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Chapter 1

CARTHAGE AND THE VANDALS*

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In 534 the Emperor Justinian I published an edict on the Praetorian Prefecture of Africa, which had recently come under Eastern Roman control. He looked back on the century which preceded his proclamation:¹

"Before all things [is] this, which now Almighty God has deigned to indicate through us on behalf of his praise and name; this has exceeded all miraculous works which occurred in the present age: that Africa should recover her freedom through us in so short a time, having been captured by the Vandals one hundred and five years ago—Vandals who were at once enemies of souls and bodies."

*I have used the following abbreviations:

- AL* F. Bücheler, A. Riese and E. Lommatzsch (ed.), *Anthologia latina sive poesis latinae supplementum* (2 vols.; 2nd ed. of Vol. I; Leipzig 1894-1926; repr. Amsterdam 1972-73), I:1: *Libri salmasiani aliorumque carmina*
- BMC Vand.* W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London 1911; repr. Chicago 1966)
- CCL* *Corpus Christianorum: Series latina*. About 250 vols. envisaged (Turnhout, 1954-)
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin 1862-)
- CSEL* *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)
- Drac. Rom.* F. Vollmer (ed.), *Blossii Aemilii Dracontii Romulea*, *MGH:AA*, 14 (1905) 132-196.
- Drac. Sat.* F. Speranza (ed.), *Blossii Aemilii Draconti Satisfactio, una cum Eugeni recensione*. Biblioteca di Helikon: Testi e studi, 9. (Rome 1978)
- ELG* C. de Boor (ed.), *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*. Vol. I, Pt. 2: *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos* (Berlin 1903)
- Ferrand, V. Fulg. G. G. Lapeyre (ed.), *Ferrand, Diacre de Carthage: Vie de Saint Fulgence de Ruspe* (Paris 1929)
- Hydat. Chron. Alain Tranoy (ed.), *Hydace: Chronique*. 2 vols. Sources chrétiennes nos. 218-19. (Paris 1974)
- I C Haḍdra* N. Duval and F. Prévot (ed.), *Recherches archéologiques à Haḍdra*, I: *Les inscriptions chrétiennes*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 18. (Rome 1975)
- I C Sainte-Monique* L. Ennabli (ed.), *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de la Basilique dite de Sainte-Monique à Carthage*. Collection de l'École française de Rome, 25 (Rome 1975)
- Kal. Carth.* H. Lietzmann (ed.), *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*. 2nd ed. Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen, Band 2 (Bonn 1911) "Das Martyrolog von Carthago," pp. 4-6
- MGH:AA* *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Auctores antiquissimi*. 15 vols. (Berlin 1875-1919)
- Phot. Bibl.* R. Henry (ed.), *Photius: Bibliothèque*. 8 vols. (Paris 1959-1977)
- PL* J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*. 221 vols. (Paris 1878-1887)
- PLRE* A. H. M. Jones, E. A. Thompson, et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. 2 vols. thus far (Cambridge 1971-1980)
- Procop. Anec.* J. Haury and G. Wirth (ed.), *Procopii caesariensis Opera omnia* (4 vols. repr. Leipzig 1963-64), III: *Historia quae dicitur arcana* (*Anec.*); IV: *De aedificiis libri VI* (*De aed.*); and I, 305-552: *De bellis libri III-IV* = *De bello vandalico I-II* (*BV*)
- De aed., BV*
- Prosp. Chron.* T. Mommsen (ed.), *Prosperi Tironis Epitoma chronicon*. *MGH:AA*, IX (1892) 385-485.
- [*Quod.*] *Lib. prom.* R. Braun (ed.), *Quodvultdeus: Livre des promesses et des prédictions de Dieu*. 2 vols. Sources chrétiennes nos. 101 and 102 (Paris 1964)
- RBK* R. Braun (ed.), *Opera Quodvultdeo carthaginiensi episcopo tributa*. *CCL*, LX (1976) 1-215.
- K. Wessel, et al. (ed.), *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*. Stuttgart, 1966-

Justinian's view of the Vandal hegemony in Africa was tendentious. Yet Africa did suffer harm during the age of the Vandal hegemony.

Justinian measured one hundred and five years of Vandal rule in Africa. His figure was accurate—the Vandals crossed from Spain to Mauretania Tingitana in May of 429—yet the Vandals themselves marked the beginning of their hegemony from 19 October 439, the day on which they battered their way into Carthage.² After they seized the metropolis of Roman Africa, two intermittently hostile forces, the Mauri and the Romans, shaped the kingdom which they constructed there. The Roman governments at Ravenna and Constantinople occasionally mounted diplomatic or military offensives against the Vandals, forcing them to construct a zone of defense in the seas of the western and central Mediterranean. Particularly between 440 and 480 an irregular fleet extended raids from the islands of the western Mediterranean to Cape Taenarum in the lower Balkans. Later the Vandal rulers concentrated on the dominion of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica and western Sicily.³ As a result of this seaborne activity the Romans struck various treaties with the Vandals. Pacts concluded by the Western Emperor Valentinian III in 442 and the Eastern Emperor Zeno in 474 set the tone for the others. In general, these agreements recognized the Vandals as *foederati*, clients of the Romans but still quasi-independent occupants of especially eastern Numidia, Proconsular Africa, Byzacium and Tripolitania.⁴ The arrangement remained in effect despite occasional hostilities until Justinian and his general Belisarius terminated it in 533.

While the Vandals mixed hostility and negotiation in their effort to keep the Romans at bay, they faced other adversaries on African soil, the native Mauri. Roman Africa of the early Dominate had possessed both horizontal and vertical frontiers. The desert to the south and the mountain uplands were beyond the reach of Roman arms. Between the late third and early fifth century native pastoralists from both these regions had occasionally interrupted Roman life in the agricultural lowlands near or on the Mediterranean coast. After the Vandals captured Carthage, the Mauri remained quiescent for one generation. They even assisted the Vandals on some raids overseas. But between 480 and 533 they ignored or opposed the Vandals as they constructed small principalities from the Atlas Mountains to the Tunisian Dorsal and Tripolitania. Their hostile activities reduced the Vandal sway in Africa, took some Vandal attention away from the Romans overseas, and thus made easier the Eastern Roman conquest.⁵

- RE A. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, et al. (ed.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-)
- RIC H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, et al., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. 8 vols. to date (London 1923-67)
- Salv. *De gub. Dei* Georges Lagarrigue (ed.), *Salvien de Marseille; Oeuvres, tome II: Du gouvernement de Dieu*. Sources chrétiennes no. 220. (Paris 1975)
- Vict. Vit. *HP* C. Halm (ed.), *Victoris vitensis Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae sub Geiserico et Hunirico regibus*. MGH:AA, Vol. III, Pt. 1, 1879
- M. Petschenig (ed.), *Victoris episcopi vitensis Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae*. CSEL, VII (1881) 1-107.

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¹Codex iustinianus 1.27.1.1.

²See F. M. Clover, "Carthage in the Age of Augustine," vol. IV, 1-14, at 13-14.

³Cf. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955; repr. Aalen 1964) 155-214.

⁴Prosop. Chron. 1347 (MGH:AA, IX, 479), s.a. 442. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (3 vols.; Oxford 1964), I, 249-50 and III, 45, n. 26, notes that the idiom *terram dividere*, which Prosper uses to describe the pact of 442, was a standard means of designating the conditional occupation of Roman lands by *foederati*. For the limits of the Vandal hegemony after 439 and the treaty of 474, see Courtois, *Vandales* 171-205.

⁵Cf. Courtois, *Vandales* 325-52, and M. Bénabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (Paris 1976) *passim*.

Before Belisarius put an end to their attempts to control the agricultural lowlands of Africa, the Vandals shared power there with the previous masters of the region, the Roman provincial aristocracy. Unity among the Vandals themselves and the good will of the Roman elite were the key to successful hegemony. The Vandals achieved neither; their government was at best an uneasy amalgamation of conflicting elements.

The newcomers to Roman Africa formed a polyglot group rather than a homogeneous entity. The official title of the Vandal kings, *rex Wandalorum et Alanorum*,⁶ tells much. In Spain two groups of East Germanic Vandals, the Hasdingi and Silingi, merged with some elements of the Iranian Alans to form a new coalition. Some Hispano-Romans, East Germanic Goths and West Germanic Suevi joined forces with them, and the numbers of this association swelled to perhaps eighty thousand.⁷ On African soil much of the power within this conglomerate rested with three elites, or perhaps three manifestations of one elite: the *optimates* ("nobles"); the Arian ecclesiastical hierarchy—before or after their arrival in Spain the Vandals became converts to Arian Christianity; and the warriors. Soon after the capture of Carthage the Vandal kings turned over some churches and their sources of revenue to the Arian clergy. In addition, they instituted the famous *sortes Wandalorum*, hereditary and tax-free allotments of land in Proconsular Africa for the warriors. Finally, they reserved for themselves and their clansmen similar allotments in Byzacium and eastern Numidia.⁸

At the top of this mixture of peoples stood the royal clan of the Hasdingi. On African soil six clan members held the title of *rex Wandalorum et Alanorum*: Geiseric (428-477); Huniric, his eldest son (477-484); his grandsons Gunthamund (484-496), Thrasamund (496-523), and Hildiric (523-530); and one great-grandson, Geilamir (530-533). The reign of these six men was marked by bloodshed at the top of Vandal society. Geiseric, Huniric and Geilamir all perpetrated dynastic murders in efforts to influence the succession of particular members of their clan. Those among the secular and ecclesiastical nobility who opposed them also risked the same fate. The originator of this tradition of blood-letting was the ambitious Geiseric, who claimed the title of king after the capture of Carthage, issued a regulation stipulating that royal authority must pass from him to his male descendants, and (in 456) effected a marriage alliance with the Roman House of Theodosius by joining his son Huniric to Eudocia, the elder daughter of Valentinian III. Dynastic violence was one of the immediate causes of the downfall of the Vandals. Geilamir, the last King of the Vandals and Alans, deposed and then ordered the murder of Hildiric, grandson of Geiseric and Valentinian III. The Emperor Justinian used Hildiric's claim to the throne as a pretext for intervention in Africa.⁹

While the Hasdingi and other Vandal elites struggled over the inheritance of power, they brought occasional suffering on another element of the uneasy conglomerate, the estate owners and Christians of Roman Africa. Among Christians only those who subscribed to the Arian faith gathered strength. Under a Vandal Patriarch of Carthage the Arians instituted bilingual services in the churches which they seized, and sought converts by offering sustenance to the poor and needy.¹⁰

⁶Cf. H. Wolfram, *Intitulatio: Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols.; Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 21 and 24; Vienna 1967-73) I, 76-89.

⁷Cf. Hydat. *Chron.* 49, 60, 67, and 68; Jordanes *Getica* 113; Possidius *Vita Augustini* 28. 4; Prosp. *Chron.* 1329 (MGH: AA IX, 475-76); *L'Année épigraphique*, 1951, no. 267 (with H.-I. Marrou, *Patristique et humanisme: Mélanges* [Paris, 1976], pp. 212-17); and Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.2. On the numbers of Vandals reported by Victor of Vita, see W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton 1980) 231-34.

⁸Cf. Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.13 and 3.4; Procop. *BV* 1.5.11-15; H.-J. Diesner, "Prolegomena zu einer Prosopographie des Vandalenreiches," *JOBG* 17 (1968) 1-15, and Goffart (supra n. 7) 67-68, n. 20.

⁹See Courtois, *Vandales* 391-409; D. Claude, "Problème der vandalischen Herrschaftsnachfolge," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 30 (1974) 329-55, and *PLRE* II, 1333.

¹⁰In general see Courtois, *Vandales* 225-28.

Other groups of faithful did not fare as well. In 438 Donatist editors of the *Liber genealogus*, a book of genealogies from the Biblical and Classical past, offered a warning of persecution in the form of an equation making Geiseric the Antichrist. Subsequent editions made at Carthage in 455 and 463 attest the continued existence of the sect under Vandal rule. In these versions the characterization of Geiseric as the Antichrist is absent, probably because the Vandal sovereign, now residing at Carthage, took offense at such allusions.¹¹ The Manichees still adhered to their beliefs, and even made a few converts. At the beginning of his reign Huniric visited death or exile on Manichees, especially those among his own people.¹² The best attested of the sufferers, however, are the Catholics. Their persistence amidst persecution guaranteed the survival of many diatribes and treatises, notably those of Victor of Vita and Fulgentius of Ruspe.¹³ Their trials began especially after the Vandals seized Carthage and marked their victory with the expulsion of Bishop Quodvultdeus from the city.¹⁴ During the struggle which followed, both sides drew inspiration from persecutions of the past. In a law of 25 February 484, for instance, Huniric appealed to the Great Persecution of the Tetrarchs, and cited as additional authority the twin councils held in 359 at Ariminum and Seleucia-in-Isauria, at which the Emperor Constantius II had engineered a victory for the Arian faith. The work in which this law survives, Victor of Vita's record of Vandal persecutions, draws some of its strident denunciations from Biblical accounts of the perseverance of the faithful under duress.¹⁵ Yet all was not persecution. There were intermittent periods of peace marked by brief reinstatements of bishops of Carthage: Deogratias (454-457), Eugenius (480/81-484, and again for a short time beginning 487), and Bonifatius (523-525). In addition, two major meetings of Catholics convened at Carthage, an Assembly or Comparison of Beliefs in 484 and a Council in 525.¹⁶ Such remissions of the persecutors' fury contributed to the survival of Catholics under East Rome.

The other major discontent among the Romans of Africa was the provincial aristocracy. While the laborers on African estates scarcely noticed the substitution of one master for another, the wealthy Romans who owned most of the arable land and dominated the municipal governments felt keenly the arrival of the Vandals. Some Roman aristocrats chose or suffered exile from their lands, and sought refuge in nearby Western Numidia and Mauretania Sitifensis, or abroad in Italy and the East.¹⁷ Those who went overseas often urged the emperors to reconquer Africa. Their efforts bore fruit. The chronicler Zachariah of Mitylene asserts that distinguished exiles moved Justinian to war against the Vandals with glowing descriptions of Africa's wealth.¹⁸

Many prominent Romans, however, remained behind. In his law of 25 February 484 Huniric cited from the time of the Tetrarchs a gradation of penalties for various kinds of individuals, and

¹¹*Liber genealogus* 428, 499, 616-628c (MGH:AA, IX, 181, 188, 194-96), and P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (7 vols.; Paris 1901-1923; repr. Brussels, 1966) VI, 247-58. The 438 edition of the *Liber genealogus* appeared at a time when Geiseric was beginning to persecute Catholics. Cf. Prosp. Chron. 1327, 1329 (MGH:AA IX, 475-76). Vict. Vit. HP 1. 22 shows that Geiseric reacted violently to Catholic sermons on Biblical villains.

¹²Vict. Vit. HP 2. 1-2. Cf. F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV^e-V^e siècles); Étude historique et doctrinale* (2 vols.; Paris 1978) I, 226-30, 359, II, 178-84.

¹³On Fulgentius see H.-J. Diesner, *Fulgentius von Ruspe als Theologe und Kirchenpolitiker* (Berlin 1966), *passim*, and J. Fraipont (ed.), *Sancti Fulgentii episcopi ruspensis Opera* (CCL, XCI and XCIA [1968]) *passim*.

¹⁴Cf. Vict. Vit. HP 1.15.

¹⁵Vict. Vit. HP 3.3-14. The regnal year does not appear in this edict, but an order of the previous 20 June (cf. 2. 39) is dated by Huniric's seventh year, i.e. 483. For the twin Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia-in-Isauria (cf. 3.5), see E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Historie du Bas-Empire* (2 vols.; 2nd ed. of vol. I; repr. Amsterdam 1968) I, 153-54. On Biblical reminiscences in Victor's history, see Petschenig (CSEL VII [1881]), 135-36.

¹⁶Cf. J.-L. Maier, *L'épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine* (Neuchâtel 1973) 72-77, 268, 290 and 303, and R. A. Markus, "Carthage-Prima Justiniana-Ravenna: An Aspect of Justinian's Kirchenpolitik," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 277-302, at 282-84.

¹⁷See *Novellae Valentiniani* 12, 13 and 34; Ferrand. V. Fulg. 1; Theodoret Epistolae xxii, xxiii, 29-36, 52, 53 and 70; and Vict. Vit. HP 1. 12-18.

¹⁸Cf. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (tr.), *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London 1899) 262.

hinted that the same categories still obtained in his time. At the top of his list stood *inhustres, spectabiles, senatores* (i.e. *clarissimi*), *sacerdotales* and *principales*.¹⁹ Other evidence attests bearers of these titles living under Vandal rule.²⁰ The old municipal organization which provincial aristocrats had dominated continued to exist.²¹ The famous Tablettes Albertini and ostraka discovered near Bir Trouch demonstrate the persistence of estates owned by African Romans.²² The distinguished elements at the head of Huniric's roster, then, still enjoyed under Vandal rule a measure of their former status and wealth.

Yet despite the perseverance of Roman and Christian life, the introduction of a new polyglot elite at the pinnacle of society was a disruption. Vandals and Romans did not readily cooperate with one another. The uneasy character of the new conglomerate, the retraction of the Vandals' overseas hegemony to the western Mediterranean after 480, the increasing boldness of the Mauri to the south and west, and Justinian's decision to capitalize on the new strength of the Eastern Roman Empire all spelled doom for the Vandals. In 533 they still enjoyed a fearsome reputation, but Belisarius found it easy to bring their dominion to an end.²³

* * * *

The recent Paris dissertation of Claude Lepelley will set for the near future the tone of investigations of late Roman municipalities in Africa. Lepelley draws attention to the continuity of Roman institutions in African cities between the time of Diocletian and the Vandal capture of Carthage.²⁴ His conclusions provoke an obvious question: did Roman life and institutions survive the intrusion of the Vandals?

A history of the Vandal hegemony in Africa differs from a history of Carthage under Vandal rule. For the latter one must study especially those sources which show the inhabitants of Carthage at work or play within or just outside the city's walls. Five blocs of evidence are particularly important. Salvian of Marseilles included in his *De gubernatione Dei*, written between 439 and 451, a diatribe against the wicked ways of Romans in Africa and praise of the morality of their new masters, the Vandals.²⁵ Victor of Vita, possibly a city in Byzacium, wrote his scathing *Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae* during the middle or late 480s. His polemic recounts persecutions during the reigns of Geiseric and Huniric, and contains many references to events in Carthage.²⁶ A third source is a collection of Latin poems evidently gathered at Carthage between 523 and 535. This so-called Latin Anthology, preserved primarily in a manuscript of the seventh or early eighth century (the *Codex Salmasianus*), contains short poems by Classical Latin authors such as Martial, and verses by perhaps ten Roman men of letters flourishing in Carthage around the turn of the sixth century. Of the latter group Luxorius, *vir clarissimus et spectabilis*, is best represented. His colleagues included two *clarissimi*, Coronatus and Felix, two poets of uncertain rank,

¹⁹Vict. Vit. *HP* 3. 3-14 (esp. 3. 10). On the equation of the titles *senator* and *clarissimus*, see A. Chastagnol, *L'Album municipal de Timgad* (Bonn 1978), *passim*.

²⁰*Inlustres* and *spectabiles*: cf. *AI* 18, 254, 287. *Sacerdotales, clarissimi* and *principales* (i.e. leading decurions): cf. *IC Hādra* 401, 413, 424.

²¹See below, nn. 86-98.

²²Cf. C. Courtois et al., *Tablettes Albertini: Actes privés de l'époque vandale (Fin du V^e siècle)* [Paris 1952] *passim*, and J.-P. Bonnal and P.-A. Février, "Ostraka de la région de Bir Trouch," *BAAI* 2 (1966-67) 239-49.

²³See Procop. *BV* 1.11-2.9.

²⁴C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* (2 vols.; Paris 1979-81).

²⁵See the new edition of G. Lagarrigue cited in the list of abbreviations above.

²⁶See the list of abbreviations for the two most recent editions of Victor's work. C. Courtois, *Victor de Vita et son oeuvre: Étude critique* (Algiers 1954) 11-22, argues unconvincingly that Victor wrote his history before Huniric died in 484. The key to the date of composition is *HP* 2. 12: "Ipse [sc. Huniricus] . . . desiderans post obitum suum filiis, quod non contigit, regnum statuere. . . ." Evidently Victor knew of the accession of Huniric's nephew Gunthamund on 22 December 484 (cf. Courtois, *Vandales* 400).

Florentinus and Cato, and as many as five anonymous poets. The names and ranks assigned to some of these men suggest that the entire coterie belonged to the Roman municipal aristocracy.²⁷ Luxorius and his friends viewed the bustle of Carthage with poets' eyes. A different sort of eyewitness was Procopius of Caesarea, who accompanied Belisarius to Africa and recounted in his war commentaries the condition of the city when the general and his troops entered it.²⁸ Finally, there are the physical remains, which are now receiving intensive scrutiny under the aegis of the International Campaign to Save Carthage.²⁹

From none of the five units of evidence can information be taken at face value. Stratigraphic problems and the preliminary nature of the most recent excavation reports have caused one excavator to remark that the archaeological and literary evidence for Vandal and Eastern Roman Carthage "are running parallel but rarely overlap or complement each other with great clarity or precision."³⁰ Procopius wrote his war commentaries at a time when he held Justinian in high regard. He was accordingly ready to exaggerate the achievement of Belisarius and the ineptitude of the Vandals. Luxorius and his contemporaries are deceptive observers. They present a full portrait of Vandals and Romans at work and play in and around Carthage, but their taste for the humorous and the bizarre and their devotion to classical idioms cause them to disguise some aspects of the city's life and overemphasize others. Victor of Vita is just as misleading in his own way. Anxious to demonstrate God's anger against heretical persecutors, he pictured an Africa divided into two hostile camps. Fortunately, some of the details he provides do not support his thesis, and these details rather than his overall argument contribute significantly to a portrait of Carthage under Vandal rule. Finally, Salvian was a moral essayist rather than a dispassionate observer of city life. He shared with Tacitus (whose *Germania* was a distant ancestor of the *De gubernatione Dei*) a lack of interest in Germanic society as it really was, and for his depiction of Carthage he relied on other witnesses—possibly African exiles living in Campania.³¹ Some of the particulars he presents, however, find corroboration in the other sources. Such confluences of testimony will be the bases of the present, tentative sketch of life in the houses, public buildings, streets and outskirts of Vandal Carthage. When two or more sources speak in their own biased or limited way of the same thing, they offer at least a glimpse of the metropolis in an important phase of its existence.

The earliest portrait of life in Vandal Carthage is that of Salvian, who thundered his disapproval of Africans, especially those of the metropolis.³² Their appetite for circuses and other heathen spectacles was insatiable. Only the arrival of the Vandals in Africa, which was "almost the soul of the state,"³³ brought some interruption to their preoccupation with public entertainment. Yet even as the Vandal besiegers encircled the walls of Cirta and Carthage, Christians in the latter city cheered in the circus and sat in sinful luxury in the theater. As battle raged outside the walls, the city dwellers scarcely interrupted their fornication inside. Carthage was the jewel of sin, "the

²⁷Riese's edition of the *AL* appears in the list of abbreviations. M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals* (New York, 1961) provides an introduction to the poets of Vandal Carthage. Until D. R. Shackleton Bailey's new edition of the *AL* appears, the elements of a proper edition reside in R. T. Bruère's review of Rosenblum's *Luxorius*, *CP* 57 (1962) 176-81; H. Happ, "Zur spätromischen Namengebung," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 14 (1963) 20-62; and D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'* (Cambridge 1979). For a strict count of the poems of the *AL* composed during the Vandal hegemony, see Appendix below.

²⁸A useful companion to the Haury-Wirth text of Procopius (see the list of abbreviations) is B. Rubin, "Prokopios von Kaisareia," *RE* XXIII:1 (1957) 273-599.

²⁹See the *CEDAC Carthage Bulletin* (Carthage: Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art de Tunisie, 1978-), and the bibliography at the end of J. G. Pedley (ed.), *New Light on Ancient Carthage* (Ann Arbor 1980) 123-27.

³⁰J. H. Humphrey, "Vandal and Byzantine Carthage: Some New Archaeological Evidence," in *New Light . . .* (supra n. 29) 85-120, at 85.

³¹Cf. P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* (3rd ed.; Paris 1964) 154-55; and D. J. Cleland, "Salvian and the Vandals," *Studia Patristica* 10 (Berlin 1970) 270-74.

³²I have summarized here Salv. *De Gub. Dei* 6.66-71, 7.54-100 and 8.9-25.

³³Salv. *De gub. Dei* 6.68.

rival of the city of Rome and, as it were, Rome in the world of Africa."³⁴ She had so much civilization to her credit: schools of liberal arts, offices of philosophers, language schools, garrisons, the proconsul's elaborate administration and a great abundance of agricultural and commercial wealth. But still Carthage sinned. Many of her men, for instance, were effeminate, and thought nothing of displaying feminine garb and gait in the city's streets. Those who were heterosexual eagerly sought gratification in the houses of prostitution. The Vandals burst upon this den of iniquity and, relying on the Bible,³⁵ applied God's displeasure at these carnal aberrations by prohibiting prostitution, compelling all prostitutes to marry and forbidding lewdness in public. Salvian approved of their actions. Toward the end of the *De gubernatione Dei* he bristled at other sacrileges and blasphemies of Africans, especially those of Carthage, without indicating whether the Vandals took action against those as well. The continuing devotion of Africans to Juno Caelestis and other false gods was reprehensible. Even Christians still loved these demons. They thought nothing of rendering homage to them and then coming to church! Furthermore, the inhabitants of Carthage in particular had an abiding disdain for monks. These cloaked, pale and shaven servants of God had come to Carthage from monastic communities in Egypt and Palestine.³⁶ When they walked in the city's streets the onlookers jeered, hissed and cursed them.

Salvian portrays a Carthage whose attachment to Roman ways was strong, whose Christians frequently strayed from God's will and whose new masters possessed moral purity. The last of his three convictions is the easiest to dismiss. Toward the end of the fifth century the historian Malchus of Philadelphia observed that after Huneric succeeded his capable father, the Vandals fell "into every moral weakness." Procopius elaborated on the theme. As soon as the Vandals occupied Africa, he charged, they gave in to the luxurious life of the fertile lands around Carthage. Baths, fancy clothes, races, shows and hunts became the hallmarks of their existence. "They held banquets in the greatest number, and they practiced all kinds of lovemaking with considerable zeal."³⁷ The accusations of Procopius and Malchus are as sweeping as the commendations of Salvian. At the very least these contrasting portrayals of Vandal behavior serve to raise anew the basic question under consideration. Did the Vandals succumb to Roman civilization after they captured Carthage? Once again, details reported by two or more sources provide clues for an answer.

Carthage under the Vandals was an imposing city. Outside her walls stood an elaborate network of suburbs and supports. Nearby Missua (Sidi Daoud) contained the shipyards for the Vandal fleet.³⁸ The famous aqueduct from Mount Zaghuan to the metropolis continued to function.³⁹ Stagnum, a harbor possibly identical with the Bay of Utica, had facilities sufficient for Belisarius' fleet of five hundred ships.⁴⁰ At nearby Anclae, a suburb of uncertain location, was a royal audience chamber which workmen had constructed at King Hilderic's orders.⁴¹ His predecessor Thrasamund had commissioned elaborate baths at Alianae, again a suburb whose location is unknown; according to the poets Felix and Florentinus, the Baths of Thrasamund were the rival of Baiae.⁴² Furnis, another neighboring town, lay beyond Carthage's *Porta Fornitana*.⁴³ In the outlying village of Mappalia stood the *Mensa Cypriani*, a basilica marking the place where Saint

³⁴ Salv. *De gub. Dei* 7.67.

³⁵ Cf. Salv. *De gub. Dei* 7.46.

³⁶ For parallel evidence of eastern monks in fifth-century Carthage, see [Quod.] *Lib. prom.* D.9-10 (CCL, LX, 196-97).

³⁷ *ELG* 5 [ed. de Boor, I:2, 573] (Malchus); and Procop. *BV* 2. 6. 5-9. On Malchus see B. Baldwin, "Malchus of Philadelphia," *DO Papers* 21 (1977) 91-107.

³⁸ Procop. *BV* 2.14.40. Cf. Courtois, *Vandales* 109, 111, 307, 314, 317.

³⁹ Procop. *BV* 2.1.2.

⁴⁰ Procop. *BV* 1.15.15 and 1.20.15-16. Cf. J. W. Eadie and J. H. Humphrey, "The Topography of the Southeast Quarter of Later Roman Carthage," vol. III, 1-19, at 18; and L. Casson's chapter which follows.

⁴¹ Procop. *BV* 2.7.13; *AL* 203 (Luxorius); and *AL* 215. Cf. Happ, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 14 (1963) 32-35.

⁴² *AL* 210-214 and 376-377.

⁴³ Cf. Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.10, and Eadie and Humphrey, vol. III, 18, n. 47.

Cyprian was buried.⁴⁴ Amidst this network of suburbs—and particularly along the shoreline north of the city through Sidi Bou Saïd and Gammarth—were the villas of wealthy Vandals and Romans. Luxorius mentions two of these resorts, one belonging to the Goth Fridamal, and another situated near the sea and equipped with a private amphitheater.⁴⁵ Danish excavators have recently investigated a villa complex adjacent to the Plage d'Amilcar. Built in the first and second centuries A.D., it was still partly in use around the end of the fifth century.⁴⁶

While the Vandals ruled Africa, a visitor approaching Carthage from the landward side would have proceeded through a gate in the city's wall. This was of recent construction, having been erected in the 420s perhaps at the orders of Boniface, Count of Africa.⁴⁷ Today the remains of the defensive network embrace the core of the ancient city, extending in an arc from the Salamambo Station to the Présidence Station of the T.G.M. Railway. Recently British, Italian, Canadian and Polish excavators have investigated sections of the wall. Towers interrupted its expanse at intervals, and it was faced with stone and contained a core of rubble with grey, charcoal-flecked mortar.⁴⁸ Procopius provides the most circumstantial picture of the wall's condition at the end of the Vandal century. By Geilamir's time "no small section" of it had fallen down owing to neglect. After he entered the city Belisarius ordered workmen to repair the damaged portions, and had them add a new element to the defenses—an encircling ditch.⁴⁹ Recent excavations and the poet Felix offer confirmation and correction. Felix celebrates the restoration of public works under Thrasamund, including "public walls for the lofty dwellings."⁵⁰ Possibly Thrasamund attempted without success to correct the deterioration of Carthage's defenses. British excavators have found in the wall's southern sector evidence of a defensive ditch which was dug at the time the wall was constructed and then filled in through dumping. The Canadian and Italian teams have discovered no indication of an outer ditch.⁵¹ Thus, when Procopius described Belisarius' trench as "not previously existing,"⁵² he probably spoke the truth. The Roman builders of the wall had ditches dug beyond vulnerable sections, but the Vandals perhaps allowed these to fill up by Geilamir's time.

Inside the wall stood the harbor and an array of public and private structures. The city's center experienced both change and continuity under the Vandals. The rectangular and circular harbors continued in use. Iron chains protected their entrance in the Bay of Kram. Procopius noted merchants dwelling by the sea, perhaps in the commercial and domestic quarter north of the circular harbor, where British excavators have recently detected regularity of use and function during the fifth and early sixth century.⁵³ The Roman public buildings, squares and main streets remained as they had been in late Roman times; some stayed in good condition, while others suffered deterioration or demolition. The main Forum continued to be a center of trade and supply, and there was a regular sequence of plazas and streets through which legates of the emperors passed from the harbor on their way to the king's palace on the Byrsa.⁵⁴ The Roman poet Blossius Aemilius Dracontius proclaimed one of his *controversiae* in the downtown Baths of

⁴⁴Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.16. Cf. W. H. C. Frend, "The Early Christian Church in Carthage," vol. III, 21-40, at 37, and J. Christern, "Karthago," *RBK*, III (1978), 1158-89, at 1163.

⁴⁵*AL* 304, 305 and 346.

⁴⁶Cf. S. Dietz and S. Trolle, *Premier rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles danoises à Carthage: Les campagnes de 1975 et 1977* (The National Museum of Denmark: Working Papers, 10; Copenhagen 1979), and Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 109-113.

⁴⁷Cf. Clover, vol. IV, 9.

⁴⁸See C. M. Wells, "The Defense of Carthage," *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 47-65.

⁴⁹Procop. *BV* 1.21. 11-13 and 1.23. 19-21, and *De aed.* 6.5.8.

⁵⁰*AL* 213.1.

⁵¹See again Wells, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29), 47-65.

⁵²Procop. *De aed.* 6.5.8.

⁵³Procop. *BV* 1.20.3 and 15-16. Cf. Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 107-109.

⁵⁴Vict. Vit. *HP* 3.32, and Procop. *BV* 1.21.10.

Gargilian.⁵⁵ The so-called Baths of Antoninus suffered gradual deterioration from the early fifth century onward.⁵⁶ The Theater, Odeon, Aedes Memoriae and Via Caelestis fared even less well. Victor of Vita states that the Vandals destroyed the first two structures. The archaeological record offers partial confirmation in the form of a building constructed atop the Theater by the turn of the sixth century.⁵⁷ The case of the Aedes Memoriae is more complicated. Victor states that this temple of uncertain location, the site of the execution of the dissident Count Heraclian on 7 March 413, suffered destruction during the reign of Geiseric or Huniric. Yet he notes that while the persecution of 484 raged, the *locus* of the temple served as a meeting place for Catholics. Possibly the site of the temple remained a hallowed place after the Vandals had the building demolished.⁵⁸ Finally, the Via Caelestis—a grand avenue nearly two miles long, adorned with mosaic-inlaid pavement and lined with columns, walls and pagan temples—had already experienced neglect and demolition during the first quarter of the fifth century. After the Vandals captured Carthage, Geiseric ordered the street and its remaining adornments to be completely razed.⁵⁹

In other parts of the city public structures retained their Roman functions. In the palace atop the Byrsa the proconsuls no longer presided, but the Vandal kings evidently preserved the Roman tradition of elegance. Procopius describes a throne room, a dining hall where the king entertained the Vandal *optimates* with wine and choice morsels of food, a great shrine or sanctuary dedicated to the Theotokos, a windowless prison whose outer planking faced seaward, and valuables throughout the palace probably worth about fifty *centenaria*.⁶⁰ Beyond the Byrsa lay the circus and amphitheater, both of which were in active use throughout the fifth and early sixth century.⁶¹

Back in the city's center private structures continued in use amidst some disruption. Belisarius had his troops quartered in houses near the Forum.⁶² Luxorius and his neighbor Marcius possessed stately townhouses separated from one another by a wall.⁶³ Claudius Gordianus, grandfather of the famous Fulgentius of Ruspe, vacated his townhouse when the Vandals took Carthage and fled to Italy. When his sons returned to Africa a generation later they found that Arian priests had occupied their ancestral dwelling.⁶⁴ The House of the Greek Charioteers in the city's southeast sector has proved to be a spectacular example of continuity. Built in the early fifth century, this lovely peristyle house underwent repairs during the Vandal occupation and was again remodelled in Byzantine times.⁶⁵

Throughout the city and beyond the walls the basilicas and smaller churches of the Christians fared as well as the Roman public buildings under the new rulers. Victor of Vita is a trenchant and misleading witness. Beyond the walls Arian Christians replaced Catholics as occupants of the *Basilica Maiorum*, the *Basilica Celerinae*, the *Basilica Scillitanorum*, the *Mensa Cypriani* in nearby

⁵⁵Drac. Rom. 5 subscr. (MCH:AA, XIV, 148). Cf. *Gesta Conlationis carthaginensis a. 411* 1.1, 1.10, 2.1 and 3.1 (ed. S. Lancel, CCL, CXLIXA [1974], 53, 59, 161, 180), and Augustinus *Contra partem Donati post Gesta* 43 and 58 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL LIII [1910], 144, 161). Cf. Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1171.

⁵⁶Cf. A. Lézine, et al., "Observations sur la ruine des Thermes d'Antonin à Carthage," *CRAI* 1956, 425-30; Lézine, *Carthage: Utique; Études d'architecture et d'urbanisme* (Paris 1968) 71-75; and Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1170-71.

⁵⁷Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.8. Cf. G. Charles-Picard, "Fouilles à Carthage (juillet 1967)," *RA* 1969, 178-83, at 183.

⁵⁸Cf. Hydat. *Chron.* 56; B. Bischoff and W. Koehler, "Un' edizione illustrata degli Annali Ravennati del Basso Impero," *Studi romagnoli* 3 (1952), 1-17, at 4, s.a. 413, and Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.8, 3.17-19. Cf. Courtois, *Victor de Vita*, p. 41, n. 141.

⁵⁹[Quod.] *Lib. prom.* 3. 44 (CCL LX, 185-86), and Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.8.

⁶⁰Procop. *BV* 1.20. 4-9 and 21, 1.21.1-6, 2.14.37, *De aed.* 6.5.9, and *Anec.* 1.33. Cf. A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine, 146 avant Jésus-Christ—698 après Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1901) 283-87.

⁶¹Cf. A. Iciek, et al., *Carthage: Cirque-Colline dite de Junon—Douar Chott; Recherches archéologiques et géophysiques polonaises effectuées en 1972* (Wrocław 1974) 61-99. See below, notes 74-83.

⁶²Procop. *BV* 1.21.10.

⁶³*AL* 314. Cf. Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina' (supra n. 27) 46-47.

⁶⁴Ferrand, *V. Fulg.* 1. Cf. J. Fraipont (ed.), *Sancti Fulgentii episcopi ruspensis Opera*, CCL XCI (1968) v-xv.

⁶⁵See the summary of Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 106-107.

Mappalia and the *Memoria Cypriani*, probably the basilica overlooking the place d'Amilcar, where Cyprian suffered execution.⁶⁶ The *Basilica Fausti* and *Basilica Novarum*, however, enjoyed use by Catholics at least during the ecclesiastical peaces of 454-457 and 480/481-484.⁶⁷ Within the walls the same pattern of seizure and continuity obtained. Victor proclaims that the Arians occupied all churches there, but only specifies the *Basilica Perpetua Restituta*, a tempting target because it was the Catholic Cathedral.⁶⁸ Yet the Catholic Council of 525 convened in the *Basilica Sancti Agilei*, and a subterranean baptistery inside the defenses shows no interruption of use and function during the Vandals' stay.⁶⁹ In the southeast sector what appears to have been a parish church probably continued in use during the Vandal period.⁷⁰ Victor's portrait of massive disruption is a reflection of Catholic attitudes toward the arrival of the Arian Vandals. Any seizure of churches was cause for alarm. Nevertheless, some of the churches the Vandals took from the Catholics retained their function, if not their original faith.

The basilicas, the circus and amphitheater, the townhouses and suburban villas, the baths, the streets and plazas, the forum and the harbor were the stage on which the people of Vandal Carthage acted out an elaborate continuation of Roman private and public life. In the latter sphere of activity Roman municipal politics, Roman forms of public entertainment and the Roman system of education continued to flourish. A *grammaticus*, a professor of medicine, a philosopher and a lawyer appear in Luxorius' poems.⁷¹ In a *Satisfactio* honoring King Gunthamund, Dracontius mentions a celebrated legal case in which a defendant named Vincomalus secured acquittal from Geiseric.⁷² The foundation of the professions was the schools of Carthage, and Luxorius' contemporary Florentinus had a high opinion of them.⁷³ In the realm of entertainment the destruction of the odeon and theater displaced but evidently did not diminish the Carthaginians' appetite for diversion. In Victor of Vita's time there lived one Masculas who was *archimimus*. Luxorius spoke of an ugly lutist named Gattula ("Kitty"), and a pantomimist called Macedonia who, despite her dwarfish size, often danced the story of Andromache and Helen.⁷⁴ Masculas, Gattula and Macedonia may have performed in the Amphitheater, as did Olympius, an ebony-black arena hunter perhaps from Egypt who was so popular with the fans that (says Luxorius) the cheers from the crowd shook the nearby Byrsa. Luxorius also mentions a man who jumped over the balcony of the amphitheater twice, the second time under the watchful eyes of the fans and in response to a wager from the poet.⁷⁵ In the circus the familiar pattern of Green, Blue, Red and White factions (players and fans) angrily competing with one another persisted. Luxorius talks of an aging charioteer who cursed back at opposing spectators when he lost. Another was a favorite of the Greens. Still another became known to some of the fans (but not the Blues, says Luxorius) as Icarus, Phaethon and Agilis ("Speedy") despite his indifferent showing in the races. The sponsorship of the races and indeed all public entertainment under the Vandals is a matter of uncertainty. The imperial support of the early Dominate was now out of the question. Probably the inhabitants of Carthage owed their entertainment to the generosity of the Vandal and Roman elites. In any case the games and

⁶⁶Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.9 and 16, and Procop *BV* 1.21.18-19. Cf. Frend, vol. III, 36-37, and Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1163-65, 1173-74, 1182-84.

⁶⁷Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.24-28, 2.18 and 47-51, 3.34, and *Collectio avellana* 85 (ed. O. Guenther, *CSEL* XXXV:1 [1895] 328-30). Cf. Frend, vol. III, 36, and Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1163-65.

⁶⁸Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.15. Cf. Frend, vol. III, 38, and Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1163-65.

⁶⁹Cf. N. Duval, "Études d'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine," *MEFR* 84 (1972) 1071-1172, at 1102-3, Frend, vol. III, 38, and Christern, *RBK* III (1978) 1164, 1172-73.

⁷⁰See the summary of Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 91-93.

⁷¹*AL* 294, 302, 340 and 358. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 177-79, and Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina,' (supra n. 27) 43-44, 51.

⁷²*Drac. Sat.* 299-302.

⁷³*AL* 376.32: "Carthago studiis, Carthago ornata magistris."

⁷⁴Vict. Vit. *HP* 1.47; and *AL* 310, 361-62. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 178, Happ, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14 (1963) 28-29, 41, and Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina,' (supra n. 27) 52-53.

⁷⁵*AL* 353, 354, 373. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 180, and Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina,' (supra n. 27) 52.

shows evidently enjoyed elaborate support. Luxorius mentions two adornments of circus stables: a painting of the Goddess Victory and, a delight to the *dominus*, a marble fountain where the horses drank.⁷⁶

The literary and archaeological record tell much about the origins of the charioteers who provoked the fans among the factions to rage and delight. Pale monks and arena hunters were not the only easterners in Vandal Carthage. From the House of the Greek Charioteers has come the celebrated circus mosaic of the early fifth century. The mosaic depicts and identifies in Greek characters representatives of the Blue, White, Green and Red Factions: Euphumos, Domninos, Euthumis and Kephalôn.⁷⁷ Their names raise the dual question of the extent to which eastern charioteers and Greek learning flourished in fifth-century Carthage. Procopius and Luxorius provide helpful answers. Among six charioteers mentioned by Luxorius, two—Cyriacus and Pascasius—bear Greek names, and two are called by the adjective or substantive Aegyptius.⁷⁸ In late Roman Africa Greek names did not necessarily signify Greek origin.⁷⁹ The circus mosaic's four charioteers, however, probably did come from the East, for their names are sparsely attested outside the Greek world.⁸⁰ Procopius helps to set these easterners in a broader context. When Belisarius entered Carthage there were many eastern merchants there. One, a boyhood friend of the historian, operated a mercantile enterprise in Syracuse and sent his household slaves on trading ventures to Africa's metropolis. Geilamir, worried that eastern traders were urging Justinian to send an expedition to Africa, had imprisoned some of them in the palace just before Belisarius arrived.⁸¹ The names for parts of Carthage in Geilamir's time reflect the presence of Greek speakers in the city. Procopius states that the Roman inhabitants of Carthage called the harbor *Mandrakion*, a Greek term meaning "little enclosure," and the windowless prison in the Palace was the *Ankôn*, "the corner."⁸² Finally, Procopius reports an old street chant shouted by the children of Carthage: "Gamma shall pursue Beta, and then again Beta shall pursue Gamma." The chant attained the stature of an oracle when Belisarius defeated Geilamir, long after Geiseric defeated Boniface.⁸³ All in all, eastern monks, charioteers and merchants laid a foundation for the Eastern Roman conquest of Africa long before the arrival of Belisarius.

It is not surprising that the Vandals did not interrupt Roman ways of education and entertainment during their sojourn in Carthage. They were neither numerous nor sophisticated enough to impose alternatives. In the realm of government they did introduce some new practices. Roman Carthage had not been the preserve of kings. Beneath these unfamiliar rulers stood equally strange *praepositi regni, millenarii* (evidently leaders of *optimates* grouped into units, each theoretically one thousand strong) and *comites*.⁸⁴ The poets of the Latin Anthology offer glimpses of this new hierarchy. Luxorius, for instance, speaks of a royal minister named Eutychus who habitually

⁷⁶AL 306, 312, 320, 324, 328. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 178, and Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina,' (supra n. 27) 44, 46, 49. On the system of funding and the behavior of the Factions, see A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) *passim*.

⁷⁷See especially K. M. D. Dunbabin, "The Mosaics and Pavements," vol. 1, 21-46, and the summary of Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 106-107.

⁷⁸AL 293, 306, 324, 327. Cf. Happ, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14 (1963) 35, 37, 43.

⁷⁹See, for example, *CIL* VIII Supp. 5:1 (1942), 84, 105, s.vv. "Cyriacus" and "Pascasius"; Duval *I C Haïdra* 401-433, and Ennabli, *I C Sainte-Monique*, 396-98.

⁸⁰Duval, *I C Haïdra* 425, discusses the few occurrences of the name Domninus in Christian Africa. For other attestations of these four names see W. Pape and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (2 vols.; 3rd ed.; repr. Graz 1959), I, 318, 408, 653; I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 362; and *PLRE*, I, 265-66 and II, 372-74.

⁸¹Procop. *BV* 1.14.7-17; and 1.20.5-8, 16, 22.

⁸²Procop. *BV* 1.20.3-9, 14-16; 2.8.7; 2.26.10, and *De aed.* 6.5.11. Cf. R. Oehler, "Karthago," *RE* X:2 (1919) 2150-2224, at 2189-90.

⁸³Procop. *BV* 1.21.14-16.

⁸⁴On the *millenarii* see Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 80 [Olympiodorus] (ed. R. Henry, I, 168), and Vict. *HP* 1.30. In general, see Diesner, *JOBG* 17 (1968) 1-15.

seized the riches of others in the king's name. In a lighter vein the poet notes a royal eunuch who put on a turban but then took it off when he realized it was shaped like a phallus. An anonymous contemporary of Luxorius ridicules a pepper-shaped royal servant named Abgar. So small was this man that he scarcely topped a cumin plant. The most interesting details in these poetic flourishes are the names of the royal attendants. Eutychus may be so called in jest—the minister became the “Fortunate One” at the expense of others—but the name Abgar, which is well attested to Mesopotamia, is less susceptible to punning. Abgar was probably another of the many easterners who were present in Carthage at the turn of the sixth century.⁸⁵

Vandal officials constituted a new presence in the metropolis of Africa. At the same time, however, Roman municipal institutions persisted in and around the city. The recent dissertation of Claude Lepelley has shown that Roman ways endured prior to 439. Proconsuls presided over a number of lesser civil magistrates, while the Count of Africa replaced early imperial legates as commander of the armed forces. Municipal and provincial councils complemented the central administration. A *curia* tended affairs in each municipality. Among their functions the *curiales* elected from their midst a *flamen perpetuus* who looked after the worship of the current emperor and those of his predecessors who had received divine honors. Emperor worship was a unifying force in all Roman provinces. Municipal delegates—invariably members of the landed gentry—met annually in the provincial capital to render homage to the emperor, and to communicate matters of local concern through decrees and even embassies to the imperial court. A *sacerdos*, chief delegate and priest, presided over the provincial council; upon completion of his duties he became *sacerdotalis*, one who had fulfilled his priestly duties. Even when the Roman government became Christian, the emperors found the network of communications developed by imperial cult officials too useful to abandon. From the late fourth century onward they repudiated their connections with traditional religion but continued to encourage the old cult ceremonies.⁸⁶

Under the Vandals the *illustres*, *spectabiles* and *clarissimi* mentioned in Huneric's law of 25 February 484 continued to maintain old prerogatives and discharge old functions. In the early 480s, for instance, one Victorianus of Hadrumetum was *proconsul Carthagini*.⁸⁷ Around the same time the poet Blossius Aemilius Dracontius distinguished himself both in poetry and politics. His declamation in the Baths of Gargilian, already briefly noted, deserves closer attention. The subject of this *controversia* was the statue of a brave man. Dracontius entered probably a lecture hall in the Baths, and delivered his piece in the presence of the proconsul Pacideius. At that time Dracontius was himself *vir clarissimus et togatus fori proconsulis almae Karthagini*.⁸⁸ At the turn of the sixth century prominent Roman families still held offices which had once been concerned with the worship of the emperors. Flavius Geminius Catullinus, the proprietor named in the Tablettes Albertini, was *flamen perpetuus*.⁸⁹ Three such officials of the same family flourished at Ammaedara in Proconsular Africa. Two, Astius Vindicianus and Astius Mustelus, were *flamines perpetui*. A third, Astius Dinamius, was *sacerdotalis provinci(a)e Afric(a)e*.⁹⁰ The office Astius Dinamius held suggests that the provincial council was still meeting at Carthage in the last years of Vandal rule.

⁸⁵ AL 209, 298, 341, 342. Cf. Bruère, CP 57 (1962) 177, 179, and Shackleton Bailey, *Anthologia Latina*, (supra n. 27) 30, 43. On the names Eutychus and Abgar see Happ, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14 (1963) 37, and von Rohden, RE I: 1 (1893) 93-96.

⁸⁶ On the survival of the imperial cult see A. Chastagnol and N. Duval, “Les survivances du culte impérial dans l'Afrique du Nord à l'époque vandale,” *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 87-118; Lepelley (supra n. 24) I, 362-69; and T. Kotula, “Épigraphie et histoire: Les flamines perpétuels dans les inscriptions latines nord-africaines du Bas-Empire romain,” *Eos* 67 (1979) 131-136. On the importance of the imperial cult for Christian emperors, see P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976) 560-589.

⁸⁷ Vict. Vit. HP 3.27.

⁸⁸ Drac. Rom. 5 *passim* (MGH:AA XIV, 140-48).

⁸⁹ Courtois, *Tablettes Albertini* (supra n. 22) iii. 3b. 6-7 (p. 218), et *passim*.

⁹⁰ IC Haïdra 401, 413, 424.

Did the council still render homage to the emperor? Recent critics have answered this question in the negative,⁹¹ but some evidence supports an affirmative answer. The Vandals were clients of the Roman Empire, the Hasdingi were members of the imperial house of Theodosius, and Roman provincials still venerated statues of the emperors in the fifth century. It is possible, then, that the Vandal kings followed Roman tradition by allowing provincial aristocrats to display customary loyalty to the Roman state.⁹²

The mint of Carthage provides a final sign of municipal assertiveness under the Vandals. In the late fifth and early sixth century the city mint began to operate on a large scale for the first time since the early Tetrarchy. Gunthamund, Thrasamund, Hildiric and Geilamir all issued silver and bronze coins in their names.⁹³ At the same time large bronzes bearing badges of the city of Carthage began to appear. On one bronze series the anepigraphic obverse showed Lady Carthage raising aloft shafts of grain, just as she had done on issues of the early Tetrarchs.⁹⁴ Hildiric used the motif on reverses of his silver, adding the legend FELIX KARTHAGO.⁹⁵ Another bronze series bore on the obverse a standing warrior and the legend KARTHAGO, while the reverse displayed monetary values (units of *nummi*) and a horse's head.⁹⁶ The last symbol had been a common badge of Carthage in Phoenician times. It survived the Roman conquest of Africa, appearing, for example, on late Roman lamps.⁹⁷ Although the Vandal kings supervised this new activity of the mint of Carthage, they probably did not order the issue of the two series of anonymous bronzes. While these were appearing in the metropolis of Africa, the Senate at Rome, perhaps under the tutelage of the barbarian officer Odovacar or the Ostrogothic kings, minted similar large bronzes with badges of the City of Rome and the letters *S(enatus) C(onsulto)* on the reverse. It seems likely that their African counterparts were products of the *curia* of Carthage.⁹⁸

While the *curia*, the provincial council and the proconsul continued to flourish, the private lives of Carthage's inhabitants remained much the same as they had been during the early Dominate. Victor of Vita, Luxorius and the archaeological record combine to show Vandal nobles and Roman aristocrats living and dying ostentatiously in townhouses and suburban seaside villas.

Despite the protestations of Salvian, it was to be expected that the Vandals would adjust to local conditions. Malchus of Philadelphia and Procopius suggest as much,⁹⁹ and the poems of Luxorius in particular show their leaders displaying their wealth and status. Hôhageis, a member of the royal family, possessed stately gardens which contained a variety of medicinal herbs. The noble Blumarit invited many friends to dinner at his townhouse or villa, but developed the bad habit of asking them for gifts. The Goth Fridus put on an ostentatious wedding whose precise nature stands

⁹¹ See above, n. 86.

⁹² On the continuing veneration of imperial statues see *Codex theodosianus* 15.4.1. Cf. F. M. Clover, "Le culte des empereurs dans l'Afrique vandale," *BAC* (forthcoming).

⁹³ Cf. *BMC Vand.* pp. 8-16.

⁹⁴ *BMC Vand.* pp. 6-7. Cf. *RIC VI*, 411-35.

⁹⁵ *BMC Vand.* pp. 13-14.

⁹⁶ *BMC Vand.* pp. 3-4.

⁹⁷ Cf. G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (London 1963) 11-12; J. Bayet, "L'omen du cheval à Carthage: Timée, Virgile et le monnayage punique," *Mélanges de littérature latine*, ed. J. Bayet (Rome 1967) 255-280; and J. Ferron, "Le caractère solaire du dieu de Carthage," *Africa I* (1966) 41-63. On the survival of the horse's head, cf. J. Bussière, "Note sur la datation d'une lampe à tête de cheval trouvée à Renault (Oranie)," *AntAfr* 3 (1969) 237-242. Examples of the two series of anonymous bronzes and their antecedents and offshoots appear in Fig. 1.

⁹⁸ Cf. *BMC Vand.* pp. 100-101; and P. Grierson, "The *Tablettes Albertini* and the Value of the *Solidus* in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D.," *JRS* 49 (1959) 73-80. On the nature and date of the anonymous bronzes of Carthage, see also W. Hahn, *Moneta imperii byzantini: Rekonstruktion des Prägeaufbaues auf synoptisch-tabellarischer Grundlage* (2 vols.; Vienna, 1973-1975) I, 92-95, and C. Morrison, "Les origines du monnayage vandale," *Actes du 8^{ème} Congrès international de Numismatique, New York-Washington, septembre 1973* (Paris/Basel 1976), 461-72.

⁹⁹ See above, n. 37.



Fig. 1. Some coins of late fifth- and early sixth-century Carthage and their antecedents:

- a. The reverse of a Siculo-Punic silver tetradrachm. Cf. G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (London 1963) pl. 26, no. 9 (photograph courtesy of the American Numismatic Society)
- b. The reverse of an *aureus* of Maximian. Cf. *RIC*, VI, 430, no. 46 (photograph of Cabinet des Médailles no. 1600 courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
- c. The obverse of a bronze coin valued at 42 *nummi*. Cf. *BMC Vand.*, p. 6, nos. 3-7 (photograph courtesy of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen)
- d. The obverse and reverse of a bronze coin valued at 42 *nummi*. Cf. *BMC Vand.*, p. 3, nos. 10-13 (photograph courtesy of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen)
- e. The reverse of a silver coin of King Hildiric. Cf. *BMC Vand.*, pp. 13-14, nos. 3-7 (photograph of Cabinet des Médailles, Collection Schlumberger no. 2,230 courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

disguised behind an elaborate *epithalamium* of Luxorius. The Goth Fridamal owned a seaside villa. In the midst of its pleasure garden stood a tower whose rooms were resplendent with varied art. Most noteworthy was a painting which showed Fridamal slaying a wild boar.¹⁰⁰ The famous

¹⁰⁰ *AL* 18, 304, 305, 326, 345, 369. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 178; Happ, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14 (1963), 22-27; and Shackleton Bailey, *'Anthologia Latina,'* (supra n. 27) 44, 49-50, 52.

hunting mosaic found at Bordj Djedid in the nineteenth century offers a striking parallel to Luxorius' description of the painting in Fridamal's tower. Fragments of this mosaic, made at Carthage toward the end of the fifth century and possibly an adornment of a seaside villa, show a horseman galloping to the right and lassoing a stag; a bearded horseman in a tunic with *clavi*, anklets and top boots, galloping to the right over a rocky landscape; a dog pursuing a boar; a mustachioed horseman wearing a tunic, pants, leggings and boots and riding his horse in front of a villa; two gazelles, one wounded by an arrow; a dog pursuing a hare; and a bear.¹⁰¹ The costume of the horsemen—the tunic with centered *clavus*, pants, leggings, boots and side whiskers—is characteristic of northern frontiersmen in late antiquity. But since Romans sometimes adopted northern fashions at this time, the hunters depicted on the mosaic might be Roman aristocrats. Nevertheless, the painting in Fridamal's garden tower suggests that Vandal noblemen were not averse to advertising their prowess at the hunt.¹⁰²

The seaside villa near the Plage d'Amilcar and the House of the Greek Charioteers provide additional glimpses of private life during the Vandal century. The latter structure enjoyed two repavings with mosaics in the porticoes at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. Around the same time the house encroached upon the area of the former street. Not until the beginning of the Eastern Roman hegemony was there a break in continuity of occupation.¹⁰³ Once again the literary evidence sets this fine peristyle structure in context. The chronicler Prosper and Procopius show that skilled housebuilders and unskilled labor stood ready to do repairs in Vandal Carthage.¹⁰⁴ The house might have stood near that of Marcius, Luxorius' neighbor, who (says the poet) was jealous of the privacy afforded by his outer walls.¹⁰⁵ The poems of Luxorius abound with descriptions of statues, paintings and flora which—on the analogy of the houses at Pompeii—might have adorned the House of the Greek Charioteers: a plate, for instance, showing a country girl taking a thorn from a satyr's foot, and a marble statue of Hector in a cold sweat as he beheld Achilles.¹⁰⁶

The seaside villa excavated by the Danish team as part of the International Campaign to Save Carthage presents a gloomy side of urban living under the Vandals. Excavations of the western complex have revealed two rooms cut away and used for the burial of over thirty adults and children. Grave goods and the fill layer on top suggest that the burials occurred around the end of the fifth century. None of the deceased suffered violent death. Most of them were under five or over twenty years of age. The excavators are still performing tests on the remains, but currently suspect epidemic or famine as the cause of death.¹⁰⁷ In this connection one cannot ignore Victor of Vita's description of a famine which gripped Africa soon after Huneric ordered the persecution of Catholics on 25 February 484.¹⁰⁸ Victor mixes Biblical quotations and actual events to present a lurid account of the famine.¹⁰⁹ Drought gripped all of Africa, shrivelling all the crops and preventing replanting. With the resulting famine came disease. "Youths, old people, young men and women, boys and girls died in droves, and funerals, wherever and however possible, were scattered

¹⁰¹ Cf. R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London 1933), pp. 144-48, no. 57. Portions of this mosaic appear in Fig. 2. On the date of the mosaic see now K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978) 59, 62 and 250, and Dunbabin, "A Mosaic Workshop in Carthage around A.D. 400," *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 73-83.

¹⁰² Procop. *BV* 2.6.7: "... and most of all they (the Vandals) spent their leisure hours at the hunt." For the caution expressed here, see Hinks, (supra n. 101) 147-48.

¹⁰³ See again the summary of Humphrey, *New Light* . . . (supra n. 29) 106-107.

¹⁰⁴ Prosp. *Chron.* 1375 (*MGH:AA*, IX, 484), and Procop. *BV* 1.23.19-21.

¹⁰⁵ *AL* 314. Cf. Shackleton Bailey, *'Anthologia Latina'*, (supra n. 27) 46-47.

¹⁰⁶ *AL* 367, 371. Cf. Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 180, and Shackleton Bailey, *'Anthologia Latina'* (supra n. 27) 55-56. For other possible trappings of townhouses see *AL* 325, 332, 334, 335, 347, 348, 355, 356, 366, 372, 374.

¹⁰⁷ See above, n. 46.

¹⁰⁸ I have summarized here Vict. *Vit.* *HP* 3.55-60. On the date see *HP* 3.1-14 and 71.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Petschenig, *CSEL* VII, 99-100, *ad* Vict. *Vit.* *HP* 3.56-57.



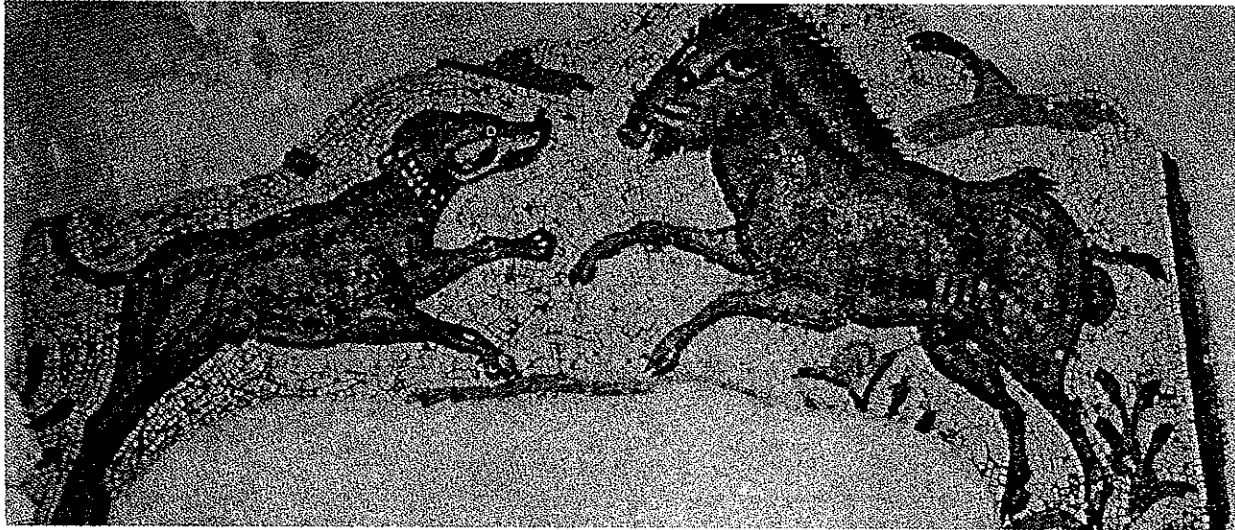


Fig. 2. Three fragments of the Bordj-Djedid mosaic. Cf. R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue* (see n. 101) no. 57 b-d (photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

far and wide, encompassing towns, villages and individual cities."¹¹⁰ Many sought sustenance in the fields and forests. Others, struggling to leave their houses, fell corpse upon corpse on the thresholds. Death became so frequent that the unburied clogged city streets. Some sought refuge in servitude to the well-fed rich, but these were in such dire straits that they refused to swell the numbers of their already starving households. Still others, half dead from disease and hunger, travelled to the greatest hoarder of foodstuffs in Africa, Carthage. Huniric, however, wanting in particular to avoid the decimation of his army, ordered and enforced the expulsion of the incoming sick and dying to their own homes throughout the provinces. Victor concludes his account with a question: "But why do I tarry so long in this matter which I cannot explain?"¹¹¹

Have the Danish excavators uncovered a record of the famine of 484? The student of Vandal Carthage must be cautious for the present. Victor exaggerates, evidently deriving inspiration from the Bible's record of plagues and famines which God visited upon persecutors of His Chosen People. Furthermore, the reports on the villa complex are still preliminary. Nevertheless, the famine of 484 was the kind of disaster which might have led to the mass burials in a villa so close to Carthage, the center of life and death in Vandal Africa.

While Christian apologists and the poets of the Latin Anthology sometimes spoke of the same aspects of life in Vandal Carthage, they never expressed themselves in the same way. Luxorius and Felix would not have used Biblical idioms to describe starvation and drought, and Victor of Vita was more concerned with persecution by Vandal *optimates* than with their displays of wealth. The Christians of Vandal Africa led lives much different from those of Luxorius and his friends. In the case of Carthage the activities of Catholics and Arians are best known.

¹¹⁰Vict. Vit. HP 3.57.

¹¹¹Vict. Vit. HP 3.61.

The most important feature of Christian life was not the triumph and tragedy of persecution, but the day-to-day ministration to the faithful. The best weapon in the Arian arsenal was the Vandal version of the Gothic Bible, complete with a Latin translation and exegeses. A *Collatio cum Pascentio Ariano* carries a precious glimpse of Arian worship. *Frôja armês* sounded forth from Arian pulpits, but the Latin-speaking faithful quickly heard the same cry in translation: *Domine miserere*.¹¹² Translation, exegesis, official pressure and monetary aid for the poor all bore fruit. The existing faithful and new converts came to worship in the basilicas of Carthage which the Vandals seized upon their arrival. The archaeological record may support Victor's chronicle of seizure.¹¹³ The magnificent basilica perched on a bluff overlooking the Plage d'Amilcar may be identified as the *Memoria Cyprani*. Excavations have produced a few epitaphs bearing Germanic names.¹¹⁴

For Catholics too there was continuity of daily worship. The vituperations of Victor of Vita are less valuable than the glimpses he affords of worship in the Basilica of Faustus outside the walls. Catholics rendered homage to God there at least during the ecclesiastical peaces of 454-457 and 480/481-484. In the latter period the faithful adorned the basilica with wax candles, coverlets and lamps. On Epiphany Sunday (6 January) 484, worshippers beheld a miracle in the sanctuary. Before dawn a blind man named Felix followed his boy attendant to the basilica after being admonished

¹¹² *Collatio cum Pascentio Ariano* 15 (PL XXXIII, 1162). Cf. F. Wrede, *Ueber die Sprache der Wandalen: Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Namen- und Dialektforschung* (Strassburg 1886) 71-72. Salvian (*De gub. Dei* 7.46) commends the Vandals' reliance on their Bible. In general, see G. W. S. Friedrichsen, "The Gothic Text of Luke in its Relation to the *Codex Brixianus* (f) and the *Codex Palatinus* (e)," *New Testament Studies* 11 (1964-65) 281-90.

¹¹³ See above, nn. 10, 66-68.

¹¹⁴ A seaward view of the basilica appears in Fig. 3. See *I C Sainte-Monique* 52, 57, 82 and 323, with M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen nach der Ueberlieferung des klassischen Altertums bearbeitet* (Heidelberg 1911) 43, 49-50, 114-15, 271-72. Cf. Duval, *MEFR* 84 (1972) 1116-19, and Frend vol. III, 37.

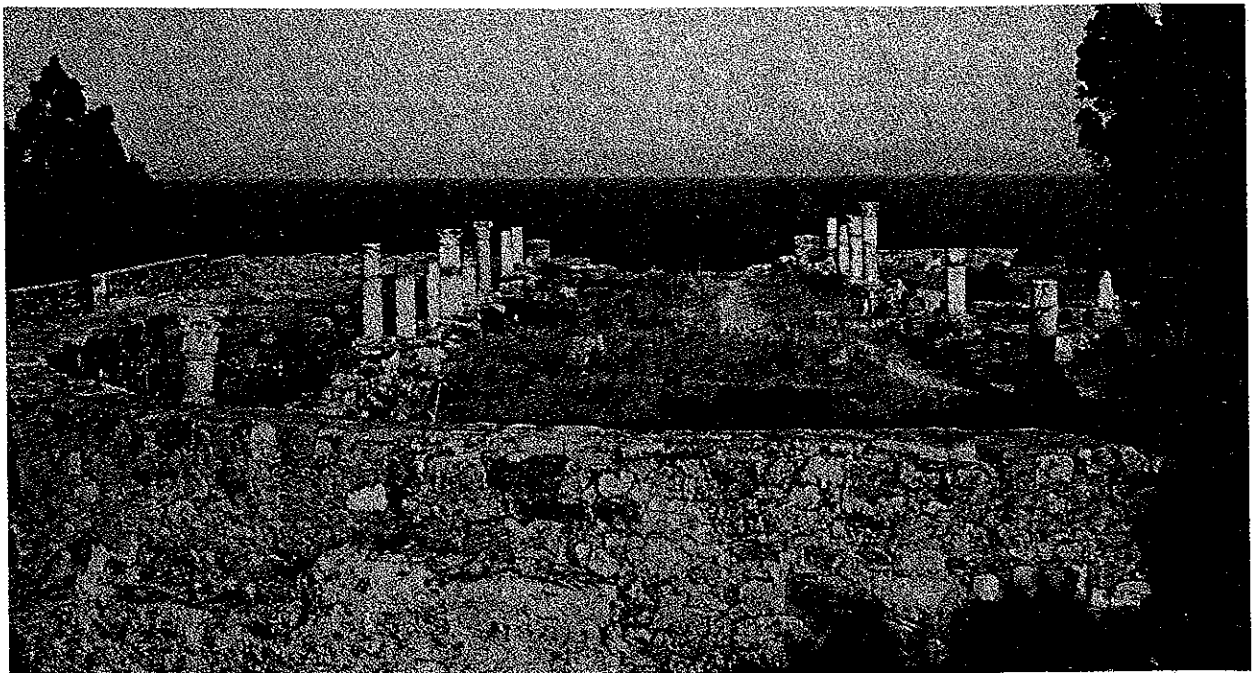


Fig. 3. "... before the city beside the shore of the sea" (Procop. *BV* 1.21.18). A seaward view of the basilica which is probably the *Memoria Cyprani* (photograph taken by the author in 1970).

three times by God. There he beseeched the Deacon Peregrinus to announce him to Bishop Eugenius—evidently the Basilica of Faustus served as the Catholic Cathedral after the seizure of the Basilica Perpetua Restituta within the walls. Amidst hymns which even before dawn marked the beginning of Epiphany service, Eugenius heard the request and asked to have Felix ushered in. Felix conveyed God's orders to himself to seek a cure for his affliction from the Bishop. Eugenius announced that he was a base sinner, but led Felix with an entourage of clerics to the baptismal font. The prelate blessed the font, again professed his own sin, and then made the sign of the Cross before Felix's eyes. Immediately Felix was cured! Eugenius kept Felix close to him as he administered baptisms on this special day, and then revealed the miracle to the congregation. All of the faithful present sent up a rousing cheer.¹¹⁵

The shout which shook the interior of the Basilica of Faustus on Epiphany Sunday of 484 little resembles the cheers which (according to Luxorius) rocked the Byrsa as the hunter Olympius performed his daring feats. The interests of Salvian and Victor of Vita kept them from observing in detail the lives of wealthy Romans who still cherished classical learning, and the poets of the Latin Anthology scarcely concerned themselves with Christian piety. Salvian's shock at the double devotion of Romans in Carthage suggests that the two ways of life were not entirely separate.¹¹⁶ In his own way Luxorius may make the same point. Like the other great cities of the Roman world, Carthage had her share of heavy drinkers.¹¹⁷ One of these was a *sacerdos* who was more concerned with wine cups and tavern bars than with psalms and pulpits.¹¹⁸ Luxorius and Salvian were evidently in agreement. Under the Vandals Roman life still had its attractions, even for Christians.

* * * *

After decades of Vandal rule Carthage, the city of *curiales* devoted to the imperial cult, bishops who performed miracles, Vandal nobles who enjoyed the hunt, and Donatist clerics who compared Geiseric to the Antichrist, was still a Roman metropolis, battered but unbowed. The poet Florentinus concluded his homage to King Thrasamund with an elegium to Carthage which resembled Salvian's back-handed compliments:¹¹⁹

"Carthage retains her repute throughout her summits.
Carthage is directress. Carthage the victress triumphs,
Carthage is mother-city to the Hasdingi, Carthage shines
forth, this Carthage which surpasses throughout Libya's
lands. Carthage flourishes in peoples and in learning,
this Carthage which is adorned with teachers. Carthage
glitters, this Carthage which is well endowed with houses
and with walls. Carthage is savory and nectar-sweet.
She flourishes, ruling in the name of Thrasamund! So that
her rule might remain fortunate throughout the ages we
hope that Our Master will observe yearly festivals for many
years, while he seeks anew the glittering celebrations of
his rule."

One or two decades after Florentinus composed his glowing portrait of Thrasamund's Carthage, the ambitious Justinian sent Belisarius to recover Africa. Procopius provides a precious view of the

¹¹⁵Vict. Vit. *HP* 2.47-51. Cf. *HP* 1.24-28, 2.18 and 3.34.

¹¹⁶See above, nn. 32-36.

¹¹⁷See, for example, *AL* 311 and 363; with Bruère, *CP* 57 (1962) 178-79, and Shackleton Bailey, 'Anthologia Latina,' (supra n. 27) 53-54.

¹¹⁸*AL* 303.

¹¹⁹*AL* 376. 28-39.

last three days of Vandal rule in Carthage. On 13 September 533, the eve of the *Cypriana* marking Saint Cyprian's martyrdom, two important events occurred. Arian Christians, still in control of the *Memoria Cypriani*, made preparations for the feast by cleansing the basilica, readying lamps and bringing forth sacred vessels from storage.¹²⁰ At the same time Belisarius' forces defeated Geilamir's Vandals at Ad Decimum, a town possibly situated at the tenth milestone of the route from Carthage to Theveste.¹²¹ When they heard the news of the Roman victory, the Arians fled from Cyprian's basilica. On the next day not Arian but Catholic Christians celebrated the *Cypriana* in this famous church for the first time in two generations. "They burned all the lamps," states Procopius, "and took care of the sacred affairs in the manner that is customary for them."¹²² In the meantime Belisarius' fleet and army approached Carthage. Upon their arrival the inhabitants threw open the city gates and removed the iron chains drawn across the entrance to Mandracium. The Vandals in the city took refuge in the basilicas and sanctuaries within the walls. The palace guard in charge of the *Ankôn*, where eastern merchants were awaiting execution, tore away the seaward planking of the enclosure, showed the prisoners the approaching fleet and then released them. The fleet commanders were uncertain whether their force would fit inside Mandracium, and decided to anchor instead at nearby Stagnum. Belisarius delayed his entry into the city to prevent nocturnal looting. At this he was unsuccessful. Calonymus, one of his subordinates, did plunder the merchants' quarters. Despite the incident the Carthaginians burned lamps throughout the city, awaiting the procession of the conqueror.¹²³

On the next day, 15 September 533, Belisarius entered Carthage amidst a calm marred only by complaints of Calonymus' looting. He ascended the Byrsa, entered the Palace and sat on Geilamir's throne.¹²⁴ Belisarius' processional contrasted strongly with the bloody attack of the Vandals nearly a century before. The great metropolis of Roman Africa entered a new phase of her existence.

APPENDIX: THE VANDALIC COMPONENT OF THE LATIN ANTHOLOGY

An inscription from Tunis contains a brief elegiac salute to the Hasding Gebamund, who evidently sponsored the construction of some baths.¹²⁵ This discovery is evidence enough that poets wrote short pieces while the Vandals ruled Africa. The Latin Anthology contains more examples of the same kind of versifying. But how many examples?

The second volume of *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* contains an old and erroneous answer to this question: because some of the poets of the Latin Anthology did write during the Vandal hegemony, others of uncertain date probably did so too.¹²⁶ The proper approach is to study the poems themselves. Strictly speaking, one cannot trust the titles of the poems unless the information they provide finds confirmation elsewhere. The editor or editors of the collection, for instance, announced that Virgil was the author of an elegiac couplet whose real author was

¹²⁰Procop. *BV* 1.21.17-23. On the date of the *Cypriana* see *Kal. carth.* xviii Kal. Oct. (ed. Lietzmann, p. 5).

¹²¹Procop. *BV* 1.17-19 and 1.21.24. See Courtois, *Vandales* 353, n. 3.

¹²²Procop. *BV* 1.21.25.

¹²³Procop. *BV* 1.20.1-16.

¹²⁴Procop. *BV* 1.20.17-22.

¹²⁵*CIL*, VIII, 25362. For this and similar poems, see the excellent discussion of E. Courtney, "Observations on the Latin Anthology," *Hermathena*, CXXIX (1980), 37-50, at 38-40.

¹²⁶*PLRE* II, Avitus 2, Bonosus 2, Calbulus, Lindinus, Modestinus, Octavianus 4, Petrus 23, Ponnani(i)us, Regianus, Symphosius, Tuccianus, Vincentius 5. Of these only Petrus Referendarius (*AL* 380) merits more than passing attention. The editor or editors of the Latin Anthology called this short poem "versus in basilica palatii sanctae Mariae." Courtois, *Vandales* 253, n. 5, suggested that the palace shrine of the Theotokos dated from the reign of King Thrasamund. But the parallel evidence of Procopius (*BV* 2.14.37 and *De aed.* 6.5.9) will only confirm the existence of the shrine during the reign of Justinian. Procopius' testimony raises the possibility that some of the editorial work on the Latin Anthology occurred after the Eastern Roman conquest. For a Byzantine view of the Latin Anthology, see Averil Cameron's "Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence," in Chapter 3 below.

Ovid.¹²⁷ The present assessment of the Vandalic section of the Latin Anthology rests primarily on the poems' contents. On occasion I have let the titles be an additional guide when they are consistent.

AL 18, 203, 287-375 (*Luxorius vir clarissimus et spectabilis*)

A few of the verses attributed to Luxorius carry references to the Vandal elite.¹²⁸ Only the titles of the poems permit one to date all of them to the early sixth century. The title set between the end of Symphosius' *Aenigmata* and the beginning of the next work indicates that Luxorius' book of epigrams consists of ninety-seven poems.¹²⁹ The number of epigrams which follows is eighty-nine. The rough correspondence of actual and reported numbers lends some substance to the view that Luxorius was prominent in literary circles during the last generation of Vandal rule.

AL 37 (*Anonymus*)

Luxorius' name appears in verse 1.

AL 82 (*Anonymus*)

Verse 5 contains the name Fridus. The root *Frithu-* was a common element of Germanic proper names, particularly among the Goths.¹³⁰

AL 209 (*Anonymus*)

In verse 1 Abgar is a *regius servus*. The adjective fixes the time of this poem between the reigns of Geiseric and Geilamir.

AL 210-214 (*Felix vir clarissimus*)

The poet names King Thrasamund in verses of the first four poems, and in the acrostic of the last.¹³¹

¹²⁷AL 262 = Ovid *Tristia* 2.33-34.

¹²⁸E.g. AL 18.49, 203.1, 304.14, 305.1 and 345.15.

¹²⁹AL 287.

¹³⁰Cf. E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch I: Personennamen* (2nd ed., Bonn 1900) 526-539; and H. Kaufmann, *Ernst Förstemann: Altdeutsche Personennamen-Ergänzungsband* (Munich 1968) 125-26. A man of the same name appears in AL 18.49 (Luxorius).

¹³¹PLRE, II, 462 (Felix 19) identifies Felix with the "Flavius Felix *vir clarissimus*" who wrote Poem 254. This piece is late Roman and Christian in tone, but nothing in its contents can be definitely associated with the Vandal century. Courtney, *Hermathena* 129 (1980) 42-43, has argued on the basis of the title (*Postulatio honoris apud Victorinianum virum inlustrem et primiscriniarium*) that Flavius Felix addressed Victorinianus, son of Victorianus of Hadrumetum, Proconsul of Carthage during Huneric's reign (cf. Vict. Vit. HP 3.27). This argument depends too much on the title, and confidence in it wanes when one considers the announced office of Victorinianus. *Primiscrinarii* are not attested in late imperial administration. Cf. PLRE, II, 1161 (Victorinianus). Indeed, Dr. P. Flury informs me (by a letter dated 21 September 1981) that this word does not otherwise appear in the files of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

AL 215 (*Anonymus*)

"Vandaliricus" of verse 1 is the grandson (cf. verse 8) of Valentinian III. King Hildiric was therefore the patron of the man who wrote these hexameters.¹³²

AL 223, 226, 228 (*Coronatus vir clarissimus*)

The contents of these poems bear no specific sign that they were written during the Vandal century. The title attached to the poet's name suggests only that Coronatus flourished some time in late antiquity. Other evidence, however, places Coronatus in Carthage around the turn of the sixth century. An eighth-century manuscript of "Sergius" (i.e. Servius') *Explanations in artem Donati* bears at the end of the work the following:¹³³ "expliciunt finiales sergii incipiunt coronati scholastici. Domino eruditissimo peritissimorum atque inlustri fratri luxorio coronatus. Cum considerarem temporis nostri lectores" etc. From this slender thread hangs the identification of Coronatus as one of Luxorius' contemporaries.

AL 285 (*Anonymus*)

The Burgundian presence in the Rhone Basin once provoked Sidonius Apollinaris to mock despair. How can a gentleman write six-foot verses among seven-foot barbarians?¹³⁴ One of the poets of Vandal Africa expressed the same sentiment more succinctly. The Gothic is evidently hails . . . *skapei jah matjan jah drigkan* ("Heil! Schaff sowohl zu essen als auch zu trinken!").¹³⁵

AL 376 (*Florentinus*)

From verse 2 one learns that King Thrasamund was the poet's sponsor.

AL 387 (*Cato*)

These hexameters are a salute to King Huniric (cf. verse 1).

¹³²PLRE, II, Stemmata 3 and 41.

¹³³H. Keil, *Grammatici latini* (7 vols.; Leipzig 1857-1880) IV, xlix-1. Cf. E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* (12 vols.; Oxford 1934-1971) X, 6, no. 1453.

¹³⁴Sidonius Apollinaris *Carmen* 12.

¹³⁵Cf. F. Wrede, *Stamm-Heyne's Ulfilas oder die uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der gotischen Sprache* (13th and 14th ed., Paderborn 1920) xvii, 416, 417, 446, 453, 465, s.vv.; and S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (3rd ed., Leiden 1939) 125, 131, 200-201, 232-233, 300, 348-349, 414, s.vv.