

Pegasus Author(s): Edward Champlin Source: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bd. 32 (1978), pp. 269–278 Published by: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn (Germany) Stable URL: <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/20185579</u> Accessed: 23/03/2010 17:59

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PEGASUS

The Roman Jurist Pegasus is one of the enigmas of the principate.¹⁾ He was not only a senator and a consul, but prefect of the city of Rome, and as such a counsellor of the emperor Domitian, yet we know him by his bare and exotic cognomen alone. He was one of the leading jurisconsults of the classical age of Roman law, head of the Proculian school and so learned that his contemporaries knew him as 'the Book', yet not a single word of his writings survives. Indeed, but for notices in the Digest and in Juvenal and his scholiast, he would have been quite forgotten. Fortunately, an inscription turned up a decade ago, naming Pegasus as governor of the province of Dalmatia under Vespasian, and the fragmented stone yielded the last half of the man's nomen gentilicium: he is now on record as '...tius Pegasus'. That is just enough to begin the reconstruction of his biography.

Professor Wilkes, the publisher of the inscription, observed that the missing portion of the stone could hardly have accomodated more than three additional letters in the governor's name, and the reader can confirm his observation by inspection of the photograph.²⁾ That considerably narrows the range of possibilities, and in fact there is one combination of three letters precisely which is clearly correct: the jurist was a Plotius Pegasus.

Pegasus, recalling the winged horse of mythology, is an unusually rare name under any circumstances, most of all in the senatorial class of Rome, where it is unique to the jurist. The Juvenal scholiast, here a reliable and essentially near-contemporary witness, felt obliged to comment upon it when the jurist appeared in the famous consilium of the fourth satire: 'filius trierarchi, ex cuius Liburnae parasemo nomen accepit'.³⁾ That is, a future consul and prefect of Rome had been named after his father's ship. Winged beasts of myth are not normally to be looked for in the consular fasti of Rome at any time. Besides Pegasus

1) The meagre evidence is gathered by W. Kunkel, Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen² (1967), 133–134; cf. A. Berger, PW 'Pegasus'. References to the legal writings are collected at Lenel, Palingenesia II. 9–12. The only recent contribution is the highly fanciful essay by E. Marmorale, GIF 18 (1965), 97–106, which is especially vitiated by the author's belief that the Pegasus Augus[talis?] of an inscription at Aletrium was a sodalis Augustalis; see now G. Paci, Epigraphica 38 (1976), 74–79.

2) Epigraphische Studien 4 (1967), 119-21, with Tafel 7, = AE 1967.355 (Zadar).

3) Schol. ad IV.77. G.B.Townend has successfully resurrected a scholiast contemporary with the poet whose hand may be discerned in the scholia on I through VI (including this passage): CQ 22 (1972), 376-387. The man's forte was prosopography.

there is only one other example to be found, in the equally extraordinary name of an equestrian partisan of Vespasian who rose to the consulship in 88, D.Plotius Grypus, the ariffin.⁴⁾ Thus we are faced with the coincidence of two contemporary gentlemen of the Flavian era, both of non-senatorial birth and both consuls; one a Plotius and the other a ... tius; one named after the fabulous winged horse, the other after an equally fabulous beast, part eagle, part lion. Winged beasts, swift and powerful, are apt symbols of the might of the Roman navy. Pegasus would be one obvious choice for the name of a ship. As it happens, no such vessel stands on record in the imperial fleet, but there is no reason to doubt the scholiast, and the name does turn up (suggestively perhaps) as that of a warship in an epic on the Punic Wars composed by a consular contemporary of the jurist. As for Grypus, there was a vessel of that name in the classis Syriaca. Surely the trierarch father of Pegasus named not one son but two after his commands.⁵⁾ The nomen Plotius is certainly well attested in naval circles, and we can even produce a trierarch by the name of M.Plotius Paulus gui et Zosimus, resident in or dying at Rome.⁶⁾ Also, as the Grypus was attached to the Syrian fleet, we should note the trierarch Antonius Plotianus who set up a funerary dedication at Seleucia Pieria, the base of that fleet, to his friend, the Italian Annius Herculanus, late navarch of the Misenine fleet.⁷⁾ And it would be criminal to omit the freedwoman at Rome, Plotia C.I. Thalassa.⁸⁾

Various considerations support the identification of Pegasus as a member of the gens Plotia. First, used as a Roman cognomen the name is exceptionally rare, and the gentilicia attested with it can be quickly examined. Three are exceedingly common, that is, lulius and Aelius, both imperial names, and Cornelius, representing the largest by far of the great patrician gentes of the republic.⁹⁾ There is only one other on record, and it is incomparably less common than the other three: a soldier of the fifth cohort of vigiles at Rome under Septimius Severus bears the unique name of A. Plautius Pegasus.¹⁰⁾ It would be difficult to

4) Below, n.31.

5) The Pegasus: Silius Italicus, Pun. 14.576. The Grypus: CIL III.434. Pegasi and Grypi form a natural pair, cf. Pliny NH 10.136: 'Pegasos equino capite volucres et gryphos auritos ac dira aduncitate rostri fabulosos reor...'

6) CIL VI.3621.

- 7) IGLS 1155.
- 8) ILS 8422.

9) CIL VIII.128 (Iulius); III.4150, cf. VI.10889 (Aelius); XII.1297 (Cornelius).

10) CIL VI.1057.3.44 (A.D. 205?).

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argue coincidence: the man should be the descendant of a client of the great jurist, possibly even a descendant of the jurist himself. The spelling of the name offers no problem, for Plautius and Plotius are as interchangeable as Claudius and Clodius. There is good evidence that the name of a single person could be spelled indifferently in either fashion, and (most relevantly) there are two senators of the second century, a Plotius Iulianus and a D.Plautius Felix Iulianus, who are clearly connected not only to each other but to the brothers Pegasus and Grypus as well.¹¹⁾ As it happens, the more vulgar form had good authority in the Flavian age, for Vespasian himself was inclined to use 'plostra' for 'plaustra'.¹²⁾

Next, the proconsul of Cyprus in the year 81/82 is recorded by an inscription (now lost) as L.Plotius P.....¹³⁾ He is usually, if hesitantly, identified as an unknown son of the Claudian praetor P.Plautius Pulcher, a scion of the noble family of the Plautii Silvani. This is most unlikely. 'Lucius' is a praenomen quite unknown to the Plautii Silvani, or to the republican Claudii Pulchri from whom P.Pulcher clearly derived his name. Much more likely, then, a Plotius P.... should be the homonymous son of Plotius Pegasus, who was just then at the height of his power. In that case, the full name of the jurist might be restored as L.(?) Plotius Pegasus.

Finally, there is a Roman jurisconsult of the same era known simply as Plautius, who is demonstrably 'fere aequalis Pegasi'.¹⁴⁾ The coincidence of a Flavian jurist Plautius and a Flavian jurist Plotius Pegasus is highly suggestive. Jurisprudence tends to run in families, the grand example being the Mucii Scaevolae of the republic, who produced no fewer than six jurisconsults: the high incidence of relationship by blood and marriage among the members of a small profession remains to be investigated in detail.¹⁵⁾ With reference particularly to Pegasus, it is interesting that he was preceded in his school by the Coccei Nervae, pater and filius, and succeeded immediately by the luventii Celsi, pater and

11) Plautius/Plotius: PW 'Plautius' (F. Münzer). Iuliani: see below.

12) Suetonius, DV 22.

13) CIL III.6732 (cf. AE 1953.179). 'Lucius' does appear in the Plautii Silvani, but only at a late date and through the connection with the Aelii Lamiae: L.Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus, cos.80. Plautius Pulcher (ILS 964) had no Aelian connection.

14) Kunkel, 134. Fragments at Lenel, Palingenesia 11.13-14.

15) Note the recurrence of names among the jurists collected by Kunkel, to which one should add connections by marriage, e.g. Antistius Labeo married to a Neratia. For the republic, see especially F.Wieacker, "Die römische Juristen in der politischen Gesellschaft des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts", Sein und Werden im Recht (Festschrift U.v.Lübtow, 1970), 183–214.

filius. The surviving fragments of Plautius certainly do betray some interests similar to those reported of Pegasus, particularly in the matter of fideicommissa. He should be a close relative, perhaps a brother.¹⁶⁾

It is very difficult to say just where Pegasus came from. Some indiction may lie in the other members of his family. Most important of these is the brother, D.Plotius Grypus, who first appears as a partisan of Vespasian in the great year 69, when he was appointed irregularly to the command of a legion (probably VII Claudia) and adlected to the senate. In the following year he was raised to praetorian rank, but thereafter the record is silent until he turns up as suffect consul in 88.¹⁷⁾ His son should be the Plotius Grypus, welllaunched on his senatorial career by the mid-90's, who is honoured in one of the more iocular of Statius' Silvae.¹⁸⁾ The praenomen of the consul of 88 is now known from the Fasti Potentini to have been Decimus.¹⁹⁾ If we can trust these fasti, this is a vital clue to the subsequent history of the family, for the combination of Decimus with the nomen Plautius/Plotius is extremely rare, offered in only two other examples. One is an obscure D. Plautius Valens at Corinth.²⁰⁾ The other is a senator of the second century, D. Plautius Felix Iulianus, and if we take into account his high rank, his proximity in time to the consul of 88, and the excessive rarity of his nomenclature, we should presume a relationship with Grypus. This Iulianus, father of a Plautia Elpis, is abundantly attested as proconsul of Cyprus at some date in the Antonine or Severan age.²¹⁾ And he in turn should be closely related to, if not the same as, the senator Plotius Iulianus attested as legate of V Macedonica

- 17) Below, n.31
- 18. Silvae IV. pr.21, IV.9.

19) Athenaeum 26 (1948), 110ff. What follows in this and the next two paragraphs is highly tentative, presuming on the accuracy of the FP. But Professor C.P. Jones rightly reminds me of the problems of the FP, cf. most recently F.Zevi, Akt. VI Epigr. Kongress (1973), 438. And against the FP stands BCAR 15 (1887), 188, naming the consular pair L.Plotius and L.Minucius (presumably Rufus, cos. ord. 88): but there is no good reason to give this priority over the FP, and the praenomen might be attracted from that of his colleague.

20) CIL III.541; cf. SEG XI.219 for a Plotius at Corinth.

21) IGRR 111.954–956, AE 1961.8, I. Kourion 90. For grave reservations on the possibility of dating, see R.Bagnall and T.Drew-Bear, Phoenix 27 (1973), 227–28.

¹⁶⁾ I am indebted to Professor A.M. Honoré for his advice on the jurist Plautius, who is probably not to be identified with Pegasus nor with a possible son (there are problems of nomenclature and chronology).

in Moesia Inferior in 134.²²⁾

The unknown father of the consuls Pegasus and Grypus was a trierarch in the Roman navy, a rank and profession indicative of humble, if not servile, birth and strongly suggesting Eastern extraction.²³⁾ And finally, the L.Plotius P..., proconsul of Cyprus in the first year of Domitian, has a good claim to being the son of the jurist.

Taken together and with great caution, these fragile items point strongly to the Eastern half of the empire. Where they are at all distinctive the names are clearly Greek: not just Pegasus and Grypus, which are certainly exotic, however they be explained: but Elpis especially, and perhaps the trierarch Zosimus, known to Romans as M. Plotius Paulus, who certainly has the best claim to being the consuls' father. And whoever their father may have been, his service in the fleet imports a probability of Eastern origins. It is also highly suggestive that, with the exception of Pegasus himself, the known provincial employments of the family all lie in the East: Plotius Grypus and Plotius Iulianus commanded Moesian legions, Plautius Iulianus and Plotius P.... were both governors of Cyprus. It might be conjectured from the latter instance that the proconsulship went to men with local ties, that the Plotii were perhaps themselves native, seafaring Cypriots who received the franchise from the Augustan proconsul of the island, A. Plautius – note the later vigilis, A. Plautius Pegasus – and that one of their number with a naval bent was attracted to the Roman service at the nearby base of the classis Syriaca at Seleucia Pieria. However that may be, Eastern ancestry (but not necessarily upbringing) is not historically implausible in the ruling classes of the Flavian era, and the brothers Plotii can be assigned to the noteworthy contingent of Eastern knights and senators adlected into or promoted within the senatorial order of Rome after the revolution of 69.24)

The history of Pegasus is succinctly recorded by the Juvenal scholiast:

Filius trierarchi, ex cuius Liburnae parasemo nomen accepit, iuris studio gloriam memoriae meruit, ut 'liber' vulgo, non homo doceretur. Hic functus omni honore cum provinciis

22) CIL III.6178.

23) The senior Plotius was certainly trierarch under Tiberius, possibly under Augustus as well. In that period officers of the fleet were almost invariably freedmen (or even imperial slaves), though free provincials are not to be discounted: considerable modern debate has not substantially superseded Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften V (1908), 407-41. I have opted for a free provincial because of the nomen, but one should note the still unexplained C.Plotius Aug. lib. Gemellus (CIL VI.24316), on whom see P.R.C.Weaver, Familia Caesaris (1972), 36f.

24) Cf. most recently G. Houston, AJP 98 (1977), 53f.; conjecture might add more.

plurimis praefuisset, urbis curam administravit. Hinc est 'Pegasianum' scilicet ius, quod iuris peritus fuerat.²⁵⁾

Before his consulship the career of Pegasus is otherwise a blank. His father was of humble station and his brother was certainly an equestrian officer in 69, nevertheless it should be accepted that he himself followed a senatorial career, 'functus omni honore'.²⁶⁾ As a new man, and therefore most unlikely to have been consul before the age of forty-two, he was probably born not much after the year 30, and perhaps considerably earlier.²⁷⁾ Whatever offices he may have held, his extraordinary rise was clearly due to his legal learning. Not only was he a iuris peritus of glorious memory, a walking encyclopaedia, ²⁸⁾ he was head of one of the two schools of law at Rome, the Proculian. His own master was the jurisconsult Proculus himself, who had succeeded Nerva pater as head of the school as long ago as 33, and whom Pegasus succeeded directly at an unknown date, possibly in the later years of Nero.²⁹⁾ The relationship may have been a close one, not merely because Pegasus succeeded his master of so many years, but also because he seems to have continued his work of reform in at least one branch of the civil law, and because he probably used Proculus' nomen gentilicium in an affectionate manner, as the name for a character in a law-case. Conjecture might lead us to a wider stage, for if, as Professor Honoré has argued, Proculus was 'Seneca's lawyer', then his best pupil will also have moved in the highest circles of Nero's reign.³⁰⁾

25) For the reliability of this source, see the article cited in n.3 above.

26) The alternative, that he was an equestrian like his brother and adlected by Vespasian in or after 69, is on balance unlikely. On the latest calculation, of the 14 subsequent consuls who were adlected by Vespasian into the senate, 2 may have reached the consulship under his rule, 2 under Titus, at least 9 under Domitian, and one as late as Trajan: Houston, 41ff.

27) For the calculation see R.Syme, Tacitus (1958), 652–653, and for the date of Pegasus' consulship see below, n.35. Moreover, the proconsul of Cyprus of 81/82 must have been praetor no later than the year 80 (and possibly long before), and therefore was born by 50 at the latest. If he was Pegasus' son, the jurist's own birth should be pushed back into the 20's.

28) The popular comment might suggest malice toward the parvenu, with a deliberate play on the meanings of liber.

29) Pomponius apud Dig. 1.2.2.53: 'Proculo Pegasus (sc. successit), qui temporibus Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit.' On Proculus, the article by A.M.Honoré, TvR 30 (1962), 472–509, is essential.

30) On all of this, see Honoré, esp. 490-493, with 476. At 490-491 he argues that the s.c. Trebellianum of 56 was influenced by Proculus; it was of course followed by the s.c. Pegasianum. He further argues (persuasively, I believe) that the gentilicium of

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With the advent of Vespasian, Pegasus clearly prospered. His position in 69 is quite unknown, but his brother Plotius Grypus first appears in that year as a commander in the army of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, sweeping through Italy after the Flavian victory at Cremona. The mysterious Grypus is an important figure, apparently the chief Flavian agent among the forces led by Danubian generals of dubious loyalty. Vespasian had recently adlected him into the senatorial order and placed him in command of a legion, and the sinister Mucianus corresponded with him privately during the descent on Rome. His swift reward was practorian rank, assigned to him in the following year.³¹⁾ Plotius Grypus clearly stood high in the confidence of Vespasian, and it might further be conjectured that he had previously served with the new emperor and Mucianus in the East, being among the first agents despatched by his party to join the campaign in Italy. Thus Pegasus was assured of access to the regime, if it were needed, and the smooth continuation of his career. But there should be another link binding him (and his brother) even closer to the dynasty. The new Dalmatian inscription recording his tenure of the province commemorates his choice of C. Petillius Firmus, tribune of legio IV Flavia felix, as iudex in a boundary dispute.³²⁾Petillius is a name rare in the ruling classes of the principate, and its occurrence precisely in the reign of Vespasian inevitably recalls the emperor's energetic general and son-in-law, Petillius Cerialis, twice (and probably three times) consul.³³⁾ Petillius Firmus should be a close relative of this man, perhaps even a son by an earlier marriage. It would be a good guess that the military tribunate was in the gift of the legate Pegasus (the practice is well

31) Tacitus, Hist. 3.52, 4.39, 40. For speculation as to Grypus' role in 69 and the intrigue over the award to him of an actual praetorship, and its subsequent revocation, see recently J.K.Evans, Historia 27 (1978), 121–122.

32) AE 1967.355.

33) On the career of Cerialis and on the imperial Petillii in general, see A.R.Birley, Britannia 4 (1973), 179–190.

Proculus was Sempronius, a name first reportedly used by Pegasus (Dig. 28.5.19). I might note here that the connection between Proculus and the sisters Metilia Rufina and Metilia Marcia (suggested at 476) can be strengthened. Among the relations of these ladies was a line of later consuls headed by P. Metilius Sabinus Nepos, cos. 91 (on whom see, summarily, R.Syme, JRS 58 (1968), 138); there exist three fragments from the Epistulae of Proculus addressed 'Nepoti suo', surely a connection. As for Pegasus under Nero, 1 am inclined to see a reference – could contemporaries have missed it? – to the lawyer at Petronius, Satyricon 36.2, in the cena Trimalchionis: 'Quo facto videmus infra altilia et sumina leporemque in medio pinnis subornatum, ut Pegasus videretur.' Was the jurist a timid and retiring scholar?

attested), and that his choice reflects some intimacy with Vespasian's son-in-law.³⁴⁾

The change of regime certainly did not harm and must have helped Pegasus' career. A good sign was the first private consul ordinarius of the reign, M.Cocceius Nerva (71), the son and grandson of leading lights of the Proculian school of law. Pegasus' own consulship soon followed at an uncertain date in the early 70's, a triumph for the son of a trierarch, and an appropriate opportunity to put some of his ideas into practice: two known senatusconsulta bearing his name are perhaps just a hint of his legal reforms.³⁵⁾ According to the Juvenal scholiast, the jurist also governed several provinces, one of which is now on record as Dalmatia, after the consulship and probably in the later 70's. The Dalmatian command is not as unusual as it may appear. The province had certainly declined in military importance, its army reduced to a single legion, and its commanders need hardly have been military men. It is certainly piquant to observe that in his sole appearance outside of Rome the great Flavian jurist is found appointing a military tribune as judge. And there is a further item which somewhat strains belief in coincidence: at some time in the later years of Vespasian (or just possibly in the reign of Titus), the legate of IV Flavia felix was another important jurist, lavolenus Priscus, who was then, or was soon to become, himself head of the Sabinian school of law.³⁶⁾ Pegasus was no vir militaris and his consulship held no promise of martial glory. The sparse evidence shows a suspiciously legal bias.

34) The link with Petillius Cerialis might be familial. The name Plotius is rare in the upper classes of the empire, Petillius rarer still. An elusive figure of the year 68/69 is a certain Plotius Firmus, successively praefectus vigilum under Galba and praefectus praetorio under Otho: cf. Plotius Pegasus and Petillius Firmus. With the death of Otho Plotius Firmus disappears from the record, but not into disgrace, for a near connection, C.Tullius Capito Pomponianus Plotius Firmus, flourished under the Flavians as legate in Numidia and consul in 83. For the granting of tribunates by consular legates, see e.g. Pliny, Epp. 2.13, 3.8, 4.4, 7.22.

35) We know of two senatusconsulta passed 'Pegaso et Pusione consulibus', one dealing with fideicommissum (Gaius 2.254, etc.), the other with anniculi probatio (Gaius 1.31), which might have been a subject of special interest to a jurist of dubious origins. Two items in the cursus of L.Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (gathered at PIR² C 1425), and the appearance of his apparent son, L.Cornelius Pusio, as consul as early as 90 (FP, and now named as a legatee on the new fragment of the testament of Dasumius in 108, cf. ZPE 30 (1978), 286), combine to suggest that the consulship of Pegasus and Pusio should be assigned to the very early 70's: it is commonly dated 'c. 73'.

36) ILS 1015, noted by R.Syme, Danubian Papers (1971), 203; career and origins are discussed by G.Alföldy, ES 5 (1968), 108ff. Note that Petillius Cerialis was legate of Germany and then of Britain from 70 to 74. Had Petillius Firmus been military tribune in those years it might be presumed that he would have served with his relative; if so, Pegasus' command in Dalmatia will lie in the years 74/79.

The surprising climax to his career was the prefecture of the city of Rome recorded by both Juvenal and Pomponius, one of the highest honours bestowed upon a senator. It is doubtless by virtue of this office that Pegasus takes precedence of his peers in the consilium of Domitian which was savagely satirized by Juvenal:

> primus clamante Liburno 'currite, iam sedit' rapta properabat abolla Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi. anne aliud tum praefecti? quorum optimus atque interpres legum sanctissimus omnia, quamquam temporibus diris, tractanda putabat inermi iustitia. (IV.75-81)

The dramatic date of the fourth satire of Juvenal lies somewhere between mid-September 81 (the accession of Domitian) and spring 83 (the war with the Chatti), ³⁷⁾ but just when Pegasus was appointed to his office remains unclear. The extract from Pomponius places him under Vespasian, but Pomponius, or rather the epitome of Pomponius presented in the Digest, is not always reliable. Juvenal is to be preferred, as he generally is. Modo, reinforced by attonitae urbi, should make it certain that Pegasus was the choice of Domitian, appointed perhaps soon after the death of Titus in 81. Why was the city thunderstruck? Precisely because Domitian, who was clearly such a monster in hindsight at least, appointed as his prefect the best and most upright interpreter of the laws, a man who believed that, no matter how terrible the times might be, all of his duties should be carried out with unarmed justice, inermi justitia.³⁸⁾ The last phrase is ambiguous, often taken (by translators especially) to imply a weak man giving in to his tyrannical master, not daring to mete out full justice to offenders in a reign of terror. However, the alternative interpretation is surely preferable. Despite the horrors of the times (temporibus diris), and even in the face of Domitian's notorious lust for blood, the prefect bravely insisted on seeing justice done without recourse to violence. The point is that the man retained his integrity, despite Domitian's summoning him at a moment's notice as if he were a slave, and despite his dignified office being reduced to that of mere vilicus of the city. For Juvenal he was simply interpres legum sanctissimus, and praise from Juvenal is rare.

³⁷⁾ The war with the Chatti was the subject of Statius' De Bello Germanico, of which this poem is a parody: the setting is before Domitian's departure for the front. B.W. Jones, Historia 22 (1973), 79-90, argued vigourously for spring 82 as the opening campaign, but the traditional date is defended by J.K.Evans, ib. 24 (1975), 121-124.

³⁸⁾ Another indication, perhaps, that Pegasus' prefecture began with the new reign in 81, a sign of its good intentions.

After the meeting of Domitian's consilium in the early 80's, Pegasus disappears from view. When he retired from the urban prefecture is quite uncertain. Between 81 and 91 we must find room in that office for him, for T. Aurelius Fulvus, for Rutilius Gallicus (who died c.91), and probably for M. Arrecinus Clemens.³⁹⁾ Fulvus, Gallicus and Clemens were all three consuls bis in 85, and it has been observed that the urban prefecture is normally held in proximity to the second consulship.⁴⁰⁾ It is thus highly unlikely that Pegasus' prefecture lasted for more than two or three years, surely not beyond 85. The mystery of his departure and his demise is due simply to the loss of our sources. Statius' De Bello Germanico certainly discussed him - Juvenal's satire was a parody of it - and Tacitus must have mentioned him more than once in the lost books of the Histories. On the other hand, his absence from the voluminous extant works of Statius, Martial, and the younger Pliny (who was certainly familiar with all of the leading jurists of the day) suggests that he may have died not long after leaving office (or even in office), and probably before the death of Domitian himself.⁴¹⁾ Thereafter Juvenal remembered and praised him, and so did Juvenal's scholiast, but he was forgotten by the world at large. Only in the law schools did his memory flourish, appropriately: 'iuris studio gloriam memoriae meruit'.

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39) R.Syme, Tacitus, 644. For Clemens: B.W.Jones and R.Develin, Antichthon 10 (1976), 79–83.

40) Pegasus' appointment should not be considered unusual for that reason. The common association of the urban prefecture with an iterated consulship seems actually to have originated with the Flavians. Of Pegasus' twelve known predecessors in the office, only three won a second consulship, viz., Statilius Taurus, Sanquinius Maximus, and Plautius Silvanus Aelianus.

41) It is worth remarking that all of the major jurists contemporary with the correspondence do turn up in Pliny's letters: lavolenus Priscus, Neratius Priscus, luventius Celsus, and Titius Aristo.