1984), pp. 229–30 or R. Syme, *Roman Papers* 4 (1988), 338–9. Buschmann (op. cit.) favours the earlier date for both Polycarp and the outbreak of Montanism—which M. (p. 166) puts 'about 170', citing Jerome, *De viris ill.* 40, 53, for Tertullian writing a refutation of Apollonius' anti-Montanist work, itself written 'forty years after Montanus first appeared' (Eus. *HE* 5.18.12). This presupposes that Apollonius wrote shortly before Tertullian, sc. c. A.D. 210. But it might have taken some time before Tertullian saw a copy; Apollonius could have written in the 190s. Questions of date aside, M. presents a useful discussion, and goes on to deal at length with Justin and Lyon (p. 245 he evidently accepts the late tradition that there were 48 martyrs, overlooking G. W. Bowersock's demonstration, in *Les martyrs de Lyon* [Paris, 1978], pp. 249–54, which is in his bibliography, that the extra names not in Eusebius were invented). He seems to favour the theory of J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 320–49 (often dismissed), that the 'new decrees' against which Melito of Sardis protested (Eus. *HE* 4.26.5) were connected with the *SC de sumptibus gladiatoris minuendis*, and that this *SC* also contributed to the Lyon pogrom. Chapter 5 ends with a sensible discussion of Marcus, *Med.* 11.3, on the Christians. All in all, there is much of interest for historians of religion here.

Vindolanda Museum

A. R. BIRLEY

EPIGRAPHY AND THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

B. PUECH: *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*. Preface by L. Pernot. (Textes et Traditions 4.) Pp. xiv + 588, maps. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2002. Paper €46.50. ISBN: 2-7116-1573-1.

If we had no Philostratus, would we have a Second Sophistic? We would certainly not have the name, and some scholars have thought the whole concept either illusory, or at best a 'bubble'. In this question, the material remains have played a large part; indeed, archaeologists in the broad sense, e.g. Rudolf Münsterberg in numismatics and Josef Keil in epigraphy and iconography, kept the subject alive before it was resuscitated in the 1960s with Glen Bowersock's fundamental study, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*.

Bernadette Puech begins with a tribute to that book, and her own is in a sense a study of the ways in which epigraphy illuminates not only the Second Sophistic, but

The Classical Review vol. 54 no. 2 © The Classical Association 2004; all rights reserved