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Edited by

Zoltán Farkas
László Horváth
Tamás Mészáros

Sapiens Ubique Civis

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Edited by

János Nagyillés, Attila Hajdú, Gergő Gellérfi,
Anne Horn Baroody, and Sam Baroody

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

JÁNOS NAGYILLÉS

The Department of Classical Philology and Neo-Latin Studies at the University of Szeged is one of the most recognized institutes in Hungary for classical studies. The University of Szeged was founded in 1921; the town incorporated the Franz Joseph Hungarian Royal University, which had moved there from Kolozsvár (now called Cluj-Napoca in Romanian) after the Treaty of Trianon. The educational profile of the university and the reorganised department can be characterised by university lecturers such as József Huszti, László Juhász, Aurél Förster, and Károly Marót. In 1940, the Franz Joseph Hungarian Royal University returned to Kolozsvár. Aurél Förster, our university professor, also left at that time. He was replaced by Károly Kerényi, who came from the university department in Pécs, which had closed not long before. Although officially a professor at the University of Szeged until 1949, he moved to Switzerland in 1943, where he worked for the University of Basel, then for the University of Zurich.

During the first decades of its history, the department in Szeged educated teachers majoring in Greek and Latin. Its autonomy was terminated in 1950, but the department again became an independent institute after the Hungarian revolution of 1956. From 1957 on, the department has continued to educate Greek and Latin language and literature. Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, József Visy, Béla Czúth and István Károly Horváth were among the most distinguished instructors during the period immediately following the reorganization.

After the end of communism (1989), due to the changes in educational policies, the teaching of Ancient Greek and Latin was driven into the background again, becoming the subject of secondary schools. This greatly disadvantaged the university institutes, which specialised in classical studies. Due to the successful economic policy and management at the University of Szeged, there were no dismissals at our department, but at present. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to institute improvements and to employ young scholars. Despite these circumstances, due to the

efforts of Ibolya Tar, the Head of the department, an independent doctoral school was founded in Szeged. After further reorganisations, Professor László Szörényi and other outstanding instructors started to work at the department. Moreover, the research profile was expanded to include a doctoral school specialising in Neo-Latin studies. Since the establishment of these two doctoral schools, several young scholars have started to contribute to the success of Hungarian classical studies and Neo-Latin studies.

This volume compiles papers presented at the *Sapiens Ubique Civis* conference, which was, in itself, the result of our efforts to extend the international relations of our department and doctoral school. The primary aim of the conference was to attract PhD students from within Hungary and throughout the world to Szeged. The conference was organised in 2013 and was a great success. We arranged a similar conference in 2014, and we hope to organise events like this in the years to come. Attendance at the 2014 conference demonstrates that the lecturers return to Szeged with pleasure and, further, share the reputation of the event with their colleagues and universities. Several of our past participants have since received their academic degrees, and have published books and monographs so that they might be involved as chairs of sessions or plenary lecturers at future conferences.

This volume represents the multiplicity of the participants' interests. The papers focus on issues of Greek and Roman literature, the history of religion, the diverse fields of ancient history, classical archaeology, as well as the reception of late antiquity and ancient cultures. Researchers were not expected to analyse a given topic, but were encouraged to show the latest results of their own research. We intend to keep this format in the future and invite participants to speak on their fields of expertise.

Furthermore, the *Sapiens Ubique* Conference is intended to demonstrate to governmental authorities responsible for regulating and financing national education that the study of classical languages and literatures is not a self-contained activity. By researching and revealing the past, scholars contribute to the understanding of the crucial moments of our history. Young scholars and students new to the field may play an important role in the comprehension and the academic investigation of our shared European culture. Their work thus far verifies the phrase that we chose as the motto of our conference: *the wise is a citizen everywhere*.

PART ONE

GREEK LITERATURE

ODYSSEUS' *POLUTROPIA* AND THE *DIALEKTIK DER AUFKLÄRUNG*: ODYSSEUS BETWEEN ENLIGHTENMENT AND SEMIOTICS

GIULIA MARIA CHESI

In this paper I discuss the characterisation of the self of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, focusing on Odysseus' *polutropia*. In order to do that, I approach the famous analysis of Horkheimer and Adorno in the first two chapters of the "Dialektik der Aufklärung" ("Begriff der Aufklärung" and "Excursus I: Odysseus oder Mythos der Aufklärung"). My analysis focuses on a close reading of the Homeric text and aims to show that Horkheimer's and Adorno's point of view is revealing in terms of the way in which the poem enacts the construction of Odysseus' identity.

In this paper I address the issue of the self of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, by reviewing the well-known analysis of Horkheimer and Adorno in the first two chapters of the "Dialektik der Aufklärung" ("Begriff der Aufklärung" and "Excursus I: Odysseus oder Mythos der Aufklärung").¹ My discussion of Odysseus' self focuses on the hero's *polutropia*; it provides for a close reading of the Homeric text and argues that Horkheimer's and Adorno's point of view is revealing about the way in which the poem enacts the construction of Odysseus' identity.²

In the *Dialektik*, Horkheimer and Adorno claim that the purpose of the Enlightenment was to control nature by rational laws, suggesting that controlling nature causes alienation (*Entfremdung*) of the human subject

¹ On the question of whether it is possible to discuss the self in Homer, and to assume a psychological characterisation for the Homeric heroes, cf. GRIFFIN (1982: 92–102), with extended bibliography on this debated topic at n. 1 p. 92. Following PUCCI (1987: 76–77), when I discuss the self of Odysseus and its characterisation, I mean the depiction of the hero as the man of many turns (πολύτροπος) and of cunning intelligence (μητις), insofar as this emerges from his own voice throughout the poem. On this issue, cf. also SEIDENSTICKER (2001), esp. pp. 390–393.

² When I discuss the *Odyssey* as a text, I mean the fact that the *Odyssey* today is a fixed and canonical written text. On this point and on the oral tradition of the Homeric poems, cf. DOHERTY (1995: 15 n. 21), with extended bibliography.

from the controlled object (nature).³ Furthermore, according to the dialectical way of thinking, they argue that the alienation of the subject from the controlled nature turns at the same time into an alienation of the subject from himself: the subject too becomes something that has to be controlled. In other words, the subject itself, so as to control nature, has to become something it is not, i.e. a controlled and alienated subject.⁴ The control of the subject over itself is equivalent to the destruction (*Vernichtung*) of the subject itself.⁵

Horkheimer and Adorno assume that mythos is an early product of enlightened reason.⁶ Looking at the *Odyssey* and the *Apologoi* as key-examples, they argue that Odysseus is the prototype of the subject of the Enlightenment: he has control over nature only at the expense of being alienated from himself, and therefore at the expense of self-denial.⁷

My analysis shall expand the vantage points, as well as the limits of a reading of the *Odyssey* from the critical position of Horkheimer and Adorno. Accordingly, I shall explain:

- that it is legitimate to apply the pattern of a self-denying subject to Odysseus;
- that a reading of Odysseus merely as a self-denying subject, however, goes too far, and criticism of this reading might help us to further explore the characterisation of Odysseus' self: in Homer, we are faced with a denial, and at the same time with a re-affirmation of Odysseus' identity.

³ Cf. HORKHEIMER–ADORNO (2010: 15): “Die Menschen bezahlen die Vermehrung ihrer Macht mit dem Entfremdung vom dem, worüber sie die Macht ausüben. Die Aufklärung verhält sich zu den Dingen wie der Diktator zu den Menschen. Er kennt sie, insofern er sie manipulieren kann”.

⁴ Cf. HORKHEIMER–ADORNO (2010: 21): “Der Begriff, den man gern als Merkmalseinheit des darunter Befassten definiert, war vielmehr seit Beginn das *Produkt dialektischen Denkens, worin jedes stets nur ist, was es ist, indem es zu dem wird, was es nicht ist*” (italics mine).

⁵ Cf. HORKHEIMER–ADORNO (2010: 62): “Die Herrschaft des Menschen über sich selbst, die sein Selbst begründet, ist virtuell allemal die *Vernichtung* des Subjekts”. (italics mine).

⁶ Cf. HORKHEIMER–ADORNO (2010: 15): “Der Mythos geht in die Aufklärung über und die Natur in bloße Objektivität.”

⁷ Cf. HORKHEIMER–ADORNO (2010: 75): “In Wahrheit verleugnet das Subjekt Odysseus die eigene Identität, die es zum Subjekt macht und erhält sich am Leben durch die Mimikry ans Amorphe. Er nennt sich Niemand, weil Polyphem kein Selbst ist [...] Seine Selbstbehauptung aber ist wie in der ganzen Epopöe, wie in aller Zivilisation, Selbstverleugnung”.

Odysseus' *polutropia* and the *Dialektik der Aufklärung*

As far as I can see, classical scholars have neglected the line of interpretation of Horkheimer and Adorno. One exception is Pucci, who draws from their interpretation in his paper “The I and the Other in Odysseus’ story of the Cyclopes”.⁸ Such silence among scholars is indeed surprising. We certainly have good reasons to read the *Odyssey* from the critical position of Horkheimer and Adorno. First, an interpretation of Odysseus as the master of the Enlightenment continues a long tradition in the allegorical exegesis of the *Odyssey*. Allegorical readings of the *Odyssey* were already attempted in antiquity, meeting enormous success under the Neoplatonists.⁹ Second, the interpretation of Odysseus as a self-denying subject of the Enlightenment is revealing of the poetic process of Odysseus’ identity being constantly denied, and constantly re-affirmed, throughout the text. In what follows, I turn to the latter point, looking at the characterisation of Odysseus as *polutropos*, that is to say as a plural subject.

The depiction of Odysseus as a plural subject is displayed in the first line of the poem, as Odysseus is portrayed as *πολύτροπον*, i.e. as a man of many turns.¹⁰ Odysseus’ *polutropia*, or his plural identity, is precisely what endorses Horkheimer’s and Adorno’s definition of the Homeric hero as a self-denying subject, and simultaneously challenges this very definition. As I claim, Odysseus’ *polutropia* denies the hero’s time in Troy (i.e. his *kleos* and the necessary condition for the song of the *nostos*). On the other hand, Odysseus’ *polutropia* saves the *kleos* of the hero, and the epic song of the *nostos* with it. Depending on which situation he is facing, Odysseus engages with his heroic past in quite different ways. Before coming home, Odysseus denies his own heroic identity: a trick to survive and safely conclude his homeward journey. Alternately, once the *nostos* is accomplished, Odysseus in Ithaca affirms his past in Troy: in this case, a trick to survive the final fight with his suitors and to join the marital bed with his wife again. Following this interpretation, the making and re-making of his heroic experience in Troy is a key-element of Odysseus’ plural identity, and represents the necessary condition for the success of his *nostos*. It also makes it possible to read the *Odyssey* as a text that

⁸ Cf. PUCCI (1998: 127 with n. 23). For HORKHEIMER and ADORNO, cf. above n. 7.

⁹ Cf. LAMBERTON (1992; 1986: esp. ch. 1 to 3).

¹⁰ Since antiquity, a controversial debate on the meaning of the epithet *πολύτροπον* is going on. Following HEUBECK (1998: *ad loc.*), I assume *πολύτροπον* to mean “of many ways, of many turns” and to highlight, from the onset of the poem, the versatility of Odysseus’ character and the many-sidedness of his own self. On this issue, cf. as well STRAUSS CLAY (1983: 25–34); DANEK (1998: 33–34); GOLDHILL (1991: 3, n. 3).

explores the disaster, i.e. the destruction of Troy, as a necessary condition for the bardic song of the *nostos*.¹¹

The *Odyssey* provides many instances of the ambivalent relationship between Odysseus and his heroic past. Given the constraints of this paper, I will just hint at some key-examples. In book 8, Euryalos reproaches Odysseus for not being able to engage in competitions. Promptly, Odysseus answers back that he knows the wars of men, and that in Troy only Philoctetes might do better than he could with the bow. However, at the end of the book, Odysseus corrects such a claim of his heroic value. When Demodocos sings the story of the Trojan horse, Odysseus bursts into tears. As Podlecki and Macleod have observed, Odysseus' cry can be read as an expression of empathy with the pain suffered by the victims of the Trojan War, and, accordingly, as a moment of problematisation of his heroic identity.¹² Moreover, the depiction of Odysseus as a crying man seems to suggest a denial of his heroic identity. As Foley has analysed at great length, Odysseus is not the conqueror of Troy anymore, but a victim of war; he cries like a woman in a sacked city (*Od.* 8. 523–530).¹³

Similarly, in book 9, Odysseus at first recalls his heroic past with pride (lines 259–262); then he denies his heroic identity in the famous line 367, where he claims that his name is “Nobody” (Οὐτις ἐμοί γ’ ὄνομα). The denial of Odysseus' heroic identity is, shortly after, the focus of lines 407–412 as well. In response to crying Polyphemus, who claims that nobody is

¹¹ Here, I am relying on BLANCHOT's understanding of the concept of disaster in his book “The writing of the disaster” (1986). Following BLANCHOT, the disaster is what undermines the possibility of writing and safeguards it at the same time. Cf. a. o. BLANCHOT (1986: 1): “The disaster ruins everything, all the while leaving everything intact. [...] When the disaster comes upon us, it does not come. The disaster is its imminence, but since the future, as we conceive of it in the order of lived time, belongs to the disaster, the disaster has always already withdrawn or dissuades it”; *ibidem* p. 38: “Write in order not simply to destroy, in order not simply to conserve, in order not to transmit; write in the thrall of the impossible real, that share of disaster wherein every reality, safe and sound, sinks”.

¹² Cf. PODLECKI (1971: 86); MACLEOD (1983: 11); GURD (2004: 101). This interpretation is controversial. However, I follow PODLECKI and MACLEOD, as their critical position opens up a space for reading Odysseus' voice as a self-questioning voice, and, accordingly, for reading the *Odyssey* as a text that puts into question the meaning it produces (i.e. the characterisation of Odysseus as the hero of Troy). For different readings of this passage, cf. FRIEDRICH (1977: 63–69), MURNAGHAN (1987: 153); GOLDHILL (1991: 53–54); ROISMAN (1994: 6–7); LLOYD (1985: 87–88).

¹³ Cf. FOLEY (1978: 20). On this reverse simile and the related concealment of Odysseus' heroic identity, cf. as well GOLDHILL (1991: 53).

killing him (*Od.* 9. 408: Οὐτίς με κτείνει), the Cyclopes say that he shall pray to Poseidon, if nobody is harming him (*Od.* 9. 410: εἰ μὲν δὴ μὴ τις σε βιάζεται). In Greek, the form μὴ τις sounds exactly like μῆτις, the word for cunning. In the pun μὴ τις/μῆτις we have to recognize the denial of Odysseus' heroic identity, in the sense that his most famous heroic value (μῆτις) is actually said to be the value of nobody (μὴ τις). Notably, at the end of book 9, Odysseus will claim his identity, as he confesses to the Cyclops to have blinded him. As Strauss Clay has aptly observed, Odysseus is compelled to reveal his name as a means to redeem himself from oblivion and save his *kleos*.¹⁴ However, the *aristeia* of Odysseus would be impossible without the negation of his own identity: in fact, in the *Kyklopeia*, Odysseus, as the man of “μῆτις”, is the “οὐτίς” man as well.

Furthermore, the episode of the Sirens points to a situation in which their heroic song implies, for Odysseus, the denial of his heroic *kleos*. Odysseus wants to listen to the Sirens. Yet, as has been noticed, that would imply an identification with his heroic past, which would result in his death.¹⁵ Therefore, the only way for him to hear them singing is to travel past them, while being tied to the mast by his men.

Yet, back in Ithaca, Odysseus reclaims his *kleos* as a constitutive part of his self. Once recognized by Penelope, for example, Odysseus tells his wife all his heroic adventures (*Od.* 23. 300–341). This long passage in book 23 is of particular interest. Here Odysseus, for the first time in the poem, enjoys story-telling about the past. The same is true for Penelope, who previously could not retain her tears, while listening to Phemius' heroic song (*Od.* 1. 325–344).¹⁶

The recognition scene between Penelope and Odysseus allows us to notice how, throughout the poem, Odysseus' self-representation as the hero of Troy involves different poetic effects. At the court of Alcinoos and Arete, Odysseus refers to his heroic past just to forego it. Moreover, Odysseus' recollection of the past and, accordingly, the Phaeacians' recognition of him as the hero of Troy is, for Odysseus, a source of pain. Quite the contrary, the mutual recognition between Odysseus and Penelope necessarily implies a mutual identification with the past: Odysseus rejoices at the value of his heroic deed, just as Penelope does. It is a very important point. The series of analogies and mismatches in the text (that is to say, Odysseus' different reactions to his own representation of his *kleos*) lead us to question the unity of Odysseus' heroic self and the

¹⁴ Cf. STRAUSS CLAY (1983: 120).

¹⁵ Cf. MURNAGHAN (1987: 150–151); SEGAL (1988: 142–144).

¹⁶ Cf. MURNAGHAN (1987: 154–155).

status of its exemplarity. Indeed, as I claim, Odysseus' denial of his own *kleos* at the court of Alcinoos and Arete, as well as Odysseus' affirmation of his *kleos* in the exchange with Penelope, are both crucial elements of the *displacements of language* (Goldhill) that shape Odysseus' self-representation through story-telling. Quoting Goldhill:¹⁷

For how Odysseus is represented as representing himself is a key aspect of the *Odyssey's* deployment of deceitful language – the manipulations, disguises, fictions that language can effect. 'A man/the man' is *made up* by the language in which he represents himself and is represented. [...] Man's place is (to be) found only in and through the displacements of language.

In other words, through language Odysseus represents his heroic identity as a network of differences, and not as a unity, because his denial and affirmation of his past manipulates the narrative of *kleos*, enacting different shifting levels of self-representation.

It is possible to explore Odysseus' representation of his own heroic past further, debating again the poetic process through which the identity of Odysseus is constantly denied and re-affirmed. To begin with, let us look at Odysseus' manipulative language. As Goldhill has poignantly observed, Odysseus constructs falsehood like the truth: "In the narrative of the *Odyssey*, the fictive is always part of the voice of truth."¹⁸ The Homeric text supports this line of interpretation:

Od. 19, 203: ἴσκει ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα
In his speech, he made his many lies seem like the truth

According to this line, Odysseus is *polutropos* since he is the man of many turns of speech, that is to say the man who reinvents himself through language.¹⁹ This has a crucial consequence: the *apologoi* are neither true

¹⁷ Cf. GOLDHILL (1991: 56).

¹⁸ Cf. GOLDHILL (1991: 68).

¹⁹ On the adjective *πολύτροπον* in the meaning "of many turns of speech", cf. PUCCI (1982: 53–55). On Odysseus' plural identity (*polutropia*) in its relation to the many ways in which the hero represents himself through language, cf. PUCCI (1982: 55), who briefly mentions this idea without however taking it further: "The identity of Odysseus must run forever in the tracks of displacement and must be enacted by figures of speech, disguises and riddling turnings of turns". On Odysseus' stories as telling of the representation of Odysseus' self, cf. GOLDHILL (1991: 46–47): "The tales construct a series of different shifting levels of representation [...] Telling tales not only may conceal identity and test the listener, but also are telling about the speaker".

Odysseus' *polutropia* and the *Dialektik der Aufklärung*

nor false.²⁰ The same can be said for the proper name “Odysseus”: it does not refer to a true or false Odysseus (that is, a sign representing the real). Rather, the proper name “Odysseus” is nothing but a *sign*. That means that it refers to all the other signs that shape the hero that we (readers of the epos, and characters in the epos) identify as such: the bed (*Od.* 23. 206: σήματα), the scar (*Od.* 21. 217: σῆμα; 24. 329: σῆμά τί, 24. 346: σήματα), the trees of Laertes' garden (*Od.* 24. 329: σῆμά τί, 24. 346: σήματα).²¹ Seen this way, “Odysseus” is for Euriclea (*Od.* 19. 386–502), as for Eumeneus and Philetius (*Od.* 21, 205–225), the name of the man with the scar from a wound he got in his childhood, on a hunt for a wild boar. For Euriclea, Odysseus is the injured child she nursed; for Eumeneus and Philetius, he is their beloved master. For Laertes, “Odysseus” is not just the name of the man with the scar (*Od.* 24. 331–335); Odysseus is the man who knows the names of the trees in Laertes' garden (*Od.* 24. 336–348). Thus, as the power of naming proceeds from father to son, for Laertes Odysseus is his son. For Penelope, “Odysseus” is the name of the man who knows the secret of her marital bed (*Od.* 23. 163–255); for her, Odysseus is her husband. Finally, for Telemachus, “Odysseus” is the name of the man who wandered and suffered much, and therefore, Odysseus is his father. Indeed, in *Od.* 16, 204–206, Telemachus is willing to identify him as his father only after Odysseus has proved himself able to indicate the sign to which the name “Odysseus” refers, i.e. the suffering and travelling:

οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἀλλ' ὄδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παθῶν κακὰ, πολλὰ δ' ἄλληθεις,
ἦλυθον

For no other Odysseus will ever come here,
but here I am, such as one who suffered
evils and wandered much

²⁰ On Odysseus having a true and fixed identity, cf. a. o. BLOCK (1985: 3); PUCCI (1987: 81–82); KAHANE (1992: 129). On the question whether the *apologoi* represent false or true story-telling, cf. a. o. JONES (1986); PARRY (1994), esp. p. 1 n. 1, with further bibliography; RICHARDSON (1996), esp. p. 339 n. 8 with extended bibliography.

²¹ I am following here BARTHES in “*Proust et les noms*” (2002). According to BARTHES, a proper name is a *sign* insofar as it is the sum of all signs that designate their holder. This is the reason why a proper name has always different meanings. So, for example, the names “Parma” or “Balbec” do not signify because they refer to real locations in Italy and France. They signify through their specific signs: “Parma” is the city of violets and of Stendhal' sweetness; “Balbec” is the place of storms and a small strip of beach.

As I claim, we might recognize the differences within these tokens of identity as the sign of Odysseus' plural identity. That means that Odysseus' plural identity is semiotic, because the difference between saying "Odysseus" and saying "the husband of Penelope", "the son of Laertes", or "the father of Telemachus" is enclosed in different signs (scar, trees, bed, and suffering). Thus, the *Odyssey* does not only explore the difference within the tokens of identity, as has been suggested; it reflects on the proper name "Odysseus" itself as a sign of difference.²² Taking for granted that the name "Odysseus" is a sign of difference, the man Odysseus, as Ritoók has aptly pointed out, is and remains a "rätselhafter Wanderer", whose identity displays itself as an open question.²³

To conclude, Horkheimer's and Adorno's point of view is revealing of the way the *Odyssey* employs the characterisation of Odysseus as *polutropos*, that is to say as a subject of many turns of speech, who constantly affirms and denies his own identity. In particular, I have shown that, for Odysseus, the making and re-making of his identity is equivalent to the making and re-making of his *kleos* as well as with the making and re-making of his proper name.

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²² Cf. GOLDHILL (1991: 19): "The return of Odysseus explores the varying possibilities of the tokens of identity, the *difference within* the tokens of identity".

²³ Cf. RITOÓK (2004: 324): "...daß der Mensch nicht zu erkennen ist, weil seine Identität – 'wie es war' – fraglich bleibt"; cf. as well RITOÓK (2004: 315).

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EURIPIDES UNDER THE
“HAPPY ENDING” EMPIRE:
IPHIGENIA AMONG THE TAURIANS
AS A REAL TRAGEDY

MARINA SOLÍS DE OVANDO

A far away and strange land, a story shrouded in mystery, and a great and perfect happy ending—all of these factors have been considered by the majority of scholars as proof of the following point: *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is not a real tragedy. This paper demonstrates the opposite. Few would deny that we are faced with an evasive melodrama. Almost a novel on stage, the play shows us how Euripides was simply trying to entertain his audience—forgetting the classic objective of Greek tragedy, overlooking the desire to show a universal truth through the symbol within the myth. An in-depth study of the resources used by Euripides, however, as well as a new reading, free from pre-conceived ideas, reveals tragic elements inside the story, a spectacle full of *phóbos*, *éleos* and *kátharsis* and a deep, painful, woeful message, screaming against the Peloponnesian War. Thus, we aim to revise Euripidean theatre, which is more human and less scientific, more closely related to its historical context, and somewhat less bound to modern preconceptions and analyses.

Introduction

Iphigenia among the Taurians: a tragedy?

I begin by declaring my intentions for this paper as clearly as possible. This paper focuses mainly on new questions, on opening new doors, and exploring doubts, rather than on striving to offer a clear and comprehensive answer. This is quite an open investigation: my aim is not to find the absolute truth. Euripides and his works are, without a doubt, a very popular topic, which many scholars have studied and debated. He is, together with Aeschylus and Sophocles, one of the most important tragic authors of the Ancient World, and the one from whom the most complete works have been preserved. Of his works, *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is not the most studied, nor the most celebrated piece. What are the reasons for this? Perhaps the most important reason is that it has never been considered as the author's most representative work. However, over

time, scholars have found merit in its attractive plot, the beautiful lyricism so characteristic of the last period of the Euripidean poetry, the realization of an almost perfect *anagnórisis* scene, and a brilliant *peripátheia*. In addition, especially and above all, the play's happy conclusion, its "happy ending", so perfect and so clean, leaves every audience or reader feeling elated. The "problem" arises when we discover this specific point: more often than not, most people define this play for what it is not, rather than for what it really is. *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is not a tragedy; it cannot be considered as a real, complete or genuine tragedy. Maybe the best summary for such a widespread theory is Platnauer's. He explains, in his magnificent 1938 edition, that "To begin with, Iphigenia is not a tragedy at all: there is no violence, nobody is killed and the play ends happily for everyone".¹

There is no doubt that there are many solid arguments that back this theory. These arguments are based on Kitto's essay, *Greek Tragedy: A Literary Study*, which classified Euripidean works into three groups.² This system differentiated the "proper tragedies" (*Medea*, *Herakles*) from the ones that he called the "New Theatre" or "New Tragedy" of Euripides. In this comprehensive second group, Kitto includes every Euripidean piece that does not fall into the traditional format of a tragedy. Within the group of "New Tragedies", he further distinguishes between Melodramas and Tragicomedies. None of these "new pieces" could be considered (sic. Kitto) real tragedies: but the tragicomedies have happy conclusions, so they become twice removed from the true characteristics of the tragic form. Kitto thinks, as do most scholars who accept his theories, that Euripides did not intend, when writing these pieces, to create real tragedies, but rather to create a different kind of theatre. He was restricted by the demands of the competition, but his purpose was no other than to tell a good story of adventure and love and light, free from the great, deep, and difficult message that every tragedy normally conveys. Linking this perspective to the historical context in which the plays were written, "Tragicomedies" (in Kitto's words) were likely intended to distract the audience: their purpose was to keep the audience away from the worries and sorrows of the war³.

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¹ PLATNAUER (1938: v).

² KITTO (1939: 311).

³ A good approach to this perspective is GARCÍA GUAL's study (2006: 216–217).

Another possibility, another reading, another show

However, some philologists have questioned this interpretation. Martin Cropp explained in his *I.T.*’s edition and commentary that those labels “risk distorting and simplifying our perception of the play”⁴. Several aspects remain unclear, and this robust interpretation raises several problems. It may be appropriate, therefore, to reconsider Platnauer’s definition. For example, Platnauer considers the work to be a play with no violence. But can we be certain of that? One of the plot’s foundations is the dark, cruel subject of human sacrifice—something that Greeks themselves considered dreadful and brutal⁵. The conclusion that a happy conclusion disqualifies the work as a tragedy also seems rather overhasty. Indeed, Euripides is not the only author to write pure and real tragedies without a wretched ending. Nobody doubts Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* is a tragedy, in spite of “everything ending happily for everyone” (using Platnauer’s own words). We should also remember that nobody in the Ancient World doubted that this piece was a complete, real tragedy⁶. So, ultimately, and because there seem to be reasons to be doubtful, the purpose of this paper is to call for a new reading of *I.T.*, as free as possible from preconceived ideas, opinions or theories. Reviewing the play again, allowing ourselves the liberty to be surprised by every single element that characterises it, taking it as the entity that is and was to begin with: a theatrical play, a spectacle, a show. So, let the show begin.

Story and structure: Relevance of truth, change, and movement

Iphigenia among the Taurians tells the story of how Iphigenia survived her own sacrifice—the well-known Aulide’s episode. Artemis took her and at the last moment replaced her with a deer, then carried her “going over the clouds”⁷ to the strange and far away land of the Taurians. There

⁴ CROPP (2000: 42). Other scholars, as MURRAY (1946) have also tried to not see *I.T.* just as a tragicomedy.

⁵ Cf., WILKINS, *State and the Individual – The Human Sacrifice* “The Greeks expressed strong views on human sacrifice in general: the practice was alien to them and, they thought, to their gods.” POWELL (1990: 178).

⁶ HALL (2013: 47).

⁷ Hyginus, *Fabulae* CXXI, 15 (Marshall): *Quam cum in Aulidem adduxisset et parens eam immolare vellet, Diana virginem miserata est et caliginem eis obiecit cervamque pro ea supposuit Iphigeniamque per nubes in terram Tauricam detulit ibique templi sui sacerdotem fecit.*

the goddess made her into a priestess, the one who kills every stranger that arrives in this land as an offering to herself. On the other hand, we see Orestes, the last link to the cruel, horrendous circle of blood that defines his family (Atridae). He arrives in the land of the Taurians with his friend Pilades, completely mad, sick and tired of living under the torment of his own demons (Furies). Here they will meet without knowing they are actually brother and sister. After a long and beautiful reunion, they look for the way to escape from the danger and brutality. Now, let us look carefully and find the special, the different point in this story. We have a deep and emotional human problem—a trauma. A terrible kind of tragic irony appears when we look at the next point. Both brother and sister have some terrible experiences in common: each is alive while (and in general “the others”) thinking the other is dead. Even when she has survived, everyone thinks Iphigenia has died. Everybody—not only her family, but also the audience. Before coming into the theatre, they assume the general belief based on the myth that Iphigenia died at the hands of her father Agamemnon. Orestes has reached a point of no return—he would rather be dead. His own relatives, his own people saw him disappear falling in his own disgrace, and they all considered him dead. Naturally Iphigenia thinks her brother is dead (so she says in the firsts verses of the play), and Orestes thinks his sister is no more.

Therefore, we can see that Euripides is able to present to his audience a curious, special problem in the play: life and death of brother and sister actually becomes a farce, confused, almost a mimesis⁸. In it a special chain of events is developing. Iphigenia is alive, and she is alive because she kills. She has become a murderer, and only paying that price could she survive and escape from a totally certain death. She survived her sacrifice, but only because she is now the one who carries out the sacrifices. On the other hand, Orestes committed a crime against his own blood; he is not an ordinary man anymore: he is now a murderer. In addition, because of this rotten atmosphere, he is damned by dreadful torments that make him feel worse than if he was dead, even to desire death. The audience observes how both characters are desolate and isolated human beings, who find themselves in desperate situations: both have lost perspective, moreover, they do not relish the fact of being alive. Recognition is the end of this situation, the end of revulsion. The end of despair appears with the change: change from stillness to movement.

⁸ Cf. GARZYA (1962: 78).

Different situations for different tragedies

Although brother and sister have this in common, there is an important difference between Iphigenia and Orestes’s despair. Iphigenia suffers from a situation that we can consider as “passive”. This does not mean that she does not do anything; she is not a static character. Nevertheless, she is in a sort of static situation. The reason for her despair and her torture has already past, and she has not taken an active role in the horror that has come over her. Cruel destiny took her as a simple victim. Conversely, Orestes’s situation is relatively more “active”. He created the very reason for his suffering: he is the one who took the weapon that labelled him as a murderer and damned him forever. If we now compare the way the siblings “work” in the first part of Euripides’ text, we will see that Iphigenia observes “from the outside” how Orestes keeps on fighting, offering the last drops of sweat together with Pilades, just to survive a terrible fate from which he cannot escape. From her unusual, strange position, the one of the priestess who lives because of the whim of a goddess, even when a mortal’s destiny is to die, Iphigenia sees how this stranger (she still does not know he is her brother) ends by going deeper and deeper into his horror. We have a character that acts and another character that looks on: we have a hero, we have a protagonist, and we have an audience too. If we remember now what was said earlier, *I.T.* seems to be based on the ambiguity between what is real and what is not real, the things that you believe are real and the things that just are real. If we remember this, then maybe it will not seem so crazy to think that here we have a duplication of the theatrical resources. We have more than one level of spectacle, more than one show in the same play. Iphigenia is the audience, but the Athenian citizens are an audience too; Orestes is the tragic hero that suffers the fate we expect from similar characters in true tragedies. The audience in the stands, Athenian people watching the play for the very first (and last) time, are experiencing tragedy in more than one level.

Therefore, it is helpful to think of two planes (or levels) of spectacle existing within one play. Two little tragedies are happening at the same time: at one level we face a spectacular setting, maybe the “real one”, in which the real audience observes the suffering of Iphigenia faced with a strange and peculiar story, while on another level we face an “under-spectacular” setting. In this second level, Iphigenia plays the role of the audience, witnessing the end of Orestes’ adventures. Orestes would be at the same time a sort of tragic hero, fighting a terrible and inexorable fate.

Show levels on <i>Iphigenia among the Taurians</i>				
Dramatic elements	<i>Conflict</i>	<i>Protagonist</i>	<i>Spectator</i>	<i>Times and spaces</i>
Spectacular level	Unexpected confrontation between brother and sister (Iphigenia and Orestes) who do not know each other and are on a foreign land.	Iphigenia	Athenian citizen	SPECIFIC: Theatre (specific building for the representation) Religious ceremonies.
“Under-spectacular” level	The circle of blood of the Atridas. The murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes, madness cause by the Furies (catastrophe).	Orestes	Iphigenia	NOT CLEAR: Taurians’ land. Time after the Trojan War.

This theory can be confirmed if we observe Orestes’ behaviour, that conforms to all the essential characteristics of the tragic hero (we took Adrados definition⁹). Decision (together with Pilades, it is his own decision to advance towards danger); action (as attacking the animals in the beach during his moment of madness shows features that a character working as a messenger, the herdsman, explains to Iphigenia in the same way a typical *angelos* would do in a typical tragedy); loneliness (Furies only go against him, and when he faces the fact of being sacrificed, he knows he is the one who must die and assumes it); and suffering. Iphigenia’s reactions to him show her “audience” role too. In her journey we find (naturally, always in a subsidiary, secondary sense of talking and understanding) *phóbos* and *éleos* for Orestes, his tragic example, and even a kind of special *kátharsis*. Consider the following figure, which also provides examples from the text:¹⁰

⁹ RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS (1962: 18).

¹⁰ We follow DIGGLE’s edition *Euripidis Fabulae II* (1994) and CROPP’s edition (2000) for English translation.

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TRAGEDY INSIDE THE TRAGEDY

TRAGIC ASPECT	REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE “UNDERSPECTACULAR LEVEL”	TEXTS
<i>PHÓBOS</i>	Orestes – Hero’s voluntary marching to the catastrophe; Iphigenia – feeling fear by feeling the horror that is coming	<p>Verses 117 – 124 ... χωρεῖν χρεῶν ὅποι χθονὸς κρύψαντε λήσομεν δέμας. (...) τολμητέον. “We must go to some nearby place (...) We’ll nerve ourselves”.</p>
MESSENGER SPEECH	Herdsman – speech about the madness (catastrophe) suffered by Orestes	<p>Verses 235 – 342 Ἀγαμέμνονός τε καὶ Κλυταίμηστρας τέκνον, ἄκουε καινῶν ἐξ ἔμουθ’ κηρυγμάτων “Daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, hear a strange report from me...”</p>
<i>ÉLEOS</i>	Iphigenia – feeling empathy and sadness for the hero’s disgrace	<p>Verses 465–482 φεῦ· τίς ἄρα μήτηρ ἢ τεκοῦσ’ ὑμᾶς ποτε πατήρ τ’; (...) πόθεν ποθ’ ἦκετ’, ὦ ταλαίπωροι ξένοι;” “Ah! Who was your mother, who gave you birth, and your father? (...) <i>Unhappy strangers!</i>...”</p>
LONELINESS OF THE “NAKED TRAGIC HERO”	Orestes – assumes his tragic condition and assumes his fate	<p>Verses 844 – 850 τὴν τύχην δ’ εἶν χρεῶν. ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ θρήνηι σύ· τὰς γὰρ ἐνθάδε θυσίας ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γινώσκομεν “No, one should let fortune have its way. Singe us no dirges. We know the practices and understand them”.</p>
<i>KÁTHARSIS</i>	Iphigenia – pleasure, tranquillity and learning Search for happiness because of this learning	<p>Verses 835 – 842 Ἴφ: θαυμάτων πέρα καὶ λόγου πρόσω τάδ’ ἐπέβα. Ὅρ: τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖμεν ἀλλήλων μετὰ Ἴφ: ἄτοπον ἄδονάν ἔλαβον “Iph: More than marvels, beyond account has all this turned out! Or: From now on, may we be fortunate together. Iph: I have found a miraculous joy!”</p>

What was Euripides looking for?

“For the sake of something bigger”

Having considered this duplication of the tragic form within the play, it seems more difficult to conclude that *I.T.* is not a tragedy at all. However, we also need to clarify one point. It is difficult to believe that Euripides would create all these complex systems just to show off his dramaturgic skills. It is not likely that he would create more than one level in the spectacle, producing a double tragedy, a double show, without an ulterior motive. What can be achieved by making this kind of theatrical play? Clearly, a double show can have a double impact over the “outsider or real audience.” An audience that witnessed this intense kind of representation would feel doubly stunned and engaged. At this moment, it is helpful to remember how important tragedy was from a social or political point of view in Fifth-century Athens. The author was seeking to teach something to those who were not on the stage, using the elements on the stage as his tools or weapons. Fifth-century theatre was symbolic. But the theory that Euripides was not trying to teach anything with *I.T.* is widespread. Kitto himself argued that it is a mistake to think that *I.T.* depicts something greater than just a good plot, a good story, and to think the opposite could bring us to judge wrongly the genuine values of the piece: it is a mistake to think that we can find “something bigger”.¹¹ Once again, we feel the duty to challenge this widespread thesis. What would happen if this pure, genuine tragedy was written for the sake of something greater? Let us return to the play, let us search for a message among the Taurians, giving ourselves the chance to think that every resource used in the play was used for a reason. So let us go back.

The structure of the tragedy is a circle—a blood circle. Violence is the sign, the blemish that defines everyone. A horrible, macabre familiar story has inflicted brutal damage to the humans that we see on stage. Both of them, Iphigenia and Orestes, regard themselves more as murderers than as humans or mortals. Both of them are alive but would rather be dead, both of them have shed blood and feel the pain for this crime. They have lost their way. Iphigenia claims that she is the leader of a “festival beautiful only in name” (v. 35), and Orestes identifies himself as the one who “lives in tribulation, nowhere and everywhere” (v. 568). Because of this violence, they have forgotten who they are: they are brother and sister, and

¹¹ KITTO (1939: 313).

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they do not know it. Blood threatens to destroy their identities. Orestes does not remember who he is... even refuses to recognise his own name.

Ιφιγένεια

σοὶ δ' ὄνομα ποῖον ἔθεθ' ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ;

Ὀρέστης

τὸ μὲν δίκαιον **Δυστοχῆς** καλοῖμεθ' ἄν.
(vv. 499–500)

Iph.: What sort of name did the father that sired you give you?

Or.: By rights I should be called Unfortunate.

This is the situation that we see when they face each other, after the moment of madness of Orestes, just when Iphigenia thinks her role of “bringer of death” is approaching. Moreover, this is precisely the moment when Pilades, the friend, arrives: he is the only one who is not in the circle, because his hands are not blood-stained. This is why he makes the recognition possible. Anagnorisis appears; brother and sister discover who they really are. Only after this process does salvation appear as a possibility, and the happy conclusion arrives. We shift from immobility to action, but Iphigenia and Orestes will not be the same again: they refuse to continue shedding blood in the future; they themselves break the blood circle and the chains of their terrible destiny, marked by revenge and hatred. To quote Orestes:

οὐκ ἄν γενοίμην σοῦ τε καὶ μητρὸς **φονεύς·**
ἄλις τὸ κείνης αἷμα·
(vv. 1007 – 8)

I will not become your killer as well as my mother's: her blood is enough.

Iphigenia:

θέλω (...), οὐχὶ τῷ κτανόντι με
θυμουμένη, πατρῶον ὀρθῶσαι· **θέλω**
(vv. 991 – 993)

I want to rise up again our ailing house (...): I feel no rancour for the man who wanted to kill me.

And even the Gods:

Ἄθ. καὶ **σὺ μὴ θυμοῦ**, Θόας.
(v. 1474)

And you, Thoas,
restrain your anger.

So what do we see, in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, then? We hear a cry to stop hatred, a deep scream about the need of humans to not destroy each other, because humanity cannot destroy without bringing destruction upon itself. Violence is synonymous with the deepest and most hideous fate, only if we choose to understand that shedding blood is not an option, only if we do that, will we save ourselves and escape from doom. To take a step further, remembering that this play was performed in the year 414, in the middle of the stark Peloponnesian War, we can appreciate a poet who was advocating the end of violence, the end of “friends and enemies” system,

the end of blood circles and crimes, the end of war. In addition, we will find a real, pure, hard, anti-war tragedy.

Conclusion

To be sure, the arguments in defence of the traditional interpretation of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* are many and solid. However, it seems that a new valid possibility emerges from our reading of the piece. Perhaps if we look beyond the preconceived ideas and search for a different way of viewing the play, we will not find just a good and happy-ending story: we might find “something bigger”. When discussing Euripides, one of the most studied authors of the Ancient World, it is exciting to think that we might discover something new in his lines, his verses, and his messages—that we might reach a deeper understanding of his pieces read countless times before us.

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THE *SOPHIA* OF THE UNWISE: KNOWLEDGE FOR THE PURPOSE OF WRONGNESS IN PLATO

TRINIDAD SILVA

This paper examines the problems arising from Plato's conceptualization of *sophia* in moral terms. In particular, it focuses on the problematic relationship between intelligence and vice embodied by the figure of the 'bad' *sophos* and his ability to do wrong. The main question is whether the bad but smart intellectual, e.g. the crafty liar, is to be considered as simply an ignorant person or as a person possessing a kind of knowledge or intelligence that makes him 'bad'. If *sophia* is an ability and a skill essentially attached to truth and goodness, how should we understand the intelligence or capacity to deceive and tell lies? Although there is enough evidence in Plato's dialogues consistently pointing to an intellectualism whereby virtue is equated with knowledge and vice with ignorance, there are some significant passages suggesting that it is especially by means of intellectual capacity that the vicious man acts.

In general, intellectual categories can be coloured either negatively or positively by connotative association. Depending on the context, calling someone "clever" might be meant as a compliment, but then "too clever" might be considered offensive. Being smart is good, but being a "smart guy"... not so much. Importantly, the evaluative dimension associated to intellectual categories can be morally relevant or morally neutral. Intellectual shrewdness—"cleverness"—can be attributed to a cook as well as to a liar, a thief or a murderer. The evaluation, in all of these cases, is morally neutral. In as much as they successfully perform their activities, they qualify as intelligent.

Among the many intellectual labels relevant in the ancient tradition, *sophia* stands as a special case due to its long-standing importance and its wide range of uses: i) in a rather specialized use, it serves as a title, a label indicating status and authority, both in the archaic tradition of poetry and the model of new learning; ii) in a more generalized use, it functions as an intellectual capacity designating comprehensive knowledge as well as particular crafts. Importantly, both of these uses can be attached to a positive or a negative value, so they move throughout the evaluative spectrum. *Sophia*, as an intellectual capacity or ability can be said of a person who is:

- “Capable of anything”: the one who uses his skills without inhibition, in which case the meaning becomes closer to “cleverness” or “cunning”, which is related to Greek *deinotes*, *dexiotes*, *metis*, *panourgia*, etc.
- Capable within the constraints of a value-system, in which case the meaning becomes closer to “good sense” or “wisdom”, which relates to Greek *agathos*, *arete*.

As a result, under the concept of *sophos/sophia* there are two evaluative levels operating, not necessarily connected: i) that assessing skill and intelligence, and ii) that assessing moral character.

The present investigation is intended to examine how these two levels are reconciled in Plato’s conceptualization of *sophia*, and how, in being so reconciled, problems arise. In particular, I wish to focus on the problematic relationship between intelligence and vice embodied by the figure of the “bad” *sophos* in his ability to do wrong. If *sophia* is an ability and a skill essentially attached to truth, how should we understand the intelligence or capacity to deceive and tell lies? If “*sophos*” only qualifies the successful performance of a person’s rational and moral capacity, how do we identify the rational competence of the one that successfully performs evil?

The identification of virtue with *techne* or *sophia* with the ability to do good carries many problems. The most obvious difficulty—and the main focus of criticism—is that, whereas the practice of a *techne*, i.e. carpentry or running, does not guarantee right use and its purpose can be rejected, virtue prescribes the means, and its purpose cannot be rejected.¹ But there are other two further implications I would like to discuss. The first is that, provided that knowledge is essentially attached to virtue, truth, and goodness, then there is not such knowledge, not such intelligence, as that oriented to do wrong. Ultimately, the ability to do wrong is not ability, it is a weakness; the knowledge used to deceive is not knowledge, it is ignorance. In connection with this, the second difficulty arises as to how the value attached to words of intellectual force can restrict the spectrum

¹ IRWIN makes the point by arguing that the possession of a *techne*, being essentially instrumental, does not guarantee good use. “A craft is a rational procedure for producing a certain product when a craftsman wants to, but does not prescribe when he will want to, or how will use the product” (IRWIN 1977: 137). O’BRIEN analyses the same phenomenon from the point of view of the ends: “It [virtue] is like a craft or skill, which is also knowledge and ability. But it differs from a craft or a skill, because a craftsman can sometimes reject the purpose of his craft, but a man can never reject the good” (O’ BRIEN 1967: 106).

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of the evaluative meaning. Plato's notion of *sophia*, and other related notions such as *techne*, *phronesis*, *episteme*, when morally qualified, cannot conceptualize that aspect of *sophia* that aims to evaluate intellectual competence alone.² Strictly speaking, an expert thief, murderer, liar cannot be a *sophos*. Thus *sophia* gets closer to *agathos*, *arete*, while dissociated from *deinotes*, *dexiotes*, *panourgia*, *polutropia*.

In what follows, I would like to address some of the problematic issues that arise from a conceptualization of *sophia* in these terms. For it seems that Plato is alleging that experts schemers and deceivers, such as are Odysseus or Medea, or some of Socrates' fellow thinkers, the sophists, are not to be counted among the *sophoi*, but rather among the *amatheis*. I claim that this move should be understood within the scope of Plato's philosophical project in which the attempt to redefine intellectual categories is intended to exclude other competitive models in the tradition.

The first question is whether the bad but smart intellectual, e.g. the crafty liar, is to be considered just as an ignorant or as possessing a kind of knowledge that makes him "bad". Is the intelligent, the wily, clever and cunning an ignorant, an *amathes*? Throughout the Platonic corpus, from the *Apology* to the *Laws*, the answer seems to be almost unequivocally the same. Although the approach varies, the principle of what is called the "Socratic paradox" remains consistent: no one does wrong willingly because, ultimately, virtue is knowledge and vice is ignorance. In the *Meno*, those supposedly evil are really *agnoountes* (77e); in the Protogoras, the will to do good things is wisdom (*sophia*), whereas the opposite is *amathia* (358c); in *Republic* IV (444e), vice is equivalent to disease (*nosos*), disgrace (*aiskos*), and incapability (*astheneia*), and in the *Timaeus* (86e), the wickedness of the wicked man (*kakos*) is explained by some evil disposition of the body (*poneran exin tina*) and an uneducated nurture (*apaideuton trophe*). The argumentative thread seems to be articulated by the principle that no one rationally desires evil as such, and therefore a disposition to do wrong is the result of a defective cognitive state adequately explained as a sort of wickedness, ignorance, or even sickness. Interestingly, the state of ignorance (*amathia*) conceptualizes both lack of knowledge and conceit of knowledge. There is, as such, no rational capacity for evil.

The problems that arise from the Socratic ethical paradoxes relative to the questions of intellectualism and the rejection of incontinence have

² So it is the case of the artisans in Plato's *Apology* (22d). They are said to possess a *techne* and as being more *sophoi* with respect to their craft, but as they do not know "the most important things" and yet they claim to know them, they do not qualify as *sophoi*.

been largely discussed in the scholarly tradition and they still constitute a critical point in the study of the Platonic thought. However, I would like to go beyond that point to explore the problem that this question poses in the literary tradition where there are other competing intellectual models. More particularly, I would like to examine the conditions under which the ability to deceive, the art of cunning, all prominent forms of intelligence in the tradition of poetry, politics and oratory, are marginalized from Plato's intellectual ideal.

The figure of the cunning and the crafty has a prominent place in the ancient literary tradition, from Homer to Euripides. Among the epic heroes, *polutropos* Odysseus stands as a conspicuous example: an expert liar, full of ingenious resources, he gets his own way by deceiving unscrupulously.³ While it is true that some post-Homeric accounts show Odysseus' intelligence in a rather negative light, in Homer this is a quality that deserves divine admiration. In *Odyssey* (13,291) Athene praises Odysseus on the basis of being "crafty in counsel [ποικιλομῆτα]", "insatiate in deceit [δόλων ἄατος]", and describes him as someone who deeply loves lying.⁴ Importantly, the passage reveals both that he deceives by way of skills and that he does it willingly. In the sixth century, the Elegiac poet Theognis embraces Odysseus' trait as *sophia*, a quality that is worth more than *arete*, when he advises Cyrnus to train his faculty to adapt, change and imitate others. Then he asserts: "surely skill is a better thing even than great virtue [κρεῖσσόν τοι σοφίη καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς]."⁵ To be clear, *sophia* overlaps here with *polutropia*, a competence that proves to be effective by the multiplicity and variety of its resources. A man that commits his intellectual ability and disposition only to truth might be *agathos*, but not *polutropos*.

To fully understand Plato's position it is helpful to consider the peculiar intellectual climate of the second half of the fifth century BCE. The growing phenomenon of literacy, against the political backdrop of an egalitarian ideology, gives impulse to the democratization of education and the emergence of a new intellectual class. Marked by a critical and analytical approach, the model of new learning is introduced in tension with the old traditional value-system. "In Greek thought the acceptance of tradition is generally opposed to cleverness, to the critical intellect".⁶ As a result, intellectual shrewdness is commonly associated with a subversion

³ For a complete survey on the reception of the figure of Odysseus in the philosophical tradition see MONTIGLIO (2011).

⁴ Trans. by W. R. M. LAMB.

⁵ Trans. by J. M. EDMONDS.

⁶ WINNINGTON-INGRAM (1969: 43).

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of moral and conventional standards. This cultural phenomenon has an effect on the evaluative meaning of a wide range of the intellectual lexica; consequently, *techne*, *sophia*, *dexiotes*, acquire negative overtones. In such a scenario, it is only natural that the cunning intelligence characteristic of Odysseus is exposed at its worst. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (1015), once Philoctetes realizes that Neoptolemus has deceived him by following Odysseus' instructions, he accuses the latter of training the former "to be a *sophos* in evil [ἐν κακοῖς εἶναι σοφόν]". Similarly, in Euripides' *Medea* (285), Creon recognizes Medea's intelligence as a threat and describes her as being a "natural *sophe*' [σοφῆ πέφυκας!]" and as "knowing many evils [καὶ κακῶν πολλῶν ἴδρις!]". Medea, on her part, regrets the reputation of *sophia* in a society where it is condemned by the ignorant and the envious. In *Clouds*, Aristophanes derides the madness and idleness of the intellectual class. In this context "*sophos*" is far from being complimentary; it aims to disparage the overcritical attitude characteristic of sophists and philosophers.

This is not irrelevant for Plato's philosophical agenda, where *sophia* and *philosophia* are at the centre of a good and a virtuous life. To be sure, Plato is redefining intellectual notions as morally relevant in a context where the reputation of the intellectual is the object of negative criticism. Precisely because of this, concepts such as *sophia* and *techne* need to be introduced with qualification. If there is some identifiable aspect of *sophia* that is questionable or regrettable, then that aspect is to be rejected. The attempt of dissociating philosophical wisdom from other traditional paradigms is successfully accomplished in *Apology*, where "real" *sophia*, the highest form of *sophia*, is attached to virtue, truth and goodness while any other form of *sophia* is said to be merely "apparent", conceit of *sophia*. Admittedly, Plato's project of *sophia* is neither identified with the old tradition nor with the new sophistic trend. The attempt of reserving *sophia* only for the good, however, proves to raise some conceptual difficulties. The tension is concentrated on the fact that, as an intellectual ability, *sophia* either reaches all its potentiality and then it has no limits, or it is restricted to a certain class of object and then is limited. Plato seeks to include both: he is after the highest form of *sophia* (divine, "real" *sophia*) but qualified, attached to truth and good. This move has a significant consequence; the aspect associated to intelligence and knowledge closer to the Greek concepts of *polumathia*, *metis*, *deinotes*, *dexiotes*, that is, cleverness, shrewdness, cunning, is marginalized from the intellectual sphere relevant for virtue. Under the Platonic model, the intelligence of cunning cannot be properly conceptualized, at least not by "real *Sophia*". Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant refer to this in their study *Cunning intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, and claim that it is

precisely the concept of Platonic truth that “overshadowed a whole area of intelligence with its own kinds of understanding”.⁷

To avoid any unwanted association, in most of Plato’s dialogues, the relevant terminology is qualified. Just as in *Apology* “real” *sophia* is the knowledge of virtue, in the *Phaedrus* real *techne* (260e) is attached to the truthful speech, and in the *Gorgias* real *dunamis* to goodness (466b), thus preventing the sophist from having a *techne* and the tyrant from being powerful (*dunatos*).

The only dialogue in which the intellectual lexica are systematically unqualified is the *Lesser Hippias*. Considered for some time as an immoral display of Socrates’ playful sophistry, the dialogue arrives at two conclusions: i) that the truthful and false individual are the same; ii) that the one who commits injustice voluntarily is better than the one who does it involuntarily. Particularly relevant is the line of argument that allows Socrates to conclude the first. The logic and central reasoning is reached through a treatment that opens the semantic range of intellectual categories by neutralizing their connotative meaning and by making them morally indifferent. Most significantly, in this context, *sophia* is equivalent to *panourgia*, *polumathia* and *polutropia*; on the other hand, *dunamis*, *techne*, *phronesis*, *episteme*, *sophia* are devoid of any moral significance.⁸

Socrates begins the conversation by asking Hippias who is better, Achilles or Odysseus, and in respect to what (364b). Hippias’ answer is elusive: he says that Achilles is the bravest and Odysseus the most resourceful, *polutropos*. The invocation of Odysseus leads to discuss the quality of *polutropia*. Even when the meaning of *polutropos* is never explicitly established, its evaluative dimension, at least for Hippias, is straightforwardly negative: as he puts it, whereas Achilles is *alethes* and *haplous*, Odysseus is *pseudos* and *polutropos*. To make the contrast sharp, Hippias couples truth and simplicity against resourcefulness and falsity. For Socrates, however, this is not an obvious association.⁹ Ultimately,

⁷ DETIENNE and VERNANT (1978: 318)

⁸ At 368b–369a Socrates says to Hippias that the principle by which the false and the truthful man are the same applies concerning all sciences. Importantly, he deliberately opens the range of names that refer to knowledge: “Look for this in any branch whatsoever of wisdom [σοφία] or shrewdness [πανουργία] or whatever you choose to call it.” As HADE asserts: “The main aspect which we need to see and appreciate is that both Socrates and Hippias have operated throughout within the bounds of everyday verbal meanings, with their vaguer connotations in the realm of feelings and values.” (HADE 1997: 159)

⁹ At 365b9 Socrates says “I think I understand what you mean; you mean that the wily man is false, apparently [τὸν πολύτροπον ψευδῆ λέγεις, ὡς γε φαίνεται].” As WEISS (1981: 291) puts it: “For Hippias, *πολύτροπος* is from the first a pejorative

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Socrates embodies a model that is not among Hippias' alternatives, i.e. a model that couples intelligence and truthfulness: smart as Odysseus, truthful as Achilles.

As the conversation unfolds (Plat. *Hipp. Min.* 365d sqq), it is admitted that: i) the false, in his ability to tell lies, is capable of doing something (δυνατός τι ποιεῖν) by reason of shrewdness (πανουργίας) and a sort of intelligence (φρονήσεώς τινος); ii) being intelligent (φρόνιμοι δὲ ὄντες), the false know what they are doing (ἐπίστανται ὃ τι ποιοῦσιν), that is why they do harm (κακουργοῦσιν); iii) knowing these things, they are wise (σοφοὶ) in deception (ἐξαπατᾶν). Consequently, the false are those who are wise and powerful in uttering falsehoods (οἱ σοφοὶ τε καὶ δυνατοὶ ψεύδεσθαι). A man, then, who has not the power to utter falsehoods (ἀδύνατος ψεύδεσθαι) and is ignorant (ἀμαθής) would not be false (ψευδής).¹⁰

The reasoning allows Socrates, not without Hippias' approval, to conclude that the false, in his power to tell lies, is different from the ignorant. Contrary to the general Socratic thesis, the false is to be counted among the *sophoi* and *phronimoi*. It is worth remarking, however, that this is, as Socrates asserts, a “sort” of intelligence. As Hippias is keen to observe, the false are *sophoi*, *phronimoi* and *dunatoi* only in respect to lying. Thus far, the argument is consented without any relevant objection. What triggers Hippias' resistance is the further consequence that the same man is both false and true, and, more particularly, that the true man is in no way better (*ameinon*) than the false (367c).

What lies at the core of the argument is the apparent ambiguity between the two evaluative levels: one aiming at the successful performance of an activity and the other at moral character. As it seems, the false, being “good at” lying cannot be “worse” than the one telling the truth. Hence most critics see this move as a deliberate use of equivocation, a fallacious use of “good” in its relative sense, “good at”, as “good” in an absolute sense.¹¹ Others reject equivocation and suggest that is only one

word. Hence, JOWETT'S and FOWLER'S ‘wily’ is a suitable translation of πολύτροπος when Hippias says it. [...] For Socrates, on the other hand, it seems that πολύτροπος, at least initially, designates a neutral ability, probably meaning something like MULHERN'S ‘resourceful.’” HADE claims that it is precisely this double-value of the word *polutropia* that allows Socrates to problematize the discussion. “Socrates takes the precise tack he does, rather than addressing himself to Hippias speech, for an excellent reason: he has seized on the word *polytropos* because it is in fact ambiguous.” (HADE 1997: 147)

¹⁰ Trans. by H. N FOWLER.

¹¹ Particularly SPRAGUE (1962) and MULHERN (1968).

sense, the relative one, that prevails throughout and then the paradox for the argumentative purposes is dissolved.¹² The “goodness” of the false is only restricted to his capacity to lie; it says nothing about his state of character. Nonetheless, the case still proves to be perplexing. Socrates and Hippias, by the logic of the argument, are driven to consistently accept the premises, but not the conclusions. Why is this? I think that the problem ultimately lies, to a greater or lesser degree, on Plato’s conception of virtue as craft. If the craft per excellence is virtue, if the knowledge per excellence is truth, then being “good at” overlaps with being “good”. In this light, the expression “good at being bad” presents a paradox. A theory that attaches virtue and *techne* needs to completely dissociate vice from *techne* and *sophia*. It seems, indeed, reasonable to question the extent to which virtue can be identified with knowledge if knowledge can be oriented to perform wrongness.

To a certain extent, the point that *Lesser Hippias* raises is that, if virtue is a craft, as any other craft, the false is not better than the truthful man. But the point to show is precisely that virtue is not as any other craft. It is “the” craft. Far from being “unsocratic” or an immoral dialogue, *Lesser Hippias* establishes the difficulties and the necessity of the correlation between virtue and *techne*: Plato’s philosophical project needs knowledge and craft to be at the centre of a good life, all of which is problematic enough as to suggest that a good life might need more than knowledge and craft. Hence the importance of qualifying and redefining what is “craft”, what is “knowledge”, what is “capacity”, etc.

The question is elusive. Intellectual capacity, when is unqualified, results in paradox for it would include the admission that the bad are good (at being bad); intellectual capacity, when qualified, also results in paradox for it would imply that intelligent people are stupid or ignorant (*amathes*).

I would like to conclude with one passage of the *Republic* in which Socrates openly recognizes that is not by ignorance that the bad are bad, but by knowledge and skill. In book VII (518e–519a), after the allegory of the cave, Socrates reflects on the nature of education. As he asserts, this is not a process by which a soul lacking knowledge comes to possess knowledge. Just as the eye has the power to see the light, the soul possesses the power to know the truth and to contemplate the good. Education, *paideia*, is rather an art, a *techne*, by which the souls are turned into the right direction. Unlike other virtues that can be acquired by power of exercise:

¹² Cf. WEISS (1981: 290).

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[...] the excellence of thought [τοῦ φρονήσαι], it seems, is certainly of a more divine quality, a thing that never loses its potency [δύναμιν], but, according to the direction of its conversion [περιαγωγῆς], becomes useful and beneficent, or, again, useless and harmful [ἄχρηστον αὖ καὶ βλαβερὸν]. Have you never observed in those who are popularly spoken of as bad [πονηρῶν], but smart men [σοφῶν] how keen [δριμύ] is the vision [βλέπει] of the little soul [ψυχάριον], how quick [ὀξέως (ὀξύς)] it is to discern [διορᾷ] the things that interest it [ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται], a proof that is not a poor vision [φάυλην τὴν ὄψιν] which it has, but one forcibly enlisted in the service of evil [κακίᾳ], so that the sharper its sight [ὀξύτερον βλέπει] the more mischief [πλείω κακὰ] it accomplishes [πλείω κακὰ] it accomplishes [ἐργαζόμενον]?¹³

Just like in *Lesser Hippias*, the intelligence for evil is seen as *dunamis*; it is not by ignorance that they achieve their purposes, but by ability. *Techne* does not give the power to think—that power is inherent to the intellect; it gives the power to *think rightly*. A central point here is that intelligence, by itself, does not guarantee good use. Good memory, quickness or concentration must be informed by certain content and trained under certain direction; hence the importance of education. It is suggestive that Socrates should raise the question at this point of the discussion, when reflecting on the importance of education and the role of the philosopher, for he seems to be granting the influence of other rival educative models. As already shown, essential to Plato's task is to dissociate the intellectual pursuit of *philosophia* from that of the sophists, a difficult task considering that both are recognized under the same name of *sophia* (cf. *Rep.* VI 493a ff). Socrates acknowledges these are reputed smart (*sophoi*), not ignorant, not without admitting first that reputation of *sophia* and real *sophia* are different.

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PLATO'S MEDICALISATION OF JUSTICE IN *REPUBLIC* IV

JORGE TORRES

This paper examines Plato's analogy of justice and health in *Republic* 4. By drawing upon an analogy with bodily health, Plato defines justice as a healthy psychological condition. Thus, in order to truly grasp Plato's definition of justice understood as a healthy psychological condition, we need to review the different accounts of health that were widely accepted in Plato's time. The analysis will finally show that Plato's analogy of justice and health does not hold true since the medical definition of health is incompatible with his account of justice.

At the core of Plato's definition of justice (*Rep.* 4, 443c9–444e5) we encounter a novel and somehow odd analogy between justice and bodily health. Plato first introduces this analogy alongside his earlier line of reasoning throughout Books 2–4, after both a lengthy philosophical examination, which must withstand criticisms from both Socrates' interlocutors and modern scholarship, and a careful treatment of their objections. The argument to be addressed here, however, is the analogy of justice and health brought out by Socrates towards the end of Book 4. Since Plato's analogy hinges upon key aspects of the *Republic's* psychological model, they will be taken for granted for the sake of argument. Oceans of ink have been spilt on them and, compared to the number of papers and books concerned with both Plato's psychology and the analogy of the city and the soul, it is actually surprising that modern scholars have drawn much less attention to the analogy of justice and health. To be sure, the analogy seems to give us, for the first time in the dialogue, a *prima facie* motivating reason to choose justice over injustice.¹ In the recent past, however, it has been too easily supposed that the analogy of health and justice is just self-explanatory. Such an omission, however, provides me with a good excuse to further explore

¹ As A. KENNY rightly summarises it: "Everyone wants to be healthy, so if justice is health, everyone must *really* want to be just. If some do not want to behave justly, this can only be because they do not understand the nature of justice and injustice and lack insight into their own condition" (1973: 23, italics are mine)

both the philosophical assumptions underlying the analogy and the historical influence of Hippocratic medicine on Plato's ethical model.²

In section one, I shall deal with that stage of the argument where the definition of justice as a healthy psychological condition is first advanced (this is what I call "Plato's medicalisation of justice"). Section two focuses on the medical background, mostly overlooked, which underlies Plato's theory of justice. As I shall show, the vocabulary employed by Plato when drawing the analogy strongly suggests that he resorts to a definition of health that was widely accepted within the medical tradition. If so, we must first examine their views on health in order to assess the soundness of Plato's account of justice. Hence the historical research turns out to be very useful, perhaps indispensable, for philosophical purposes. Finally, throughout section three I shall point to the main inconsistency that jeopardise Plato's account of justice understood as a healthy psychological condition.

I

At *Rep.* 4, 444c Plato introduces for the first time in the *Republic* an explicit comparison between justice and health.³ The main idea underlying this comparison goes as follows: just as there is a distinctive order of the different bodily constituents called "health" (ὕγεια), there also exists a proper order of the elements (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὁ θῦμός, τὸ λογιστικόν) in the human psyche which Plato terms "justice" (δικαιοσύνη) (444d1–e5):

(A) Bodily health: "To produce **health** is to establish the elements **in the body** according to a natural order of dominating and being dominated by one another, and to produce **disease** is to establish a relation of ruling and being ruled by one another contrary to nature" (Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑγίαιαν

² However, some few critics have drawn their attention to this key argument. For further discussion of the analogy in modern scholarship, see: KENNY (1973); STALLEY (1981) CAMBIANO (1982); LIDZ (1995); VEGETTI, (1998: 102); FERRARI, (2003: 64); BERGES (2012).

³ It is worth pointing out, however, that there are clear traces of this association earlier on in Book 2. When Glaucon introduces his famous triadic classification of goods at the outset of Book 2, he encourages Socrates to support his view that justice belongs to the highest goods, namely, those that are welcomed both for their own sake and for their consequences, like "being healthy" (τὸ ὑγαίνειν, 357c3). Further on, Adeimantus restates Glaucon's challenge by making the very same point: he wants to be shown that justice resembles health in that even though it does have an instrumental value, it is still worth pursuing aside from its consequences (367c–d).

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ποιεῖν **τὰ ἐν τῷ σώματι** κατὰ φύσιν καθιστάναι κρατεῖν τε καὶ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, **τὸ δὲ νόσον** παρὰ φύσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἄλλο ὑπ' ἄλλου, 444d2–6).

(B) Justice: “To produce **justice** is to establish the elements **in the soul** according to a natural order of dominating and being dominated by one another, and to produce **injustice** is to establish a relation of ruling and being ruled by one another contrary to nature” (Οὐκοῦν αὖ, ἔφην, **τὸ δικαιοσύνην** ἐμποιεῖν **τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ** κατὰ φύσιν καθιστάναι κρατεῖν τε καὶ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, **τὸ δὲ ἀδικίαν** παρὰ φύσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἄλλο ὑπ' ἄλλου, 444d8–11).⁴

The symmetry behind both *explanantia* is noticeably: they seem to convey the same idea, and each word is carefully repeated in each of them by keeping the same syntax. I have stressed some words in bold so as to emphasise that they are indeed the only terms at variance. Consider: we could easily replace each of those terms (“health” for “justice”; “in the body” for “in the soul”, etc.) and then apply them to its counterpart. The reasoning would remain exactly the same. It seems, then, that Plato conceives of the analogy in a demanding way—rather than as a mere metaphor, as some critics have suggested—which is consistently supported by the textual evidence found elsewhere. In an earlier line, for instance, Socrates himself claimed that when it comes to the way healthy and unhealthy things affect the body, “there is no difference” (οὐδὲν διαφέροντα) between the corporeal pair healthful/diseaseful and the psychical pair just/unjust (444c5–6). Additionally, after introducing the analogy, he plainly identifies virtue (here unqualified) with certain kind of health: Ἀρετῆ... ὑγίαιά τέ τις, 444d13.⁵ Further on, Socrates goes so far as

⁴ A similar line of reasoning can be found in the *Gorgias* (504b2–504d2).

⁵ Socrates' use of *τις* in connection with *ὑγίαια* is problematic for at least two reasons. The claim that virtue is *ὑγίαιά τέ τις* insinuates that there are also other ways we could think of health. Unfortunately, no other meaning is attested by the passage. Secondly, the claim is not consistent with Socrates' earlier view that ‘there is no difference’ between health and justice (virtue, previously identified with justice (433b) without further ado, is now displayed as a *kind* of health, which presumes a difference genus-species after all). I venture to say that Plato has in mind something like this: in so far as ‘health’ can be said of both the body and the soul, there is indeed no difference between them (‘health’ as a univocal genus does not change its meaning in each case); however, since body and soul are different entities in Plato's overall ontology, both embody different sub-kinds of health: psychic and physical, respectively. A really important remark must be made at this point. When Socrates treats psychic health as a ‘kind of health’, he is also thinking in terms of priority. As evidenced by several passages of the *Republic*, psychic

to apply the Greek εὐεξία (444e1) (“good condition”, “healthy condition”) to the just human psyche. This commonly unnoticed move is particularly interesting because this is probably the second time in Antiquity that the word is employed to refer to the psychological dimension of men (the first one can be traced to Socrates’ speech at *Gorgias* 464a2–4).⁶ Aside from one single fragment of Democritus (*Fr.* 184), whose authenticity was called into question by Guthrie in the last century,⁷ the oldest report of the word comes from the Hippocratic *Corpus*, where it exclusively denotes the bodily condition of patients (see *Acut.* 3, 28, *Aph.*, 2, 34).⁸ Hence, a Greek of the fourth century must have found the concept of justice as the εὐεξία of the psyche rather surprising. Now if justice is thought of as a *healthy* psychological state, we are clearly in need of a definition of health.

Before taking up a more careful examination of the analogy, I call the reader’s attention to four main points of Plato’s moral psychology that I shall keep in view to support my conclusions in the last section of this paper. First the human soul is a complex entity containing three different motivational sources (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὁ θυμός, τὸ λογιστικόν, 437b–441c). Secondly, even though justice is a political virtue, it is primarily a psychological ἔξις (443c9–d1). Thirdly, in either case, political and psychological, justice consists of a natural order according to which each part of the city/soul performs its own function (τὸ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν, 435b1–c6; 443b1–2).⁹ Finally, and most importantly: such distribution of functions gives rise to justice understood as a hierarchical order of virtue, of which reason rules over the remaining parts (441d11–e6).

health is much more worth choosing than bodily health (445b–c). Sometimes the latter is merely seen as a means contributing to the attainment of the former (591b–c).

⁶ The word can also be found in *Protagoras* (354b3), but here it denotes a physical state of the body (see also BRANWOOD’s *Index ad. loc.* (1976: 405)).

⁷ Cf. GUTHRIE (1965: 491).

⁸ I am indebted to LLOYD for this remark (1968: 73).

⁹ To talk about parts is certainly not the most felicitous expression. ROBINSON complains that this is only accurate on the basis of the identification of some spatial region (1971: 45). Since the Platonic soul is not material, ‘part’ can only have an allegorical meaning. The Greek text makes things no easier by intermingling three different terms: γένε, εἶδε, and μέρη (e.g., 428e7, 429b2, 429a1; 434b9; 434b2). A great deal of the modern debate on Plato’s psychology has to do with this problem. Adopting LORENZ’ reading (2003: 35–52), I shall keep the language of “parts”.

II

As we have seen, both justice and health are defined based on a natural interaction between elements. Despite the fact that Plato is deliberately unclear when describing those elements—restricting himself to a rather vague utterance: τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ/ τὰ ἐν τῷ σώματι—we find two main features concerning the interaction between those elements:

(1) Health and justice are κατὰ φύσιν, whereas injustice and disease are παρὰ φύσιν.

(2) Both justice and health entail a hierarchical order: καθιστάναι κρατεῖν τε καὶ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. Accordingly, injustice and disease take place when this order is reversed, and the order is reversed when it is not a natural one (παρὰ φύσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἄλλο ὑπ' ἄλλου).

Justice and health are alike in that both can be defined as the resulting conjunction of (1) and (2). Upon further examination, however, this analogy turns out to be quite problematic. To be sure, if we stick to (1) only, we can keep the analogy but only in abstract terms: both Plato and Greek physicians would happily agree that health is κατὰ φύσιν and disease παρὰ φύσιν. We could go even further and assert that both would agree that health is the distinctive order (*i.e.*, well-functioning) of the body. But such an agreement is largely superficial and does not speak much to the soundness of the analogy. The reason, I take it, is that we do not yet have any information on the nature of the corresponding order within *each* domain (so far, Plato has only provided us with a description of the psychical order, namely, justice). On this rather formal level, the analogy still holds true—though this depends on how abstract we want the comparison to be.¹⁰ But when it comes to defining what this “distinctive” order is meant to be in each domain, however, problems immediately arise. Since one pole of the analogy appeals to bodily health, we need to take a short glance at the different accounts of health that were circulating within the medical tradition of the fifth and fourth centuries BC in order to see why the analogy of justice and health does not finally succeed,

It is widely accepted that the Hippocratic and the Sicilian theory of health goes back up to Alcmaeon of Croton (ca. sixth century BC).¹¹ Thanks to the testimony of Aëtius, we know that Alcmaeon is the author of the first reported rational account of health in ancient Greece, which

¹⁰ For this “formal” reading of the passage, see SANTAS (2001: 87).

¹¹ Alcmaeon was a physician who was wrongly associated with Pythagoreans (Diog. VIII. 83) and representative of the medical tradition that took place in Magna Graecia. Cf. RAVEN (1964: 232).

partly explains why some authors have named him the “Father of Medicine”.¹² On this showing, bodily health is seen as the equality (ἰσονομία) of an indefinite number of physical powers (δυνάμεις) in the human body (wet, hot, dry, cold, sour, sweet, and others) which stand in opposite pairs with each other. If any of them increases and gains supremacy (μοναρχία) over the remaining elements, then men get sick and feel pain (cf. Aëtius, V.30; *DK* 24b4). Due to the lack of textual evidence, this supremacy over the remaining powers in the body can be construed in two different ways: either (a) as a supremacy of one element over its corresponding opposite, or (b) as a supremacy *tout court* of one element over all others. Either way, health is a matter of “equality” among these bodily elements (Alcmaeon’s definition of health is thus phrased in negative terms: health is defined as the *absence* of supremacy of one physical element over any other). The notion of κρᾶσις, apparently persistent throughout his medical writings, required *each* bodily element to be capable both of ruling its opposite and being ruled by it too, thus eliciting a certain balance (σύμμετρος κρᾶσις).

The Hippocratic Corpus attests to three definitions of health in three different treatises. *On Ancient Medicine* depicts a similar account to that of Alcmaeon: since the human body is composed of many things, including “the sweet, the bitter, the acid, and other such δυνάμεις”, men experience illness when one of these elements is separated from the others. On the contrary, when they are properly mixed with each other, they cause no harm on the human body and cannot even be distinguished from each other (cf. *VM*. 14, 35–39). It is worth asking whether Alcmaeon’s definition of disease as “monarchy” is tantamount to the isolation (ἀπόκρισις) of one single element in this treatise. At first sight, I think there is no need to assume this association: as the ancient practice of ostracism reveals, an isolated element does not *necessarily* rule over the others. However, two remarks have been made in favour of a possible equation between μοναρχία and ἀπόκρισις. Firstly, we are told that the isolated element becomes more powerful – having a stronger δύναμις, as occurs in any monarchical regimen – than the remaining ones. This is subject to the significant proviso, however, that a complete isolation from the κοινωνεῖν of powers is not possible, as each element is naturally mixed with one another. Secondly, we do find in the imagery of the fifth century BC the association between “isolation” and “domination”: according to Anaxagoras, for instance, the divine Νοῦς overpowers the entire universe

¹² See LONGRIGG (1993: 4). By “rational account” I mean that the doxography on Alcmaeon provides us with the first reported aetiology of diseases which does not appeal to divine causation, as it was usually conceived in Greek mythology.

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precisely because it is not mixed with it, and any kind of blending would affect its cosmic power (*DK B3, B8, B12*).¹³

On Regimen 3 uses the same terminology employed by Plato in Book 4 of *The Republic*: the due proportion between diet and exercise is what preserves health. When one of them is overpowered by the other, human beings suffer from diseases: *πότερον τὸ σιτίον κρατέει τοὺς πόνοους, ἢ οἱ πόνοι τὰ σιτία, ἢ μετρίως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρατέεσθαι ὀκότερονοῦν νοῦσοι ἐγγίνονται*. Health is a matter of balancing (*ισάζειν, μετρίως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα*) between physical activity and food intake (*De Diaeta 3. 69, 1–15*). This account resembles that of Alcmaeon, in that the relation οἱ πόνοι /τὰ σιτία is also thought of as the opposition between different dynamics that contribute to keeping the body in a healthy state by a permanent compensation of losing and gaining power between each other. Again, if one stands out and dominates over the other, the latter necessarily loses its own power, which promotes diseases. It is remarkable that this last definition differs from the other two in that the balance at play does not rest upon the bodily constituents of man but upon the equilibrium between diet and exercise.¹⁴ It is nevertheless noteworthy that this equilibrium aims at restoring the due balance between fire and water—the two elements that constitute everything in the universe, including, of course, the human body (*De Diaeta 1, 3*). A complete overpowering of one single element over the other is not possible in nature: each one rules and is ruled by the other (*ἐν μέρει δὲ ἐκάτερον κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται*), as determined by the physical conditions of the environment. This interaction is cyclical: the partial overpowering of one single element varies according to seasons. Disease, then, arise when this dynamic equilibrium between these two opposite elements is broken. Thus, although this account does not appeal to “monarchy” in order to describe how diseases are produced in the human body, the fact that there is a continuous oscillation within the antagonism *κρατεῖ/κρατεῖται* fits well with a “democratisation of the body”: the power of each element rotates according to natural cycles, just as citizen do in the Assembly.¹⁵

Finally, *On the Nature of Man* (Cap. 4) heavily emphasizes the equation between health and *κρῆσις*. Health is here depicted as the natural

¹³ On this comparison, see CAMBIANO (1982: 219–223)

¹⁴ Plato knows of this account too. At 441e7–8 he employs the Greek *κρῆσις* to describe the due proportion of gymnastics and music within his educational curricula so as to correctly shape the soul of the future philosophers.

¹⁵ So just as one can speak of the “medicalisation of justice” in Plato, some scholars describe the origin of Western medicine in terms of a “politisation of the body”; LLOYD (2003: 156).

κράσις of different humours. There are two ways in which this physical blending can be spoiled: either when one of the humours is severed (χωρισθῆ), or by the excess or deficiency of one of them (ἐλασσον ἢ πλέον). When a humour is severed from the others, it leaves its natural place within the body and, as a result, that place becomes hollow and hence diseased (τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ... ἐπίνοσον γίνεσθαι). Similarly, the *Timaeus* (82a) appears to retain the same etiology when asserting that disease might be produced by two possible causes: (1) a non-natural excess or deficiency (ἢ παρὰ φύσιν πλεονεξία καὶ ἔνδεια) of any of physical elements; or (2) the change of one of them from its natural place (τῆς χώρας μετάστασις ἐξ οἰκείας). Unlike the Hippocratic treatise, however, the dialogue refers not only to Hippocrates's four humours but also to Empedocles' four elements.¹⁶

Despite the subtleties and nuances involved in each of these accounts of health, we do find a recurrent pattern in Greek medicine: each passage under consideration states that, whereas health is a matter of equality or balance among bodily elements, disease is basically the opposite (monarchy, isolation, overpowering, etc.). Taking into account this conceptual background, let us now turn to the analogy of justice and health in the *Republic*.¹⁷

III

Plato's move is extremely subtle: he manages to keep the main ideas and even the same terminology employed by Greek physicians as premises of an argument that winds up drawing the opposite conclusion. Before we get to the end of Book IV, Plato has already adopted the medical model of health in an almost literal sense: at 442a6 we are told that the appetitive element is usually excessively present in our soul (πλεῖστον τῆς ψυχῆ). If we now consider that according to the medical tradition the excess of one physical element was regarded as a cause of disease, Plato's earlier claim that appetites, and hence the unjust life, are the cause of many sufferings and *diseases* (παθημάτων τε καὶ νοσημάτων, 439d2) is hardly surprising.¹⁸

¹⁶ The influence of the Sicilian and the Hippocratic medical tradition on the *Timaeus* has been well documented by JONES (1946: 16–23) and LONGRIGG (1993: 104–148).

¹⁷ As Galen later noticed, it seems that although later Greek physicians tended to disagree on the nature and number of the bodily constituents, all of them agreed on taking health as a balance or due mixing of them (*San. Tu.* 1. 4).

¹⁸ Compare this statement with the above quoted passage in the *Timaeus* (82a) where *bodily* disease is described as a form of πλεονεξία.

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At the end of Book IV, when the analogy of justice and health is first advanced, Plato's terminology suggests that he is still resorting to tradition: health is a natural state (κατὰ φύσιν) in which different elements of the body dominate and are dominated (καθιστάναι **κρατεῖν** τε καὶ **κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων**). So stated, notice that the expression is entirely compatible with any of the medical accounts we have seen, as the claim "κρατεῖν τε καὶ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων" need not point to any kind of hierarchy. As shown above, the imagery of "domination" and "ruling" was widely disseminated among ancient physicians, and it is not unusual at all to find some treatises formulating this opposition in the same terms. Thus, for instance, *On Regimen* appeals twice to the same vocabulary: σιτίον **κρατέει** τοὺς πόνους, ἢ οἱ πόνοι τὰ σιτία, ἢ μετρίως ἔχει πρὸς ἀλληλα- ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ **κρατέεσθαι** ὀκοτερονοῦν νοῦσοι ἐγγίνονται (69. 12–14)/ ἐν μέρει δὲ ἐκάτερον **κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται** (referring here to fire and water). This view was also implied in Alcmaeon's account of health, understood as a σύμμετρος κρᾶσις, in which each opposite dominates *and* is dominated by the other.

Thus far it looks as though Plato were still adhering to the medical model, as he not only keeps the same vocabulary employed by Greek physicians but also a similar syntax (note the emphasis on the active and passive forms of κρατεῖν). This is only apparently so. Whereas the medical antithesis κρατεῖ/ κρατεῖται results in the *equality* of powers among bodily elements, the Platonic opposition κρατεῖ/ κρατεῖται relies on a hierarchical order in which one element dominates *without being dominated*. Let us remember that in Plato's account of justice the dominating part cannot be any psychic element, since he states that the order must be κατὰ φύσιν and only τὸ λογιστικόν can fulfil this function under this restriction (Cf. p. 36 above).

Thus, Plato sees tyranny as a "political disease" (πόλεως νόσημα 544c7): even though one element rules, as it occurs in a monarchical regimen, the natural order is not respected when the lowest part, eager to satisfy its numberless desires, takes control of both the whole soul and the political community. Nonetheless, the point is that the overpowering of one psychic element does not prompt a pathological state *by itself*, as it was usually thought in the medical tradition. Rather, it becomes pathology only when the hierarchical order of nature is reversed, namely, when reason in the soul—and hence philosophers in the polis—does not rule. In an unexpected turn, then, Alcmaeon's σύμμετρος κρᾶσις, as well as the Hippocratic ἰσάζειν, are rejected, and monarchy surprisingly becomes the healthy condition of the soul. Alcmaeon's definition of health as ἰσονομία, as equality of powers, thus gives way to a new conception of health understood as a natural and harmonic *hierarchy* of faculties. As Ferrari

rightly notices, Socrates takes the traditional definition of health and ‘turns the politics of the metaphor upside-down’.¹⁹ Further evidence for this view is found at 561e1, where the word ἰσονομικοῦ, a cognate term of Alcameon’s ἰσονομία, is uttered by Adeimantus to portray the democratic soul with manifest contempt – that Socrates does agree with this scornful view of democracy is well known (559dff).²⁰ Additionally, Socrates himself describes his ideal form of government either as a monarchy (βασιλεία, 444d5) or as an aristocracy (ἀριστοκρατία), depending on how many philosophers hold power.

So far, therefore, Plato’s move consists in keeping the medical relation κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται, though he does so on a purely formal level and casts upon it an entirely new meaning. How could he do this? Recall that justice and health are described on the account of two tenets, namely, (1) and (2) (above). It seems to me that if the mere use of the opposition κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται (= 2) does not make any difference with the medical model (physicians were happy to employ the very same formula to describe the healthy condition of the body), it is because the antinomy κατὰ φύσιν/παρὰ φύσιν (= 1) is doing the trick at this point. The following problem then arises: despite the suggestive terminology in support of a parallelism between body and soul, what Plato takes to be κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται κατὰ φύσιν in the soul has no parallel in the human body. On the contrary, whereas supremacy is a healthy condition of the psyche, it is plainly disease on a physical level. Instead of picking up a biological/bodily conception of health and then going on to apply it to the soul, Plato departs from a previous equation between justice and psychic health, which leads him to introduce an absolutely new conception of health that, upon reflection, cannot univocally be applied to the human body. The argument does not start with a biological conception of health; the line of reasoning does not go from the body to the soul, but from the soul to the body, and this is precisely the reason why the analogy does not stand up. In a healthy body there is no room for hierarchy, but only equality. In a nutshell, Plato is not exactly assimilating justice into health but rather health into justice. And this move has disastrous consequences for his overall ethical model: the two definitions cannot be analogous because *they plainly exclude each other*.

It has pointed out that if Plato had adhered to his characterisation of justice as a healthy psychical condition, he would have come to the opposite political view—that the democratic man and, accordingly, the

¹⁹ FERRARI (2003: 64).

²⁰ For the close connection between ἰσονομία and δημοκρατία in the *Republic*, see VLASTOS (1981: 193–201).

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democratic state are the truly healthy and just ones.²¹ Stalley, however, overlooks the fact that a further conclusion can be drawn from the medical side of the analogy: had Socrates rightly deduced the logical consequences from the assimilation of justice into health, he would have realised that the overpowering of reason in human life resembles disease rather than health.²² If so, this represents a serious objection to both Socrates' answer to Glaucon's challenge and the effectiveness of Plato's ethics. In effect, why would anyone want to be just if justice is some kind of disease? Furthermore: why would anyone want to be healed by a doctor who gets sick in virtue of his own treatment?

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²¹ Cf. STALLEY (1981: 111).

²² This was in fact the conclusion drew by Socrates' main rival in the history of philosophy, a German philologist who, unlike Glaucon, was not so easily persuaded by Socrates' argument. Let us recall section this rival's exact (and opportune) words: "Rationality at any price (...) was merely a disease, another kind of disease, and by no means a return to "virtue", to "health", to happiness (...). Socrates is no physician. Socrates himself has been ill long ago" (NIETZSCHE, *GD: Das Problem des Sokrates*, 11–12)

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TRAVEL AND THE GREEK σοφία: A STUDY OF THE PHOENICIAN MERCHANT IN PHILOSTRATUS' *HEROICUS*¹

YASUHIRO KATSUMATA

This article is concerned with the characterisation of the Phoenician Merchant, one of the two interlocutors in Flavius Philostratus' *Heroicus*. Drawing on the “change” thesis, which many scholars espouse as to the portrayal of the character, this paper focuses on two important elements that, despite their thematic significance, have never been associated with the “change” of the figure: travel and σοφία. After exploring Philostratus' presentation of the character as a “traveller”, the essay examines in detail the passages in which σοφία appears, and the words related to σοφία. The paper then concludes that the Phoenician Merchant—the “traveller”—is described as a person who acquires “Greekness” through his deep engagement with “Greek” σοφία, and that this is his most significant “change”.

Introduction

Travel is one of the most important activities among Greek elite intellectuals living in the first to third centuries CE, an era commonly known as the “Second Sophistic”.² For example, sophists in this age, with

¹ This article is an expanded version of the paper read at the conference “Sapiens Ubique Civis: International PhD Student Conference on Classics” held at Szeged, Hungary on 28 to 30 August 2013. I would like to express my gratitude to the conference organisers for their hospitality and friendliness, and to all the participants in the meeting for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. Special thanks are due to Prof. William Furley at University of Heidelberg, who read my original paper and improved it to the greatest degree possible.

² PRETZLER (2007a: 32–56) and PRETZLER (2007b) deal with their travel and travel writings. For travel in the ancient world in general, see ANDRÉ–BASLEZ (1993); CASSON (1994); ELSNER–RUBIÉS (1999: 8–15); ROMM (1992); and HARTOG (2001). The term “Second Sophistic” was coined by the author whose work this paper is concerned with, i.e. Flavius Philostratus (c. 170–249 CE). Relevant passages are found at *Vitae Sophistarum* (henceforth *VS*) 481 and 507.

a view to giving their epideictic orations, hardly stayed at one place but instead, visited various areas in the Roman Empire.³ We should not fail to mention Pausanias, whose *Periegesis* makes us sure that the author is an indefatigable traveller in Greece.⁴ When we turn our eyes to literature, we can find, amongst others, Greek novels, whose authors make their young protagonists experience wide-scale travel around the Mediterranean Sea.⁵

Philostratus lived in such a world of enthusiastic travellers, both real and unreal. This, I believe, makes it reasonable to suppose that travellers in their own literary works play an important role, and should be investigated carefully. With this idea in mind, I discuss one of the two interlocutors in the *Heroicus*, the Phoenician Merchant.⁶ He is arguably represented as a “traveller” who, due to the lack of favourable wind for his ship, accidentally visits the city of Elaeus, where another interlocutor, the Vinegrower, leads a peaceful life with the ghost of Protesilaus.⁷

The character has already drawn the attention of several modern critics, and their basic argument is a starting point for my discussion. The Phoenician Merchant is, on the whole, presented as a listener of the Vinegrower’s narratives, before undergoing a conspicuous “change”⁸ during the course of the dialogue: namely that at the beginning he is extremely skeptical about the Vinegrower’s tales, but as the conversation

WHITMARSH (2005) is the most recent general study on this fascinating period. For the (notoriously complicated) questions of lives and works of our Philostratus and the other “Philostrati”, see DE LANNOY (1997); SOLMSEN (1940); ANDERSON (1986: 1–22); BILLAUT (2000: 5–31); FLINTERMAN (1995: 5–51); and BOWIE (2009).

³ Philostratus in his *VS* tells us about travelling sophists (e.g. Alexander [571] and Hippodromus [618]). He also mentions sophists who have rarely or never travelled (Aristides [582] and Aelianus [625]), which, however, seems to suggest that travel was a very common activity among sophists in his period. On this topic, see ANDERSON (1993: 28–30).

⁴ Recent scholarship on Pausanias’ work has tried to assess it in quite a new perspective, not (derogatively) labelling it as a mere *Baedeker* in the ancient world. See, e.g. ALCOCK–CHERRY–ELSNER (2001); HUTTON (2005); and PRETZLER (2007a).

⁵ For the motif of travel in the ancient novel, see MORGAN (2007); ROMM (2008); and MONTIGLIO (2005: 221–261).

⁶ The text of the *Heroicus* is taken from DE LANNOY (1977). Translations are modified versions of MACLEAN–AITKEN (2001).

⁷ JONES (2001: 144–146) discusses the geographical setting of the work from a historical perspective. FOLLET (2004) shares the same concern.

⁸ GROSSARDT (2006: 47) “Bekehrung”; AITKEN–MACLEAN (2004: xxx) “movement”; MACLEAN (2004: 253) “change”; WHITMARSH (2013: 103) “transition”. Cf. GROSSARDT (2004: 234).

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proceeds, he is gradually allured by them, and by the end of the dialogue, he has become an enthusiastic listener. The idea is too evident to be denied and nor do I have any problems with it. Drawing on the “change” thesis however, I place an emphasis on two factors previous studies of the Phoenician Merchant have failed to notice. One is, as is suggested in the preceding paragraphs, his position as a “traveller”.⁹ I believe it is easy to link the merchant’s “change” with his act of travelling because travelling, or more specifically, leaving one’s own home, entering unknown worlds and facing what is unfamiliar, causes the traveller to “change.” The traveller cannot be the same before and after the experience of travel.¹⁰ Remember Homer’s Telemachus, who can do nothing against the arrogant suitors at the first stage of the poem but, through his experience of travel to Achaean veterans, becomes a true hero who takes revenge against his family’s uninvited guests.¹¹ The other element this paper will focus on is the concept of σοφία. Philostratus uses the word and its cognates so frequently that it is not an exaggeration to state that σοφία plays a central role in the dialogue.¹² Especially important is the fact that σοφία is a typically “Greek” idea,¹³ and Philostratus is clearly aware of that when he uses it in his work. σοφία, so our author seems to believe, has a special ethnic force that can exert its influence on “non-Greeks” who encounter it. My primary concern is thus to investigate how the Phoenician Merchant’s “non-Greekness” is influenced by the “Greekness” of σοφία.¹⁴

In what follows, I will first show that the Phoenician Merchant is a “traveller”, a character who, like Telemachus, has potential to “change” in

⁹ Apollonius in the *Vita Apollonii* (henceforth *VA*) too is a traveller, which indicates Philostratus’ interest in travelling people. ELSNER (1997) discusses the motif of travel in the work.

¹⁰ Cf. MOSSMAN (2006: 281): “... travel can also become a powerful metaphor for the development of the narrative’s subject”.

¹¹ Cf. CLARKE (1963).

¹² GROSSARDT (2006: 53). It should not be overlooked that the concept constantly haunted our author during his lifetime, as he struggled to authorise those who were called σοφισταί in the *VS* and who, at the same time, made the sage of σοφία metaphorically conquer the whole of the known world in the *VA*. Cf. ELSNER (2009: 15–17), who says, at 15, that “for all its variation, one might argue that the Philostratean corpus as a whole has a systematic and repeated set of themes whose focus is the study of *sophia* in its various forms and widest sense as understood in the Second Sophistic”.

¹³ HALL (1989: 121).

¹⁴ The concept of “Greekness” is a hot topic in the recent scholarship of the “Second Sophistic” literature. See, e.g. SWAIN (1996); GOLDHILL (2001); WHITMARSH (2001); and KONSTAN–SAÏD (2006).

the foreign land he visits. I will then explore how the merchant actually “changes” the Vinegrower through his involvement with the Greek σοφία, and how his teacher, Protesilaus, possess σοφία, by highlighting passages in which σοφία, and words related to σοφία—such as σοφός, σοφῶς, φιλοσοφῶς, φιλοσοφῆω—appear, before analysing these passages one by one. At the end of the paper, I will conclude that the Phoenician Merchant, the “traveller,” is described as a person who acquires “Greekness” through his deep engagement with “Greek” σοφία, and that this is his most significant “change.”

The Phoenician Merchant as a “Traveller”

Before exploring the relationship between the Phoenician Merchant and σοφία, it is necessary to make clear my idea that the merchant can be seen as a “traveller”.¹⁵ Brief observations on Homer’s representation of the “Phoenicians” and the Philostratean characterisation of the merchant, which is greatly influenced by the epic poet’s imagination, will show that the most important point about the character is his status of being a “traveller.”

Let us then first discuss the question of the “Phoenicians.”¹⁶ As to the Philostratean characterisation of the Phoenician Merchant, the most fundamental point to be made is that the merchant is of Phoenician origin. If one explores his literary function in the dialogue, this aspect should be considered first. The readers know that Philostratus does not give him a personal name, which often tells the reader much about the character, but just presents him as a “Phoenician” (Φοῖνιξ).¹⁷ This characterisation suggests that Philostratus directs our attention specifically to his ethnicity: we are told to pay attention to the fact that the merchant is “Phoenician.”

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to argue that the merchant’s ethnicity tells us something essential about the character. Here, we should examine how Greek authors represent the “Phoenicians” in their literary products in order to make sense of the importance of the merchant’s ethnicity. I, however, do not wish to scrutinise a wide range of texts in which the “Phoenicians” are featured. Rather, I concentrate on the texts of just one

¹⁵ MARTIN (2002: 156) and BOWIE (1994: 184) call him a “travel(l)er”, though with no explanation.

¹⁶ For the ancient Phoenicians in general, see HARDEN (1962). This text, however, is not so useful for our present purposes. MILLAR (1993: 264–295) examines Phoenicia in the Roman times.

¹⁷ It is vital to note that Φοῖνιξ is the first word attributed to the character (1,1). Cf. HODKINSON (2011: 24) for his anonymity.

author: the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. The reason for the selection is that Homer's works are, without doubt, the most important hypotexts upon which the *Heroicus* is written. Readers can easily find in the text a number of influences and parodies of, or allusions to, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹⁸ Indeed, several sections (24,1–25,17 and 43,1–44, 4) deal specifically with Homer and his poems! We can say undeniably that Homer's epic poems give us a host of clues by which the reader is able to fully understand the enigmatic descriptions Philostratus offers in his text.

In the Homeric poems, we can find a couple of descriptions about the Phoenicians.¹⁹ Here, I want to take *Od.* 15,415sqq. as an example, as Eumaeus tells his disguised guest a series of autobiographical stories. The Phoenicians appear in his tales when he reports their landing to his native country Syria. The stories are about the visiting Phoenicians and a woman who served the ruling king. The Phoenicians are introduced by the swineherd as “famed for the ship” (15,415: ναυσίκλυτοι). One day, a wily Phoenician, hearing that the woman came from Sidon (a city in Phoenicia), planned to help her return to her homeland. To his kind invitation she answered that she would follow the Phoenicians if they, “sailors” (15,435: ναῦται), promised to bring her home safely. In the end, she fled from the kingdom with Eumaeus. The Phoenicians and the two runaways embarked on the Phoenicians’ “ship swift in the sea” (15,473: ὠκύαλος νηΐς) and sailed away (15,474: ἐπέπλεον; 15,476: πλέομεν), but as a result, the woman was killed by Artemis on the way, while Eumaeus and the Phoenicians arrived in Ithaca.

In this scene then, the Phoenicians are portrayed as “travelling” sailors.²⁰ When we look at other Homeric passages, we soon notice that the poet uses this characterisation in these places as well. At *Od.* 14,287sqq., Odysseus tells Eumaeus about his encounter with a

¹⁸ MESTRE (2004) examines Philostratus’ recreation of the accounts on Trojan events against Homeric narratives. Cf. ANDERSON (1986: 243–244). On Homeric revisionism in the Roman Imperial period in general, see, e.g. KINDSTRAND (1973); ZEITLIN (2001); KIM (2010) (the *Heroicus* is discussed at pp. 175–215); and GROSSARDT (2006: 58–74).

¹⁹ A comprehensive study on the Phoenicians in the Homeric epics can be found in WINTER (1995). AITKEN (2004: 271–272), picking up Homer’s works as crucial texts for the *Heroicus*, pays special attention to the Phoenicians’ “deceit and trickery” (271), which I do not discuss below.

²⁰ Greediness is another interesting feature attributed to the Phoenicians. Homer calls them τρῶκται (15,416), an expression imitated by Philostratus (1,3: τρῶκται), which indicates Homer’s strong influence on Philostratus in description of the Phoenicians.

Phoenician.²¹ According to the Ithacan hero, the Phoenician, intending to obtain a large amount of money by selling Odysseus, left Phoenicia for Libya on a “seafaring ship” (14,295: νηὸς ... ποντοπόροιο). At *Od.* 13,271sq., we find another story about the Phoenicians told by Odysseus, this time to the goddess Athena. Here the Phoenicians are described as the hero’s helper with a “ship” (13,272: νῆα). They, trying to bring Odysseus to Pylus or Elis, are compelled to “drift about” (13,278: πλαγχθέντες) on their way due to unfavourable wind, only to leave him heading for Sidon with his goods. When describing the bowl Achilles chose as a prize for the winner of the running race (*Il.* 23,740sq.), the poet tells us that the Phoenicians brought it over the “murky sea” (23,744 ἡεροειδέα πόντον) and presented it to Thoas. As these examples clearly show, Homer presents the Phoenicians as sailors, “travellers” on the sea.

We are now in a position to look at the Philostratean text itself, and to discuss how the Phoenician Merchant is described. What interests us most is the verbal exchanges at the beginning and the end of the dialogue, because both of the scenes concern spatial “movement” of the Phoenician Merchant. At the beginning of the text, the Vinegrower asks the stranger “from where” (1,1: πόθεν) he has come to the city. Having heard that he is a Phoenician, the local farmer asks him where he is going to “go” (1,2: βαδίσεις). To this question, the Phoenician answers as follows:

{Ph(oenician Merchant).} I need a sign and an omen for good sailing (εὐπλοίας), vinegrower. For they say that we shall go into the Aegean itself, and I think the sea is horrible and not easy to sail (πλεῦσαι). I am going against the wind. Phoenicians, facing this mark, watch things for good sailing (εὐπλοίας). (1,2)

The language of sailing is used repeatedly to characterise the Phoenician.²² This characterisation is, of course, influenced by the Homeric presentation of the Phoenician people we saw above. For the first detailed description of the Phoenician, the author emphasises his “movement” or, more specifically, his “travelling.” He is a man who has come from, and is going to, a foreign place, far from where he is now, Chersonesean Elaeus.

What about his description at the end of the dialogue? There, too, he is portrayed as a man of “travelling”:²³ the Vinegrower tells him to “sail” (58,5: πλεῖ) again if the wind is favourable, and the Phoenician responds

²¹ He is τρώκτης (14,289), too.

²² Note also 6,3, where the Phoenician says, “I have been sailing (πλέω) from Egypt and Phoenicia and this is already about the thirty-fifth day”.

²³ A full citation for this scene is found below p. 59.

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to his host's word that he does not want to "sail" (58,6: πλεῦσαιμι) unless he hears more heroic tales from his companion. In this way, Philostratus implies that the Phoenician will continue his "travel" beyond the point where our text ends.

In the discussion above, I have demonstrated that the author, heavily drawing upon the Homeric "Phoenicians," invites the reader to see his Phoenician Merchant first and foremost as a "traveller". This understanding is quite important, especially as it is interrelated to the problem of the merchant's "change," the most noticeable characteristic that many Philostratan scholars have spotted. "Travellers change," so the Phoenician Merchant will "change." But how? Our next task is to answer this question.

σοφία as an Important Topic in the Conversation

Now that we have seen the Phoenician Merchant represented as a "traveller," let us investigate what this "non-Greek" foreigner experiences in the place he travels to. Bluntly put, he has come to Elaeus to listen to the long, detailed accounts about the Trojan War and surrounding events recounted by the local host, the Vinegrower. What we must focus on, therefore, is the contents of the Vinegrower's narratives and a series of the merchant's reactions to them. It is obvious that the farmer deals with a number of topics in his talk, but a rough overview of the entire dialogue reveals that one motif is evident throughout: σοφία. This symbolically "Greek" concept is the most important overseas experience of the Phoenician Merchant.

To begin with, I need to spotlight the Vinegrower, because the σοφία which the Phoenician Merchant will acquire originates from this character. In the introductory scenes where the two interlocutors talk about themselves, the Phoenician Merchant asks the Vinegrower about his σοφία. The dialogue is as follows:

{Ph.} But, vinegrower, are you engaged in wisdom (φιλοσοφεῖς)?

{V(inegrower).} Yes, indeed, and with beautiful Protesilaus. (2,6)

The meaning of the word φιλοσοφεῖς is ambiguous and difficult to grasp, but to associate it blindly with "philosophy" in its ordinary sense²⁴ cannot

²⁴ The translations of GROSSARDT (2006: 184) ("Führst ... etwa philosophische Gespräche"), MACLEAN-AITKEN (2001: 9) ("live a reflective way of life") and HODKINSON (2011: 31) ("lives a life of contemplation") all seem to preserve the word's semantic connection to "philosophy". My interpretation places much

be accepted, as that interpretation does not fit the context. Moreover, such an interpretation overlooks other important passages which should be taken into consideration with this exchange. A little earlier in the work, the Vinegrower says to his companion that the Phoenicians are σοφοί with nautical affairs (1,3). This is the first appearance of σοφία-related words in our text, and so we should be attentive. It is because the σοφία among the Phoenicians is mentioned by the Vinegrower that the Phoenician Merchant, too, is interested in the σοφία of his partner, and the merchant picks up the subject his companion set out earlier in the conversation. Consequently, the expression φιλοσοφεῖς is never associated with “philosophy”, but employed simply for the merchant to check whether the Vinegrower himself is engaged in some kind of σοφία.

A crucial aspect of φιλοσοφῶ must be discussed here. Our text indicates that a person who is engaged in σοφία, i.e. a man of φιλοσοφῶ, can be “Greek”. At 4,5–6, the Phoenician Merchant points out that with respect to language, the Vinegrower is “educated” (ἐπαιδευθῆς) and does not seem to be among the “uneducated” (ἀπαιδευτῶν).²⁵ To this observation, the farmer tells his companion that in the past, he was “engaged in σοφία” (φιλοσοφοῦντες) with Protesilaus in a city. What should not be overlooked in this exchange is the concept of παιδεία. Scholars now agree that in the Imperial Greek world, those capable of commanding “educated” Greek can be regarded as “Greek”, irrespective of their origins.²⁶ When we return to the exchange with this idea in mind, we soon find an interesting fact: it is suggested that the Vinegrower, because of his past “engagement in σοφία”, could become “educated” in language and, as a result, was initiated into a privileged society of true “Greeks”. In short, his act of φιλοσοφῶ made him “Greek”. We readers should not forget that the person faced by the “non-Greek” merchant is “Greek”.

Let us return to the conversation at 2,6. To the question asked by the merchant, the Vinegrower answers “Yes”, as the citation shows. He is engaged in σοφία. What kind of σοφία is it, then? Here, we turn to Protesilaus, the Vinegrower’s advisor and co-worker, because he is a key figure in relation to the question of σοφία of the Vinegrower. A little later

emphasis on the original formation of the word (φιλο- + σοφία), as is discussed below.

²⁵ WHITMARSH (2013: 113) detects a close parallel of this exchange at *VS* 553, where Herodes Atticus talks about Agathion’s “educatedness” (ἐπαιδευθῆς) in language and his non-membership in the “uneducated” (ἀπαιδευτῶν).

²⁶ WHITMARSH (2004: 144–146).

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in the conversation, the relationship between the Vinegrower and Protesilaus is highlighted as cited below:

{V.} ... I consult Protesilaus as a doctor, and by the company with him and the devotion to the land I am becoming wiser (σοφώτερος) than myself, because he excels also in his wisdom (σοφίας). (4,10)

As we saw just above, the Vinegrower is engaged in σοφία with Protesilaus. The account presented makes clearer his claim that he and Protesilaus are fellow cultivators of σοφία or, in a word, reveals their own specific form of the engagement in σοφία. The merchant is informed that Protesilaus is distinguished in his σοφία and his instruction leads to the sophistication of the σοφία of the Vinegrower. We can recognise that the Phoenician is impressed by their engagement with σοφία because just after this, he praises his companion for his “divine and pure wisdom” (4,11: σοφίαν ... θεϊάν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον).²⁷ Philostratus, it seems, prepares the merchant to obtain the σοφία of the grower and Protesilaus.

After the two interlocutors move to the vineyard, the owner of the yard recounts what Protesilaus has told him about the events he saw. The point to be made here is that the Greek warrior is labelled as φιλόσοφος by his friend (7,8). Like the aforementioned word φιλοσοφείω, it is hard to grasp the exact meaning of this appellation, because the word is used only here in the entire work. Yet, it can be safely stated that it does not denote “philosopher”, because in the text we cannot find any descriptions of Protesilaus’ possession of “philosophical” interest in the things around him. I suggest that we understand the meaning of the word φιλόσοφος by connecting it with preceding exchanges between the two interlocutors we saw above. We have observed that Protesilaus is engaged in σοφία as a teacher of the Vinegrower. From this, it is proper to understand φιλόσοφος not as a “philosopher” but as a “man who is engaged in wisdom”, or a “wisdom-loving man,” given its juxtaposition with the label φιλαλήθης.

In this manner, the Vinegrower and Protesilaus are inextricably interwoven with the concept of σοφία in the opening scenes of the work and the Phoenician Merchant, a would-be heir of their σοφία, is well aware of the strong link. We are now ready to look at the ways in which the σοφία of the two exerts a gradual influence on the Phoenician Merchant. First of all, let us examine the words given by the Vinegrower

²⁷ GROSSARDT (2006: 366, ad loc.) sees the response as a mere irony.

just after the Phoenician Merchant sits down, getting ready for further conversation:²⁸

{V.} Ask whatever you wish, stranger, and you will not say you have come in vain. For when Odusseus was wandering far from his ship, Hermes or one of the god's wise (σοφῶν) followers encountered him and shared a serious story ... and Protesilaus by means of me will fill (ἐμπλήσει)²⁹ you with information and make you sweeter and wiser (σοφώτερον). For knowing many things is very valuable. (6,1)

The Vinegrower compares the Phoenician Merchant to Odysseus³⁰ and himself to Hermes or one of the god's "wise" (σοφῶν) followers, a comparison which declares his intention to help his guest become "wiser" (σοφώτερον). We saw above that Protesilaus, a man outstanding in his σοφία, makes the Vinegrower "wiser" (σοφώτερος). It is not difficult, therefore, to discern educational hierarchy constructed among the three people concerned: Protesilaus is responsible for the Vinegrower's σοφία and the Vinegrower for the Phoenician Merchant's. This relationship, it seems, makes the reader expect that the Phoenician Merchant, a temporary pupil of the Vinegrower, will acquire σοφία from the lectures given by his teacher. The farmer's self-presentation as a follower of Protesilaus and, at the same time, as a possessor of σοφία, thus signals the importance of σοφία in his subsequent accounts, and the transmissibility of the central topic to his hearer.

After this, the Phoenician Merchant talks a little about the dream which caused him to visit the very city where the two characters meet and are conversing. The Vinegrower is impressed by the story, and then proposes launching into the main discourse. The passages below are the Phoenician Merchant's response to him:

²⁸ AS GROSSARDT (2006: 371, ad loc.) indicates, relaxation for a character implies that what follows includes something serious ("ernsthaften" to borrow the commentator's word), for instance, philosophical discussion, as described at Plato's *Phaedrus* (228e (καθιζόμενοι), 229a (καθιζησόμεθα), 229b (καθίξεσθαι)), which Philostratus must have had in mind when he made the merchant relax himself (ἰζήσωμεν [4,1] and ἰζῆσαι [5,5]), perhaps in order to inform the reader that the two interlocutors intend to start discussing φιλοσοφία, just like Socrates and Phaedrus.

²⁹ The verb will be discussed later (below pp. 58–59).

³⁰ This would be another sign for the reader to regard the Phoenician as a "traveller". Cf. GROSSARDT (2006: 49–50); ANDERSON (1986: 249–250); MACLEAN (2004: 259–260); and KIM (2010: 182) for the comparison.

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{Ph.} What I long to learn at least you know. The meeting itself which you have with Protesilaus, what he is like, and if he knows things about the Trojan events similar to those of the poets, or those unknown to them, these I need to listen to. By “Trojan events” I mean the following: the assembling of the army at Aulis and the heroes, one by one, whether they were beautiful, as they are celebrated, brave, and wise (σοφοί). (7,1–2)

The most important point to note is that the merchant is interested in whether the heroes were “wise” (σοφοί) or not. We have seen that the interest of the two interlocutors has been basically in the concept of σοφία. Given this context, it is easy to understand this utterance of the Phoenician Merchant. Indeed, the hero the Vinegrower recounts in greater detail in the following conversation is distinguished in his σοφία. I now begin to discuss him.

Palamedes’ σοφία

Chapters 26 through 36 are devoted to Protesilaus’ autopsy-based report, mediated by the Vinegrower, concerning the Greek heroes who fought in the Trojan War. In this segment, famous heroes are mentioned one after another, but I do not aim to investigate them all. Instead, I would like to focus on just one warrior, Palamedes.³¹ He is given by far the most prominent role among the heroes whose activities the Vinegrower recounts. Two simple but strong reasons support this claim: namely, the length of his story and its place within the Vinegrower’s narrative about the Greek heroes. His story, found at Chapter 33, is situated at the very middle and is much longer than the stories of the other Greek warriors.³² Thus it is no exaggeration that Palamedes, who suffers from neglect or extremely brief treatments in traditional narratives,³³ plays quite an important part in the *Heroicus*. As I hope to demonstrate, the Vinegrower’s presentation of Palamedes as a protagonist-like figure with

³¹ On the hero as presented in the *Heroicus*, see BESCHORNER (1999: 222–224); GROSSARDT (2006: 571–573); SOLMSEN (1940: 563–564); and ANDERSON (1986: 246).

³² BESCHORNER (1999: 223); DEMOEN (2012: 225).

³³ HODKINSON (2011: 80–87) gives a useful summary of how Palamedes is treated in ancient literature before the *Heroicus*.

distinguished σοφία³⁴ indicates that the account of the hero affects the Phoenician Merchant to an enormous degree.³⁵

Before discussing the detailed description of Palamedes in that part, I would like to look at another chapter where Palamedes is briefly featured, because his introduction there seems to anticipate the description in the main part. In Chapter 21, the Vinegrower tells his companion about an event which happened to a farmer in Ilion. One day, when the farmer visited the grave of Palamedes to make offerings, the hero himself appeared in front of the admirer and spoke to him. After commenting briefly on what had happened between himself and his rival Odysseus in the past,³⁶ Palamedes changed the subject and asked the farmer what he was especially worried about concerning his grapevines. When the farmer answered that it was hailstones spoiling his plants, the hero suggested defending them with leather straps. Below is the opinion expressed by the Phoenician Merchant, who has just heard Palamedes' suggestion:

{Ph.} The hero is wise (σοφός), vinegrower, and always invents something good for human beings. (21,9)

The point is that the merchant describes Palamedes as “wise” (σοφός). The hero is here presented as a man who helps human beings with his σοφία. We will see this connection between Palamedes and σοφία in the main section as well.

Let us then scrutinise how Palamedes is described in the central part dealing with heroes. The very first passage of the Vinegrower's account of the hero deserves special attention:

{V.} He [sc. Protesilaus] reports the affairs of Palamedes as follows: he arrived self-taught and already trained in wisdom (σοφία), knowing more than Chiron. Before Palamedes, seasons as such did not exist, nor did the cycle of the months, and “year” was not a name for time; nor were there coins, nor weights and measures, nor numbering, and the desire (ἔρωσις) for wisdom (σοφία) did not exist, because there were no letters. (33,1)

³⁴ GROSSARDT (2006: 571) stresses that the leitmotif in the chapter is the notion of σοφός.

³⁵ If we talk about the *Heroicus* as a whole, we should say that the protagonist is undoubtedly Achilles, whose accounts, much longer than those of Palamedes, are grandiosely presented at the last part of the dialogue (44,5–57,17).

³⁶ These comments too seem to anticipate the strife of the two recounted later in the main part.

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As we saw just now in the words of the Phoenician Merchant, here too the connection between Palamedes and σοφία is emphasized. Especially interesting is the phrase “the desire (ἔρως) for wisdom (σοφίας)”, because it reminds us of the label φιλόσοφος, “wisdom-loving man”, which was given to Protesilaus.³⁷ The Vinegrower seems to say that Palamedes is the same as Protesilaus, in that the hero is an enthusiastic pursuer of σοφία.

As is expected from this opening account, the rest of the description of Palamedes centres on his engagement with σοφία at the time of the Trojan War, with a particular focus on the ways in which his σοφία is at work in his rivalry with Odysseus.³⁸ For example, let us consider the quarrel between the two heroes concerning the interpretation of the eclipse seen in Troy. When the soldiers recognised the phenomenon and lost courage, regarding it as a sign sent by Zeus, Palamedes relieved them of their anxiety by his rational explanation of the sun and the moon. Odysseus, however, was not persuaded by his rival’s remark and rails at Palamedes as follows:

{V.} ... But you, Palamedes, will say less foolish things by paying attention to the earth rather than by using wisdom (σοφιζόμενος) about what is in heaven. (33,7)

While the words related to σοφία that have been discussed so far have, in general, a positive meaning, in this Ithacan hero’s attack, on the contrary, the word σοφιζόμενος takes on a pejorative connotation, which conjures up the Platonic sense of the term σοφιστής. Palamedes’ reply to this abuse accelerates the hostility between the two heroes. Indeed, he responds:

{V.} ... If you were wise (σοφός), Odysseus ... you would have understood that no one is able to say anything wise (σοφόν) about the heavens unless he knows more about the earth. (33,8)

Palamedes thus does not fail to capture Odysseus’ derogative expression σοφιζόμενος and counterattacks by denying his enemy possession of σοφία, which angers Odysseus. From this exchange, we notice that Palamedes and Odysseus are contending with each other about the uses of their σοφία, implying that the σοφία of their opponent is to be disparaged.

Another example of Palamedes’ use of σοφία arises when the Vinegrower discusses the wolves from Mount Ida that harmed the animals of the Greek army. Here, too, the rivalry between Palamedes and Odysseus

³⁷ Above p. 51. Cf. HODKINSON (2011: 89) for the similar observation.

³⁸ HODKINSON (2011: 79–101) offers an excellent discussion on these scenes, to which I owe a great deal.

is highlighted. When the Greeks faced the problem, Odysseus first proposed killing the wolves with their own hands. In response, however, Palamedes asserted that the wolves were sent by Apollo as a prelude to—and in preparation for—a plague. He then told his fellow soldiers to pray to the god in turn. Following this suggestion, Palamedes stated that:

{V.} ... Those who guard themselves against the plague need a light diet and vigorous exercise. I did not take up medicine, but all things can be managed with wisdom (σοφία). (33,14)

For Palamedes, σοφία is to be relied upon in the face of the disaster. The hero seems to try to take initiative against Odysseus by stressing the power of σοφία.

Subsequently, the Vinegrower reports that the Greek army overcame the disease thanks to Palamedes' σοφία (33,17: ἐσοφίσαστο), adding that:

{V.} ... In addition to these, rewards for his [sc. Palamedes'] wisdom (σοφίας) were crowned by the Greeks, but Odysseus considered acting dishonourably and he turned against Palamedes whatever villainies he had. (33,19)

The Greek soldiers acknowledged the σοφία of Palamedes, which, it seems, must have saved them from numerous troubles in the past. Odysseus, his perpetual rival, nevertheless felt antipathy towards his activity by means of “sophistic” σοφία. I now briefly look at Odysseus' emulative use of σοφία to kill his opponent with a view to grasping more fully the significance of Palamedes' σοφία.

According to Protesilaus' account, in order to do away with Palamedes, Odysseus made Agamemnon believe that Achilles aimed to gain supremacy over the whole Greek army with the help of Palamedes. Below is a part of Odysseus' words to the Greek leader:

{V.} ... Thus, it is necessary to keep away from Achilles and to be on guard against those who know him, and to kill this abuser of wisdom (σοφιστήν). I have devised a plan against him by which he will be hated by the Greeks and destroyed by them. (33,25)

Here, we should not neglect the word σοφιστής. Though Odysseus admitted that Palamedes had wisdom, he presented it as a bad thing, bringing about destruction to the Greeks.³⁹ Additionally, it should be

³⁹ The word σοφιστής occurs only here in the *Heroicus* and therefore it may be not so easy to grasp its meaning. DEMOEN (2012: 227, note 84) discusses the

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stressed that the word σοφῶς is used twice (33,27 and 33,31) to describe Odysseus' carefulness about his scheme. In the scene depicting Palamedes' downfall, Odysseus employs σοφία just as his rival has done on various occasions. And thanks to the cunning exploitation of σοφία, he succeeded in removing Palamedes, who was stoned to death by his fellow soldiers. However, Odysseus did not manipulate all of the Greeks into executing the miserable hero. Consider the citation below, describing the deep sympathy for the dead fighter expressed by his supporters:

{V.} ... Not only to Achilles, but also to all who possessed desire (ἔρως) for strength and wisdom (σοφία), this hero [sc. Palamedes] seems to have shown himself worthy of emulation and song, and Protesilaus, whenever we turn to the remembrance of him [sc. Palamedes], sheds floods of tears, praising the hero's courage, especially in death. (33,37)

Once again we find the expression “desire (ἔρως) for wisdom (σοφία)”.⁴⁰ Palamedes, a man of σοφία, from whom “desire for wisdom” ultimately stemmed, was thus pitied by those who had the same feeling towards σοφία. It bears emphasis here that, when the Vinegrower talks about Palamedes, he starts and ends with this same phrase—“desire for wisdom”—which may suggest that the speaker intends to arouse the Phoenician Merchant's “desire for wisdom”. In this vein, it is telling that, following the Vinegrower's accounts cited above, the merchant, who rarely interrupts the host's lecture, suddenly asks his companion whether Palamedes can be seen or not (33,38).⁴¹ This unexpected action, I would argue, vividly shows the listener's special interest in the hero; he, influenced by Palamedes, exhibits his “desire for wisdom”.

Before closing the discussion of Palamedes, I would like to examine an interesting conversation between the phantom of Odysseus and Homer described in Chapter 43, which is germane to the topic of Palamedes' σοφία. This digressive chapter focuses on the question of how Homer composed his epic poems. The Vinegrower tells his guest about Homer's travel to Ithaca and his interview with the local hero. The grower recounts what happened between the two as follows:

{V.} ... When Odysseus came up, he [sc. Homer] asked him about the events in Iliion. He [sc. Odysseus] said that he knew and remembered them all, but that he would tell him nothing of the things he knew unless there

possibility of regarding it as a dramatic irony, which is caused by its hidden positive meaning. Cf. HODKINSON (2011: 90).

⁴⁰ See the discussion above pp. 54–55.

⁴¹ Cf. note 46 below.

would be a reward for him from Homer, good repute in the poetry and a hymn for wisdom (σοφία) and manliness. (43,13)

Odysseus is greedy enough for σοφία to negotiate cunningly with the poet, who has no equal in narrative persuasiveness. He knows well that people believe what Homer says to be the most probable; he thinks that if Homer portrays him as “wise”, he will be recognised as such. Later, he even entreats the poet to refrain from describing Palamedes as “wise” (43,15: σοφός). In reality, however, these exchanges serve to highlight Odysseus’ viciousness⁴² and, at the same time, to make explicit Palamedes’ perfect victory in the competition with Odysseus for σοφία. Palamedes, the Vinegrower emphasises, is “wiser” (34,6: σοφώτερόν) than Odysseus and, revealingly enough, is the “wisest” (34,7: πάνσοφον).⁴³ The hero with true σοφία is not Odysseus, but Palamedes.⁴⁴

So much for analysis of the description of Palamedes. We have observed, in summary, that σοφία is one of the most conspicuous features of the Greek hero. In the *Heroicus*, there is no other fighter more famous for σοφία than this soldier. Though the Phoenician Merchant does not comment on the σοφία of Palamedes at all, it can hardly be doubted that the story of Palamedes’ engagement with σοφία has deeply impressed him. As we saw above,⁴⁵ he is eager to hear whether the heroes in the Vinegrower’s narratives are “wise” (σοφοί) or not; Palamedes’ σοφία cannot escape from the enthusiastic listener’s attention.⁴⁶

Successful Transmission of σοφία

What is the final reaction of the Phoenician Merchant after the Vinegrower has finished relating the stories he learned from Protesilaus? Consider the following passage, which appears towards the end of the dialogue:

⁴² The Vinegrower enumerates his shameful features at 34,1–2.

⁴³ Palamedes is described as “wisest” (σοφώτατος) also at VA 4,16.

⁴⁴ Odysseus has a disadvantage also at 25,14. According to Protesilaus, Nausicaa did not love his “wisdom” (σοφίας) because he had never said nor done “wise thing” (σοφόν) for her.

⁴⁵ Pp. 52–53.

⁴⁶ Also noticeable is the fact that Palamedes is, within Chapters 26–36, the only Greek hero on whom the Phoenician Merchant comments (33,38). For the other warriors, the merchant says nothing, just listening to their tales, as if they were much less impressive to him compared to Palamedes. Cf. KIM (2010: 204) for the merchant’s silence.

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{Ph.} ... But after you have filled (ἐμπέπληκας) us with the heroic stories, I would no longer ask how he [sc. Protesilaus] returned to life, since you say he treats that story as inviolable and secret. (58,1–2)

The point worthy of attention is the use of the verb ἐμπίπλημι. Indeed, the Vinegrower uses this verb earlier in the dialogue.⁴⁷ There the Vinegrower states that Protesilaus will “fill” (ἐμπλήσει) the Phoenician Merchant with his firsthand knowledge of the Trojan War and other significant events and, importantly, in so doing will make the listener “wiser” (σοφώτερον). As if the Phoenician Merchant recaptured that remark, here he says that the Vinegrower, as he foretold, has “filled”, ἐμπέπληκας, him with the stories of heroes. This moment, I argue, indicates that the merchant eventually obtained the σοφία of the true events of the Trojan War from its original possessors—the Vinegrower and his friend Protesilaus.⁴⁸

Another important utterance of the Phoenician Merchant supports this argument. It is true, as seen just above, that in the closing scene of the work we cannot find any expressions directly related to the notion of σοφία. Rather, the very last words uttered by the Phoenician Merchant, which put an end to the entire dialogue, seem to reveal how the σοφία on the Trojan events has successfully been passed to the merchant. Look at the following exchange of the two interlocutors:

{V.} ... Now, go to the ship rejoicing with all that the garden bears, and, stranger, if the wind is yours, set sail after pouring a libation to Protesilaus from the ship ... But if the wind should be against you, come here at sunrise and you will obtain what you wish.

{Ph.} I obey you (Πείθομαί σοι), vinegrower, and so shall it be. May I not sail, by Poseidon, before listening to this story as well. (58,5–6)

For our purposes, the phrase Πείθομαί σοι, found in the Phoenician Merchant’s comments, is worthy of detailed discussion. The meaning of the expression is twofold: In context, it means simply, “I obey you”. We can see the three imperatives in the words of the Vinegrower, “go” (ἴθι), “set sail” (πλεῖ) and “come” (χώρευ). The expression indicates the merchant’s obedience to his host. Let me repeat, however, that this is

⁴⁷ In the passage already cited above p. 52. For the verbal agreement, see GROSSARDT (2006: 770, *ad loc.*).

⁴⁸ The verb appears also at 43,1, uttered by the merchant (“... I would not even go away from here willingly, but would be carried off to the ship with difficulty ... lamenting at not being filled (ἐμπίπλησθαι) with the story”), which, just like its occurrence here discussed, shows his remembrance of the Vinegrower’s promise to him, and, probably, his expectation to gain σοφία from his companion.

simply a context-oriented reading. We should not overlook the other, and more significant, meaning that is imbedded in the phrase. *πειθομαι*, the middle form of the verb *πειθω*, can also mean “I believe”. Here, remember that “belief” is an important motif in the *Heroicus*. When, at the beginning of the dialogue, the Vinegrower tells his guest about the revival, or reappearance, of the heroes who fought in Troy, the merchant responds, “I don’t believe” (Ἀπιστῶ (3,1)). In a way, the conversation that follows represents the Vinegrower’s efforts to make the merchant “believe” him. Accordingly, Πείθομαί σοι in the citation can be read as an indication of the merchant’s full belief of his companion; the merchant, at the very final phase of the dialogue, says that he “believes” what has been recounted about the heroes fighting in the Trojan War. In this way, the text suggests that the σοφία of the Protesilaus and the Vinegrower has finally been conveyed to their listener, the Phoenician Merchant.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, in the ancient world, the acts of travelling and of obtaining σοφία are closely linked. Legendary stories about the Greek lawgiver, Solon, vividly attest to the strength of this connection.⁴⁹ I propose that the same holds true for the Phoenician Merchant. He is a “traveller”. He, like other ancient travellers, acquires σοφία, which he could have gained had he not travelled to the town where the Vinegrower works with the ghost of Protesilaus and, once there, conversed with him. When the dialogue begins, he is highly sceptical of his companion’s stories. However, as the conversation advances, he is little by little attracted to them. What is vital is the Vinegrower’s and Protesilaus’ daily engagement with σοφία, and, further, the treatment of σοφία in the Vinegrower’s tales about heroes—in particular the tale of Palamedes, the second greatest hero next to Achilles. All these elements work to influence the merchant, who, by the end of the conversation, becomes a willing listener to his partner’s tales, as is shown by the expressions ἐμπέληκας and Πείθομαί σοι.

We should connect his attainment of σοφία to the problems of his “change” and “Greekness”. The Phoenician Merchant is a “Phoenician”, an “Other” against a “Greek” world, who came from the “non-Greek” world. Does he, then, remain an “Other” throughout the dialogue? The

⁴⁹ At Hdt. 1,30, where the king of Lydia Croesus talks to the sage, *πλάνη* (“wandering”) and *σοφίη* are tellingly put together. Cf. HARTOG (2001: 5); PRETZLER (2007a: 37).

answer is certainly no. He “changes” in the dialogue with the Vinegrower, who, capable of speaking like an “educated” Greek, has a true “Greek” identity.⁵⁰ From this person, the Phoenician Merchant won the “Greek” σοφία and, as a result, acquires “Greekness”. As to the problem of his “change”, what should be highlighted is his “change” of cultural identity—he “changes” from a “non-Greek” to “Greek” through his obtainment of the “Greek” σοφία.

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⁵⁰ See the discussion above p. 50.

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PART TWO

ROMAN LITERATURE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LAW OF *EPIKLEROS* TO THE COMIC EFFECT OF *PHORMIO*¹

DOUKISSA KAMINI

Terence gives his interpretation of the law of *epikleros* through *Phormio*. This paper examines the contribution of this law to the comic effect of the play. The protagonist, Phormio, creates on Antipho's behalf a plan based on this law and seeks to legitimize his marriage to Phanium on the plea that she is an *epikleros* and Antipho her nearest kinsman. Phormio's rival is the *senex* Demipho. The characters constantly switch roles, sometimes acting as plaintiffs, sometimes as defendants, acknowledging the validity of a particular legal aspect depending on its goals. Finally, they construct a law which has nothing to do with real legislation, but rather has validity only in Phormio's *fabula*. In conclusion, Terence judges an already adjudicated, but in the gloss of legality, *epikleros* on stage and marks out the extravagant use of law as the main linchpin of joke production.

The law of *epikleros* has often inspired the authors of New Comedy. Menander deals with this subject in his *Aspis* and Apollodorus in his *Epidikazomenos*. Inspired by the latter work, Terence creates *Phormio* in which he gives his own interpretation of the law through the eponymous main character. He controls the plot from the beginning of the play, and forms the comic effect by setting up peculiar trials on stage. This paper highlights the ways in which the poet manipulates the law of *epikleros* to enrich the comic effect. I will further show that this law is the most basic element of the plot; it is fully restructured by taking a new shape that does not correspond to reality but serves instead the characters' plans, who acknowledge the validity of a particular legal aspect depending on its goals.² So, to the modern reader, the comedy *Phormio* offers a glimpse of the ancient Greek and Roman law, a tool in people's day-to-day lives, one which is open to multiple readings from multiple perspectives.³

¹ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Sophia Papaioannou who read earlier drafts of this paper and offered useful advice that helped me improve and strengthen my arguments.

² VERSTEEG (2008: 1–2), VERSTEEG (2010: 223).

³ VERSTEEG (2010: 223).

The heart of the ancient Greek family was the *oikos*, which was under the adult males' responsibility. Family law had to provide for the preservation of the estate after the father's death. Women, who were always under the control of their master or *kyrios*, did not have the right to inherit and administer their father's estate after his death.⁴ In those instances where a father did not have a son—either biological or by adoption⁵—his daughter was an *epikleros* (heiress of the entire estate) and was taken under the guardianship of her closest male relative, thus keeping the estate in the *oikos*. This kinsman could either marry her himself or give her a dowry and marry her to someone else. An *epikleros*, therefore, is an orphan daughter without any brothers, usually unmarried, and her father's only heiress. In the event she was married with no children, her closest kinsman had the right, if he so wished, to make her divorce in order to marry him.⁶

Enlightening enough for the study of the law of *epikleros* is Demosthenes' speech *Against Makartatus*. In paragraph 54, we find the exact legislation of *epikleros*, which states the amount of the dowry depending on her social status and the kinsman's afford.

Νόμος

Τῶν ἐπικλήρων ὅσαι θητικὸν τελοῦσιν, ἐὰν μὴ βούληται ἔχειν ὁ ἐγγύτατα γένους, ἐκδιδότω ἐπιδοῦς ὁ μὲν πεντακοσιομέδιμνος πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, ὁ δ' ἵππευς τριακοσίας, ὁ δὲ ζευγίτης ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα, πρὸς οἷς αὐτῆς. ἐὰν δὲ πλείους ὦσιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ πρὸς μέρος ἐπιδιδόναι ἕκαστον. ἐὰν δ' αἱ γυναῖκες πλείους ὦσι, μὴ ἐπάναγκες εἶναι πλέον ἢ μίαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ γ' ἐνί, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγύτατα ἀεὶ ἐκδιδόναι ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχη ὁ ἐγγυτάτω γένους ἢ μὴ ἐκδῶ, ὁ ἄρχων ἐπαναγκαζέτω ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἢ ἐκδοῦναι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπαναγκάσῃ ὁ ἄρχων, ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμάς ἱεράς τῇ Ἥρᾳ. ἀπογραφέτω δὲ τὸν μὴ ποιοῦντα ταῦτα ὁ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα.

[LAW]

In regard to all *epikleroi* who are rated in the class of *Thetes*, if the nearest relative in her kin circle does not want to marry her, he is to give her away in marriage, with a dowry of 500 drachmas if he is a *Pentakosiomedimnos*, 300 if *Hippeus*, and 150 if a *Zeugites*; her personal belongings are additional. And if there are several kinsmen in the same kin circle, each is to contribute his share to the *epikleros*. And if there are several women, it is not obligatory for one kinsman to give away in marriage more than one, but each nearest kinsman in turn is to give one away or marry her. And if

⁴ VERSTEEG (2010: 53–54).

⁵ VERSTEEG (2010: 61–63), LINDSAY (2011: 352–354), GAGARIN (2011: 245).

⁶ MACDOWELL (1978: 100–101), COX (1998: 95), VERSTEEG (2010: 56).

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the nearest of her kin circle fails to marry or give her away, the *Archon* is to compel him to marry or give her away. And if the *Archon* fails to compel him, he is to owe a thousand drachmas, consecrated to Hera. Any person who wants is to denounce [*apographein*] before the *Archon* the kinsman who does not carry out these prescriptions. (Scafuro, 2011)

The dowry was 500 drachmas for a poor *epikleros* and 30-40 *minae* for a rich one.⁷ In the same paragraph, we find the precise role of *epidikasia*, the meaning of which must be clarified. Scholars have often believed⁸ that the *epikleros*' kinsman was obliged to marry her, and the procedure of *epidikasia* was equivalent to that of *engvē* (betrothal) of the marriages between non-relatives. However, the *epidikasia* was merely the legal procedure afforded to the *archōn* through which the next of kin could claim the *epikleros* and finally take responsibility for her and her estate while she was under his control.⁹ This kinsman had two choices: he could marry her or give her a dowry so that she could marry someone else.¹⁰ The law states only that the *epikleros* was taken under the guardianship of a relative and sets a penalty only in the event that the relative chooses none of the available options. The second option was preferable when dealing with a poor *epikleros*. Oftentimes, no kinsman appeared eager to become the *kyrios* of a poor *epikleros* due to the lack of an estate and his possible obligation to provide a dowry for her. However, if the *epikleros*' claimants were more than one, then a legal procedure, called *diadikasia*, should take place. *Diadikasia* first involved an examination of the kinship by the *archon*, with a trial set up subsequently, during which each of the relatives had to prove that they were the *epikleros*' next of kin and, possibly, the oldest one.¹¹ The relatives' sequence¹² on the basis of which the *epikleros* should be claimed by her next of kin can be found in the 51st paragraph of the same Demosthenes' speech.¹³

Νόμος

Ὅστις ἂν μὴ διαθέμενος ἀποθάνῃ, ἐὰν μὲν παῖδας καταλίπῃ θηλείας, σὺν ταύτησιν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, τοῦσδε κυρίου εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων. ἐὰν μὲν ἀδελφοί

⁷ COX (2011: 235), SCAFURO (2011: 162, note 92), BARSBY (2001: 56, note 37).

⁸ WOLFF (1946: 70), HARRISON (1968: 9–12), MACDOWELL (1978: 95; 103), COX (1998: 95–99), CANTARELLA (2005: 249) AND SCAFURO (2011: 24).

⁹ SCAFURO (2011: 24), LINDSAY (2011: 347).

¹⁰ KONSTAN (1983: 116), CUDJOE (2006: 59–64), VERSTEEG (2008: 7; 8) and VERSTEEG (2010: 55–56; 58).

¹¹ MACDOWELL (1978: 100–103).

¹² VERSTEEG (2010: 59–60).

¹³ SCAFURO (2011: 27–28).

Doukissa Kamini

ὄσιν ὁμοπάτορες· καὶ ἐὰν παῖδες ἐξ ἀδελφῶν γνήσιοι, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μοῖραν λαγχάνειν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀδελφοὶ ὄσιν ἢ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες, * * * ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ ταῦτα λαγχάνειν· κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἄρρενας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὄσι, καὶ ἐὰν γένει ἀπωτέρω. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὄσι πρὸς πατρός μετρίων παιδῶν, τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατὰ ταῦτα κυρίουσιν εἶναι. ἐὰν δὲ μηδετέρωθεν ἢ ἐντὸς τούτων, τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω κύριον εἶναι. νόθῳ δὲ μηδὲ νόθῃ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεῖαν μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὀσίων ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος

[LAW]

Whenever a man dies without leaving a will, if he leaves behind female children, [the estate goes] with them, but if not, the following are entitled to have the estate. If there are brothers [of the deceased] born of the same fathers; and if there are legitimate children born of the brothers, they are to obtain their fathers portion. And if there are no brothers or children of brothers*** <those born> from them are to obtain a portion in the same way. And the males are to take precedence, and the children born from the males, if they are from the same [direct ascendants] even if they are further away in respect to kin circle. And if there are no [kinsmen] on the father's side [of the deceased] as far as the children of cousins, those on mother's side are entitled to inherit in the same way. And if there is [no one] on either side within these [kin circles], the one who is nearest on the father's side is entitled to inherit. And there is no right of succession [*anchisteia*] for any illegitimate child, male or female, either in regard to religious rites or in regard to civic privileges, from the times of the archonship of Eucleides. (Scafuro, 2011)

According to this sequence, the kinsmen on the paternal side had priority over those on the maternal side. Thus, her father's brother, his children, and her brothers on the paternal side were considered to be her closest relatives. In the event that no relative could be found, the *epikleros* was taken under the guardianship of the man who was her father's closest friend, provided he was still alive.

Based on the knowledge of the law and its various aspects, we can now study the manipulation of the law by Terence and the changes that he makes in order to use it as a tool for comic effect. It should be mentioned that the author uses the Greek legislation. In only a few and insubstantial points does he infuse the plot with details from the Roman legal practice.¹⁴ It is for this reason that Phormio cites in detail the legislation that lies behind the first part of his plan in order to explain it to the Roman audience, one which likely was not familiar with the law (vv. 122–134).¹⁵

¹⁴ VERSTEEG (2008: 1), VERSTEEG (2010: 223–224).

¹⁵ RADIN (1910: 366–367).

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Geta est parasitus quidam Phormio, /homo confidens; qui illum di omnes perduint.

Davus quid is fecit?

Geta Hoc consilium quod dicam dedit. /lex est, ut orbae qui sunt genere proximi /eis nubant; et illos ducere eadem haec lex iubet. /ego te cognatum dicam, et tibi scribam dicam; /paternum amicum me assimulabo virginis: /ad iudices veniemus: Qui fuerit pater, /quae mater, qui cognata tibi sit, omnia haec /confingam: quod erit mihi bonum atque commodum, /quom tu horum nihil refelles, vincam scilicet. /pater aderit: mihi paratae lites: quid mea? /illa quidem nostra erit.

GET There's a trickster called Phormio, an insolent fellow. May all gods destroy him!

DAV What did he do?

GET He worked out a plan, which I'll explain. "There is a law" he said "that orphan girls shall marry their next-of-kin, and this same law compels the next-of-kin to marry them. I'll say that you are related to her and bring a case against you, pretending that I'm a friend of girl's father. We'll go to the court. As for her father's identity and her mother's and her precise relationship to you, I'll invent the details to suit my interest and advantage. Since you won't deny any of it, I'll win the case, obviously. Your father will return and it's trouble for me, but I don't care: the girl will be ours." (Barsby, 2001)

Let us start from Phanium herself, who is called *epikleros*. Even before the beginning of the play, Phormio leads her to court as her *kyrios* claiming that she is an orphan, and Antipho is obliged to marry her as her next of kin.¹⁶ It should be noted that Terence chooses the most rare option of a *kyrios* for an *epikleros*—that of the dead father's bosom friend—thus making it almost impossible to confirm this relationship. While the kinship to Demipho is in question, nobody doubts that Phanium is a citizen. As soon as the relationship is proved however, the fact that she is a real daughter of Chremes is in doubt.¹⁷ Nevertheless, there are some problems. First of all, Phanium's mother is Lemnian, and the girl used to live there until she came to Athens to find her father. However, the *epiklerate* law concerned only the Athenian citizens who, according to Perikles' law of 451/450 B.C., were accepted as citizens only if both their parents were Athenians. Therefore, the girl is not an Athenian citizen and she cannot be treated as an *epikleros*. After the appearance of her nurse on stage, the audience learns that Phanium is Chremes' daughter from his second marriage in Lemnos. From now on, it is proven that the girl cannot be treated as an *epikleros* because her father is alive. But even if he had died,

¹⁶ VERSTEEG (2008: 3).

¹⁷ KONSTAN (1983: 122–123).

once he had a legal son, Phaedria, the girl would not have been an *epikleros*.¹⁸ So, this is an *epikleros* in a gloss of legality, one whose profile is constructed by Phormio with such detail and plausibility that it has never been in question, and none of the characters understood that Antipho did not have any legal basis to marry her.¹⁹ On the contrary, what everyone questions is in what legal aspect she should be inducted and according to which social status she should be endowed.

In fact, the *epiklerate* law, as it is found in Demosthenes' speech (43,54), gives two alternative options to the girl's next of kin. However, Phormio exaggerates Antipho's obligation to marry Phanium because he was hired to find the way to have this marriage take place. Nevertheless, his main rival in the play, *senex* Demipho, wishes to use the other legal aspect and give a dowry to Phanium in order to marry someone else (vv. 293–298).

Demipho mitto omnia. /do istuc "inpuđens timuit adulescens"; sino /tu servo's; verum si cognatast maxume, /non fuit necesse habere; sed id quod lex iubet, /dotem daretis, quaereret alium virum. /qua ratione inopem potius ducebat domum?

DEM Never mind all that. I grant you that the young lad was apprehensive through inexperience; I accept that you are a slave. But however closely related the girl was, it wasn't necessary to marry her. You could have given her a dowry, as the law provides, and he could have found her another husband. What was he thinking of when he chose to marry a pauper? (Barsby 2001)

According to Geta's words (vv. 120–121),

Geta ille indotatam virginem atque ignobilem /daret illi? Nunquam faceret.
GET Him? To marry a girl without a dowry from a humble family? Never!
(Barsby, 2001)

Demipho wants his son to marry a rich girl, and this is why the poor orphan Phanium would not be welcome. This desire however, is only a pretense. The real cause lies in Demipho's secret agreement with Chremes that Antipho will marry his Lemnian daughter in order to keep his secret of bigamy hidden forever.²⁰

During the whole play, the clash between Demipho and Phormio is at the forefront, and is based precisely on their acceptance of the particular legal aspects of the same law. Furthermore, the characters' switching of roles from defendants to plaintiffs is realized in a series of peculiar trials

¹⁸ VERSTEEG (2010: 225–226).

¹⁹ VERSTEEG (2008: 8).

²⁰ KONSTAN (1983: 120–121).

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on stage. During their first meeting, the first on-stage trial takes place. The protagonists judge the already adjudicated *epikleros*, exchanging accusations and threats for lawsuits. Demipho comes on stage with three legal advisers, denying the fact that the girl is his relative. In response, Phormio provides a range of counterarguments and threatens a lawsuit in case the girl becomes a victim of maltreatment. Finally, Demipho suggests a dowry of five *minae* to Phormio in order to marry her. In doing so, Demipho treats the girl as an *epikleros* while simultaneously refusing any kinship to her. The fact that Phormio clashes with the powerful *senex* enhances the comic effect, particularly when combined with the fact that Phormio forgets the girl's father's name, although he alleges that he knows it.²¹ At this point in the plot, the sycophant refuses the dowry because the amount, he claims, may suffice to hire a *meretrix*, but is not proper for an Athenian citizen.²²

Later on, Phormio changes his point of view when he realizes his plan can be successful through the acceptance of the dowry. He therefore accepts it, though with a slight augmentation. This time he asks for 120 *minae*, an amount that corresponds to that offered as a dowry to a rich *epikleros*, although he is going to give this money to Phaedria in order to buy a *meretrix*. Demipho, although he thinks that the amount is extravagant, is urged by his brother to accept it, and he eventually pays the amount. When the fact that Phanium is Chremes' Lemnian daughter comes to light however, Demipho changes his mind.²³ The marriage now is acceptable to him, and he asks the return of the dowry from Phormio. This is the reason why the audience becomes a witness to a new trial on stage. The plaintiff Demipho asks the defendant Phormio to give back the amount but he refuses, certainly playing it safe. When the two *senes* threaten him to take him to court, he calls Chremes' wife, Nausistrata and she gets out of the house. As a result, the roles are reversed: now the two *senes* become the defendants because of their secret and Phormio becomes the plaintiff who reveals the truth to the latter's wife and wins her favour.

Nevertheless, during the whole play, the characters' claims are subject to serious contention. The trick of the dowry and the girl's social status are at the centre. Let us start from the basic question: Why should Phanium receive a dowry? As it was shown above, she is not an *epikleros* and she does not have any right to receive a dowry. In addition, even if she were an *epikleros* in the past, once she is married to Antipho she comes under his control and loses this status. Her marriage can be dissolved only if her

²¹ GILULA (1991: 438; 441) and MOORE (2001: 256–257).

²² SCAFURO (1997: 298).

²³ SCAFURO (1997: 299).

husband dies or he cannot perform his marital duties.²⁴ In this case, she would return to her former *kyrios*. Her previous *kyrios* was Phormio, whose obligation was fulfilled by the time the *epikleros* Phanium was adjudicated to her next of kin, who decided to marry her. So, what is Demipho's authority exactly? None, once Phanium is married. Then, on what legal basis does he want to endow her although she is already an adjudicated and married *epikleros*? Why should he give a dowry for a marriage that none of the spouses wished to solve? If Antipho had wished for a divorce, he could have done it by himself without his father's intervention. In Roman law the *paterfamilias* had the right to solve his son's marriage,²⁵ but in the play Demipho still remains an Athenian father and this kind of right does not exist. When Demipho changes his mind and wants to keep the girl, even if we take it for granted that he had the right to give a dowry, why does he give it and then ask it back before the marriage?²⁶ What was agreed between Phormio and Phanium is the *engyē*, which is not as binding as the *ekdosis*, which is the marriage. The husband was obliged to return the dowry only if the marriage was solved, but, in this case, practically, there is no marriage. But, although Demipho decides on behalf of the girl's side, he is not her *kyrios* and he could not decide if she had to get a divorce from Antipho or to marry Phormio.²⁷ One last question: Why did Demipho never wonder why he was never considered as a guardian for Phanium since he was older than his son and a closer kinsman to Phanium than Antipho was?²⁸

In correspondence, Phormio's arguments do not have a reasonable justification either. However, on many occasions, they are plausible. In fact, before Phanium's marriage, he was the girl's *kyrios* and he had the legal right to a lawsuit on behalf of the *epikleros* if the next of kin either did not marry her, did not give her a dowry or treated her as a courtesan.²⁹ But, even in case that Phormio changed his mind and accepted the dowry in order to help Phaedria, how much should the dowry be? The girl has a

²⁴ SCAFURO (1997: 288).

²⁵ VERSTEEG (2008: 8) and KONSTAN (1983: 116). See RICHARD (2011: 119–120) and DIXON (2011: 251) for further information on the power of the *paterfamilias*.

²⁶ CANTARELLA (2005: 246–247).

²⁷ In fact, it is under question the wife's *kyrios*' right to make her divorce. See MAFFI (2005: 255) and SCAFURO (1997: 307). If we accept that the audience is roman and Terence wants to remind the roman legal practice, we should forget the right of divorce on the wife's side. See SCAFURO (1997: 309).

²⁸ SCAFURO (1997: 284).

²⁹ CUDJOE (2006: 8) and for the possibility of maltreatment see SCAFURO (1997: 299, note 46).

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low social status and the dowry that Demipho suggests corresponds totally to her status. Despite this fact, Phormio thinks that this is a kind of maltreatment to an Athenian citizen and asks for a dowry corresponding to a rich *epikleros*. The disagreement is between Phanium's social status and the amount, which was for a rich *epikleros* but finally used for a courtesan, strengthens the comic effect of the trials on stage.

The two protagonists manage to move the focus away from the legislation itself, through their continuous use of legal terminology and the excellent knowledge of the legal provisions of *epikleros*. They use arguments so plausible that they pertain to the legal aspects of *epikleros* and serve their goals. They manipulate the law and exchange threats for lawsuits about which they have no legal background.³⁰ It is clear that they both construct a version of the law of *epikleros* which has nothing to do with the real one. What they create is a conglomeration of legal options, which in turn reflects the blend of the characters' wishes and motivations. All the trials on stage serve to resolve the protagonists' conflicts. Every time they decide to go to the real court, their decision is cancelled just because the law, as it is constructed, has brought the court in the theatre. The courtroom is the stage, the orators are the actors and this law has validity only in Phormio's *fabula*. By manipulating the law, the parasite entangled Demipho who tried in vain to construct his own legislation in order to put it in the play. The *senex* is thoroughly so deceived by Phormio, that, although in the beginning he had claimed that the girl was not his relative, finally, he is constrained to regard her as one in order to get rid of her. By the time it is discovered that the girl was not an *epikleros* but rather his relative, he was so baffled in this fallacy that he was doubly cheated: he both had endowed the girl and his secret came to light bringing him in a disadvantageous position. Probably, this was the most important contribution of the law of the *epikleros* to the comic effect of the play: through the right manipulation of the law,³¹ Phormio manages to ruin and fully humiliate the two *senes*, while he himself remains immune to justice.³² The *senes'* ridicule was so successful that nobody ever wondered if the girl is an *epikleros* indeed.

In his comedy, Terence created an *epikleros* in a gloss of legality, an *epikleros* that moves in between people that practically have no legal authority over her. Through the legislation itself, the author enhanced the comic effect while he deconstructed the law bringing in light its serious problems. *Phormio* is the play that managed to display what takes place in

³⁰ VERSTEEG (2010: 223–224).

³¹ VERSTEEG (2008: 7).

³² GILULA (1991: 640).

the courts, in the actual time of a trial, but also far beyond their range. The author shed light on a basic aspect of the ancient Greek *oikos* in front of the audience's eyes and brought into public view everything that happens in the personal sphere, bringing the court on stage.³³ In his theatre, Terence judged and adjudicated the *epikleros* generally and demonstrated that a law based on the marriage of interest can be used in the service of love.³⁴

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THE WAR OF THE GENERATIONS: WHEN *ADULESCENTES* AND *SENES* ACT UNEXPECTEDLY¹

FRANTZESKA KATSARI

This paper follows the progress of the pattern of the generational conflict in Plautus and Terence and outlines each author's different approaches. The research will focus on Plautus' *Bacchides* and *Asinaria* and Terence's *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra*. In Plautus' *Bacchides* *adulescentes* and *senes* become rivals, though unintentionally. The *Bacchides* sisters act as catalysts in order to reverse the pattern of the generational conflict. In the *Asinaria*, Plautus plays with the pattern of the *senex amator*, which turns upside down *palliata*'s stereotypical pattern of generational conflict. In the *Adelphoe*, Terence juxtaposes the results of two rival methods of education: the strict and the lenient methods. Finally, in the *Hecyra*, the *paterfamilias* has no control over what is going on and is kept in the dark. Both poets use the same pattern but in an unexpected way, which undoubtedly affects the comic result. Meanwhile they try to define the ideal father – son relationship with respect to communication and education.

I. Introduction

Adulescentes and *senes* are stereotypical characters of the *fabula palliata* and as a result their interaction has some expected features. According to Duckworth² “The *adulescens* of Roman Comedy is presented in a sympathetic light; he is not caricatured and ridiculed as are so many other characters, especially in the comedies of Plautus. Occasionally the *adulescens* is married (e.g. Pamphilus in the *Hecyra*), but usually he is a young man whose love for a courtesan motivates the action (e.g. Ctesipho in the *Adelphoe*)”. This courtesan may be a slave girl, or a girl of a good family whom he has raped at an earlier time, prior to the opening of the

¹ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Sophia Papaioannou who read earlier drafts of this paper and offered useful advice that helped me improve and strengthen my arguments.

² DUCKWORTH (1952: 237).

play (e.g. Pamphilus in the *Andria* – it should be noted that in this comedy the girl is a *pseudo-meretrix* and actually an Athenian citizen). “The *adulescens* of Roman Comedy has been accused of being weak and uninteresting, of being a stock character”³, without personality, totally subservient to his father’s will, against which he does not dare act, turning instead to his wily slaves for assistance. On the other hand, the *senex* is usually bad-tempered (*iratus*), severe (e.g. Demea in the *Adelphoe*) or lacks sympathy and understanding. Furthermore, he may even fall in love with a young girl, and in doing so he is taking the role of the *adulescens* (e.g. Demaenetus in the *Asinaria*).

The difference in character inevitably leads to conflict between the *adulescens* and the *senex*, but in the context of the *palliata* this conflict is never direct. Plautus and Terence creatively adapt the traditional pattern of generation conflict. According to this pattern, the sons try to hide their love affairs from their fathers, while conversely, their fathers pressure their sons to marry an Athenian citizen. Konstan⁴ notes that “Roman fathers typically disapproved their sons’ liaisons with courtesans, because they could prove both costly and embarrassing”. Thus, “in a typical Roman Comedy, passion (*amor*) comes into conflict with social and familial obligation (*pietas*) when the young man falls in love with an apparently ineligible (i.e. non-citizen) young woman”.⁵ Both dramatists experiment not only with the pattern itself but also with the stereotypical characteristics of the characters involved in the generational-conflict theme of the *fabula palliata*.

The scholarly treatment of the conflict of generations theme is extensive, and many scholars have focused on the stereotypical characters of the *adulescens* and the *senex*, the relationship between them, and fatherhood in general. The father – son relationship is a pattern which appears in many comedies of Plautus and Terence.

The aim of this paper is to follow the progress of the generational conflict pattern in Plautus and Terence and outline their different approaches. My discussion will prove that Plautus and Terence revised this theme, one which they had received from Greek New Comedy, and through original refinements they effected a better and more thorough understanding of Roman Comedy. I shall focus on Plautus’ *Bacchides* and *Asinaria* and Terence’s *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra*, as in these comedies the two dramatists’ attempt to diverge from tradition is clear enough.

³ DUCKWORTH (1952: 239).

⁴ KONSTAN (1978: 215).

⁵ SLATER (1988: 250).

The war of the generations

II. Plautus' *Bacchides*

While the father–son relationship is the core theme of Plautus' *Bacchides*, the dramatist also experiments with the character of the so-called *senex amator*. According to Ryder,⁶ “the amatory behaviour only becomes an issue in the final 95 lines of the play (Act V. ii), when Nicobulus and Philoxenus go to the two Bacchis sisters to complain about the influence that the sisters are exerting over their sons and ask their money back”. Until then, the two *senes* do not play a decisive role in the plot. We, the audience, only see the *senex* Nicobulus being deceived by the *servus callidus* Chrysalus. The *senes* Nicobulus and Pistoclerus do not resemble to the stereotypical *senes* of the *palliata* as they are not *senes irati*. Instead the *servus* Lydus, who is the tutor of Pistoclerus, is playing this role. This is easy to understand, if we take Lydus' criticism of Pistoclerus and the compliments addressed to Mnesilochus into consideration:

immo neque habebis neque sinam; I prorsum domum, Pl. Bacch. 146.
(transl. “Never! You shall not have one; I will not allow it. Go home this instant”)

*neque mei neque te tui intus puditumst factis quae facis,
quibus tuom patrem meque una, amicos, adfinis tuos
tua infamia fecisti gerulifigulos flagiti*, Pl. Bacch. 379–382.
(transl. “Neither in my sight, nor your own, did you feel any shame at your actions, actions, you infamous creature, that make your father, and me too, and your friends and relatives accessories to your disgrace”).

In the second scene of Act Five, the Bacchis sisters are willing to give the *senes* back half of their money provided that they join them in. They attempt to seduce them and as a result to make them their sons' rivals. Philoxenus is the first to succumb (*ego amo*, Pl. Bacch. 1163, transl. “I'm in love with her”)⁷ and then tries to break Nicobulus' resistance. The play closes with Nicobulus abandoning himself totally to the will of the sisters, thus becoming their obedient slave:⁸

caput prurit, perii, vix negito, Pl. Bacch. 1195.
(transl. “My head does itch! Dear, dear, dear! It is hard to keep saying no”)

⁶ RYDER (1984: 183).

⁷ See also Pl. Bacch. 1166–1168: *meo filio non sumus iratus, / neque te tuost aequom esse iratum: si amant, / sapienter faciunt*. (transl. “I'm not angry at my son, and you oughtn't to be angry at yours; if they're in love, they're acting wisely”).

⁸ RYDER (1984: 183).

ducite nos quo lubet tamquam quidem additos, Pl. *Bacch.* 1205.

(transl. “Take us where you please, just as if we were your veritable bond servants”)

Meanwhile, the *adulescentes* Mnesilochus and Pistoclerus are kept in the dark about the transformation of their fathers. This is a subversion of the *palliata*'s conventions, since knowledge is the prerogative of the *adulescentes*, while the *senes* are usually ignorant.

Thus, *adulescentes* and *senes* become rivals,⁹ albeit unintentionally. The Bacchis sisters play a decisive role in this plot twist, acting as catalysts in order to reverse the pattern of the generational conflict. Stereotypical roles are inverted as the *senes amatores* become victims of the *malae meretrices* and they act as if they were the *adulescentes amantes*.

III. Plautus' *Asinaria*

In the *Asinaria*, Plautus experiments once again with the pattern of the *senex amator*, which turns upside down *palliata*'s stereotypical pattern of the generation conflict. The play begins with the father, Demaenetus, talking to his slave and outlining his educational philosophy.¹⁰ He gives the audience the impression that he has created a strong bond with his son, but as soon as he becomes his son's rival, he falls short of our expectations and inverts the expected father – son relationship pattern. Although the *senex* Demaenetus wants to help his son get his beloved courtesan, he finally falls himself in love with the courtesan and expects a night with her as reward for helping his son.¹¹ This is a sudden plot twist, one which

⁹ According to KONSTAN (1978: 216) “Plautus’ most successful story type is based on the competition between two rival lovers for a single girl. This type, familiar from the *Miles Gloriosus* and the *Pseudolus*, is built essentially on the struggle between two contending factions or parties. On one side are the supporters of the young lover, on the other the satellites, parasites, cooks and other hangers-on of the rival. The rival himself is generally a stranger, a foreign soldier, for example. He is full of bombast but not powerless: either he already owns the girl or he is in a position to purchase her, in which case the procurer is his natural ally”.

¹⁰ Demaenetus does not resemble to the comic stereotype of the father who is usually a *senex iratus*. His way of thinking surprises the slave Libanus – as well as the audience – who asks “*quid istuc novi est?*”, Pl. *As.* 50, transl. “What’s this surprise?”. According to KONSTAN (1978: 215) “Libanus would seem to be bearing a message from Plautus to notice a novel departure from the familiar pattern”.

¹¹ RYDER (1984: 181).

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occurs without warning and without so much as a hint to prepare the audience.¹²

In Act Five, when the young man confronts his father having dinner with the courtesan, he considers it is his duty to respect his father's relationship with the courtesan and leave them alone no matter how jealous he does feel:

*pietas, pater, oculis dolorem prohibet. Quamquam
egoistanc amo,
possum equidem inducer animum, ne aegere patiar
quia tecum accubat, Pl. Asin. 831–834.*

(transl. "My duty as a son takes the sting out of the sight, father. Even though I do love her, of course I can persuade myself not to be disturbed at her being with you").

There is no conflict between them. Indeed, in the case at hand, the *adulescens* lets his father take not only the courtesan but also his role in the play, since the father behaves as if he were the *adulescens amans*. Traditionally, in Roman comedy, young men are forced to abandon their courtesans in order to marry an Athenian citizen, not to vouchsafe them to their fathers as it happens in the *Asinaria*.

In the end, the solution to this disturbing of the comic order is produced by the *matrona* Artemona, whose role thus proves catalytic. Without her intervention, it would not have been possible for the *senex amator* to resume his role of the father and the young man in order to get back his courtesan. Besides, the *matrona* is actually playing the role of the *paterfamilias* as she has the control of her large dowry, while the *senex* Demaenetus has been reduced to a status of dependency.¹³ The play seems to close with the victory of the young man, but this is never noted explicitly, since the play does not really specify whether the young man got back together with the courtesan, but closes with the resignation of the *senex*.

To sum up, the plot of the *Asinaria* takes an unusual turn as Plautus experiments with *palliata*'s stereotyped themes, characters and patterns.

¹² According to KONSTAN (1978: 216) "in the first scene of the *Asinaria*, Plautus planted certain expectations for how the story would unfold. The expectations are based on the audience's familiarity with the standard paradigms of plot forms in ancient comedy. [...] The most common paradigm in classical comedy is based on a simple triangle involving a father, a son, and a girl. The son is torn between passion for the girl who is, at least to all appearances, ineligible as a partner in marriage, and fear of his father, a stern *paterfamilias* of the old school".

¹³ KONSTAN (1978: 217).

He plays with the pattern of the *senex amator* and the theme of the generations conflict in order to compose a clever comedy and surprise the audience.

IV. Terence's *Adelphoe*

According to Fantham¹⁴ “the relationship between father and son is, of all common human bonds, the one treated most frequently and with the greatest sympathy by Terence. Concern for the art of fatherhood and its direct effect on the son’s character formation is nowhere in the *palliata* so prominent as in Terence’s *Adelphoe*. The dramatist expresses his judgment on how a man should behave once he happens to be the father of a growing son”.

Terence in the *Adelphoe* juxtaposes the results of two rival methods of education: the strict and the lenient one. Demea, a tight-fisted married farmer, is *palliata*’s stereotypical *senex* who believes in the strict upbringing of children. He lives in the country and avoids making redundant expenses. On the other hand, Micio, Demea’s brother, is an easy-going wealthy bachelor living in town. He is a non-typical *senex* and has adopted and brought up Demea’s other son, Aeschinus. He is lenient and generous and offers his adopted son everything he wants. He believes that it is better to discipline children by earning their respect and showing generosity than through fear:

*pudore et liberalitate liberos
retinere satius esse credo quam metu*, Ter. Ad. 57–58.
(transl. “I believe that it is better to discipline children by gaining their respect and showing generosity than through fear”)

Otherwise, he argues, he would not behave like a father but like a master:

hoc pater et dominus interest, Ter. Ad. 76.
(transl. “That’s the difference between a father and a master”).

Despite the fact that Micio and Demea raise their children in diametrically opposite ways, this has no special impact on their sons’ character.¹⁵ Both

¹⁴ FANTHAM (1971: 970).

¹⁵ Nonetheless FANTHAM (1971: 972) notes some differences between Aeschinus and his brother Ctesipho. “Aeschinus is stronger, more generous and high principled and loves an honest girl whose citizen birth enables their romance to end in marriage. On the contrary, Ctesipho is weaker and in love with a vicious or insignificant girl to whom marriage is impossible”.

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Aeschinus, who has been raised by a parent who showered him with tenderness and all sorts of luxury, and Ctesipho, who has been raised with severity and frugality, are in no way different from the *palliata*'s stereotypical young men. They are both *adulescentes amantes*, immature and irresponsible. Aeschinus does not take into serious consideration the problems that will arise due to the abduction of Bacchis, and Ctesipho on the other hand does not dare claim the courtesan, depending instead upon his brother for assistance and allowing him to be involved in this kind of adventure.

What is more, both of *adulescentes* get involved in their respective love affairs behind their fathers' backs, which undoubtedly means that both pedagogical systems prove ineffective, as neither of the *senes* manage to forge a desirable relationship with their respective sons. The two fathers face the issue of communication with their sons in totally different ways: the strict and aloof Demea attempts to maintain the generational gap, while the generous Micio tries to bridge it. In fact he tries to create a father – son relationship based on understanding and respect for the choices of his son:

hoc est patrem esse aut hoc est filium esse?, Ter. Ad. 707–708.

(transl. “Is this what it means to be a father or a son?”)

hoc non amandus, hicine non gestandus in sinust?, Ter. Ad. 709.

(transl. “Is not he a man to be loved and cherished?”)

non, si queam

mutare. Nunc quom non queo, animo aequo fero.

ita vitast hominum quasi quom ludas tesseris.

si illud quod maxume opus est iactu non cadit,

illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas, Ter. Ad. 737–741.

(transl. “No, not if I could change it. As it is, since I can't, I accept it with good grace. Life is like a game of dice. If you don't get the exact throw you want, you have to use your skill and make the best of one you do get”)

In his monologue in the First Act, Micio clearly states that it is not necessary to exert his authority all the time (*do praetermitto, non necesse habeo omnia / pro meo iure ager*, Ter. Ad. 51–52, transl. “I'm generous, I turn a blind eye, I don't find it necessary to exert my authority all the time”). However, as Fantham¹⁶ notes “nothing that is said or done by Micio or his son in the first four Acts of the *Adelphoe* suggests that his concept of fatherhood is anything but successful”. At this point I would

¹⁶ FANTHAM (1971: 984).

like to mention Forehand's¹⁷ point of view as far the *servus* Syrus is concerned as a catalyst. He believes that as the play progresses,

the relationship between the two fathers and the two sons becomes an important measure of each father's success in raising his child. Despite his reluctance to come to his father earlier, the reconciliation between Aeschinus and Micio constitutes one of the most positive statements of the relative success of Micio's method. Their meeting points up the fact that Demea never talks directly to Ctesipho. Terence develops the lack of communication between him and Ctesipho by involving Syrus more and more in the effort to keep the two apart. At the same time he gradually reveals how instrumental the slave has been in making Demea believe that his strictness has produced a model son. Scenes one and two of Act Four provide a climax to this development when Syrus averts the last chance for a meeting while father and son are within a few feet of one another.

The *Adelphoe* is less concerned with the generational conflict than with the confrontation between the stereotypical *senex* and the non – stereotypical one, as well as with the two rival theories of education.¹⁸ Terence's attempt is to find the ideal distance between the two generations. Without approving or rejecting one of the two proposed systems, Terence presents their positive and negative sides and leads the audience to realize that the policy of disciplined freedom is what ultimately creates the desired father – son relationship.

“Terence took the ‘harsh father’ and the ‘lenient father’ of earlier Greek tradition and with unusual psychological insight created the two *senes*, Demea and Micio. They are living personalities, human and likable, both partly right, but each mistaken in the value and the results of their own educational philosophy”¹⁹

At the end of Act Five, Demea decides to change himself and become *pater festivissimus* instead of being *paterfamilias* (*o pater mi festivissime!*, Ter. *Ad.* 983, transl. “You're wonderful, father!”).²⁰ He now understands that if he wants to be likable, he should bridge the gap that separates him from his son – and hence the next generation – and his brother, who behaves with sympathy for the young men. However, a little later he

¹⁷ FOREHAND (1973: 56).

¹⁸ Nonetheless, according to JOHNSON (1968: 172) “the *Adelphoe* is less concerned with two rival theories of education in conflict or with a confrontation between a gentleman and a boor than it is with two self – satisfied men who are made to collide in order that we may witness the universality of self – satisfaction and its inevitable frustrations”.

¹⁹ DUCKWORTH (1952: 249).

²⁰ Ter. *Ad.* 983.

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reveals that he had parodied the *liberalitas*²¹ and *humanitas* of Micio to expose their limitations and prove their ineffectiveness.²² He also wants to demonstrate that the favourable judgment of people for Micio do not stem from sincerity, but from weakness, indulgence and extravagance. Fantham²³ notes that Demea rejects his previous way of life not on moral grounds, because he has found it wrong, but on grounds of policy:

*re ipsa repperi
facilitate nil esse homini melius neque clementia.
id esse verum ex me atque ex frater quovis facilest noscere.
ill' suam semper egit vitam in otio, in conviviis,
Clemens, placidus; nulli laedere os, arridere omnibus;
sibi vixit, sibi sumptum fecit: omnes bene dicunt, amant.
ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax
dixi uxorem. Quam ibi miseriam vidi! Nati filii,
alia cura, Ter. Ad. 860–867.*

(transl. “I’ve discovered that in reality nothing is better for a man than to be generous and easygoing. Anyone can easily see the truth of this by comparing my brother and myself. He has always lived a life of leisure and conviviality; he’s easygoing and even-tempered, he never gives offence, he smiles at everybody. He’s lived for himself, he’s spent for himself. Everyone speaks well of him, everyone loves him. I on the other hand am your typical rustic: aggressive, surly, stingy, ill-tempered, tight-fisted. I married a wife, and what misery that brought me! I had sons, another worry.”)

He sees Micio’s success as earned not by love and understanding but *paullo sumptu* (Ter. Ad. 876, transl. “little expense”). Comedy’s conventions are turned upside down, but without this affecting the overall comic effect²⁴ for Demea’s transformation is only an act.

²¹ JOHNSON (1986: 174) notes that “Micio’s great error lies in assuming that his *liberalitas* must necessarily have the overwhelming efficacy he imagines for it” (*ill’ quem beneficio adiungas ex animo facit,/ studet par referre, praesens absensque idem erit, Ter. Ad. 72–73, transl. “A person who is won over kindness acts from the heart. He is eager to repay you; he will be the same whether he is with you or not”*).

²² JOHNSON (1986: 183).

²³ FANTHAM (1971: 988).

²⁴ According to FANTHAM (1971: 985) “in the live performance the audience could not reinterpret earlier scenes retrospectively in the light of final verdict”.

V. Terence's *Hecyra*

Finally, in the *Hecyra* almost all the rules of the *palliata* are abolished. For nearly two thirds of the play, the audience for is left in ignorance – we do not know why Philumena, the young bride, kept avoiding her mother-in-law, and then ran away from her husband's house. In fact, this ignorance is only a part of the atypical structure of the *Hecyra* plot. We, the audience, also ignore important elements of the storyline: the play starts with a wedding that has already taken part,²⁵ nor do the heroes resemble Plautus' model characters.

Parmeno, the alleged cunning slave, in no way reminds us of the *servus callidus* of Plautus' comedies, since he does not help Pamphilus but he is preoccupied instead with his moralistic sayings and not interested at all in his involvement in the plot. This produces an ironic contrast between his view of himself as a *servus callidus* and his real uselessness, indeed counter – productivity in the play.²⁶ The ancient commentary of Donatus²⁷ was the first to note that from the beginning of the comedy to the end Parmeno is sent running about and never learns what he most desires to.

Bacchis is a *bona meretrix*, a betrayed courtesan who finds it difficult to understand the character of the young men. The pattern of the *adulescens amans* is overturned, since the dialogue between the two courtesans in the beginning of the play shows that the courtesans are faithful, while it is the young men who are not the trustworthy ones.

Sostrata is not a typical *matrona* for she never nags anybody but rather promptly accepts to inconvenience herself in order to facilitate the reunion of his son with his bride.

Within such a context, the only stereotypical character in the play is the *senex* Laches. He is the *senex iratus*, who cannot live together with other people. Embroiled inside a peculiar plot that hardly reminds the stage reality of a typical *palliata*, the father of the young man seems to be and actually is completely out of place. Although he is supposed to be the *paterfamilias*, he has no control over what is going on and is kept in the

²⁵ According to SLATER (1988: 251) “it bears repeating that the *Hecyra* begins where other ancient comedies end – with an acknowledged, legitimate marriage in place. Moreover, we view that marriage first through the eyes of two women – for whom marriage is an enemy. As the play opens Philotis and Syra are discussing the marriage of Pamphilus to Philumena, an event which has disillusioned the romantically inclined young Philotis, for it ended Pamphilus' affair with her friend Bacchis”.

²⁶ SLATER (1988: 254).

²⁷ DONATI (1905: 335).

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dark. Laches remains to the end a *senex iratus*, yet, as the play draws to closure he surprisingly initiates two moves out of character, firstly when he approaches the courtesan Bacchis and asks her to intercede in order to save his son's marriage, and secondly when he voluntarily withdraws from the play and goes to the countryside:

*rus habitatum abii concedens vobis et rei serviens
sumptus vestros otiumque ut nostra res posset pati
meo labori haud parcens praeter aequom atque aetatem
meam, Ter. Hec. 224–227.*

(transl. "I went away to live in the country out of consideration for you and to look after our estate, so that our income could support your expenditure and your life of leisure")

He decides not to get involved in the relationship of the couple and lets them solve their own problem, fearing that his explosive nature may lead him to acts which he would regret later:

*odiosa haec est aetas adulescentulis.
e medio aequom excedere est: postremo nos iam fabulae
sumu', Pamphile, "senex atque anus." Ter. Hec. 618–623.*

(transl. "Old people are irksome to the young. It is the right thing for her to get out of your way. In the end we're just the old couple in the story, Pamphilus")

*videndumst ne minu' propter iram hanc impetrem quam possiem,
aut nequid faciam plus quod post me minu' fecisse satiu' sit.
adgrediar. Bacchi', salve. Ter. Hec. 729–731.*

(transl. "I must be careful not to lose temper and do achieve less than I might have, or overdo things and then regret it afterwards. I'll approach her. Good day, Bacchis").

The *Hecyra* stresses morals and ethics. The heroes present their feelings in detail and explain the way they are going to act – initiatives which do not usually feature in the *palliata*. Furthermore, the *adulescentes* usually do not make decisions, instead leaving their fathers to arrange the issues that concern them, especially their marriages. In this comedy however, Pamphilus feels that he is able to maintain the control of the situation on his own, so that his action and behaviour reminds us more of the *servus callidus* than the *adulescens amans*. It should also be noted that the *adulescens* Pamphilus repeatedly states his commitment to *pietas*,²⁸ but it

²⁸ SLATER (1988: 255) notes that "in the patriarchal society of Rome the obligations of *pietas* all point to the *paterfamilias*, the male head of the household.

is striking that the receiver of this *pietas* is *matrona* Sostrata and not the *senex* Laches, as commonly happens in the *fabula palliata*.

nam matris ferre iniurias me, Parmeno, pietas iubet, Ter. Hec. 301.
(transl. "Filial duty bids me bear with any wrongs done by my mother, Parmeno")

nunc me pietas matris potius commodum suadet sequi, Ter. Hec. 481.
(transl. "In this situation my duty as a son bids me give preference to my mother's interests")

quandoquidem illam a me distrahit necessitas, Ter. Hec. 492.
(transl. "Since she's torn away from me by fate")

This factor distinguishes the father – son relationship as an atypical one according to the *palliata* standards. Father and son do not clash against each other, although there is a gap between them, which *de facto* complicates their relationship. Each of them represents not only a different generation, but also a different comedy. The father is the typical Plautine *senex iratus* while the *adulescens* is the product of Terence's experiments with the conventions of the genre.

VI. Conclusion

To conclude, both Plautus and Terence use heavily the same comic motif of generational conflict, but in an unexpected way, one which undoubtedly affects the comic result. They also play with the stereotypical features of this motif, as well as with the formation of several of the stereotypical key characters of the *fabula palliata*. Plautus uses the pattern of the *senex amator* to enhance the comic effect and to play with the conventions of the *palliata*. Both dramatists prove to be extremely intelligent, as they propose a different approach to traditional patterns and characters which result in the evolution of the Roman comedy genre.

Pietas includes the obligation of the wife to be subordinate to the husband, though we have seen that Sostrata is sufficiently free from the control of her husband that she lives apart from him. Pamphilus' view of *pietas* in promoting his mother to equality with his father only reinforces her independence".

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RHETORIC ON RHETORIC: CRITICISM OF ORATORY IN SENECA'S *TROADES*

TOBIAS DÄNZER

While statements criticizing contemporary rhetoric are considerably few in the prosaic work of the younger Seneca, there is clear evidence for harsh criticism in his tragedies. This paper draws attention to the word battle between Ulysses and Andromache in the *Troades* (vv. 522–814), where the protagonists appear to quarrel over the fate of little Astyanax, son of Andromache and Hector and potential avenger of Troy. The true matter of the rhetorically organised dispute, however, is rhetoric itself. Ulysses presents himself as a shrewd and ruthless advocate in a lawsuit, trying to reveal the boy's true whereabouts, in order to kill him. He accuses Andromache, who tries to save her child, of rhetorical tricks, grandiloquence and obstinacy. By embellishing his criticism with myth and poetry, Seneca has found a way to accuse contemporary rhetoric of political ineffectiveness, forensic uselessness, and moral turpitude.

The literature of the 1st century AD knew various interpretations concerned with the circumstances that caused the decline of contemporary rhetoric.¹ The elder Seneca, who was the first to advance arguments on the topic, saw the rhetoric of his age in decline for three main reasons. To him, the decline began soon after Cicero's time and was due either to the decadent lifestyle of his contemporaries, to the fading prospects of honour, or to the persistent and natural change of greatness and depravity.²

¹ Literature on the topic is abundant: HELDMANN (1982) dedicates a detailed study on the subject; good overviews are given by CAPLAN (1944), FANTHAM (1978), WILLIAMS (1978: 6–51), KENNEDY (1972: 446–464), FAIRWEATHER (1981: 132–148) and KENNEDY (1994: 159–200, esp. 186–192). The comprehensive bibliographic list at the end of *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric* is a highly useful and up-to-date documentation of the status quo of research in the field of Roman rhetoric: DOMINIĆ-HALL (2007: 451–486).

² *Contr.* 1,6sq.: *quidquid Romana facundia habet, quod insolenti Graeciae aut opponat aut praeferat, circa Ciceronem effloruit; omnia ingenia, quae lucem studiis nostris attulerunt, tunc nata sunt. in deterius deinde cotidie data res est sive luxu temporum, nihil enim tam mortiferum ingeniis quam luxuria est, sive, cum pretium pulcherrimae rei cecidisset, translatum est omne certamen ad turpia multo*

Certainly, the most prominent interpretation is the one Tacitus put forward in his *Dialogus de oratoribus*, where he saw the decline of rhetoric connected to the restraint of freedom. While the forensic and political speech developed freely and suffered no restrictions in the republic, it was deprived of its public powers and dispelled from the forum in the Principate and under the reign of the later Emperors. The orator, however great, had to become active in the centumviral court, dealing with minor issues, bereft of political impact and urged to withdraw from the political stage.³

While becoming more and more useless in the public sector, rhetoric began to flourish in schools and offices, where young orators were trained to become *Konzertredner*, whose main objective was not political activity or persuasion, but sensationalism and entertainment. The main contemporary criticism of the rhetoric schools, enthusiastically stated by the satirists, was directed against their practice of speech, the *declamationes*, which were criticized as extensively pompous and completely out of touch with reality.⁴

Particularly few, measured against the wealth of his prosaic work, are the younger Seneca's statements criticizing contemporary rhetoric. Manifestations are limited to a small number of shorter statements, for example in *Letter 108* to Lucilius, where Seneca introduces the sort of student that attends lessons not for philosophical instruction, but for pleasure and entertainment. The perfect student would be the one that is attracted by "*rerum pulchritudo*", not by "*verborum inanium sonitus*".⁵

Seneca offers a more detailed description of the interdependence of rhetoric and morals in *Letter 114*, where he sees the decline of rhetoric rooted in the decay of manners. As prime example for the moral depravity of the later Roman Empire Seneca introduces Maecenas, whose faulty speech, according to Seneca, was closely linked to his effeminacy and

honore quaestuque vigentia, sive fato quodam, cuius maligna perpetuaque in rebus omnibus lex est, ut ad summum perducta rursus ad infimum velocius quidem quam ascenderant relabantur.

³ The recent edition of the *Dialogus* by FLACH is supported with a detailed bibliography: FLACH (2005: 107–113). See also KENNEDY (1994: 190sq).

⁴ A still very good overview on origin, development, critics and influence of the *declamationes* is provided by BONNER (1949). CAPLAN (1944) focuses on contemporary criticism and its use in theories of decline. For more recent literature on various aspects of declamatory theory and practice, see FAIRWEATHER (1984), SUSSMAN (1984), STROH (2003), and BLOOMER (2007: 306).

⁵ Sen. ep. 108,6.

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general immorality.⁶ Referring to a phrase of Solon, quoted in Diogenes Laertius, Seneca apodictically summarizes his position: *talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita*.⁷ While it becomes clear already from the beginning of the letter that Seneca strives to formulate a general theory of the reciprocal relationship between moral and rhetoric,⁸ we do not find a political interpretation of the declining rhetoric in the letter. Seneca's discourse on rhetoric amounts to nothing more than to examining questions of style and taste.⁹

In this paper I want to show that Seneca cuts through the remarkable prosaic silence on the topic by transferring criticism of contemporary rhetoric into his tragedies, foremost the *Troades*, embellishing it with myth and poetry, thereby accusing contemporary rhetoric of political ineffectiveness, forensic uselessness and moral turpitude. Tragedy offers an unsuspecting place for spreading critical statements under the disguise of mythical figures and actions.

It is well known, and easily intelligible from the tragedies, that Seneca was a brilliant orator being highly familiar with the *declamationes* of his time.¹⁰ We are informed about Seneca's public activity as Nero's ghost writer through an instructive passage in the *Annals*, where Tacitus gives a review of Nero's funeral eulogy for Claudius, written by Seneca. The remark on the oration's style being adapted to contemporary ears is particularly instructive as it shows that Seneca was easily capable of conforming to the prevailing taste of his age.¹¹

⁶ BYRNE (2006) provides an exhaustive overview on Seneca's depiction of Maecenas and its functions, and gives an equally exhaustive bibliographic list on the topic. For a recent reading of Maecenas, see STAR (2012: 173–183).

⁷ Sen. *ep.* 114,1. The Greek quotation, adopted from Diog. Laert. 1,58, runs as follows: Ἐλεγε [scil. Σόλων] δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἰδῶλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων.

⁸ Sen. *ep.* 114,1: *Quare quibusdam temporibus provenerit corrupti generis oratio quaeris et quomodo in quaedam vitia inclinatio ingeniorum facta sit, ut aliquando inflata explicatio vigeret, aliquando infracta et in morem cantici ducta.*

⁹ See, e.g., KENNEDY (1994: 176): “Much of what Seneca has to say relates to style”, with respective examples.

¹⁰ Though obvious and stated early (see, e.g., BONNER (1949: 160–167)), there is no independent study on the influence of *declamatio* on Seneca's prose or poetry; on the contrast between the declamatory style of the tragedies and the prosaic philosophical discourse, see WILSON (2007). The rhetorical elements in Seneca's tragedies, however, are well studied; see, e.g., the early study of CANTER (1925), and the more recent ones by TRAINA (1987) and BILLERBECK (1988); for literature on the topic BILLERBECK (1988: 101, note 1).

¹¹ Tac. *ann.* 13,3: ... *oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.* See also the famous depiction of Seneca's style as role model for young men given by Quint.

Ulysses vs. Andromache (*Troades* 522-814)

The battle of words between Ulysses and Andromache in Seneca's *Troades* is too grotesque, both regarding content and dramaturgy, to be true. Ulysses, "weaving cunning tricks in his heart",¹² tells Andromache that he was sent as ambassador by the Greek commanders in order to pick up the son of Andromache and Hector, little Astyanax, and to kill him. The risk of leaving the potential avenger of Troy alive would simply be too great, and the Greeks would not set sail before his death. The scene adds in bizarreness through the fact that Ulysses is not satisfied with torture or blackmail, but tries to achieve his aim – getting the boy from a mother that has lost everything else – by means of artful rhetoric.

Ulysses introduces himself as skilful and learned orator right from the start, his first words being a veritable *captatio benevolentiae*:¹³

*Durae minister sortis hoc primum peto,
ut, ore quamvis verba dicantur meo,
non esse credas nostra: Graiorum omnium
procerumque vox est, petere quos seras domos
Hectorea suboles prohibet. Hanc fata expetunt.
Sollicita Danaos pacis incertae fides
Semper tenebit, semper a tergo timor
Respicere coget, arma nec poni sinet,
Dum Phrygibus animos natus eversis dabit,
Andromacha, vester.*

Ulysses presents himself as mouthpiece of powers lying beyond control, delivering a message that is not his own: the Greek military leaders sent him, while fate had prescribed the course of action. By mentioning the Greeks' fear for their lives Ulysses intends to evoke Andromache's pity. His tactics is as evident as absurd. Ulysses is depicted as genuine adept of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* who has learned in the classroom that emotion (πάθη) has to be evoked through character (ἦθος), and even more so, when the factual circumstances are unclear.¹⁴ As Ulysses can hardly hope to profit from the factual situation, he has to rely fully on the emotional devices of

inst. 10,1,125–131. WOODMAN (2010) provides an interesting account of the interdependence of voice, speech, and self in Seneca's orations in the *Annals*.

¹² *Tro.* 522sq.: *adest Ulixes, et quidem dubio gradu / vultuque: nectit pectore astus callidos*. These are Andromache's words as she catches sight of Ulysses, even before the dialogue has begun; the translation here is taken from FITCH (2002: 219).

¹³ *Tro.* 524–533.

¹⁴ See Aristotle's definition of the τρία εἶδη of πιστεῖς ἐντεχνοί in *Rhet.* 1,2,3–6.

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rhetoric.¹⁵ He seeks to win Andromache over by pretending to be a modest and highly sympathetic man who only fears for his comrades.

What does Ulysses expect from his address to Andromache? How likely is it that he will succeed in flatteringly demanding the very last from a mother that has nothing else to lose? Notwithstanding the limited prospects of success, Ulysses carries on with his rhetorical exercises, and renews his scholastic approach by seeking to arouse compassion with his fellow countrymen. They had become old during an exhausting and long lasting war, wished for nothing more than to return home, and feared nothing more than being haunted by Astyanax. He appeals to Andromache's sympathy, crying: *Libera Graios metu!* Not uttering a word of fear for his own life, Ulysses begs Andromache not to consider him, emissary of the gods, cruel. If he had had the choice, he certainly would not have sacrificed Astyanax, but Orestes.¹⁶

Yet Andromache easily measures up to the rhetorical skills of Ulysses, and is by no means inferior to her interlocutor in regard to oratorical virtuosity. She gives a mendacious speech overloaded with bombast and grandiloquence:¹⁷

*Utinam quidem esses, nate, materna in manu,
Nossemque quis te casus ereptum mihi
teneret, aut quae regio! non hostilibus
confossa telis pectus ac vinclis manus
sectantibus praestricta, non acri latus
utrumque flamma cincta maternam fidem
umquam exuisssem. nate, quis te nunc locus,
fortuna quae possedit? errore avio
vagus arva lustras? vastus an patriae vapor
corripuit artus? Saevus an victor tuo
lusit cruore? Numquid immanis ferae
morsu peremptus pascis Idaeas aves?*

¹⁵ Arist. *Rhet.* 1,2,4: διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἡθους, ὅταν οὕτω λεχθῆ ὁ λόγος ὥστε ἀξιόπιστον ποιῆσαι τὸν λέγοντα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐπεικέσι πιστεύομεν μᾶλλον καὶ θᾶπτον, περὶ πάντων μὲν ἀπλῶς, ἐν οἷς δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς μὴ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀμφιδοξεῖν, καὶ παντελῶς.

¹⁶ *Tro.* 553–555: ... *neve crudelem putes, / quod sorte iussus Hectoris natum petam: / petissem Oresten.*

¹⁷ *Tro.* 556–567. Whether it is true or not that Andromache “tries to act as though she had not heard Ulysses and were speaking her true thoughts in soliloquy” (FANTHAM 1982: 294), the very fact that Andromache gives a consistent, isolated, and pathetic speech here, relates her words to the contemporary declamatory style.

With Andromache's entry into the dialogue the subject of discussion changes from the original outset, that is Ulysses' wish to take hold of Astyanax, to a rhetorically polished discussion on rhetoric. Andromache gives a well-designed example of *simulatio*, a rhetorical device that means the misrepresentation of emotions.¹⁸ Yet Ulysses does not show himself too deeply impressed by the mother's lament, and detects her *simulatio*:¹⁹

*Simulata remove verba. Non facile est tibi
decipere Ulixem: vicimus matrum dolos
etiam dearum. cassa consilia amove.
Ubi natus est?*

Ulysses accuses Andromache of concealing the factual circumstances and tells her to give up the *cassa consilia*. The phrase *non facile est decipere Ulixem* should be translated as "it is not easy to fool a Ulysses". The speaker hints at his reputation as indisputable master of speech, whose oratorical powers have long become proverbial and who cannot be fooled by any rhetorical trick simply for the fact that he knows them all by heart. Ulysses continues his investigation, asking: *ubi natus est?*, whereupon Andromache answers in a highly forceful, staccato manner: *Ubi Hector? Ubi cuncti Phryges? / ubi Priamus? unum quaeris: ego quaero omnia* (*Tro.* 571sq). This time, Ulysses seems to be struck by the rhetorical ability of his counterpart, and resorts to nothing better than threatening her with punishment and torture. Yet Andromache sees her chance, and continues her hammering staccato, piercingly fraught with plosives such as t, p, d, c: *Tuta est, perire quae potest, debet, cupit* (574). The forcefulness of the phrase is supported by the tricolon increasing from the mere possibility of dying to the desire of doing so.

The verse is a *sententia*, γνῶμη in Greek. The use of *sententiae* was discussed in detail by Quintilian in the *Institutio*,²⁰ and ridiculed by the satirists in their criticism of declamations' bombast.²¹ Especially the

¹⁸ See LAUSBERG (2008: 399). Quint. *Inst.* 9,2,26 stresses the importance of *simulatio* for the evocation of affects: *Quae vero sunt augendis adfectibus accommodatae figurae constant maxime simulatione. Namque et irasci nos et gaudere et timere et admirari et dolere et indignari et optare quaeque sunt similia his fingimus*. As a matter of fact, Andromache's speech complies perfectly with Quintilian's list of examples and means by which *simulatio* is achieved.

¹⁹ *Tro.* 568–571.

²⁰ Quint. *inst.* 8,5,1–34. For a systematic overview of the different types of *sententiae*, see LAUSBERG (2008: 431–434).

²¹ BONNER (1949: 149–167) sees the *sententia* alias "the heightened, pointed, apt 'comment' that might equally well be transplanted to the pages of the elder 98

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rhetorically polished punch line seeking maximum effect on the listener was a fundamental part of their criticism. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, for example, Eumolpus laments that today's orators were exceedingly indulging in magniloquence and empty *pathos* and thought it easier to write a poem than to compose schools exercise speeches adorned with dazzling aphorisms:²²

Multos, inquit Eumolpus, o iuvenes, carmen decepit. Nam ut quisque versum pedibus instruxit sensumque teneriorem verborum ambitu intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse. Sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad carminis tranquillitatem tanquam ad portum feliciorum refugerunt, credentes facilius poema extrui posse, quam controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam. Ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat, neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingenti flumine litterarum inundata.

It is by these vibrant sentences that Ulysses seems to be defeated on home ground by Andromache: He reiterates his menaces, and feels confident that she would desist of her cheap showmanship in the face of death. Blaming the mother of *magnificentia*, μεγαλοπρέπεια in Greek terms,²³ Ulysses aims to criticize the shallow *pathos* of the mother's speech. Andromache, at her best once more, answers with a strikingly impressive antithesis: *Si vis, Ulixee, cogere Andromacham metu, / vitam minare: nam mori votum est mihi* (576sq). Having rested from his interim feebleness Ulysses recovers his appetite for belligerent rhetoric, giving an illustrative portrayal of the interdependence between torture and truth. Yet Andromache is equally persistent in portraying her abilities to endure tortures of all kinds, and the word battle soon assumes the character of a fierce squabble among *declamatores*, who seek to outdo their rival in uttering phrases fraught with gaudiness and, at times, platitude.²⁴

After a while of quarrelling Ulysses notices that he cannot make any progress on the path he has chosen, and changes tactics. He accuses Andromache of insisting too obstinately or stubbornly (*contumax*) on her motherly affection (v. 589) – a particularly grotesque reproach that cannot be understood but on the meta-level of the dialogue. *Contumacia* is a term

Seneca" (ibid. 151) as the main hallmark of declamatory influence on the literature of the early Empire.

²² Petron. 118.

²³ On *magnificentia* as virtue of speech, see Quint. *Inst.* 4,2,61–64. The use of *magnificentia* in the law court, however, is harshly criticized.

²⁴ See v. 581: *necessitas plus posse quam pietas solet*; [v. 587] *stulta est fides celare quod prodas statim*; v. 588: *animosa nullos mater admittit metus*.

by which a judge or prosecutor describes the wilfully obstinate behaviour of the accused in the law court.²⁵ The accusation implies an obvious change of strategy. Ulysses takes on the persona of a judge or prosecutor who tries to discern the circumstances of a deed, and forces Andromache into the role of a culprit who conceals the truth. On Andromache's further attempts to declare her son dead, Ulysses, in his newly assumed role as chief prosecutor, demands a piece of evidence that would proof Andromache's statement. Andromache swears an oath, which at first seems to make deep impression on her interlocutor. Ulysses, however, who knows there is nothing left to lose for Andromache except her son, cannot be deceived anymore and sticks to his strategy. In an address to himself, he enters into an intertextual play with the literary figure of Ulysses, shaped through literature and tradition:²⁶

*nunc advoca astus, anime, nunc fraudes, dolos,
nunc totum Ulixem; veritas numquam perit.
scrutare matrem.*

“Calling forth, using the whole Ulysses”, that means calling forth his proverbial oratorical powers, stratagems, and cunning in order to excel the skilled orator Andromache, and to take her son away.

Proving again obedience to the laws of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, especially to the character studies in book 2, Ulysses connects the emotions he perceives in Andromache's words and actions with the type of mother.²⁷ Ulysses examines his counterpart with psychological scrutiny, thereby observing signs that reveal a mother fearing for her child. He perceives Andromache's mourning, the frightful going to and fro, and the careful listening for every single sound or word.²⁸ The skilled orator associates the symptoms of fear with the behavioural patterns of mothers, and concludes: *timor detexit matrem*, fear has revealed Andromache's motherhood.

Ulysses notices that Andromache shivers and is near to fainting, which confirms him in his course of action: *Intremuit: hac, hac parte quaerenda est mihi* (625). The prosecutor has found the weak point in the culprit's

²⁵ References are numerous, e.g.: CIL 10,7852,12; Iav. *dig.* 4,8,39; Plin. *ep.* 10,57 (65),2; Ulp. *dig.* 11,1,11,4; 12,13,1; 48,19,5; for more evidence, see ThLL 4 (1906–1909: 796sq., on *contumacia*, and 797sq., on *contumax*).

²⁶ *Tro.* 613sq. For the reshaping of Ulysses in the literature of the Roman Empire see SCHMITZER (2005). For the portrayal of Ulysses in the *Troades*, see FANTHAM (1982: 290sq) and FÖLLINGER (2005).

²⁷ See Aristotle's detailed definition of φόβος: *Rhet.* 2,4,32–5,15.

²⁸ *Tro.* 615–618: ... *maeret, illacrimat, gemit; / sed huc et illuc anxios gressus refert / missasque voces aure sollicita excipit: / magis haec timet, quam maeret.*

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plea. *Quaerere* is the technical term for the undertaking of a judicial inquiry, and means putting someone to the acid test.²⁹ Ulysses, the Greek star attorney, finally summons his outstanding abilities, getting ready for the final act: *ingenio est opus* (618).

The rest of the scene is mainly devoted to Ulysses' psychological torture methods. He instructs his henchmen to search the place and pretends to have found Astyanax, thereby increasing the pressure on Andromache. Ulysses finally seems to have found the right place – Hector's tomb – according to the principle of hit the pot, and threatens to raze it to the ground. Andromache sees her last resort in appealing to Ulysses' mercy, and hands over Astyanax.

The dramatic situation creates suspense à la Hitchcock by the edge in knowledge on part of the spectator or reader who knows from the outset that Astyanax is hidden in Hector's tomb. Suspense constantly increases as Ulysses' knowledge of the situation becomes more and more profound. The increase in knowledge is attained through the forensic investigations by which Ulysses tries to outwit Andromache, who is equally trained in rhetoric. He tries to achieve his goal by using accusations that do not contribute to the dramatic action or subject matter, but constitute a scholarly debate on rhetoric itself.

Ulysses' blaming is, from his point of view, just. Andromache conceals the whereabouts of her son, claiming that he would be far away or even dead. Ulysses could answer: "You are a liar!" But he does not blame her for distortion of facts, but for distortion of words. He says: "You resort to rhetorical dodges" (*simulatio*), "your speech is pompous and grandiloquent" (*magnificentia*), "you are not cooperative" (*contumacia*). To find out the truth, that is to break Andromache's resistance, Ulysses calls for appropriate help that consists of rhetorical talent (*ingenium*), cunning (*astus*), and treachery (*dolus*).

The objectives Seneca pursues with this scholarly and rhetorically organised debate on rhetoric are only intelligible against the background of the absurd dramatic situation, lacking any acceptable *raison d'être*, in which the dialogue is placed. Ulysses' ludicrous project of *talking* a mother into parting with her beloved son and lone survivor of her family, the absurdity of accusing a mother that seeks to protect her child by all means, of sophism and erratic behaviour, yet also the rhetorical versatility of a mother in need and anguish are, in my opinion, expressions of a multifaceted criticism of contemporary rhetoric. The dialogue between

²⁹ See, e.g. OLD (2007: 1533): "to hold a judicial inquiry into, investigate by process of law", "to examine (a person) by questioning, interrogate", with a list of references.

Ulysses and Andromache appears to be highly indebted to the exercise speeches, the *declamationes*, of the coeval rhetoric schools, and introduces a gravely distorted rhetoric, ruthlessly striving for the outmost. Ulysses finally achieves his goal by improper measures, physical and mental torture, which rounds out the picture. This may be the most obvious critical reference to the politics of his time. Episodes like *De ira* 2,33,3–5 may give an impression of the superiority of deed over word that prevailed in the later Roman Empire.³⁰

Rhetoric, as it is depicted by Seneca in the *Troades*, is boastful, morally corrupt, and politically ineffective.

***Veritas* and ἀλήθεια**

Finally, we need to consider an important question whose examination will contribute highly to the understanding of the dialogue. The question is concerned with the definition of truth that underlies Ulysses' claim for *veritas*. Ulysses justifies his intimidating rhetoric against Andromache by introducing the judicial creed, or battle cry, *veritas numquam perit*. Yet, what kind of *truth* is it Ulysses strives for?

In Euripides' *Phoenissae* we encounter a very similar quarrel to the one in the *Troades*. The two feuding brothers Eteocles and Polynices are fighting a fierce battle for the crown of Thebes, presently doing so with words. While Polynices, due to a preceding agreement, is entitled to the crown, Eteocles holds it, not bothering to hand it over. The subject-matter of the dispute fought out by the two princes is to a much lesser extent the crown itself, but the proper and improper use of rhetoric. The brothers present their points of view by mutually making refined and rhetorically accomplished pleas: Polynices acts as advocate of the "old" rhetoric that saw truth and speech, heart and tongue in perfect harmony, while Eteocles maintains the position of the sophists, thereby resorting especially to the theory of *dissoi logoi*.

Polynices blames his brother for using sparkling phrases instead of relying on the simple word of truth.³¹

³⁰ The episode of Caligula's insane behaviour against the Roman *eques* C. Pastor is certainly not devoid of polemic, yet draws light on the course of action the emperors resorted to.

³¹ Eur. *Phoen.* 469–472. Polynices' speech, as a matter of fact, is by no means devoid of ποικιλία and μεγαλοπρέπεια, and shows the influence of contemporary sophism. On the speech and its influences, see MASTRONARDE (1994: 280). On structure and function of the ἀγών presided by Iocaste, see MUELLER-GOLDINGEN (1985: 92–115).

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ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ,
κοῦ ποικίλων δεῖ τάνδιχ' ἐρμηνευμάτων·
ἔχει γὰρ αὐτὰ καιρόν· ὁ δ' ἄδικος λόγος
νοσῶν ἐν αὐτῶι φαρμάκων δεῖται σοφῶν.

Polynices' reproach of ποικιλία is consistent with Ulysses' accusation of *magnificentia* in the *Troades*. Both Polynices and Ulysses want to push their interlocutors to speak out the “simple” truth, and to refrain from telling witty lies. Yet, who is the Euripidean speaker? Polynices formulates a concept of truth that is based on sincerity both in word and deed, and is sharply separated from lie and fraud. He maintains a “pre-sophistic” position that is committed to a concept of philosophical and ethical truth that has not yet been affected by any sort of *discidium* between heart and tongue.

After Eteocles' rhetorically polished and pathetic commitment to an uncompromising and unrestrained master morality, the chorus, representing the people of Thebes, takes the side of Polynices:³²

οὐκ εὖ λέγειν χρῆ μὴ 'πὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καλοῖς·
οὐ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀλλὰ τῆι δίκῃ πικρόν.

The choral comment addresses the interdependence of truth and justice: The word of truth needs no embroidery, but serves justice through itself. From Ulysses' point of view in the *Troades*, Andromache disguises δίκη with unnecessarily wordy and grandiloquent speech. The main difference, however, is that Ulysses' seeking of truth has nothing in common with moral beauty, καλόν, but is Machiavellian in style, progress, and result. Ulysses acts as prosecutor in search of a judicial truth that disregards, and even violates, all senses of humanity.

In *Letter* 40, Seneca discusses the proper style of philosophical discourse. Without going in greater detail here, we cite a passage from the letter, where Seneca touches on the link between philosophical truth and speech:³³

Adice nunc quod quae veritati operam dat oratio incompressa esse debet et simplex: haec popularis nihil habet veri. Movere vult turbam et inconsultas aures impetu rapere, tractandam se non praebet, aufertur: quomodo autem regere potest quae regi non potest? ... Multum praeterea habet inanitatis et vani, plus sonat quam valet.

³² Eur. *Phoen.* 526sq.

³³ Sen. *ep.* 40,4sq.

Veritas here, as philosophical instruction, is conveyed through plain and simple speech. Radiant language is for the masses that are desirous of *impetus* and *sonitus*. Seneca's account of truth here is similar to Polynices' claim for sincerity, and significantly counteracts his protagonist's concept in the *Troades*. The truth Ulysses is seeking is fundamentally different from the ἀλήθεια Polynices advocates. Ulysses finds his match in Eteocles who is the reckless protectionist of a rhetoric that tries to achieve any goal, with no method, however cruel, fraudulent or inhumane, out of reach. In the *Troades*, the concept of truth is perverted through the one who articulates it. Ulysses, the scholarly trained, boastful and deceiving messenger of the Gods, accuses a mother that protects her only son from being killed, of fraud and lie. The rhetorical and philosophical truth, the unity of word, thought and deed that is outlined by the Euripidean Polynices, is reinterpreted as abominable battle cry of lynch law, where truth, as the equivalent to murder, has completely lost touch with reason and humanity.

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Tobias Dänzer

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ON THE SOURCES OF JUVENAL'S *SATIRE 3*

GERGŐ GELLÉRFI

Juvenal's *Satire 3* is a peculiar poem in many aspects. The 322-line satire is much longer than was usual before Juvenal, and almost the entire poem consists of a speech of Umbricius, the longest continuous speech by an interlocutor in all extant Roman satires. I have analysed *Satire 3* as part of my research, focusing on the mixture of genres that can be observed in Juvenal's satires. From this viewpoint, *Satire 3* is the most interesting satire by Juvenal before one considers the crucial role epic and bucolic literature play interpreting the poem. Examining the interlocutor's character and his literary sources, we can conclude that he is the most complex figure in Juvenal. Although the assumption of Umbricius' historical background and possible connection with real persons had been criticized, we must consider the possibility that on the one hand, the figure of Umbricius can be traced back to a historical character, and on the other hand, the dramatic setting of the satire (a friend leaves Rome) can be based on a real event.

After a short introduction by the narrator, Juvenal's *Satire 3* contains the 300-line speech of the *interlocutor*, Umbricius, explaining why he decided to move from Rome to Cumae. Umbricius is the most complex figure of the Juvenalian Satires in several aspects: his character is ambiguous, and he seems to be composed using multiple sources. In this paper, I hypothesize about Umbricius, using the results of the earlier analyses on this mysterious figure.¹

We should start our investigation from the article of Motto and Clark, who summarize the character as follows: "Umbricius is no historical figure contemporary to Juvenal, a neighbour or a friend, but the "immaterial presence" itself – that shade or *umbra* representative of the deceased Eternal City."² Their interpretation is problematic, since they treat

¹ The most important analyses of Umbricius: MOTTO–CLARK (1965: 267–276); ANDERSON (1970: 13–33); LAFLEUR (1976: 383–431); JENSEN (1986: 185–197); BRAUND (1990: 502–506); SARKISSIAN (1991: 247–258); STALEY (2000: 85–98). In this study, my purpose is not to re-examine all of the interpretations of Umbricius, as they often contradict each other, and I concentrate only on the relevant aspects of the character.

² MOTTO–CLARK (1965: 275).

Umbricius as a homogeneous character “in the sum of his virtues, most Roman: he *is* in essence Rome itself”,³ however, as I will show, his figure is not so consistent.⁴ From a certain viewpoint, we can see a man leaving his home because of its decay. He emphasizes traditional Roman values and looks back to the glorious past of the city.⁵ Umbricius longs for the possibility of earning an honest living with a decent job,⁶ and does not want to take part in criminal activity.⁷ He speaks for the poor,⁸ and recalls the good old times with bittersweet nostalgia, particularly when speaking about public safety at the end of his speech.⁹ However, he is also jealous of the success of others, and his thoughts lead him toward envy and xenophobia.¹⁰ His departure is motivated by his own inability to succeed as much as by Rome’s corruption. Talking about the traditional values and virtues, he is also corrupted by the city. This ambiguity determines Umbricius: his Romanness goes hand in hand with the negative characteristics of contemporary Rome.¹¹ Thus, one part of the

³ MOTTO–CLARK (1965: 269).

⁴ ANDERSON (1982: 223) sees Umbricius similarly, as a *vir bonus atque Romanus*, and states that Juvenal “created a completely sympathetic, because completely Roman, Umbricius, and he has made a completely unsympathetic, because totally un-Roman, city.” cf. BRAUND (1988: 202, note 32): “I dissent from the view taken by Anderson (1982) 223 that Umbricius is a ‘completely sympathetic’ figure; see Winkler (1983) 220–3 on the darker side of Umbricius.”

⁵ In his speech, expressions like *moribus* (140), *virtutibus* (164) and *vires* (180) frequently occur.

⁶ The monologue starts with the description of this problem: *quando artibus [...] honestis nullus in urbe locus*, Juv. 3,21–22.

⁷ Umbricius declares that later while talking about the lack of possibility of an honest living again: *me nemo ministro / fur erit*, Juv. 3,46–47.

⁸ Among others: *quod / pauperis hic meritum*, Juv. 3,126–127; *nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se*, Juv. 3,152; *quis pauper scribitur heres?* Juv. 3,161; *libertas pauperis haec est*, Juv. 3,299.

⁹ Juv. 3,312–314: *felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas / saecula quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis / viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam*.

¹⁰ Following the interpretation of WINKLER (1983: 220–223), BRAUND (1996: 233–234) exhibits the “dark side” of Umbricius. STALEY (2000: 87) also emphasizes this aspect of the character. HARDIE (1998: 248–249) points out that Umbricius is unaware of certain historical processes, which can be traced back to his xenophobia.

¹¹ The conclusion of the analysis of WEHRLE (1992: 70) is worth quoting here: “His self-defacing monologue provides as much satirical substance as do the various faults of Rome specified therein; these manifold and much exaggerated urban ills (which indeed are almost universal) are presented to the reader by a persona which is simultaneously satirized.”

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interpretation of Motto and Clark is true, though not in the sense suggested by the authors—namely, that Umbricius represents Rome, indeed, including all of its aspects. His figure carries the essence of the Roman past and that of the decadent Rome as well.

The character's interpretation is not the only disputed aspect of Umbricius, as there are different views on the "literary building-blocks" of him, as well. Certain scholars state that we should not seek any historical or contemporary person in his sources.¹² Nevertheless, we should examine this possibility, since the following arguments suggest that we must account for historical and contemporary sources.

"Who is Umbricius?" is the first question. Scholars who deny the historical background state that he has nothing to do with any real person, and Juvenal names his *interlocutor* Umbricius only because this name was appropriate for his poetic purposes. On the meaning of the name however, different interpretations were proposed.¹³ Moreover, it seems certain to me that the name is not Juvenal's own creation, but the name of a real historical person. Nisbet brought up the idea again that the *interlocutor* is the same person as Umbricius Melior, the *haruspex* about whom Tacitus wrote in the *Histories*, and whom Pliny the Elder and Plutarch also mentioned.¹⁴ Braund examined this proposition in detail, focusing on a few lines of the speech of Umbricius.¹⁵

¹² MOTTO-CLARK (1965: 275) and STALEY (2000: 88) among others.

¹³ STALEY (2000: 87) connects the name with the expression *in urbe locus* in line 22 and states that Umbricius suggests with these words that his name means Mr. "Place in the City". WINKLER (1983: 222–223) suggests that the name alludes to the ending of *Satire 2* where, among the shades of great Roman heroes, Juvenal mentions Fabricius. MOTTO and CLARK (1965: 275) deduce that the name might originate from *umbra* according to their interpretation that Umbricius is the "shade or *umbra* representative of the deceased Eternal City." LAFLEUR (1976: 390–391) rejects this interpretation and states that Umbricius got this name because of the "pastoral associations of *umbra*", as Umbricius leaves Rome for living "in the shade", while FERGUSON (1987: 235) writes that "Umbricius is a shadowy name for a shadowy person, and the fact that *umbra* means a shady retreat is hardly accidental."

¹⁴ For the appearances of the name Umbricius in the Roman literature, see NICE (2003: 401–402).

¹⁵ NISBET (1988: 92) briefly mentions this possibility, having been rejected by MAYOR and FERGUSON (1979: 136) earlier without any reason, as BRAUND (1990: 505) states in her article on the identity of Umbricius. According to HIGHET (1954: 253), this identification is impossible because of lines 42–45; however, we have to agree with BRAUND, who identifies Umbricius with the *haruspex* on the grounds of these very lines.

Following her interpretation, we can describe the character of the *haruspex*-Umbricius based on these lines:¹⁶ he is not a liar (like other diviners), which he proves with a general example; he does not know the movement of the stars (since he is a *haruspex* deprived of his privileged position by astrologers);¹⁷ he does not foretell the death of relatives (that is also illegal);¹⁸ and he does not sink to utilizing inappropriate animals—frogs, for instance—for divination. According to this interpretation, Umbricius is an old *haruspex* who no longer needed, one who cannot and does not want to adapt to the changing conditions of his age, choosing instead to leave Rome. Furthermore, in the *Histories*, Umbricius Melior foretells dark events, an act which perfectly corresponds to the mood of the monologue of *Satire* 3.¹⁹ Moreover, this interpretation dissolves the contradiction between Umbricius’ hatred of the Greeks and the fact that his destination, Cumae, is the oldest Greek colony.²⁰ He moves there because it is the seat of the greatest diviner, the Sibyl.

In my opinion, the arguments presented suggest that a 1st century *haruspex* might be in the background of the character of Umbricius. However, we should not rule out the possibility that the choice of the *interlocutor* was influenced by the name “Umbricius”,²¹ and in this manner, this name can carry a message as it was proposed earlier. If we want to define the role of the imperial *haruspex*, we can say that his name and identity are barely more than a mask given to his *interlocutor* by Juvenal. Thus, his audience could connect the narrator’s “old friend” with the familiar name of a known person who was successful and recognized

¹⁶ Juv. 3,41–45: *quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum, / si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus / astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris / nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera numquam / inspexi;*

¹⁷ Cf. NICE (2003: 405–406).

¹⁸ MACMULLEN (1967: 129–130).

¹⁹ Tac. *hist.* 1,27,1: *Octavo decimo kalendas Februarias sacrificanti proaede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et in stantis insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit...* Umbricius is mentioned by Pliny the Elder as well: Plin. *Nat.* 10,19: *Umbricius, haruspicum in nostro aevo peritissimus, parere tradit ova XIII, uno ex his reliqua ova nidumque lustrare, mox abicere. triduo autem ante advolare eos, ubi cadavera futura sunt.*

²⁰ Juv. 3,60–61: *non possum ferre, Quirites, / Graecam urbem.* Cumae is a suitable destination for Umbricius from another point of view as well, see STALEY (2000: 88–90).

²¹ BALDWIN (1972: 101) also brings up this idea; however, he follows HIGHET’s views concerning the *haruspex*, and counts with the possibility that Juvenal actually had a friend called Umbricius.

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in his own time.²² The effect of Umbricius' speech is made even stronger by the contrast between the esteemed imperial *haruspex* and the "covetous failure driven away by his lack of success"²³ that contributes to the negative portrayal of Rome.

While we cannot deny that Umbricius' departure from Rome had some historical background, Nice's suggestion that Umbricius was a *vetus amicus* of Juvenal seems improbable.²⁴ However, it should not be ruled out that the dramatic setting of *Satire 3* was inspired by an actual event. Claiming that Umbricius is somehow connected with Martial, whose significant influence was subsequently proven in other Juvenalian Satires,²⁵ is a recurring idea in present scholarship. When examining the speech of Umbricius, we find so many textual and thematic parallels with Martial's *Epigrams* that we can rightly name him the most important inspiration for *Satire 3*.²⁶ At first, a few proper names occur in Umbricius' speech which also appear in the *Epigrams* in the same context, such as the examples of poor Cordus²⁷ or Chione the prostitute.²⁸ Of course, we cannot say that they are the same people, nor that Juvenal's Cordus and Chione are real figures. More likely, they are probably merely names with obvious meanings: Cordus is poor and Chione is a prostitute – just like in Martial's *Epigrams*.

The proper names, together with textual parallels, advise the reader on the relation between the texts. These parallels are sufficiently presented by

²² cf. NICE (2003: 404). Pliny names Umbricius *haruspicum in nostro aevo peritissimus*, Plin. Nat. 10,19.

²³ Quotation from BRAUND (1996: 235).

²⁴ NICE (2003: 402–403).

²⁵ For example MORFORD (1977: 219–245). On the relationship between the two authors, WILSON (1898: 193) is even more categorical in stating that "in all the field of Roman literature there are perhaps no two writers who are more closely related or throw more light each on the other than Juvenal and Martial."

²⁶ The parallels presented in the next section of my argument are detected by WILSON (1898: 198–209), HIGHET (1951: 370–387), COLTON (1966: 403–419), COURTNEY (1980: *ad loc.*), and BRAUND (1996: *ad loc.*), but in most cases they do not explain them in detail.

²⁷ Juv. 3,203–205: *lectus erat Cordo Procula minor, urceoli sex / ornamentum abaci, nec non et parvulus infra / cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron*; Mart. 3,15: *Plus credit nemo tota quam Cordus in urbe. / 'Cum sit tam pauper, quomodo?' Caecus amat.*

²⁸ Juv. 3,135–136: *cum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres / et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella*; Mart. 3,30,1–4: *Sportula nulla datur; gratis conviva recumbis: / Dic mihi, quid Romae, Gargiliane, facis? / Unde tibi togula est et fuscae pensio cellae? / Unde datur quadrans? unde vir es Chiones?* Both names occur more than once in Martial's *Epigrams*.

the commentaries and articles on the two authors,²⁹ but stronger connections can be detected concerning a number of passages, since Umbricius talks continuously about social phenomena and problems which have a central role in one or more epigrams of Martial.

In the first section of his speech, Umbricius complains that in Rome, it is impossible to earn an honest living by a decent job. Furthermore, he mentions low-born former horn-players who, once relegated to accompanying gladiatorial shows, have made such a large fortune from these degrading jobs that now they are rich enough to organise the games themselves:

*quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae
munera nunc edunt et, verso pollice vulgus
cum iubet, occidunt populariter; inde reversi
conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia? cum sint
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.
(Juv. 3,31–40)*

This is a recurring topic of Martial's Book 3. He addresses *Epigram* 16 to the “prince of cobblers” giving gladiators,³⁰ a figure mentioned again in *Epigram* 59 in connection with gladiatorial games, together with the fuller from Mutina, and another low-class occupation, the *copo*.³¹ After these lines, Umbricius utters his aforementioned complaint of the lack of possibility of an honest life in Rome:

*quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera numquam
inspexi; ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norunt alii; me nemo ministro*

²⁹ see note 26.

³⁰ Mart. 3,16,1–2: *Das gladiatores, sutorum regule, Cerdo, / Quodque tibi tribuit subula, sica rapit.*

³¹ Mart. 3,59: *Sutor Cerdo dedit tibi, culta Bononia, munus, / Fullo dedit Mutinae: nunc ubi copo dabit?* He refers to this in *Epigram* 99, as well. Mart. 3,99: *Irasci nostro non debes, Cerdo, libello. / Ars tua, non vita est carmine laesa meo. / Innocuos permittite sales. Cur ludere nobis / Non liceat, licuit si iugulare tibi?*

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fur erit...

(Juv. 3,41–47)

The point of an epigram in Martial's Book 3 is that a good man cannot make a living in Rome, or he can do so only by chance. Furthermore, there is a textual parallel between the two passages:³²

'Quid faciam? suade: nam certum est vivere Romae.'

si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes.

(Mart. 3,38,13–14)

In *Epigram* 5 of Book 4, Martial goes further: it is not worth it for a good man to go to Rome. After that, he deals with themes that are also found in this section of Umbricius' speech: dishonest jobs, fraudulence, mendacity, adulation, and the worthlessness of virtue.³³ Umbricius mentions the praise of bad literary works as an aspect of adulation, a topic which is also found in Martial.³⁴ Juvenal's *interlocutor* returns to the topic of adulation several times, and soon thereafter, attacks Greek flatterers who use Greek mythological comparison to heroise their unworthy patrons, an act which Martial also criticizes in Book 12:

et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat

Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis

(Juv. 3,88–89)

exiguos secto comentem dente capillos

dicet Achilleas disposuisse comas.

(Mart. 12,82,9–10)

The attacked flatterer is Greek in the works of both authors. However, Umbricius sometimes talks about Greeks in certain contexts where Martial does not, because of his contempt for Greek and Middle Eastern people. He summarizes the superiority of the Greeks in adulation: *non sumus ergo pares* (Juv. 3,104). These words recall *Epigram* 18 of Martial's Book 2,

³² see also Mart. 3,30 in note 28.

³³ Mart. 4,5: *Vir bonus et pauper linguaque et pectore verus, / Quid tibi vis, urbem qui, Fabiane, petis? / Qui nec leno potes nec commissator haberi, / Nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos, / Nec potes uxorem cari corrumpere amici, / Nec potes argentes arrigere ad vetulas, / Vendere nec vanos circa Palatia fumos, / Plaudere nec Cano, plaudere nec Glaphyro: / Unde miser vives? 'Homo certus, fidus amicus.' / Hoc nihil est: numquam sic Philomelus eris.*

³⁴ Mart. 12,40,1: *recitas mala carmina, laudo.* Horace also mentions this type of adulation: Hor. S. 2,5,74–75: *scribet mala carmina vecors / laudato.*

where he repeats the sentence *iam sumus ergo pares* three times. We can sum up Martial's epigram this way: although the narrator is subjected to the addressed Maximus, they are of the same status, since Maximus has the same relationship with another person. Instead of a simple allusion, Umbricius uses these words to express his hatred of the Greeks again, whose adulation cannot be matched. Thus, while a Roman can be equal to another Roman in this "system of flattery", it is impossible for a Greek. The theme of this epigram is recalled again when Umbricius mentions the morning salutations that everyone, even the praetor, uses:

*quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?*
(Juv. 3,126–130)

This *locus* also resembles *Epigram* 10 of Martial's Book 10, which deals with the difficulties of clients' being hurried greetings.³⁵ Besides the obvious thematic-motivic parallel, a textual allusion also connects this epigram with the speech of Umbricius, who rewrites line 5 of the epigram (*qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo?*), discussing the salutation as well, (*quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes, / ut te respiciat clauso Veiiento labello?* Juv. 3,184–185), while lines 127–128 of the satire (*curet nocte togatus / currere*) also have a precedent in an epigram of Martial (*nocte togatus ero*, Mart. 10,82,2).

After that, Umbricius approaches the humiliation of poor men on the basis that their dirty and ragged clothes make them ridiculous:

*quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
pelle patet, vel si consuto volnere crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix?*
(Juv. 3,147–151)

³⁵ Mart. 10,10: *Cum tu, laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras, / Mane saluator limina mille teras, / Hic ego quid faciam? quid nobis, Paule, relinquis, / Qui de plebe Numae densaque turba sumus? / Qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo? / Hoc tu – sed quanto blandius! – ipse facis. / Lecticam sellamve sequar? nec ferre recusas, / Per medium pugnas et prior ire lutum. / Saepius adsurgam recitanti carmina? tu stas / Et pariter geminas tendis in ora manus. / Quid faciet pauper, cui non licet esse clienti? / Dimisit nostras purpura vestra togas.*

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His words remind us of *Epigram* 103 of Martial's Book 1, whose third couplet reads like a dense antecedent of the Juvenalian description, as these two lines also contain the dirty toga, the cloak, the *calceus*, and the multiple tears in the clothes—that is, every important element of the words of Umbricius:

*Sordidior multo post hoc toga, paenula peior,
Calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute*
(Mart. 1,103,5–6)

The humiliation of the poor is still not over. In the next lines, Umbricius complains about the embarrassing treatment connected with the *census equestris* and *lex Roscia theatralis*. This census is often mentioned in Martial's Book 5,³⁶ and the first lines of *Epigram* 25 closely resemble the words of Umbricius, quoting the outrage against someone who is not wealthy enough to sit in the first fourteen rows:

*'exeat' inquit,
'si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
cuius res legi non sufficit...'*
(Juv. 3,153–155)

*'Quadringenta tibi non sunt, Chaerestrata: surge,
Leitus ecce venit: sta, fuge, curre, late.'*
(Mart. 5,25,1–2)

We can also find elements for which Martial is a potential inspiration in the next section of the speech, one which demonstrates the dangers of the city. Describing a fire consuming houses in the city, the *interlocutor* presents an example of social injustice: if a poor person suffers losses, he becomes even poorer, but when a rich man is affected by the disaster, he becomes even richer due to the donations of his clients. This is exactly the same scenario which Martial mentions in *Epigram* 52 of his Book 3. In both cases, suspicion arises that the rich man set his own house on fire. This so-called insurance fraud is another crime committed by wealthy Romans:

*meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.*
(Juv. 3,220–222)

³⁶ Mart. 5,23; 5,25; 5,38.

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*Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducentis:
Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens.
Conlatum est deciens. Rogo, non potes ipse videri
Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?*
(Mart. 3,52)

Umbricius then briefly returns to the advantages of rural life before comparing the situation of the lower and higher strata of Roman society with another viewpoint, one which also has an antecedent in Martial. This time, the rich/poor contrast is discussed by complaining about nighttime noises that make sleeping impossible for those who cannot afford to live in a quiet neighbourhood:

*plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando [...]
nam quae meritoria somnum
admittunt? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe.*
(Juv. 3,232–235)

*nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi
in urbe locus est pauperi. Negant vitam
ludi magistri mane, nocte pistores,
aerariorum marculi die toto;*
(Mart. 12,57,3–6)

Neither of the above parallels would be enough on its own to suppose a close connection with Martial, but together they prove that his *Epigrams* play key role in the whole of the *interlocutor's* speech. The most important evidence of this is the passage where Umbricius compares Rome and the rural countryside, stating that toga is seldom worn in the country. Martial mentions this in a few of his epigrams, one of which, *Epigram* 18 of his Book 12, is the key to revealing the connection between Umbricius and Martial, since the epigrammatist addressed this poem to Juvenal:

*pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. [...]
aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
orchestram et populum; clari velamen honoris
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.*
(Juv. 3,171–179)

*Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura,
Aut collem dominae teris Dianae;
Dum per limina te potentiorum
Sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque*

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*Maior Caelius et minor fatigant:
Me multos repetita post Decembres
Accepit mea rusticumque fecit
Auro Bilbilis et superba ferro [...]
Ignota est toga, sed datur petenti
Rupta proxima vestis a cathedra.*
(Mart. 12,18,1–18)

The direction of communication is reversed. Juvenal, who “restlessly wanders in noisy Subura”, is addressed by Martial from idyllic Bilbilis, the countryside where Juvenal’s “friend” in *Satire* 3 desires to be and therefore leaves Rome.³⁷ In the narrator’s introduction however, Juvenal mentions Subura, seemingly as his dwelling-place, where Martial places him in the epigram: *ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae* (Juv. 3,5). Together with the numerous parallels, this suggests that the satire’s basic situation can be inspired by an actual event: a friend leaves Rome, and his destination is the place where he belongs. Martial returns to his homeland, whereas Umbricius goes to Cumae, where a useless diviner still has his place.³⁸

The close relation between Umbricius and Martial was rejected on different grounds.³⁹ In his article, Anderson presents the differences between Martial and Juvenal.⁴⁰ Baldwin asserts that the main problem with this identification is the fact that Umbricius is xenophobic, whereas Martial came from Hispania.⁴¹ Concerning the latter argument, it should be noted that Umbricius attacks only Greeks and Middle Easterners in his speech, but it is even more important to make the relationship between the

³⁷ The friendship of the two authors is widely accepted, among others WILSON (1898: 197), HIGHET (1951: 386), and SYME (1989: 3) refer to them as friends, the latter stating that “no friend is both verifiable and tangible, except for Martial”.

³⁸ This idea is briefly mentioned by HIGHET (1951: 370–371), and COURTNEY (1980: 154) also refers to the same: “One wonders if Juvenal accompanied his friend to the gates of Rome when he retired to Spain about A.D. 98.” However, neither of them discusses this possibility in detail.

³⁹ ANDERSON (1970: 1–34), BALDWIN (1972: 101). Other interpretations, for instance, the article of MOTTO and CLARK cited before do not even mention this possibility. HIGHET (1951: 386) and WILSON (1898: 196–197) quote and reject FRIEDLAENDER’s opinion, denying any closer connection between Juvenal and Martial: „Ihre Uebereinstimmung in Worten und Wendungen ist grösstenteils zufällig und natürlich: eine absichtliche Beziehung möchte ich nur bei Juvenal 5, 147 auf Martial I, 20, 4 annehmen.“

⁴⁰ ANDERSON (1970: 1–34).

⁴¹ BALDWIN (1972: 101) does not enter into a detailed analysis, citing only one parallel (Mart. 12,18,17–18) between *Satire* 3 and the *Epigrams*.

interlocutor and the epigrammatist clear, as it can explain the differences discussed by Anderson as well.

As in the case of the imperial *haruspex*, we should not identify Umbricius with Martial. We cannot do this because certain features of his character do not correspond with the epigrammatist. The *interlocutor* is a complex figure—his various aspects and features can be traced back to different sources and inspirations. Now, we can draw up the building-blocks of Juvenal's Umbricius.

According to our hypothesis, the dramatic setting of the satire, the departure of Umbricius, was inspired by Martial's return to Bilbilis, thus *Satire 3* can be understood as an answer to Martial's last epigram to Juvenal, in which Martial addresses the satirist, who wanders to Subura from the countryside. Juvenal's friend leaves Rome, the reasons for which are the common themes of the speech of Umbricius and the epigrams of Martial. But the *interlocutor* is neither identical to Martial nor to the *haruspex* telling gloomy prophecies to Galba, who gave his name and a mask to the *interlocutor*. Furthermore, the character of the *interlocutor* gets some features from the poet who created him. Umbricius talks like a satirist: his language is varied, his speech is interrupted by rhetorical questions and exclamations, and he emphasizes the indignation and anger that carries him away, just like a satirist. Moreover, at one point he falls out of his role and breaks the fourth wall since in his speech addressed to the narrator he uses the vocative *Quirites*, thus turning to the audience of the satire: *non possum ferre, Quirites, / Graecam urbem...* (Juv. 3,60–61)

Besides that, Juvenal also gives negative characteristics to his figure: the speech of Umbricius does not only show the virtues and values he talks about but also xenophobia and envy. In this manner, Umbricius actually becomes the essence of Rome, whose figure represents the city that is based on traditional Roman values, but sunk into a state of moral decadence. Or, from another point of view, Umbricius gives the most complete picture of Rome, presenting some faults with his words and some with his character flaws – in the style of a satirist, with themes of Martial's *Epigrams*, bearing the name of an imperial *haruspex*.

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TERENTIUM INTERPRETARI
PUNCTUATION AS AN EXEGETICAL
PROBLEM IN A. DONATUS' *COMMENTUM*

CARMELA CIOFFI

Interpunction, with its system of signs, was used with accuracy relatively late: it had to wait for the arrival of the Carolingian period. In antiquity, a common reader, who had in his hands any manuscript (whether in prose or in verses), was required to make a strong exegetical effort. For that reason, the “distinction” plays an important role in the field of exegesis.

This article aims to analyse all the occurrences where A. Donatus discusses the meaning of Terence's verses, focusing on the interpunction. In many cases, the commentator underlines the complexity of making a sure choice and refers to *alii* and *quidam*. Glosses of this kind offer an insight into the ancient discussion of punctuation while also contributing to the debated and important theme of the “lecture in antiquity”. In addition, strictly philological and linguistic problems are entered into more deeply, also in the prospective of an editorial work.

1. General introduction to A. Donatus' *commentum*

Aelius Donatus' so-called *Commentum* to Terence's comedies has not survived in its original form. Indeed, the famous grammarian, Aelius Donatus, originally composed a whole commentary to Terence; his *Commentum* was later “dismembered”, however, and written into the margins of the individual Terence manuscripts themselves. During this phase, the Donatian exegesis was extended from interpolations of a different nature. Probably in the 9th cent. A.D., someone reunified the scholia—creating a sort of *commentum continuum*, to be transcribed as an independent work. The modern Donation tradition derives from this later reunification. Although the new commentary preserves the Donatian matrix, something of Donatus' original work has inevitably been lost, and something “non Donatian” has been added.

This problematic situation does not preclude, but certainly limits, the possibility of gleaning general and absolute conclusions about the exegetical method of Donatus.¹

2. A. Donatus and the interpunction: from the *ars* to the *commentary*

Due to the decay of the Latin language and literary culture occurring in the 4th Century A.D., scholars felt the need to *distinguish* texts as a way to not only preserve them, but also make them better understood. This period was actually the age of many *codices distincti*, including Terence's *Bembinus*.² According to Kauer, the author of the punctuation in the *Bembinus* must have been a Ioviales,³ who we will deal with later on. In fact, the meaningful pauses put in by Ioviales do not always match those suggested by the more famous Aelius Donatus in his *Commentum*.

But, if we want to understand what Donatus meant by *distinctio*—how many types of *distinctiones* he admitted and how he valued them—we need to consider an important passage from his *Ars grammatica*.

Ars Maior (Holtz 612, 2 = GL IV 372, 15 K)⁴

Tres sunt [omnino] positurae vel distinctiones, quas Graeci θέσεις vocant, distinctio, subdistinctio, media distinctio.

distinctio est, ubi finitur plena sententia: huius punctum ad summam litteram ponimus.

subdistinctio est, ubi non multum superest de sententia, quod tamen necessario separatum mox inferendum sit: huius punctum ad imam litteram ponimus.

media distinctio est, ubi fere tantum de sententia superest, quantum iam diximus, cum tamen respirandum sit: huius punctum ad mediam litteram ponimus.

* I would like to thank Professor R. Jakobi for reading this paper and giving me interesting suggestions.

¹ SABBADINI (1893: 4–15) and ZETZEL (1975: 335–354). About the possibility of separating the original exegesis from the later one, cf. KARSTEN (1907: 1–44; 192–249; 274–324; 403–439) and KARSTEN (1912). Interesting observations can be found in LINDSAY (1927: 194), related mainly to Carolingian interpolations.

² It must be mentioned the *codex Florentinus Laurentianus XXXIX*, 1 (= *Mediceus*) of Virgil, corrected by Asterius, cf. AMMANNATI (2007: 227–239).

³ KAUER (1900: 56–114); PRETE (1950: 25–48).

⁴ HOLTZ (1981: 612). For a recent contribution regarding the interpunction in the antiquity, cf. SCAPPATICCIO (2012: 126–129).

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Ars Maior, Liber III, p. 395

Amphibolia est ambiguitas dictionis, quae fit aut per casum accusativum, ut siquis dicat “audio secutorem retiatarum superasse”; aut per commune verbum, ut siquis dicat “criminatur Cato”, “vadatur Tullius”, nec addat quem vel a quo; aut per distinctionem, ut “vidi statuam auream hastam tenentem”.

In his *Ars*, Aelius Donatus lists three different types of punctuations: *distinctio*, *subdistinctio* and *media distinctio*. The first one is graphically shown by a dot at the top of the line and marks the end of a sentence; the second one in the lower third of the line and is like our comma; the *media* is placed in the midst of the line and would only be used to let the reader take a breath.⁵

No matter how strict he sounds in the *Ars* as he defines the three modes of punctuation, the Donatus of the *Commentum* uses *distinguere* and *subdistinguere* quite freely, as if they were interchangeable.

In addition, as R. Jakobi points out,⁶ Donatus uses only the first and second kinds of punctuation in the *Commentum*, but never the third kind. The reason is clear: only the first two are clearly related to the meaning of the text, while the *media* is dictated by a merely *performative* need. R. Jakobi actually writes that the perspective of our exegete only responds to the need to give “Empfehlungen für einen dem Sinn entsprechenden Vortrag”.

Here I will discuss a number of scholia associated with the problem of punctuation, taking my cue in particular from the commentary to Terence’s *Andria*. The main purpose of this paper is to understand:

- (1) What problems Donatus finds and how he solves them;
- (2) Whether such problems have also been identified by modern exegetes/editors and how they have solved them.

3. The *distinctio* in the commentary to *Andria*

a.) *An.* I, sch. 118. 1 (= p. 80. 11 W)⁷

118. 1 *INDIGNUM FACINUS C. P. deest “se”.*

⁵ For general and specific reflections about this passage, cf. PARKES (1993: 13); GEYMONAT (2008: 15); MÜLLER (1964: 74); BRIGNOLI (1956: 162); HODGMAN (1924: 403–417); LUQUE (2006: 386–389).

⁶ JAKOBI (1996: 16–18).

⁷ I quote the Terentian text using the edition of KAUER-LINDSAY (1902); regarding the Donatian text, I quote the text from WESSNER and the apparatus on the base of the edition I have been working on.

118. 2 *Et incerta distinctio.*

118. 3 *INDIGNUM FACINUS distinguendum, ut per se intellegatur "indignum facinus": et ipse dolet corrumpi Pamphilum.*

118. 2 *incerta A A] mira K: incertaque Θ*

118. 3 *distinguendum AK Θ] subdistinguendum A*

vv. 144–145 *Venit Chremes postridie ad me clamitans:*

indignum facinus; comperisse Pamphilum

pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam

When Chremes, the father of the girl Pamphilus should marry, learns that the boy has had a relationship with Glycerius, he flies into a rage and runs to vent to his anger to Simo, Pamphilus' father. Simo tells Davus about Chremes' scene.

The exegetic problem encountered by Donatus as well as by modern editors is how *indignum facinus* must be intended. There are three options:

- (1) It is possible to think that *indignum facinus* is a parenthetical exclamation of Simo, to be graphically expressed in following way:

Venit Chremes postridie ad me clamitans

(indignum facinus!) comperisse Pamphilum

- (2) It is possible to think that *indignum facinus* depends on *clamitans* implying the verb *esse*: in which case it is an exclamation made by Chremes himself, inserted in an indirect statement;
- (3) It is possible to think that *indignum facinus* depends on *comperisse* with a proleptical value with respect to the phrase *pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam*.

Scholium 118.3 clearly shows that Donatus prefers to take the phrase as the accusative of exclamation in the *oratio obliqua* and not as a subject of *comperisse*, even if it is not so clear who *ipse* is (Simo or Chremes?).

The *et* (= *etiam*) would suggest he means Chremes, because Simo has already expressed regret for Pamphilus' conduct. Luckily, this conclusion is substantiated by Eugraphius, who writes without a doubt: *pulchre ex persona soceri "indignum facinus" dictum est, ut et ipse doleat Pamphilum esse corruptum [...]*. From the way he quotes verse 145, we can argue he made *indignum facinus* depend on *comperisse*.

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Even for modern editors, this issue is not so easily settled. Spengel⁸ favours the third option, explaining that: “Da aber nach *clamitans* eine Äußerung des Chremes weit passender ist als des Simo, wird es richtiger als Objekt des Verbs genommen wie unten 854”. These words suggest that Spengel, considering *indignum facinus* an exclamation uttered by Chremes (and not Simo), sees no other option than to make it depend on *comperisse*.

Ashmore,⁹ despite preferring to adhere to Donatus’ suggestion in the text, in the comment believes that a better *punctuation* and *interpretation* would be the following: *clamitans (se) indignum facinus comperisse, Pamphilum* etc., and therefore our third option.

Shipp¹⁰ thinks it would be better to regard the phrase as an accusative of exclamation (which creates a few problems, as it is in indirect speech), of which we would have quite a few parallels (the most interesting being *Phor.* 613).

These two scholia lead us to make another, different comment as well. Indeed, if we read the scholium 118.2 and 118.3 below, the first one says that the punctuation is uncertain, while our scholium lays down a very accurate choice of punctuation. According to R. Jakobi, such contradiction is accounted for by it being a trace of the double edition of the *Commentum* of which we have clear cues in the *Phormio*. And, also according to R. Jakobi, the two notes about *distinctio* respond to two different needs: 118.3 would retain the original interpretation, while 118.2 is merely the clarification made by an anonymous copyist who is reflecting on the text.

TABLE OF THE EDITORIAL CHOICES RELATED TO vv. 144–145¹¹

	(1.) ¹²	(2.)	(3.)
1888			SPENGEL
1902		LINDSAY	
1908		ASHMORE (<i>in textu</i>)	ASHMORE (<i>in comm.</i>)

⁸ SPENGEL (1888).

⁹ ASHMORE (1908).

¹⁰ SHIPP (1939).

¹¹ I will quote only a selection of editions because my aim is first of all to show the divergency of choices regarding the interpunction. To have a satisfactory overview of Terentian editions, cf. POSANI (1990: 67–71). Recently in Halle I have consulted also the edition made by AARON (1988): his choice consists in putting a colon after *indignum facinus*.

¹² Cf. *supra*.

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1939		SHIPP	
1954		PRETE	
1990		M. R. POSANI	
2001			J. BARSBY

b.) *An.* I 2, sch. 17. 5 (= p. 90. 3 W)
sivi autem distingue; est enim modo "sivi" permisi, cessavi.

v. 188 *dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi animum ut expleret suom*

We are now in scene two, act one. Simo asks Davus about the rumour that his son has a lover. But he seems to stop talking at once. In the end, he does not care so much about the past, because, insofar as the times have made that sort of attitude lawful, Simo has granted it to him; what matters is that he changes that attitude now.

There are two options here: either, as Donatus seems to suggest, punctuating after *sivi*, thus leaving out *eam rem*, or making *ut....expleret* a completive, depending on *sivi*. Again, modern editors disagree:

TABLE OF THE EDITORIAL CHOICES RELATED TO v. 188

	<i>Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi, animum ut expleret suom</i>	<i>Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi animum ut expleret suom</i>
1888	SPENGEL	
1902		LINDSAY
1908	ASHMORE	
1939		SHIPP
1954		PRETE
1990		M. R. POSANI
2001		BARSBY

Spengel (and eventually Ashmore as well) thinks that *sivi* cannot take what follows because, in Terence and Plautus, completive clauses are not introduced by *ut*. Hence *ut....expleret* should be understood as a final clause.

Although this “law” can be valid with respect to Plautus (*Pl. Mil.* 54: *at peditastelli quia erant, sivi viverent*),¹³ the same is not always true as regards Terence. Even if Terence uses the regular form *sino* + *subjunctive*

¹³ Cf. etiam *Mil.* 1084; *Cas.* 206; *Poe.* 375.
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in *Eun.* 739, in *Hec.* 590 (*haud facies, neque sinam ut qui nobis, mater, male dictum velit*),¹⁴ the completive value of the subordinate *ut...velit* is put in question. The problem is whether the subordinate depends on *facere* or on *sinere* (and clearly whoever excludes this kind of construction in Terence, at l. 590 of *Hecyra*, interprets *neque sinam* as an incidental: *haud facies, neque sinam, ut...*).

c.) *An.* V 4, sch. 23. 1–23. 2 (= 251. 11–12 W)

ITANE VERO OBTURBAT si subdistinguit, interstrepit accipe, sin distinguit, evertit intellegas.

ITANE VERO OBTURBAT potest "itane vero" subdistingui et sic cum comminatione inferri "obturbat"

23. 1 *si]* sed *K: sic B: similiter F: om. C || subdistinguit] distinguit F || interstrepit] intrescripit C: om. T || sin]* si non Klotz || *evertit] avertit q*

23. 2 *OBTURBAT] OB B Θ: O K || vero itane ~~it~~ B || comminatione] communicatione Θ || inferri om. T*

vv. 925–927: *SIMO: Fabulam inceptat.*

CHREMES: Sine.

CRITO: Itane vero obturbat?

CHREMES: Perge.

CRITO: Tum is mihi cognatus fuit, qui eum recepit [...]

Ch. Perge CR. tum] AΣ: perge [...] um I^ϕ, Ch. perge tu CR. Bntl. edd. aliquot

We are at the end of the play: Crito tells the true story of Glycerium, explaining that the girl is an Attic citizen for all intents and purposes. Of course, Simo does not take the story so well and, at first, even thinks he has been deceived again, which is why he keeps interrupting Crito's explanation. Textually, there are no macroscopic problems in Terence, except when Chremes and Crito take turns in speaking: the *tum* betrayed by the manuscripts is amended to Bentley's *tu* and therefore attributed to Chremes.

This case is interesting because the different punctuation seems to affect the meaning. We should admit, however, that what Donatus means is not so easily understood; it is therefore helpful to look deeper into the two scholia.

¹⁴ BLERY (1965: 137–138) strongly disagrees with who admits the construction *sinere ut + subjunctive* in Terence. The question is still *vexata*: it can be sufficient to note that the OLD (1968: 1770, 6b) quotes both the passage from *Andria* and that from *Hecyra* as proof for the construction *sino ut + subjunctive*.

There are two apparent options for punctuation here: either *distinctio* or *subdistinctio*. And the only part of the text that seems to be open to such punctuation comes after *vero*. In the first instance, therefore, the verb *obturbare* would mean *inter-strepere*, a verb, documented by Christian texts, which means *inter-loqui, inter alia strepere, intersonare*. Thus, we should translate it as: “So, are you trying to interrupt me?” These words, moreover, as suggested by the second scholium, should be said in a threatening tone.

If we opted for *distinguere* after *vero*, on the other hand, *obturbare* would mean *evertere*, a verb that we could translate, in this case, as “turn down”, or “frustrate” (cf. OLD 1968: 647). So, we could translate the Latin text as follows: “So? Are you turning down <what I am saying>”. Clearly, here *obturbare* would no longer be threatening, it would simply acknowledge Simo’s annoying attitude.

The unusual exegesis offered by Donatus as regards these lines is not immediately intelligible, and some editors, such as Klotz,¹⁵ decided to emend 23.1 *sin* in *si non*. In this way, the option is whether to punctuate after *itane*. Despite the economy of this emendation, it is not necessary because the scholium, as transmitted, is meaningful and presents an internal coherence. In fact, the following scholium (23.1) is focused on the *subdistinctio*. It is therefore more logical that one of the two alternative possibilities listed in 23.1 is the *subdistinctio*.

Such a reflection is extremely interesting and impacts the lexicon. Even more notably, though, modern editors seem to have no doubts about Terence’s text: everyone punctuates after *obturbat*.

d) *An. IV 3, sch. 5. 3* (= p. 213.20–214.1 W)

TERENCE

vv. 719–720: *verum ex eo nunc
misera quem capit laborem!*

laborem] γ, schol. D: *dolorem* δ Don.
(sed cf. schol. D «vel laborem
secundum Donatum»)

DONATUS

DOLOREM “*dolorem*” *distinxit
Probus et post intulit separatim
quod sequitur*

dolorem] dolore Θ || *distinxit]*
dixit] A: *destruxit* Θ: *restenxit* p:
aliter distraxit s. l. q² || *Probus
Umpf.] probe codd.*

In this passage, the punctuation suggested by Donatus is not a problem: it is clear that a punctuation mark must be placed after *dolorem*, and a second sentence must be made to start from there. Terence’s editors

¹⁵ KLOTZ (1865).

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unanimously make such a choice. This scholium prompts us to consider two things unrelated to punctuation: the history of the source and textual criticism.

Punctuating after *dolorem* is suggested by the widely-known Valerius Probus.¹⁶ It is a fairly “extraordinary” case, because Donatus never mentions his sources, but, from several clues, as well as from the well-known general phrases *alii, quidam dicunt ...etc.*, we know that he assumes an earlier exegesis.¹⁷

Valerius Probus is mentioned nine times, twice with regards to *interpunctio*. Some people¹⁸ think that Probus even made an edition of Terence, but not everyone shares this opinion. The issue is compounded by the fact that, in the famous *Anecdotum Parisinum*,¹⁹ there is no reference to Probus’ philological work on Terence’s texts:

*qui (sc. Probus) illos in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucretio apposuit, ut <in>
Homero Aristarchus*

In any event, the second instance can be found in Act One of the *Eunuch* and is worth analysing:²⁰

*Eun. I 1, sch. 1. 7 (= p. 278. 15–17 W) = fr. 48 VEL.
NON EAM NE NUNC QUIDEM “non eam” Probus distinguit; iungunt qui
secundum Menandri exemplum legunt.*

*vv. 46–47: Quid igitur faciam? Non eam ne nunc quidem
Quom accersor ultro?*

= MEN. fr. 137 (K–A.)²¹

ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσω;

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Quid igitur faciam? Non eam, ne nunc quidem

¹⁶ RE VIII A (1955: 195–212) and RE XXIII (1957: 59–64).

¹⁷ Cf. KARSTEN (1907: 167–175).

¹⁸ For the edition of Probus’ fragments and other related observations, cf. STEUP (1871: 185); AISTERMANN (1910: XIV); SCIVOLETTO (1959: 119); ZETZEL (1981: 46); JOCELYN (1984: 464–472); TIMPANARO (2001: 31–105); VELAZA (2005: 57).

¹⁹ JOCELYN (1984: 464–472).

²⁰ Cf. WESSNER (1905: 21–22).

²¹ KASSEL-AUSTIN (1998: v. VI 2, p. 112); VAHLEN (1907: 212–215). For the compared analysis of both of the Terentian text and Menander’s fragments, cf. NENCINI (1891: 18–50).

Quom accersor ultro? Bentley
Quid igitur faciam? Non eam, ne nunc quidem,
Quom accersor ultro? Prete
Quid igitur faciam? Non eam ne nunc quidem
Quom accersor ultro? Aschmore Goold (*prob.* Vahlen)
Quid igitur faciam? Non eam? Ne nunc quidem
Quom accersor ultro? Probo Fleckeisen Umpfenbach

We are at the very beginning of the *Eunuchus*: having been turned down by a girl, Phedria now receives an invitation from her. The doubt the play opens up with is the typical one of the tragic hero when faced with a big choice: what should he do? Not showing up even if invited? The parody is shameless.²²

There are many levels of problems in scholium 1.7. In verses 46–7 of the *Eunuchus*, Donatus gives us two different punctuation options: the first one, recommended by Probus,²³ consists in separating *non eam* from what follows, making it a completely independent interrogative sentence; the second one, based on Menander's text, joins *non eam* to what follows.

Firstly, we do not have Menander's text, so any interpretation would be built on slippery ground. All that we know is that, here, Terence is translating Menander's *Eunuchus* and that in Menander the interrogative clauses were two, not three. Most of Terence's modern editors choose not to separate *eam* by making it an interrogative clause apart from *quom...accersor ultro*; Probus' punctuation met some success with 18th–19th century editors only.

Both Horace and Persius, who clearly reference this passage by Terence, produce one single interrogative clause, with no ambiguity whatsoever.

Hor. *Sat.* 2,3,261–263:²⁴ [...] *et haeret*
invisis foribus: "nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
accedam?"

Pers. 5,172–3:²⁵ *quidnam igitur faciam? Nec nunc, cum accersor et ultro*
supplicet, accedam?

It is clear that, for the Terentian text, the choice of punctuation does not by any means change the meaning, and, moreover, any ambiguity sounds

²² For the later revisitations of these lines, cf. BARSBY (1999: 46).

²³ It is worth citing WESSNER (1921: 161–176) and DORN (1906: 1–22).

²⁴ BAILEY (1995).

²⁵ KISSEL (2007); KISSEL (1990: 735–736).

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deliberate. The fact that Horace and Persius meant it as one single interrogative clause responds more to a matter of sensitivity than to a linguistic requirement. With the text suggested by Probus, the firing of questions would make Phedria's first lines edgier.

But let us return to the scholium we started from, because we should stick to a more strictly philological aspect. Donatus' tradition unanimously gives the variant *dolorem* and, in doing so, agrees with one of the two branches that Calliope's draft is divided into, i.e. δ .²⁶

One of Terence's most interesting manuscripts is certainly D:²⁷ as many of his manuscripts, it has not only the text of the plays, but also marginal notes inspired by Donatus' *Comment*. Just next to *dolorem* in verse 270, D writes *vel laborem apud Donatum*. This annotation is upsetting because, in Donatus, as noted above, the attested reading seems to be *dolorem*. W. M. Lindsay²⁸ supposed that the copyist of D had at his disposal a more complete Donatus' commentary than the present one. This suggestion is hardly provable if based on too few traces. Although Wessner²⁹ did not give convincing reasons to explain the attribution to Donatus of the reading *laborem*,³⁰ it is not impossible to justify without

²⁶ This information is not in itself surprising, nor does it enable us to draw any conclusion: not only is it just a piece of evidence, but in such cases the potential horizontal transmission of the variants would contaminate any consideration. For the Terentian tradition cf. GRANT (1986: 136–159); PASQUALI (1952: 354–373); PRETE (1951: 111–134); WEBB (1911: 55–110).

²⁷ D = Victorianus-Laurentianus XXXVIII 24, IX/X cent. The manuscript is available online: www.bml.firenze.sbn.it. For the description see MUNK OLSEN (1985: 608–609). About the value of scholia containing *excerpta* from Donatus' *Commentary* and the aroused querelle, cf. WESSNER (1927: 443–448) and LINDSAY (1927: 188–194).

²⁸ Lindsay thoroughly developed this hypothesis, but it first was highlighted by JACHMANN (1924: 89, note 20): Hier (= AN. 720) las Probus dolorem, wenigstens möchte man das aus Donats Mitteilung, dass Probus dolorem durch Interpunktion vom folgenden abgesetzt habe, entnehmen. Aber die Tradition bot auch laborem, es erscheint bei Eugraph. (Rec. α) und war ehemals, wenn auf die von Umpfenbach mitgeteilte Glosse in D Verlass ist, als Variante bei Donat mitgeteilt, und zweifellos ist laborem dem familiären Ton der Rede hier angemessener; ob Probus es als Variante bot ist ungewiss. In der handschriftlichen Überlieferung nun hat δ (und vermutlich auch der hier fehlende Bemb.) an dolorem festgehalten, während γ , die Recension die sich unter den erhaltenen am weitesten vom Text des Probus entfernt, das richtige laborem bietet, vermutlich aus dem Vulgattext.

²⁹ WESSNER (1927: 443–448).

³⁰ WESSNER's explanations for the other apparently superior scholia of D are still valid; the unique case badly handled was the reading *vel laborem apud Donatum*

trotting out the ghost of a more complete commentary.³¹ Indeed, we do not know from which part of the commentary the annotation was taken (the commentary itself or the *lemma*). However, and above all, the annotation concerns a reading retraceable in the Terentian tradition.

For example, the copyist of D (or of an earlier stage) transcribed Donatus' notes on his exemplar, taking them from the present *Commentary*. In this *Commentary*, however, above the reading *dolorem*, someone annotated *vel laborem*, such that both variants coexisted. At this point, the copyist of D, finding in the *Commentary* at his disposal both the readings or only *laborem*, could easily have attributed it to Donatus, distorting our view!

To conclude, there is not enough evidence to support Lindsay's suggestion.

4. *Terentium Distinguere: Ioviales and Elio Donato*

As we said before, Terence's Bembino is dotted with notes; in this specific case, the author of the meaningful pauses in the text must have been a *Ioviales*. In 1900, R. Kauer³² dealt with the punctuation choices made by *Ioviales* in an article called *Zu Terenz*, often agreeing with him: "Da wir im Bembinus eine vortreffliche Interpunktion von der Hand des Ioviales besitzen, deren inniger Zusammenhang mit der antiken Praxis mir aus inneren Gründen zweifellos geworden ist, bin ich demselben fast überall gefolgt".

In his edition of Probus' fragments, Aistermann³³ claims that, when the punctuation made by *Ioviales* in the Bembino matches the one recommended by Donatus, it must be attributed to Probus. The reason, he theorizes, is that Probus is somehow related to the review δ of the plays—a review that *Ioviales* always went back to when he annotated the Bembino. I think it would be interesting to see to what extent Donatus differs from *Ioviales*.

a.) *Ad. I 1, sch. 20. 2* (= p. 17. 14–17 W)

SEMPER PARCE AC DURITER "semper" licet incertam distinctionem habeat, tamen recte additum est, quia vel "ruri agere" voluptatis est vel "parce ac duriter se habere" virtutis.

indeed. Wessner argued that it would be completely unlikely for the copyist of IX to have the most extensive draft of the *Comment.* cf. GRANT (1986: 66–67).

³¹ It is worth noting that the noun *laborem* produces automatically the gloss *dolorem* and vice versa.

³² KAUER (1900: 56–114).

³³ AISTERMANN (1910: 37–39).

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vv. 44–46: [...] *ille contra haec omnia
ruri agere vitam, semper parce ac duriter
se habere [...]*

We are in *Adelphoe* v. 45: Micio compares his life to his brother's: he is a city man, while his brother is a countryman. Donatus points out that the *semper* is ambiguous here: either his brother spent his entire life in the country, or maybe he never had any fun. Donatus has no opinion regarding these alternative readings, unlike *Ioviales*, who instead construes the *semper* along with *parce ac duriter*. *Ioviales*' choice is adhered to not only by Kauer, but also by most of Terence's editors.

b.) *Ad. II 2, sch. 5 (= p. 48. 4–6 W)*

ILLE VERBERANDO USQUE incerta distinctio est: vel "verberando usque" vel "usque defessi". Et est "usque" adverbium: significat enim aut "diu" aut "multum".

vv. 211–213: *Numquam vidi iniquius*

certationem comparatam quam haec hodie inter nos fuit:

ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus

In this scene, we find Syrus and Sannio. Syrus asks Sannio to explain what happened with the master because he has heard there has been a row. Sannio confirms the rumour and adds that both became extremely tired (*ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus*). Donatus points out that *usque* may be joined with *verberando* as well as with *defessi sumus*. In either case, it would act as an adverb, meaning "for a long time" and "a lot", respectively. Most modern editors choose to punctuate after *verberando* to keep the two gerunds parallel, and this is also the punctuation preferred by *Ioviales*.

The interesting aspect is the lexical dualism found by Donatus: *usque* meaning either "for a long time" if joined to *verberando* or as "a lot" if joined with *defessi sumus*. But if the first meaning is not problematic, the second one can be baffling, because the other adverbial attestations would imply something like *omnino* (cf. OLD 1968: 2110).

TABLE OF THE EDITORIAL CHOICES RELATED TO vv. 213

		<i>verberando usque, ambo defessi sumus</i>	<i>verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus</i>
1891			STAMPINI
1902			LINDSAY
1908			ASHMORE
1964			DZIATZKO-KAUER
1976 ¹			R. H. MARTIN

Carmela Cioffi

c.) *Ad. II 3, sch. 4. 1–2* (= p. 123. 9–14 W)

4. 1 *SI QUAM FECERE hoc distingue et separatim infer “ipsi expostulant”.*

4. 2 *SI QUAM FECERE IPSI EXPOSTULANT sensus manifestus est, sed obscura sunt verba et eorum collocatio et distinctio. Nam incertum, utrum “si expostulant” intellegendum sit an “si quam” pro una parte orationis accipi oporteat.*

vv. 594–5: *nisi si me in illo credidisti esse hominum numero, qui ita putant, sibi fieri iniuriam ultro, si quam fecere ipsi, expostules*

expostules A] expostulant γ Don. Sch. Bem.: expostulent δ Pris.

Pris. *Inst. XVIII* (= GLK III, p. 245)

nisi si me in illo credidisti esse † numero hominum, qui ita putant, sibi fieri iniuriam ultro, si quam fecere ipsi, expostulent

The punctuation suggested by Ioviales raises no problems because it must have been based on a specimen with the correct reading i.e. *expostules*. For Donatus, the sentence is not easy to handle.

Firstly, it is necessary to explain the meaning of *expostulare*, which here must be construed as “asking for damage”. Secondly, we must ask ourselves whether *expostulant* is Donatus’ actual reading or if it is instead a corruption that happened while passing down the text. Donatus’ exegesis of such passage assumes that the manuscript he was consulting had the reading *expostulant* and not *expostules*. Otherwise we cannot see why he should suggest a punctuation after *fecere*, making *ipsi expostules* syntactically independent. In addition to Donatus, those who added the scholia to the Bembinus³⁴ too must have read a text with *expostulant*. Indeed, this section of the text is paraphrased as *in reatu ferunt*.

Ambiguity is created only by reading *expostulant*. In this case, Donatus says that the meaning is clear but the syntax obscure. He then recognizes two possibilities: either to connect *si* with *expostulant* or with *fecere*. In the latter case, it is probable that he intends *putant* and *expostulant* to be asyndetically coordinated.

This interesting problem raises a question: did Donatus have no manuscripts that mentioned the far better reading *expostules*? Or is our view distorted by not having a full comment at our disposal?

³⁴ MOUNTFORD (1934: 98). The Bembinus shows the correct reading.

5. A textual or exegetical problem?

Likewise, the following example illustrates an instance where Donatus' choice of punctuation is made on an already corrupted (or at least problematic) text, is *AN. prol. vv. 11–12*:³⁵

*non ita sunt dissimili sunt argumento et tamen
dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo*

non ita dissimili sunt] Σ (sunt om. E) Don. in lemm. (bis, sed in pr. comm. Habet <<ita non sunt. Ergo "ita" subdistingendum>>, in alt. <<"ita" pro valde>>), Eugr. edd. pler.: ita non dissimili sunt Thierf., non ita sunt dissimili Ritter [| et] Eugr.: sed Σ (set G, ε n. l.), Don. Ritter

The above quotation is taken from the prologue: Terence is forced to defend himself against the detractors, explaining to what extent his *Andria* and Menander's *Perinthia* differ.

The most problematic point concerns the grammatical value of *ita*:³⁶ some editors (Shipp,³⁷ for example) think that *ita* must be connected with the adjective *dissimili* and translated as "not very different". W. Lindsay, however, absolutely disagrees with this interpretation.³⁸ In 1907, he ruled out any chance that Terence or Plautus used *ita* with adjectives or adverbs other than *tam*, despite this being proven by Cicero's Latin and generally by *Umgangssprache*, as well as by Terence.³⁹

So, it is worth finding out which reading Donatus meant to support.

11. 1 *NON ITA DISSIMILI SUNT AR. ordo: ita non sunt. ergo "ita" subdistingendum.*

11. 3 *NON ITA DISSIMILI SUNT AR. "ita" pro valde.*

In scholium 11.1, he states that the (logical) order of the words is *ita non sunt*, and therefore a comma must be placed after *ita*. With this comment, Donatus suggests two things: (1) that the order of the words in the manuscripts he was consulting was actually *non ita sunt*; and (2) that the fact he puts a comma after *ita* means that he gave *ita* an explanatory value (broadly causal and not intensifying). In the second scholium, Donatus makes credible the possibility of an intensifying value of *ita*.

³⁵ Cf. POSANI (1960).

³⁶ TLL *ad vocem* "ita", (520–521).

³⁷ SHIPP (1939).

³⁸ LINDSAY (1907: 100).

³⁹ LINDSAY's emendation of *ita* in *tam* at *Ad.* 984 is not unanimously accepted.

It is clear, at this point, that matching scholium 11.2 with 11.3 is complicated: 11.3 might be merely a later addition by someone who had no problems construing *ita* as *valde* or *tam*. Donatus' evidence, even if it cannot have a discriminating value for Terence's text, is interesting in many respects: both for his exegetic method and because it implicitly seems to rule out any chance of *ita* having an intensifying value. Now, some editors who construe *ita* as *nam* find the anastrophe annoying, so they invert it to *non ita*. Donatus must not have found that special *ordo* particularly problematic; he accepted the betrayed text, even if he paraphrased it.

TABLE OF THE EDITORIAL CHOICES RELATED TO vv. 11–12

	(1.) <i>Non ita sunt dissimili</i>	(2.) <i>Ita non sunt dissimili</i>	(3.) <i>Ita non dissimili sunt</i>	(4.) <i>Non ita dissimili sunt</i>	(5.) <i>Sunt dissimili</i>
1833	RITTER				
1888				SPENGEL	
1902				LINDSAY	
1908		ASCHMORE			
1951		THIERFELDER			
1954				PRETE	
1965				SHIPP	
1990				POSANI	
2001				BARSBY	

6. The *distinctio* beyond *Andria*: other interesting cases

a.) *Eun.* II 2, sch. 1. 5 (= p. 315. 17–19 W):

HOMINI HOMO QUID PRESTAT alii distinguunt "quid praestat stulto intellegens", alii "stulto intellegens quid interest", quia sic veteres loquebantur.

vv. 232–233 Di immortales homini homo quid praestat! Stulto intellegens quid interest! Hoc adeo ex hac re venit in mentem mihi

Donatus provides two optional readings of vv. 232–233: one would consist in punctuating after *intelligens*, creating a sentence with a very contrived structure, with as many as two hyperbatons and one polyptoton.

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The second punctuation option produces syntactic structures that Donatus no longer sees as usual for him but still admissible in the language of antiquity. Even if he does not tell us which specific constructions or structures he relates back to antiquity, it can be easily guessed. As a matter of fact, if one punctuates after *interest*, as all editors do, then one must accept the personal construction of the verb *interest*. Additionally, this punctuation creates remarkable syntactic ambiguity around *stulto*. Now, the personal construction of *interest* is actually a classical affectation, also found in Terence, Lucilius, Cicero and Gellius. Thus, Donatus must certainly be speaking of that when he speaks of “*sic veteres...*”.

The second problem raised by the second punctuation concerns *stulto*, which everyone (both editors and commentators) takes to be an ablative, sacrificing the parallelism with the previous *homini*. Indeed, instances in which *interest* is constructed with a dative are few and unclear. The TLL only provides the following passages in support of a construction with a dative clause—but clearly they are both too weak:

Sen. *Nat.* 1,10: *Quid illis et nobis interest nisi exigui mensura corpusculi?*

Apul. *Met.* 11,27,3: *Quamquam enim conexa, immo vero inunita ratio numinis religionisque esset, tamen teletae discrimen interesse maximum.*

Unfortunately, we do not know whether Donatus thought it was a dative or an ablative. We therefore cannot know whether, under the label of “ancients’ language,” he also included the construction of *interest* with a dative—not least because we have no certain evidence of such a construction.

7. The performative aspect of the *distinctio*

At the start of this paper, we said that Donatus unflinchingly matches punctuation to the meaning of the text. This does not mean there are no circumstances in which the punctuation breaks the flow of speech, which may come in a wide range of nuances, depending on the way it translates on a performative level. Let us see an example from *Andria*.

a.) *An.* II 1, sch. 32 (= p. 127. 20–21 W)

NUPTIAS EFFUGERE EGO ISTAS M. QUAM TU A. interposita distinctione vultuose hoc dicitur, hoc est cum gestu.

v. 332: *nuptias effugere ego istas quam tu adipiscier*

This is a very funny moment of the play, in which Carinus begs Pamphilus not to marry Chriside, not knowing that Pamphilus is in love with another girl. Such a line deserved to be emphasised, so Donatus not only advises that a pause should be made after *malo*, but that the line *vultuose* should be spoken too and emphasised by gestures. Some parallel passages (cfr *Ad. III*, v. 430) show that *vultuose* would mean that uttering a word with deliberate emphasis would take longer, and reference is made (more to the point) to specific facial expressions, as in Apul. *Met.* 3,13 (ed. Zimmerman): *Non enim laeta facie nec sermone dicaculo, sed vultuosam frontem rugis insurgentibus adseverabat.*

8. Conclusions

The *distinctio* for Donatus is an essential part of the exegesis both on the linguistic side and performative side. With strategic interpunctions, he tried to solve embarrassing syntactical ambiguities (*Ad. II* 3, sch. 4–1–2); through the punctuation he suggested the exaggeration of some words, with the aim of making the Terentian *Witz* more understandable. Clearly the punctuation is above all a subjective fact and there is not often a definite solution: two or more solutions can be acceptable with regards to the same passage. In some cases, the different possibilities allow us to reconstruct the Donatian dialogue with earlier Terentian exegetes.

Unfortunately, the state of the transmitted text and its history significantly limits anyone who consults Donatus in an effort to understand Terence.

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PART THREE

ANCIENT HISTORY

PORTRAIT OF PERICLES IN EPHORUS'
UNIVERSAL HISTORY
THE CAUSES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR
(D. S. 12,38,1–41,1)*

ATTILA HAJDÚ

While describing the causes of the Peloponnesian war in the Book 12 of his Historical work, Diodorus Siculus refers to Ephorus. (12,38,1–41,1). According to him, Pericles, the celebrated statesman of Athenian democracy, led Athens into the war, which brought the hegemony of Athens to an end. The Sicilian historiographer wrote down in detail that Pericles' personal motives had been the real causes of the Peloponnesian war—namely, he attempted to deflect the attention of the Athenians from the accusations brought against him. In my paper, I introduce the possible sources of Pericles' negative portrayal that Ephorus could integrate into his works, and I also identify the main characteristics of these descriptions. My purpose is to prove that the negative literary portrayal of Pericles is partly due to Ephorus' negative attitude towards Thucydides, since *agōn*, i.e. contest, was typical of Greek ideology.

In the 4th century BC,¹ the slowly declining *polis* opened the door to Greek ideas of *historiē* other than the *Hellenica*, which followed the model of Thucydides' *Historiae*. In this period, the field of historical inquiry extended. This was partially due, on the one hand, to the fact that written documents had gradually appeared in the *oikumenē*.² On the other hand, the idea of Panhellenism developed by Isocrates also took hold in Greek thought.³ Thus, the recent past, so far described by the help of *autopsia*, was not the only focus of historical investigation. At the same time, it became necessary to rethink and question the epistemological hierarchy of

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¹ Currently all the years are BC.

² See NÉMETH–SZILÁGYI–RITÓÓK–SÁRKADY (2006: 652–653).

³ See, in details ALONZO–NÚÑEZ (1990: 175); LUCE (1997: 77).

the *opsis-akoē* created by the Ionian historians, Herodotus and Thucydides.⁴

Ephorus of Cyme, who lived at the beginning of the Macedonian hegemony,⁵ took on a Herculean task under those conditions. Ephorus was the first to write a universal history (Ἐφορον τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν)⁶ in Greek historiography.⁷ The *Historiae* consisted of thirty books. It began with the Return of Heracleidae and went on to his own epoch.⁸ Although the *Historiae* were

⁴ For more detail regarding the epistemological background of the Ancient historiography, see SCHEPENS (2007: 39–55); MARINCOLA (1997: 63–85). For epistemology of Ephorus in detail, see PARMEGGIANI (2001: 696–703).

⁵ There was a heated discussion about the issue whether Ephorus still lived at the beginning of Alexander's reign (FGrHist 70 T 6 apud Plu. *De Stoic. Rep.* 20p. 1043D; F 217 apud Tert. *De an.* 46). According to the most accepted view, Ephorus was born about 400 and he was dead about 330. Likewise, the dating of his Universal history, the *Historiae*, may raise many problems. On the basis of the references found in *fragmenta*, the birth of *Historiae* can be placed between the years 350 and 330, cf. NIESE (1909: 170–178); PARKER (2011: BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY, II/A). However, it is known the *Historiae* was already finished and published by his son, Demophilus (FGRHIST 70 T1 apud Suid. s. v. Ἐφίππος FGRHIST T 9a apud D. S. 14,14,3). For the life of Ephorus and his works in details, see SCHWARTZ (1909: 481–502); JACOBY II. C (1926: 24–25); BARBER (1935: 8–13).

⁶ Ephorus wrote his Universal history, following the concept of Herodotus. It is common in their lives that they were born on the boundary of the Greek and Eastern worlds. However, Ephorus' concept is more conscious; his aim is to examine the deeds, the historical characters and to encourage his audience to lead a better, virtuous lifestyle by *paradeigma* of the *historiē*. See significant thesis of C. FORNARA: “the history became a moralistic schoolroom”, FORNARA (1983: 109). For the Ephorean Universal history see in details BURDE (1974: 17–24); ALONZO-NÚÑEZ (1990: 173–177); ALONZO-NÚÑEZ (2002: 35–42); MARINCOLA (2007: 172–174); CLARKE (2008: 96–107). According to FORNARA, the antiquarian, geographical and historical knowledge of this period must be accumulated and synthesized, on the other hand, the contemporary educated society encouraged Ephorus to write his Monumental Historical work FORNARA (1983: 42–43).

⁷ FGrHist 70 T 7 apud Plb. 5,33,2.

⁸ There are some contradictory data on the temporal boundaries of *Historiae*. According to the Byzantine writer on the entry of “Ephippus,” Ephorus discussed his history from the taking of Troy up to his own age (FGrHist 70 T1 apud Suid. s. v. Ἐφίππος). However, Diodorus Siculus said that the Ephorean History began with the return of Heracleidae and it ended with the siege of Perinthus (341/340) (FGrHist 70 T10 apud D. S. 14,76,5). Conversely, Clement of Alexandria holds that Ephorus reckoned 735 years between the return of the Heracleidae and the

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very popular up to the late antiquity,⁹ Ephorus' work did not survive intact, and we know only of 238¹⁰ fragments and 34 testimonies from his *Historiae*.¹¹

Despite the fragmentary tradition, scholars hold that this Universal historical work largely transformed previous ideas about the Greek historiography and it can be interpreted as one triggering a paradigm shift. Let us look at the title of his work: the *Historiae*. The title does not merely denote inquiry and investigation established by Herodotus; indeed, the work is still used today for its historical value.¹² Furthermore, in many cases, he represents different views from the Historical tradition. Thus, he describes some events and people of the Greek history from other viewpoints. We can consider the work of the historian Ephorus as the "vulgate" of the Ancient Greek Historiography.¹³

The chosen passage for the subject of my paper also seems to confirm my previous statement. Ephorus probably explicated the History of the Peloponnesian War in Book 13, or as he himself called, the history of the Archidamian War.¹⁴ There is no doubt that Thucydides was his primary source.¹⁵ Nevertheless, he developed the consecution of the wartime

archonship of Evaenetus, 335/4 (FGRHIST 70 F 223 apud Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1,135,1). See CLARKE (2008: 97).

⁹ For the popularity of Ephorus see Macrobius, who called him as "notissimus scriptor historiarum" FGRHIST 70 F 20a apud Macr. 5,18,6–8). After the FGRHIST 70 T 34 (apud LISTEN D. GRIECH. PROFANSCHRIFTST. tab. C 51), Ephorus belonged to the canon of the most popular ten Greek historians: ἱστορικοὶ <Ι>·Θουκυδίδης Ἡρόδοτος Ξενοφῶν Φίλιστος Θεόπομπος Ἐφορος Ἀναξιμένης Καλλισθένης Ἑλλάνικος Πολύβιος.

¹⁰ For finding of a new Ephorean fragmentum (FGRHIST 70 F 239 apud Suda s.v. ἀγαθοεργοῦ) see WHITEHEAD (2005: 299–301).

¹¹ The most important collections containing the fragments of Ephorus are: firstly, M. MARX published the fragments in 1815, which is followed by the collection of K. O. MÜLLER in 1841. In 1926, F. JACOBY published the fragments in his Monumental collection JACOBY II A (1926: 37–109). Recently, VICTOR PARKER did a modern English translation and he actualized the issue of Ephorus-philology PARKER (2011).

¹² SCHEPENS (2007: 50).

¹³ HERBERT (1958: 512). For the historiographical issues and problems in Ephorus, in details see SCHEPENS (1977: 95–118); POWNALL (2004: 113–142).

¹⁴ FGRHIST 70 F 197 apud Harp. s. v. Ἀρχιδάμειος πόλεμος. For the theories of the reconstructed content of *Historiae* See: BARBER (1935: 160–161); PARMEGGIANI (2011: 717); PARKER (2011: BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY, II/B).

¹⁵ SCHWARTZ (1907: 13–14); JACOBY II C. (1926: 31); BARBER (1935: 123). For the Nachleben of Thucydides in Ephorus see NICOLAI (2006: 713–714); GOMME (1959: 44–45); HORNBLLOWER (2011: 302–303).

causes by amending and criticizing his predecessor. In my paper, I examine how Ephorus considered the Historical tradition in the Classical period—with special attention to Herodotus, Thucydides and non-historical sources—while drawing the portrait of Pericles. This presentation is not going to deal with the historical Pericles' character, however; rather I focus on the methods of the historian from Cyme at the dawn of the Hellenistic period and their main characteristics.

The narrative of Ephorus was preserved by Diodorus Siculus, although this is not the genuine text written by Ephorus himself. Diodorus arrived at the point of exposing the conflict between Corinth and Cercyra in his Book 12 of the *Bibliotheca Historica*, where Thucydides' history began.¹⁶ The Sicilian historiographer briefly described the causes of the Peloponnesian War, which he attributed to Ephorus. According to him, Pericles, the celebrated statesman of the Athenian democracy, led Athens into the large war, which brought the hegemony of Athens to an end. Ergo, Ephorus assigned a personal motive—the actions of Pericles—to the war between Athens and Sparta. This opinion conflicts with ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις of Thucydides, namely with his statement that τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν i.e. “in my view the real reason, true but unacknowledged, which forced the war was the growth of Athenian power and Spartan fear of it” (Translated by M. Hammond).¹⁷

By following this idea, Thucydides aimed at writing a military-political history and did not consider the personal motives underlying the outbreak of the war.¹⁸ In this respect, the views held by Ephorus also differ from those of Thucydides. Our historiographer paid particular attention to the ethical appraisal of the people leading the events.¹⁹

Essentially, there is a consensus among philologists that Diodorus followed the conception of Ephorus in Book 11–15 (maybe 16) of his historical work.²⁰ It can be observed that the historical characters are all

¹⁶ D. S. 12,37.

¹⁷ Th. 1,23,6.

¹⁸ GRIBBLE (2006: 441).

¹⁹ Ephorus was the first really significant historian to introduce the categories of *epainoi-psogoi* into the historiography, see FORNARA (1983: 108–109). For these categories, in general, see AVENARIUS (1959: 157–163) See also: D. S. 20,1,1–2.

²⁰ These books of Diodorus are epitomes of Ephorus' *Historiae*. For this theory, see VOLQUARDSSEN (1868); HOLZAPFEL (1879); SCHWARTZ (1905: 679). Diodorus is a mere *kompilator* see BARBER (1935: 21–22; 103). The philologist's opinion, however, is more sceptical recently. They have begun to pay attention to the historiographical concepts of Diodorus Siculus. We have to see the following: the methods of *Quellenforschung* (*lex Volquardsen*) have been debated. Further, the

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important, and also the *encomium* of their deeds, or even the criticism of those deeds, are of great importance in these books.²¹ It is possible that Diodorus borrowed these characterizations from the *Historiae* of Ephorus. Considering now the Ephorus/Diodorus text, I would like to briefly describe one of the longest fragments (FGRHIST 70 F 196 apud D. S. 12,38,1–41,1).

12,38,1: Diodorus introduces the history of the Peloponnesian war. He gives his motivation for discussing the causes of the war: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος ὁ κληθεὶς Πελοποννησιακός, μακρότατος τῶν ἱστορημένων πολέμων. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας οἰκεῖον [τὸ] προεκθέσθαι τὰς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ.

12,38,2–4: the money of the Delian League was transported into Athens, and Pericles was in charge of it. However, the statesman spent most of this money on himself (ἰδίᾳ), therefore he could not account for it (38,2). So he fained illness and he went to bed. With the advice of his cousin, Alcibiades, he decided to involve Athens in the war so that he could distract the attention from himself and to avoid accounting for the sum (38,3–4).²²

12,39,1–3: According to Diodorus, *chance* (ταῦτόματον) helped his aim too. Let's take a closer look at how he managed to do this. Pericles' political rivals attacked his party in order to undermine his leadership. They accused Phidias of stealing the *sacred assets*, while he was making the statue of Athena Parthenos. Nothing more is divulged with regards to the story of the sculptor. A similar case happens to the sophist, Anaxagoras, who was the Athenian statesman's teacher. He was indicted for *asebeia*. While others were taken to court, indictment speeches were

papyri associated with Ephorus also supported these ideas. Finally, the increased interest in Hellenistic historiography took the research of *Diodorus redivivus* forward as well. The new lines of Diodorus studies for more details, see, for example DREWS (1962: 383–392); SACKS (1990); WICKERSHAM (1994: 150–177).

²¹ See the list of SCHWARTZ: the *virtus* of Leonidas at Thermopylae (D. S. 11,4); The blame of Pausanias and the praise of Aristides (D. S. 11,44–47); the *encomium* of Themistocles (D. S. 11,58–59); the victory of Myronides during the first Peloponnesian War (D. S. 11,82); the appreciation of Pelopidas (D. S. 15, 81) and the praise of Epaminondas (D. S. 15,39 and 88) SCHWARTZ (1905: 681).

²² For the anecdote of Alcibiades see Aristodem. FGRHIST 104 F 16,4; V. Max. 3,1, ext. 3 és Plu. *Alc.* 7.

held against Pericles. Thus, the statesman concluded, given his situation, that he could only counterbalance his political position by starting a war.

12,39,4: The Athenians excluded the Megarians from harbours and the *agora* by means of the Megarian Decree, which might have been issued by Pericles himself.²³ Thereupon, the Megarians applied to the Spartans for legal remedy. They sent an ultimatum to Athens satisfying the Megarian petition in which they called upon the Athenians to rescind this decree or they would make a war against Athens together with their allies.

12,39,5–40,5: In this locus, Ephorus paraphrased the *Historiae* of Thucydides (cf. Th. 1,139–144 and 2,13). Pericles makes a stand for the Megarian Decree at the *ecclesia*. He considers the balance of power by weighing the resources of the city and its military capabilities. He concludes that, if a war were to break out, Athens would defeat his adversaries. His oration persuades the Athenians not to revoke the decree.

12,40,6: The war is now impending. Diodorus quotes a few lines from the works of both Aristophanes and Eupolis for bearing out his story. He concludes his narrative by naming his source:

12,41,1: Αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦται τινες ὑπήρξαν, ὡς Ἐφορος ἀνέγραψε. i.e. “Now **the causes** of the Peloponnesian War were **in general** that I described, as Ephorus recorded them.”

The connections of the contexture of thoughts are unclear in this adapted text. The *lacunae* and the *genitive absolute* constructions are used over and over. We must deduce that this narrative is condensed.²⁴ Thus, Diodorus' narrative is difficult to understand. From the textual contradictions,²⁵ the

²³ Cf. Aristodem. FGRHist 104 F 1,16: βουλόμενος ἐκκλῖναι τὰς κρίσεις ἐπολιτεύσατο τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, γράψας τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. In details, see CONNOR (1960: 82–168).

²⁴ PARMEGGIANI (2011: 417).

²⁵ The Diodorean text is incoherent as to the amount of the Delian League's money: At 12,38,2, the amount is 8000 talents, but at 40,2, it is 10000 talents. (For the latter figure see also D. S. 12,54,3 and 13,21,3). We should point out that the figures are often recorded incorrectly in the corpus of Ephorus (cf. FGRHist 70 F 218 apud P1b. 12,4a,3). Thus, the most likely explanation for the fact that Ephorus is faulty quoted by the later authors. In spite of this, Isocrates tells about 8000 talents (apart from the sacred assets) (Isoc. *De pace* 126). This figure is in accord with the datum of Diodorus in 38th caput VOGEL (1889: 535); PARKER 150

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accumulation of the different historical events, and the varied judgments of Pericles,²⁶ Friedrich Vogel concluded that Diodorus did not merely use Ephorus as his source. Namely, he believed that the 38th chapter was not based on the *Historiae* of Ephorus. Jacoby and Barber also share this view.²⁷

Scholars have reviewed Vogel's theory and have recently accepted that the source of the whole Diodorean narrative was Ephorus of Cyme. The German philologist has also correctly noted that certain phrases were repeated many times between the 38th and 39th-40th caputs. This is not a Diodorean attribute, but the style of the Cymaeian historian and can be observed per the text of Diodorus.

According to Schwartz, Ephorus was the first to introduce the principle of the *Verdopplung*.²⁸ This is a special literary technique by which Ephorus told the same story twice (or three times) in different contexts while using similar terms.²⁹ The linguistic correspondences are evidence that the Diodorean report on the outbreak of the "Great War" is entirely derived from the *Historiae* of Ephorus.³⁰

Furthermore, as it is well known, the Sicilian historiographer did not gain respect due to the richness of his style and accuracy, but rather by his sources and their conservations.³¹ However, we must be careful. Diodorus,

(2011: COMM. AD F 196). For more information see also MERITT-WADE-GERY-MCGREGOR (1949: 121-127).

Another note of VOGEL related to inconsistent use of Pericles' patronym. At 11,85, 1, Diodorus introduces Pericles with it. At 12,38, he mentions only the name of Pericles. At 39,1, the name of Pericles, however, comes with assigning the name of his father again VOGEL (1889: 534-535).

²⁶ In the 38th caput, the depiction of the Athenian statesman is less negative than in the upcoming chapter VOGEL (1889: 535-536).

²⁷ JACOBY II C (1926: 31); BARBER (1935: 107).

²⁸ On the one hand, these repetitions can be organised on the persuasive speech skills of Pericles. At 38,2: οὗτος δ' ἦν εὐγενεΐα καὶ δόξη καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πολὺν προέχων τῶν πολιτῶν. 39,5: ὁ Περικλῆς, δεινότητι λόγου πολὺν διαφέρων πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν (...). Further at 40,5: διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ λόγου (...). On the other hand, another recurring phrase is "to involve in a great war" 38, 4: ἐμβάλειν εἰς μέγαν πόλεμον (...) 39,3: ἐμβάλειν εἰς μέγαν πόλεμον (...). VOGEL (1889: 535). For this, see also FGRHIST 70 F 76 (apud St. Byz. s. v. Φοινίκαιον) and FGRHIST 70 F 115 (apud Str. 8,3,33) fragments of the siege of Aegina PARKER (2011: COMM. AD F 196).

²⁹ SCHWARTZ (1907: 15).

³⁰ For the Byzantine afterlife of Ephorean tradition on the outbreak of war (esp. Maximus Planudes, Ioannes Tzetzes) see CONNOR (1960: 1-18).

³¹ This concept was determinant in all Diodorus studies until the middle of the 20th century. See note 17.

like most of the ancient historians, often writes from memory, reducing and abridging the original narrative.³² At the end of his narrative, he expresses his doubt when he defines the causes without the principle of *akribeia*. The use of an indefinite pronoun (τινες) denotes that he merely suggests the reasons mentioned by Ephorus.

Thus, most scholars believe that the narration preserved by Diodorus strictly follows Ephorus' ideas.

The fragment deals with the problems that plagued contemporary Athens. The Athenian finances were certainly one topic of discussion.³³ A fragment of Ephorus reports a fiery debate on finances during the so-called first Peloponnesian War: namely, whether Pericles bribed the Spartan king, Pleistoanax.

Περικλῆς πολλῶν ὄντων χρημάτων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὰ πλεῖστα ἀνάλωσε. φασὶ δέ, ὅτι καὶ λογισμοὺς διδοὺς τάλαντα εἴκοσιν ἀπλῶς εἶπεν εἰς τὸ δέον ἀνηλωκέναι. φησὶ δὲ Ἐφορος ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κλεανδρίδην μὲν ἐδήμευσαν, Πλειστοάνακτα δὲ <ι>ε> τάλαντοις ἐζημίωσαν, ὑπολαβόντες δωροδοκήσαντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ φείσασθαι τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀθηναίων γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Περικλέα, μὴ θελήσαντα γυμνῶς εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'δέδωκα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῦσι τὸ ἐνδεές'.³⁴

(FGRHist 70 F 193 apud Schol. Ar. Nu. 859)

The expression of the *logou deinotēs*, returning three times, also proves that the text is coherent.³⁵ Thucydides does not fail to mention that Pericles was λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος i.e. “a man of the greatest ability both with words and in action” (Translated by M. Hammond).³⁶ His political success is inherent in his feared rhetorical

³² Cf. The sequence of the narrative is reversed in Aristodemus' story. He begins his version with the Diodorean 39th and 40th chapters. Finally he accepts certain elements of the Diodorus' 38th chapter as well PARKER (2011: KOMM. AD F 196).

³³ PARMEGGIANI (2011: 425).

³⁴ “Since there was a great deal of money on the Acropolis, Perikles spent the better part of it on the war. Now they say that when he was rendering up his accounts, he simply stated that he had spent twenty talents for needful purposes. But Ephoros says that the Lakedaimonians, having learnt of this afterwards, confiscated the property of Kleandrides and fined Pleistoanax fifteen talents on the assumption that Perikles had bribed them to spare the remainder of the Athenians' land. Perikles had not wished to state openly, ‘I gave the Lakedaimonians' kings the missing amount’” Translated by V. Parker.

³⁵ PARMEGGIANI (2011: 419).

³⁶ Th. 1,139,4.

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talent. It is no wonder that he, as a patron of the sophists,³⁷ is connected with the image of a snide and untrue orator. Ephorus uses the *deinotēs*, deriving from the attribute of *deinos*, in a pejorative sense: we must look for both the meaning and the origin of this in the contemporaneous Old Comedy. Further, Plutarch's description of the Periclean elocution (Plu. *Per.* 8) resembles that of Ephorus. Plutarch claimed that the Periclean oratory's effects might be derived from the different forms of the language of music. The *mousikē* occurs in Ephorus' proem, which gives Platonic features:³⁸ οὐ γὰρ ἡγήτεον μουσικὴν, ὡς Ἐφορός φησιν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας, οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόζοντα λόγον αὐτῶι ρίψας, ἐπ' ἀπάτηι καὶ γοητείαι παρεισῆχθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (FGRHIST 70 F 8 apud Plb. 4,20,5).³⁹ It is not included that Ephorus, like a musician, puts down similar harmful effects to the rhetoric.⁴⁰

In the materials that follow, I seek the origins of Pericles' negative portrait. I am interested in what kind of Ancient tradition Ephorus followed while drawing the portrait of Pericles. For him, there are some possible analogies—namely, we can find such *exempla* in Herodotus and *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, where an individual's personal motives led to the outbreak of war.⁴¹ Additionally, it was necessary for Ephorus to have an immediate invective against Pericles. Now, let us see them.

³⁷ See KERFELD (2003: 25).

³⁸ MARINCOLA (2007: 172–173).

³⁹ “For one ought not to assume that music was introduced by men to deceive and to bewitch, as *Ephoros* says in the proem to his entire work, in a throw-away line entirely unbecoming him.” Translated by V. Parker.

⁴⁰ PARMEGGIANI (2011: 439).

⁴¹ I suppose that Herodotus might have been a model for Ephorus too. *The Father of History* characterizes the origin of the Greco-Persian Wars as a series of private actions of individuals. He turns to the individual in his Book of 5–6, ignoring the political attitudes, he praises the virtue of the individual. We can read about similar circumstances regarding the Ionian revolt which breaks out on the eve of the Greco-Persian wars. Herodotus writes that the personal motives – those of Histiaeus and Aristogoras – led to the outbreak of the Ionian revolt, but he does not share the real causes with his audience EHRENBERG (1973: 98). Aristogoras, the tyrant of Miletus, has the Periclean eloquence. While looking for allies to his revolt, he visits the Athenians too. He promises everything to the Athenians at the ecclesia, and at last he persuades the Athenians to help the Milesians against the Persians (Hdt. 5,97). Both stories take place on the eve of a fateful war. The community is misled (διαβάλλειν) by a demagogic speech for their own good. See also PARMEGGIANI (2011: 439).

The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* has also similar features (FGRHIST 66 F 1 col. II. 2–3 [P. Oxy. 842]). The narrative of the Corinthian War is built around the fact that Timocrates of Rhodes was commissioned by the Persians, who was sent for

Initially, we might consider the orations of Isocrates as a possible model, in light of the demonstrated relationship between Ephorus and Isocrates.⁴² In the Isocratean rhetorical works, however, we cannot find the root of this depiction. In his speeches, he praises Pericles everywhere.⁴³ Concerning Pericles, he uses the attributes of σωφρονέστατος, δικαιοτάτος and σοφώτατος.⁴⁴ As to the Athenians' finances, Isocrates distinguishes between Pericles and the later demagogues, praising the former:

Καίτοι Περικλῆς ὁ πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων δημαγωγὸς καταστάς, παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χεῖρον μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἢ πρὶν κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔτι δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευομένην, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον ἐλάττω τὸν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν.⁴⁵

We must also focus on Thucydides in our analysis. Contrary to Ephorus, he gives a positive portrait of the Athenian statesman.⁴⁶ Pericles represents the idea of *pronoia*. The strategy envisaged by him would have guaranteed Athens' victory in the Peloponnesian War, but his successors did not progress this way. Thucydides' Pericles is ready to subordinate his personal interests to those of the public.⁴⁷

But the democratic state had significant problems, which were known to the historian of the Peloponnesian War.⁴⁸ Tamás Mészáros recently emphasized that the words of the famous funeral oration, which were put by Thucydides into Pericles' mouth, can be considered as clear praise of

bribing the Greek leaders to join a planned war against Sparta PARKER (2011: COMM. AD F 196).

⁴² See *FGrHist* 70 T 1; T 2a; T 3; T 4; T 5; T 7; T 8; T 27; T 28. Most recent, see, in details PARKER (2011: COMM. AD T 1).

⁴³ Cf. CHAMBERS' analysis, which showed that the view of the Athenian Empire was extremely undulating in the Fourth-Century literature (esp. in the oratory and the historiography); the condemnatory and idealized descriptions of Athens runs from Isocrates to Aristotle alternately. The Fourth-Century texts suggest that this political view of Athens have a connection with the actual politics as well CHAMBERS (1975: 177–191).

⁴⁴ Isoc. *De bigis* 28,6–8.

⁴⁵ Isoc. *De Pace* 126.

⁴⁶ For the idealized portrait of Pericles see SCHUBERT (1994: 11–16).

⁴⁷ Th. 2,65,8. See also GRIBBLE (2006: 455–458).

⁴⁸ Cf. ERBSE focused on Thucydides' Methodological statement regarding the speeches (Th. 1,22). The researcher believes that the Ancient Greek modal particle ἄν must be accepted not as unrealistic but potential sense in the sentence starting with ὡς δ' ἄν which can put another perspective on the content of Thucydidean speeches (including the three addresses of Pericles too) ERBSE (1953: 57).

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democracy. In his essay, he persuasively argues that, referring to some elements of the speech, Pericles was conscious of the failures of the Athenian democracy.⁴⁹ Thucydides never criticized Pericles directly.⁵⁰

The third possible source might be works of contemporary Old Comedy.⁵¹ Here, for example, we find the views of the anti-Pericles groups and the *dēmos*. Due to the extant fragments, the statesman is a well-known character from the 440's in the scene of the Old Comedy.⁵² In the comedies, Pericles appears as a coward,⁵³ a warmonger,⁵⁴ and, after drawing a parallel with Zeus, as a μέγιστος τύραννος.⁵⁵

These three types of the sources show that we must seek Ephorus' portrait of Pericles in the Athenian politics from the 5th century, during which there were heated debates regarding responsibility and, as we have seen, different answers were given to the question.

Ephorus may have accepted the version of the Comedy poets.⁵⁶ As it is well-known, personal motives and invectives are significant in the works of Old Comedy; thus Ephorus also built on them when he portrayed his Pericles.

From the 4th century, Comedic literature is recognized as a historical source.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, this treatment corresponded to the Cymaeon historian's own methodological principles as well: the comedic poets were Pericles' contemporaries, so their accounts can be classified into the category of ἀκριβέστατα.⁵⁸ Ephorus bears testimony to the guilt of Pericles

⁴⁹ MÉSZÁROS (2010: 61–72).

⁵⁰ Just before the outbreak of the war, Thucydides alludes only once to the guilt of Pericles because of Cylonian affair See Th. 1,127.

⁵¹ SCHUBERT (1994: 5–9).

⁵² See in details RUSTEN (2006: 547–588).

⁵³ Hermipp. Frg. 47.

⁵⁴ Ar. *Ach.* 425.

⁵⁵ Cratin. Frg. 240; 241.

⁵⁶ Cf. K. J. DOVER argued that Ephorus misinterpreted the real message of the Fifth-Century comedies, since he was not born in the classical milieu of Athens. The bounds between history and fiction receded in his mind, therefore the historiographer treated the anecdotes, the accusations and the rumours as real historical facts DOVER (1988: 50).

⁵⁷ See RUSTEN (2006: 556–557). This method is not unusual in this period. See a parallel in Theopompus, who was contemporary with Ephorus. He reviews the Fifth-Century Athenian demagogues in Book 10 of his *Philippica*. For this, as a basis, he takes both the Fifth-Century comedies and the pamphlets HOSE (2006: 682).

⁵⁸ See the methodological statements of Ephorus in his general, major prooemium. FGRHIST 70 F 9 apud Harp. s. v. ἀρχαίως: (...) "Εφορος δ' ἐν τῇ <α> τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τρόπον τινὰ ἐξηγήσατο, <ἐν ᾧ> φησὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων πραγμάτων τοῦς

per *loci* of Aristophanes' *Acharnenses* and Eupolis' *Demes*, he treats them as historical sources which he writes like an "appendix" at the end of his narrative.⁵⁹

To summarise briefly: Ephorus' audience knew the political causes, as written by Thucydides, which led to the war in 431. Hence, Ephorus sought different answers from those of Thucydides. In my opinion, we must seek the reason in the *agōn*-theory developed by F. Nietzsche, concerning which was typical of Greek ideology.⁶⁰ Ephorus was inspired by this view; he wanted to rival the writing performance of Thucydides and outshine the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις of Thucydides. As we have seen, Isocrates' opinion seems to have been unimportant during this rivalry.

Ephorus describes Thucydides' Pericles as "a private person" by using the Old comedy. Let us recall briefly the narration's motives which may confirm the previous statement: Ephorus' Pericles prefers his own goals over those of the community; in order to avoid the accounting for the money, he simulates illness. With the advice of his cousin, Alcibiades, he speculates on the possibility of war and he does everything he can to avoid taking responsibility for the lost sum. This portrayal may not follow Thucydides' characterization.

In Ephorus' history, the balance among the city, the citizens, and the leader, which was based on the idea of democracy, seems to be damaged. This Pericles, who is driven by his selfish purposes as a private person, invades the sphere of the city and tries to destroy the city and its citizens.

Speeches were also an important tool for historians. Indeed, Zsigmond Ritoók claimed that Thucydides used speeches to illustrate the depth of his characters; his speeches highlighted the different views of those characters.⁶¹ In this regard, however, we cannot say anything about Ephorus' narrative preserved by Diodorus. We can only say that Pericles armed himself with λόγου δεινότης—the war is decided by the help of the persuaded citizens of Athens.

To sum up, the story of the historian from Cyme affects the latter Greco-Roman tradition. Plutarch especially used the *Historiae* of Ephorus

νεωτέρους διεξέρχεσθαι <<περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων>> φησὶ <<τοὺς ἀκριβέστατα λέγοντας πιστοτάτους ἠγοῦμεθα, περὶ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς οὕτω διεξιόντας ἀπιθανωτάτους εἶναι νομίζομεν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὔτε τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας οὔτε τῶν λόγων τοὺς πλείστους εἰκὸς εἶναι μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοσοῦτων.>> For further information see MARINCOLA (1997: 70); MARINCOLA (2007: 173).

⁵⁹ For the Ephorean quotes from the comedies (especially the problem of locus of Eupolis) see PARKER (2011: COMM. AD F 196); CONNOR (1960: 63–71).

⁶⁰ See NIETZSCHE (1988: 37–50).

⁶¹ NÉMETH–SZILÁGYI–RITOÓK–SARKADY (2006: 624).

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when describing the characters of the Athenian golden age—including the life of Pericles (Plu. *Per.* 31–32).⁶² Based on recent literature, the roots of the biographical literature have to be sought in the 4th century.⁶³ Referring to Xenophon's biographical work and the *encomium* of Theopompus, we may declare that the portrayal of typical characters of Ephorus, based on the features of the Old comedy, contributes to the birth of biographical literature, an art form brought to perfection by Plutarch.

In addition, in my opinion, there are also parallels between Ephorus' portrait of Pericles and the Spartan Lysander.⁶⁴ Thus, as the personal motives of Lysander can be held responsible for the fall of the Spartan hegemony, so the role of Pericles is similar regarding the overthrow of the Athenian Empire in the Ephorean *Historiae*. In this case, he is not directly responsible for the defeat of the city. Pericles, like Lysander, launches his *polis* on the road to destruction. It seemed to upset the balance among the allied city-states by transferring money of the Delian League to Athens. By the ingression of the money into the *polis*, it fills in the harmful effects of both *tryphē* and *pleonexia*.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Pericles does not shy away from bribery to achieve his goal. In this way he is much like Lysander, who wanted to bribe the most famous oracles of the Ancient World to legitimize his power.⁶⁶

Ephorus described the Greek history as the continuous reconfiguration of subsequent hegemonies,⁶⁷ which also suggests the existence of the Polybian *translatio imperii* in the *Historae* of Ephorus. It is most likely that Ephorus' aim was to attribute to the *politeia* certain ethical principles borrowed from Isocrates and to connect the Isocratean *paideia*-principle with the *ēthos* of the *polis*' leaders.⁶⁸ While elaborating on his historical

⁶² Cf. HERBERT (1958: 510–513).

⁶³ Cf. The standard work on this subject is HOMEYER (1962: 75–85); GENTILI-CERRI (1983) and MOMIGLIANO (1993).

⁶⁴ The Spartan *nauarch*'s real goals are clearly illustrated by his well-written speech [συντεταγμένον (sc. τὸν λόγον) πιθανῶς καὶ πανούργως] of the Spartan *politeia* (περὶ τῆς πολιτείας λόγος), since his most coveted desire was to achieve the Spartan kingship: ὡς χρῆ τῶν Εὐρυπώντιδων καὶ Ἀγιαδῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενους εἰς μέσον θείναι καὶ ποιῆσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων (...) See, in details: FGRHIST 70 F 207 apud Plu. *Lys.* 30,3–5).

⁶⁵ Having lust after richness, he attempts to introduce gold and silver money into Sparta. Thus, the *tryphē*, which is associated with money, risks the principle of *homonoia* and *andreia* guaranteeing the abundance of Sparta. See FGRHIST 70 F 205 apud Plu. *Lys.* 17,1–2.

⁶⁶ FGRHIST 70 F 206 apud Plu. *Lys.* 25,2–4. Cf. D. S. 14, 13, 4–5.

⁶⁷ See, in details WICKERSHAM (1994: 119–177).

⁶⁸ Cf. BLANKENSHIP (2009).

characters, I believe, Ephorus could have done it on the basis of similar typologies.

I would like to close my paper with a short remark of Athenian *paideia*. In the collective memory of the 4th century, Pericles appears rather as a highly skilled orator or a demagogue than as an ideal politician.⁶⁹ Pericles represents the idea of *nea paideia* introduced by the sophists. According to some Comedic interpretations, Pericles' squillhead (*schinokephalos*) refers to his master himself, Anaxagoras, who is simply mentioned by the Athenians as a personalizing of νοῦς.⁷⁰ As we have seen, Pericles achieved his aims by means of his oratorical skills.⁷¹ Athens paid a high price, however, since the city lost his leading position over Hellas.

It is possible that the *exemplum* of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War provides an excellent opportunity for Ephorus to illustrate—while drawing his portrait of Pericles—the harmful effects of the sophistical teaching as well.⁷² He assigned the causes of the fall of the Athenian hegemony to these “new” educational principles, since all factors leading to the Athenian defeat were in touch with Pericles, the children of sophistical *paideia*.

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⁶⁹ SCHUBERT (1994: 6).

⁷⁰ Eup. Frg. 93; Frg. 240, Frg. 71; Telec. Frg. 44; Plut. *Per.* 4,6.

⁷¹ Plu. *Per.* 4; 8.

⁷² Cf. SCHACHERMEYR (1965: 1–23).

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SOME ASPECTS OF TIBERIUS' TRIALS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE LIBO DRUSUS CASE

KRISZTIÁN MÁRVÁNYOS

I would like to discuss some of the disputed key points of the first serious lese-majesty lawsuit that took place in the reign of the second emperor of the Principate. Libo Drusus' harassment is an early example of the most negative character of Tiberius' ruling: the lawsuits on matters of treason. These cases did not even have regard to the royal kinships and the members of the senatorial or to the equestrian orders. Amongst the atmosphere of fear and distrust, the "show trials" provided the elite with an opportunity for self-enhancement and financial gain, on the one hand, and a space where they paid each other retribution, on the other. Starting from the lawsuit in A.D. 16, this article attempts to give an insight to the political and cultural aspects of these complex events. In particular, I address issues surrounding the astrologers of the period as the main feature of this case, as well as the question of a possible conspiracy against power.

*Tu ne quaesieris (scire nefas), quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptaris numeros.*
(Hor. *carm.* 1,11)

There is a vast body of literature discussing the lawsuit of Marcus Scribonius Libo Drusus.¹ From the literature, one point may be instantly deduced; it is a case surrounded by various debates. The objective of this presentation is neither to compile nor to judge the works of previous authors. It is, rather, an attempt to draw a possible conclusion from an in-depth examination of their accounts. This may help to provide a more complete general picture of Tiberius' realm and to introduce a new level of complexity to the subject matter.

The most essential source for this discussion is the second book of the Annals of Tacitus (Tac. *ann.* 2,27–32). Five additional sources, however, provide information on the case, either complementing or contradicting Tacitus: Suetonius Tiberius' biography (Suet. *Tib.* 25,1; 25,3); a brief

¹ GOODYEAR (1981: 147–148; 263–264) and PETTINGER (2012: 8, note 18).

section of Seneca's 70th letter (Sen. *ep.* 8,70,10); Cassius Dio's work (Dio 57,15,4–5); and some parts of Velleius Paterculus' work (Vell. 2,129,2; 2,130,3). These texts approach Libo Drusus' case from different points of view and consider it in different levels of detail. The most extensive account is the five chapters from the Annals, alluded to above. The fifth source is a brief inscription from *Fasti Amiternini* that marks the tragic ending of Libo Drusus' life, dated to 13th September A.D. 16. This text is undoubtedly reflected in the discussions and the official view on his case.²

*Fer. ex s.c. q. e. d. nefaria consilia quae de salute Ti. Caes. liberorumque eius et aliorum principum civitatis de(ue) r.p. inita ab M. Libone erant in senatu convicta sunt.*³

The Tacitean Narrative

The Libo Drusus case is a fine example of a most negative feature of Tiberius' reign: the lawsuits on *laesa maiestas*.⁴ "During the empire the *crimen laesae maiestatis* was extended by legalization of physical offence to the imperial dignity", exposing the personal safety of the emperor and his family.⁵

Young Drusus was denounced during an effective year for foreign policy, when Germanicus, Tiberius' adopted son was stopped in his successful German expedition and was ordered to return.

Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt, quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere, Tac. ann. 2,27,1.

One of Drusus' confidants (*ex intima amicitia*) encouraged him to listen to the promises of dream interpreters, the *chaldeus*, and attend sorcerer ceremonies.

Firminus Catus senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, iuvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit, dum proavom Pompeium. Tac. ann. 2,27,2.

² CRAMER (1954: 254).

³ CIL 1² (1893: 244) = CIL 9 (1883: 402) = EHRENBERG–JONES (1976: 52).

⁴ WIEDEMANN (2006: 219).

⁵ BAGNALL et al. ed. (2012: 4238).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case

This incident reoccurred later and in fact formed the basis of his prosecution. Subsequent to having found the necessary number of witnesses and slaves, the aforementioned senator Firmius Catus⁶, one of Drusus' friends, submitted the case to Tiberius via Flaccus Vescularius⁷, a Roman knight. The emperor awarded Libo the praetorian rank and invited him to a feast. Simultaneously, Libo Drusus was denounced to Fulcinus Trio⁸, Roman knight and famous delator, who even called a meeting of the senate in relation to an "important and atrocious" case.

Atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram condiderat); cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius [...] ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. [...] et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci. Tac. ann. 2,28,2–3.

Tacitus' articulation on this matter is certainly ironic⁹ but I believe he considered this an important case. Unlike Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus never speaks of the possibility of plotting in this case. Libo Drusus desperately sought help from his relatives (*circumire domos*, Tac. ann. 2,29,1), but, citing various reasons, they did not come to his protection. Tacitus' account reveals that Libo Drusus could count only on his brother (L. Scribonius Libo, consul in year A.D. 16) and that he had himself taken to the senate as if he was a sick man, in a sedan-chair (Tac. ann. 2,29,2).

Two other senators (Fonteius Agrippa and Gaius Vibius) joined the denouncers.¹⁰ Of the numerous charges against Libo Drusus, Tacitus stresses one: Libo was accused with having an intention to pave the Via Appia with money. This accusation arguably supports, rather than refutes, Libo's innocence, due to its absurdity.¹¹ Indeed, Seneca also refers to this

⁶ In A.D. 16 he obtained senatorial status. Later, in A.D. 24, he was excluded from the senate when he was convicted of *calumnia*. RUTLEDGE (2001: 232).

⁷ Vescularius Flaccus accompanied Tiberius on the island of Rhodes and later on Capri. He was executed in A.D. 32 for his involvement in Seianus' plot. BORZSÁK (1970: 166–167).

⁸ His name appears first in Tacitus' discussion of Libo's trial in A.D. 16. He was already a celebrated talent (*celebre ingenium*) among *accusatores* (Tac. ann. 2,28,4) and later he played important roles in other cases (eg. in Piso's case). RUTLEDGE (2001: 234–235).

⁹ BORZSÁK (1970: 167–168).

¹⁰ Tacitus names altogether six individuals (*delatores*) that joined the prosecution: Firmius Catus, Flaccus Vescularius, Iunius, Fulcinus Trio, Fonteius Agrippa, Gaius Vibius.

¹¹ SEAGER (2005: 75).

charge as nonsensical. This aside, Seneca criticizes Libo Drusus disdainfully for his simplicity.

Scribonia, gravis femina, amita Drusi Libonis fuit, adulescentis tam stolidi quam nobilis, maiora sperantis quam illo saeculo quisquam sperare poterat aut ipse ullo. Sen. ep. 8,70,10.

Tacitus also mentions one of the most serious accusations: that “there were frightening, secret marks on Libo’s hand with the names of the Caesars or senators”:

uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat. Tac. ann. 2,30,2.

The phrase *uni libello* may mean a form of curse or scribble or something of similar interpretation.¹² Libo denied that it was his writing, but his slaves recognised it. Presumably, they could not have acted otherwise under torture. Tiberius bridged arising legal difficulties by having the treasury’s prosecutor select and buy the slave witnesses¹³ so that he could freely investigate them:

et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori publico iubet, scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur. Tac. ann. 2,30,3.

Libo Drusus requested that the case be delayed (*comperendinatio*) and returned home. Tiberius was adamant and refused to show any sign of leniency.¹⁴ His soldiers surrounded Libo’s house (*cingebatur interim milite domus*, Tac. ann. 2,31,1); the psychological pressure reached its peak. Libo committed suicide in order to escape his hopeless situation.¹⁵

Atque illis, dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus adpositum mensa lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. Tac. ann. 2,31,2.

The senate then continued the process as usual (*adseveratione eadem*, Tac. ann. 2,31,1), and the sovereign reasoned that Libo’s guilt was proven by

¹² BORZSÁK (1970: 169).

¹³ Cassius Dio (55,5,4) (unlike Tacitus) attributes this bypassing of the law Augustus’ innovation. GOODYEAR (1981: 277).

¹⁴ GOODYEAR (1981: 278).

¹⁵ KOESTERMANN (1955: 90–91).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case the fact that he had taken his own life. In the third book of Tacitus' work, in connection with the Clutorius Priscus case (in A.D. 21), Marcus Lepidus worded this in the following way in one of his speeches:

Saepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset. Tac. ann. 3,50,2.

Libo Drusus' property was distributed among his accusers (*bona inter accusatores dividuntur*, Tac. ann. 2,32,1). Restrictive measures were also taken. Most importantly, his picture could not be presented during the burial of his descendants;¹⁶ the members of the Scribonius family could not take the name Drusus; thank-offering days were assigned for Jupiter; and the day of his suicide was declared a holiday.¹⁷

When wording his opinion on the submitting of toadies and wrigglers, Tacitus returns to the structure *defertur moliri res novas* that he used at the beginning of this story, by framing his message in this way: *ut sciretur vetus id in re publica malum*, ann. 2,32,2. In my opinion, evidence suggests that the senate's decrees regarding casting out astrologers and sorcerers provide an even larger framework to this case. In that spirit, two additional capital cases (that of Lucius Pituanus and that of Publius Marcus)¹⁸ were brought following the case of Libo Drusus.

Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanus saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco¹⁹ advertere. Tac. ann. 2,32,3.

Features of a show trial

From Tacitus, we know of two earlier cases of Tiberius' time (*ann.* 1,73–74) where the accusation was high treason. According to Tacitus, these

¹⁶ These measures, in the age of emperors, were part of what was commonly known as the *damnatio memoriae*, the beginnings of which go back to the era of republic. BORZSÁK (1970: 171) and GOODYEAR (1981: 281).

¹⁷ The proposers by name: Cotta Messalinus, Gnaeus Lentulus, Pomponius Flaccus, Lucius Plancus, Gallus Asinius, Papias Mutilus, Lucius Apronius.

¹⁸ Perhaps their involvement with Libo Drusus was implicated, but no further information is known about either their identity or their roles in the case. GOODYEAR (1981: 285).

¹⁹ It is a notable variation of *more maiorum*, used specifically as a sacred form of punishment on campus Esquilinus, in the course of which the convicted person was whipped, then decapitated by a pole-axe (Suet. *Nero* 49,2). BORZSÁK (1970: 171) and GOODYEAR (1981: 286).

cases were merely attempts or rehearsals²⁰ (*praetemptata crimina*, Tac. *ann.* 1,73,1) for the later cases. The two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubirius, were accused and dishonoured because they insulted the divinity of Augustus. In these cases, however, Tiberius let the gods judge the matter—rather sarcastically. Grannius Marcellus (praetor of Bithynia) was accused with an inexcusable claim—that he had scorned the imperator. He was discharged of the accusation of high treason in the end, which Tacitus explained as follows: *manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis*, Tac. *ann.* 1,74,5.

The outcome of Libo Drusus' case, of course, was much more negative, and the charges against him more serious, than the previous year's cases. This is supported by his despair when requesting help and the denial of support by friends and relatives.²¹

In connection with the practices of the accusers in the cases before Libo Drusus, Tacitus voices a metaphoric and dark opinion, speaking of an invasion of a putrid disaster, its crush and burst that cause general devastation. Libo Drusus became the victim of this destructive activity and his case is the perfect example of a show trial in antiquity. It is highly probable that this was the first case of treason in Tiberius' reign.²² The accusers had an incentive to search out culprits and frame them for crimes, as they were rewarded with a part or all of the property belonging to the convicted. Of course, for their activity, an appropriate political climate “was necessary”.

I believe the preparation and arrangement of the lawsuit bear the attributes of a classical show trial (*Figure 1*) in three aspects. First of all, the threatening of the order of senators, which was achieved by selecting the appropriate person: Scribonius Libo Drusus' great-grandfather on his mother's side was the triumvir, Pompeius Magnus. He was perhaps also a suitable victim owing to his pride in his ancestry.²³ By that way, Libo Drusus was related to the emperor's family²⁴ as well. The second aspect is the use of provocateurs and the co-operation between accusers in compiling their evidence. Lastly, Tiberius (*convictibus adhibet*) built up Libo Drusus' confidence by inviting him to the feast prior to Drusus' fast and final defeat.

²⁰ BORZSÁK (1970: 128).

²¹ WALKER (1952: 93).

²² SHOTTER (1972: 97).

²³ SYME (1989: 256).

²⁴ There are three important sources for detailed genealogy and prosopography about Libo Drusus: WEINRIB (1968a: 247–278); SYME (1989: 255–269) and PETTINGER (2012: 219–232).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case

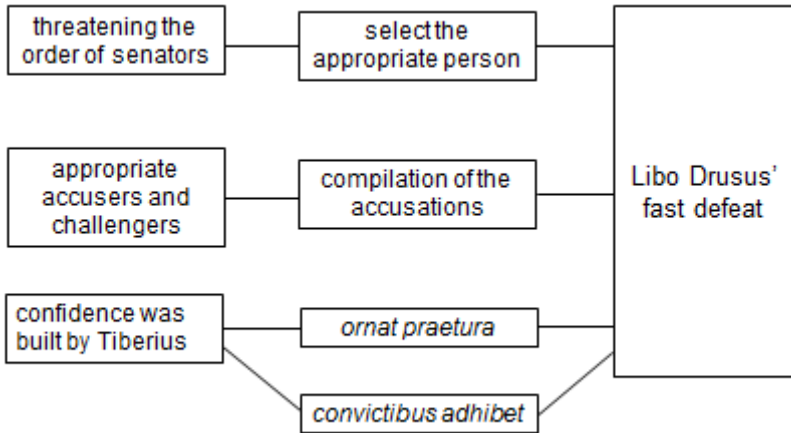


Figure 1. Why was it a classical show trial?

The *ornat praetura*

The early studies and works take diverse views on Libo's praetorship. According to E. J. Weinrib's statement, it is improbable that Libo Drusus was a praetor on 13th September A.D. 16. Indeed, as later reported by Tacitus, a dispute arose at this election when Asinius Gallus and Tiberius disagreed about the five-year period given to office holders (Tac. *ann.* 2,36).²⁵ According to R. Seager's book, based on Suetonius' description, Libo's activities had lasted longer, and in connection with these, he places *ornat praetura* in the year A.D. 15.²⁶ Conversely, B. Levick reasons that the position must have been bestowed on him by year A.D. 16, because it would be surprising if Tacitus did not mention the important detail that Libo was being accused while a praetor. Nonetheless, it is also possible that the position filled an incidentally occurring vacancy that arose in 16; or perhaps the appointment only covered the following year.²⁷ A. Pettinger believes that Libo Drusus was born in 15 B.C. and was a praetor by A.D. 15; accordingly, he suggests A.D. 14 as the year he was elected to the praetorship.²⁸

²⁵ WEINRIB (1968b: 33).

²⁶ SEAGER (2005: 75).

²⁷ LEVICK (2005: 149–150).

²⁸ PETTINGER (2012: 195–207).

Was there a plot?

The trials of the Tiberian age can be divided into two main groups: (a) various criminal cases, such as libels; and (b) cases of treason involving plots.²⁹

The various sources (and later historians) judge Libo's activities in different ways. For example, according to Cassius Dio, Libo basically prepared for a revolution, 57,15,4: Σκριβόνιον Λίβωνα, νεανίσκον εύπατριδην δόξαντά τι νεωτερίζειν. Velleius Paterculus, moreover, wrote the following about Drusus and his disgraceful plan against Tiberius:

Cum quanta gravitate ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps, causam Drusi Libonis audivit! Quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit!
Vell. 2,129,2.

In his biography of Tiberius, Suetonius writes about a conspiracy led by Libo, *Tib.* 25,1.: *Scribonius Libo vir nobilis res novas clam moliebatur.* This is one of the most disputed questions of this research: To what extent can one rely on only the Tacitus narrative, which deems the accusations as clearly political? Alternatively, are there signs of a serious plot against the system hiding in the background?

According to R. Syme³⁰, there is no reference to complicity or conspiracy in Tacitus' writing. A. Pettinger, in his book, argues that the prosecution against Libo Drusus was the peak of Tiberius' final reckoning of his enemies. The lawsuit was against the followers of Augustus' grandchildren and/or those who idealized the republican system over the unlimited monarchy. Pettinger presumes a link between Clemens, Libo and probably Germanicus based on Suetonius' narrative. He offers a theoretical analysis of the struggle between Tiberius and the supporters of Augustus' grandsons.³¹ Libo Drusus' family tree was extremely important too; his origins and complicated family relations threatened the emperor. Libo inherited all the glory of Pompey, as well as the connections (the Lucilii, the Mucii Scaevolae and the Atii were all his ascendants). Consequently, Libo was related to the emperor himself, and his great-aunt was Scribonia, the grandmother of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.³² The effect of family influence can be detected most when one considers that he attempted to get help in his desperate situation, even if unsuccessful. According to Pettinger, Tacitus exaggerated when he wrote that Libo

²⁹ RIDLEY (1988: 404).

³⁰ SYME (1958: 399–400).

³¹ PETTINGER (2012: 47–217).

³² LEON (1957: 78).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case Drusus had a simplistic mind.³³ In Syme's view, that is undeniably true, but he also adds that Libo was a victim of circumstances.³⁴ Evidently, he contacted the astrologers, whose threat to the principate was an excellent pretext for starting a show trial. "The charges concerning astrology are the political charges in this case."³⁵ In what follows we confront a complex phenomenon, in the sense that the accusations against Libo Drusus cannot be separated; they are integral to the whole that makes this case special. The unveiling of a possible uprising may have played a part in the background of the events, but it is the measures relating to astrologers that should be regarded as the centre of the show trial, as, supposedly, these were at the centre of the senatorial investigation as well.³⁶

Tiberius, the cunning, who invented a new legal system (*callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius*), could be satisfied with having one fewer political opponent and with suppressing the astrologers' activities, which threatened his power. Baumann tries to separate charges against Libo Drusus. He distinguishes between the finding of *libellous*—the mysterious symbols against the senators or Caesars (the astrologer question) and the charges of conspiracy (*crimen maiestas*). He argues that the interrogation of the slaves related to the charges of the use of astrology rather than *maiestas*.³⁷ "There were two offences in question, one a political conspiracy and the other some kind of sorcery,"³⁸ and the link that connects them is that certain *libellus*. The larger frame of the story, or as called in the professional literature, the "astrologer problem," is not only a feature of this case but an interesting and clearly notable phenomenon in the examined period.

The astrologer problem

Astrology had a substantial effect on various spiritual and quasi-religious trends in the Roman Empire in the 1st century A.D. The name for people that used such activities was *astrologi* (or *mathematici* or *Chaldei*), which included the following: astrologers, foretellers, prophets or seers.³⁹ In addition, we encounter the following titles in the vocabulary of legislation: (*h*)*aruspicies* and *augures*; and later more vague terms too such as

³³ PETTINGER (2012: 26–27).

³⁴ SYME (1958: 400) and SYME (1989: 256).

³⁵ SHOTTER (1972: 92).

³⁶ ROGERS (1935: 20).

³⁷ BAUMAN (1974: 60–61).

³⁸ WALKER (1952: 92).

³⁹ GOODYEAR (1981: 266–268).

*coniectores, (h)arioli, magi, γόητες, προφήται, vates and vaticinatores.*⁴⁰ The term undoubtedly signalled a kind of disrepute, but it did not necessarily mean quackery. Conversely, some practitioners—Tiberius’ friend and confidante, Thrasyllus, for example (Cass. Dio 57,15,7–9)—were considered sophisticated and educated people of their era and were honoured with special attention.⁴¹ Astrology was deemed reprehensible; in the political sense it was a perturbing activity and, later, its practice was separated into public and private spheres. In the latter case, it became a flourishing activity, even though initially it was frowned upon.⁴² It should be added that the senators (and the senate too) dealt with expulsions of astrologers from Rome in 33 B.C.⁴³ In the period of the emperors, their situation was uncertain, as it was dangerous to enquire about the future at a time of newly built power. “Those who consulted astrologers were concerned with pressing questions”,⁴⁴ including matters of a political nature. All along, the princeps’ own future may have been influenced by the words of seers. As shown in a later example, when precautions were taken at time Nero took the power over:

quo miles bona in spe ageret tempusque prosperum ex monitis Chaldaeorum adventaret. Tac. ann. 12,68,3.

Otherwise, Tacitus had a very negative opinion on this social group:

genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tac. hist. 1,22,1.

More and more areas of religious life opposed the ever-growing power control in this period.⁴⁵ The first *senatus consultum*, which was passed in connection with the Libo Drusus’ lawsuit and expelled sorcerers and astrologers from Italia, captures this struggle quite well. Additionally, people caught in such activities in the near future were punished by exile and “deprivation of fire and water”. In the Roman Empire, knowing the future could have generated a revolting effect in the audience of predictions. Such a result would threaten not only the general public order, but also the emperor and the Principate (for the state); hence defensive

⁴⁰ MACMULLEN (1966: 128).

⁴¹ CRAMER (1954: 99–101).

⁴² GOODYEAR (1981: 266–268).

⁴³ VÁRHELYI (2010: 159).

⁴⁴ GOODYEAR (1981: 267).

⁴⁵ VÁRHELYI (2010: 159).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case steps by legislation and precautionary measures were important.⁴⁶ To the concept of the Roman ideal belonged a supervised religious life that excluded the fortunes offered by alternative, publicly disqualified practices. Consequently, different measures and counteractions were taken against magical practices (and astrology, henceforth).⁴⁷

According to Tacitus, the regulations of A.D. 16 led directly to the execution of two magic practitioners—L. Pituanus and P. Marcius. They presumably became involved in Libo's case and/or were indirectly connected with it.⁴⁸ The basis of the regulation is the edict from Augustus' period (A.D. 11) that forbade people to consult seers. After Libo Drusus' lawsuit, the fathers passed three decrees in total (*Table 1*), as summarised by F. H. Cramer. The first of these was passed immediately after Libo Drusus' death on 13th September, as mentioned above. Tiberius vetoed the second, much stricter regulation (already imposing capital punishment) and forgave the Roman offenders. However, the *senatus consultum* issued that same year. The third decree included serious penalties for even Roman citizens (e.g., exile and/or confiscation of property).⁴⁹

A.D. 16	Area	Penalty	Group	Apply
1st SC	Rome and Italy	deportation confiscation of property	astrologers all other diviners	13 th September
		death	sorcerers only to non-citizens	vetoed!
3rd SC		death for non-Romans exile for Romans confiscation of property	astrologers diviners sorcerers Roman citizen-practitioners too!	31 st December (?)

Table 1. The three senate decrees after the case

Based on Suetonius' report, Tiberius later mitigated this law as follows:

Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus veniam dedit. Suet. *Tib.* 36.

This information is also supported by Cassius Dio (57,15,8). One possibility is that some senators intervened in protection of their friends,

⁴⁶ MACMULLEN (1966: 128).

⁴⁷ HAJDU (2013: 394).

⁴⁸ POTTER (1994: 174).

⁴⁹ CRAMER (1954: 237–240).

and Tiberius tolerated it tacitly.⁵⁰ At the same time, court astrologers like Thrasyllus (and later his son Balbillus) undoubtedly remained exempt from the decrees.⁵¹ Further, the success of these laws became questionable, because several additional regulations targeting the activities of seers and sorcerers were created later. More decrees were born during the 1st century—the *senatus consultum* of 52 (Claudius), for instance—, and we are aware of further expulsion patents (connected to the names of emperors, Nero, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Domitian).⁵² These decrees attest to the difficulty of the astrologer question and put the success of the regulations in doubt. Furthermore, we might infer that the decrees had less to do with expelling astrologers than it might appear at first glance.⁵³ In addition, it is necessary to mention that the senate was cornered and disregarded and their disagreement always is voiced only in relation to special situations.⁵⁴

However, Tacitus reports nine additional cases (*Table 2*) during the Julio-Claudian dynasty in which similar accusations were made.⁵⁵ Tacitus depicts these cases as quintessentially political and describes the political motivation behind all further cases as relating to magic.⁵⁶

Tac. ann.	Year (A.D.)	Emperor	Defendant(s)	Outcome
3,22–23	20	Tiberius	Aemilia Lepida	exile
4,52	26	Tiberius	Claudia Pulchra	doomed to death
6,29	34	Tiberius	Mamercus Scaurus	suicide
12,22	49	Claudius	Lollia Paulina	exile and suicide
12,52	52	Claudius	Furius Scribonianus	exile
12,59	53	Claudius	Statilius Taurus	suicide
12,64–65	54	Claudius	Domitia Lepida	execution
16,14–15	66	Nero	P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula	suicide
16,30–31	66	Nero	Barea Soranus and his daughter Servilia	execution

Table 2. Similar cases after A.D. 16 (during the Iulius-Claudius dynasty)

⁵⁰ POTTER (1994: 174–175).

⁵¹ MACMULLEN (1966: 140–141).

⁵² CRAMER (1954: 240–246).

⁵³ VÁRHELYI (2010: 159).

⁵⁴ TALBERT (1984: 172–173).

⁵⁵ FÖGEN (1993: 97).

⁵⁶ VÁRHELYI (2010: 159).

Some aspects of Tiberius' trials from the viewpoint of Libo Drusus case

A paradigmatic example

It does not seem accidental that Tiberius needed this principally politically prompted lawsuit, which played a critical part in strengthening the power of the emperor reigning as Augustus' successor. Indeed, Augustus' power and governing system were built partially on his unique persona that Tiberius could not inherit. Tiberius, of course, could not be the exact same emperor. "Above all legal and other decrees stands the *auctoritas*; the virtue of *auctoritas* that Augustus created, founding it on his own superiority."⁵⁷ For this reason, one can see that, after year 14, the new princeps at first had to fight a crisis of legitimacy. The reason for this crisis was that the pillars of the establishment were merely informal and therefore had to be strengthened.⁵⁸ With these political ideas in mind, one can see why an intent to question or simply enquire about the future of the sovereign was unacceptable. At a certain level, magic was unappealing and a matter of ridicule. As shown in the example of Thrasylus or, later, of Nero, however, even the empire's first citizen applied it. Consequently, its role deserves to be examined with distinction. The lawsuits discussing treason, deemed by Tacitus as "grave destruction", were excellent tools to suppress those who partook in sorcery. The *Annales* is the most detailed work in regards to the lese-majesty lawsuits in the history of the early principate, and is both a key starting and orientation point.

Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine et contactu. Tac. ann. 6,7,2.

This quote is a fitting reference to the general, plague-like spread of one of the most negative features of the realm of Emperor Tiberius. The atmosphere of fear and distrust was ever growing and became almost unanimous in the leading layer, and the opposition of the emperor was either destroyed or wrapped in silence. At the same time, as we observe in connection with Libo Drusus, these lawsuits provided the elite with a chance for promotion, of financial gain, and a pretext for retribution. The proceedings against Libo (*legem maiestas reduxerat*, Tac. ann. 1,72,2) lay bare Tiberius' incentive in an evil cause, as he had arguably pre-

⁵⁷ SYME (2002: 322).

⁵⁸ HEGYI W. (2011: 482).

determined Libo's death.⁵⁹ The emperor adamantly refused to show any sign of mercy, and it was only when his soldiers surrounded the house that Libo committed suicide.⁶⁰ Tiberius deferred the blame to the defendant, revealing "the irony of a masked tyranny, where the utmost victim is forced to wear the facade of a tyrant."⁶¹

It was my intention to demonstrate that Libo Drusus' life is a paradigmatic example of the tragic victims of the show trials, the dishonouring cases in the era of the Roman emperors in the first century. The evolution of show trials and the hardships of astrologers likewise, are important aspects in the history of this period. Despite the speed with which the process was conducted, I believe that the Libo Drusus trial was the first serious lese-majesty lawsuit and, as a result, is a complex incident. The study of the case—mainly through Tacitus' narrative—elucidates us on matters of sorcerers, criminal lawsuits, and the power struggles of the second emperor of the principate (two years after Augustus), and, more importantly, provides a greater understanding of the whole period.

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THE *EPITOME DE CAESARIBUS* AND THE THIRTY TYRANTS

MÁRK SÓLYOM

The *Epitome de Caesaribus* is a short, summarizing Latin historical work known as a *breviarium* or *epitomé*. This brief summary was written in the late 4th or early 5th century and summarizes the history of the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus to the time of Theodosius the Great in 48 chapters. Between chapters 32 and 35, the *Epitome* tells the story of the Empire under Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, and Aurelian. This was the most anarchic time of the soldier-emperor era; the *imperatores* had to face not only the German and Sassanid attacks, but also the economic crisis, the plague and the counter-emperors, as well. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* calls these counter-emperors the “thirty tyrants” and lists 32 usurpers, although there are some fictive *imperatores* in that list too. The *Epitome* knows only 9 tyrants, mostly the Gallic and Western usurpers. The goal of my paper is to analyse the *Epitome*’s chapters about Gallienus’, Claudius Gothicus’ and Aurelian’s counter-emperors with the help of the ancient sources and modern works.

The *Epitome de Caesaribus* is a short, summarizing Latin historical work known as a *breviarium* or *epitomé* (ἐπιτομή). During the late Roman Empire, long historical works (for example the books of Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio etc.) fell out of favour, as the imperial court preferred to read shorter summaries. Consequently, the genre of abbreviated history became well-recognised.¹ The word *epitomé* comes from the Greek word *epitemnein* (ἐπιτέμνειν), which means “to cut short”.² The most famous late antique abbreviated histories are Aurelius Victor’s *Liber de Caesaribus* (written in the 360s),³ Eutropius’ *Breviarium ab Urbe condita*⁴ and Festus’ *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani*.⁵ Both Eutropius’ and Festus’ works were created during the reign of Emperor Valens between 364 and 378. The *Epitome de Caesaribus* was

¹ JARECSNI (1996: 149).

² GAUVILLE (2005: 86–92).

³ ROHRBACHER (2002: 42–48); SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 1–2).

⁴ ROHRBACHER (2002: 49–56); SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 1–2).

⁵ ROHRBACHER (2002: 57–63); SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 1–2).

written in the late 4th or early 5th century by an unknown pagan author, who may have been in contact with the non-Christian senatorial resistance of Rome led by the pagan senator, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus. The composition's *terminus post quem* is the cited burial of Emperor Theodosius in 395 and its *terminus ante quem* is the death of Emperor Arcadius in 408, who is mentioned in the work as a living person.⁶ The *Epitome* begins with the time of Augustus, ends with the death of Theodosius, and contains 48 chapters.⁷

Jörg Schlumberger conducted a complete analysis of the work in 1974, but he did not pay very close attention to the counter-emperors. He wrote about the rebelling usurpers only in connection with the legitimate emperors. If we read Schlumberger's analysis about the usurpators of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus and Aurelian, who were mentioned by the *Epitome*, we can find several errors. Indeed, the book of the German historian is old, so it does not include the latest modern works and evidence. In 1974, Schlumberger dated Postumus' rebellion and the murder of Saloninus to 261,⁸ although after the founding of Postumus' "Augsburger Siegesaltar" in 1992, we know that the correct date is 260.⁹ The German historian mentioned no more dates in connection with the rebelling warlords, so the reader has no help in dating the usurpers found in the *Epitome*. Another shortcoming is that Schlumberger did not use newer terminologies to differentiate or group the counter-emperors, so his work did not explain that Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus were the rulers of the same separate state, the so called "Gallic Empire" ("Gallisches Sonderreich"). The German historian states that the existence of Septimius, the counter-emperor from "Dalmatia" is verified by Zosimos' work, the *Historia Nova*.¹⁰ This is not exactly true, because the Greek historian mentions only Epiteimios,¹¹ although the *Epitome*'s Septimius and Zósimos' Epiteimios are probably the same person. The goal of my paper is to analyse the *Epitome*'s chapters about Gallienus', Claudius Gothicus' and Aurelian's counter-emperors with the help of the ancient sources and modern works. I will try to include as many dates as

⁶ *Epit. de Caes.* 48,20. – The burial of Emperor Theodosius; *Epit. de Caes.* 48,19. – The mentioning of Arcadius as a living person: *sicque in pace rebus humanis annum agens quinquagesimum apud Mediolanum excessit utramque rempublicam utrisque filiis, id est Arcadio et Honorio, quietam relinquens.*

⁷ GAUVILLE (2005: 13–14).

⁸ SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 149).

⁹ BAKKER (1993: 369–386).

¹⁰ SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 161).

¹¹ Zos. 1,49.

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possible, focusing on the chronology as well as the historical events, themselves.

Between chapters 32 and 35, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* tells the story of the Roman Empire under Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, and Aurelian. This was the most anarchic time of the soldier-emperor's era; the *imperatores* faced not only the German and Sassanid attacks, but also the economic crisis, the plague, and the counter-emperors. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* calls these counter-emperors the “thirty tyrants” (*tyranni triginta*) and lists 32 usurpers (30 men and 2 women), although there are some fictive *imperatores* in that list, too.¹² The *Epitome* includes only 9 tyrants, mostly the Gallic and Western usurpers. The unknown author of the work was a pagan from the Western part of the Empire, probably from Rome (Schlumberger believed that he was a relative or a close friend of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus),¹³ so he did not know the Greek historical tradition and the past events of the Empire's Eastern part.

But what was the status of the Empire's Western provinces in the 260's and the early 270's? In the spring of 260, Germanic (Frankish and Alemannian) tribes attacked the *ripae* of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, and Raetia; they sacked the three Gallic provinces, Hispania, and Northern Italy; and Aurelius Victor informs us in the *Liber de Caesaribus* that some barbarian soldiers landed in Northern Africa.¹⁴ During these heavy barbarian attacks, Illyricum rejected the legitimate emperor and declared its support for Ingenuus and, after his death, for Regalianus.¹⁵ Marcus Cassianus Latinius Postumus, the *praeses* (governor) of Germania Inferior, usurped the purple too and killed Emperor Gallienus' son, Saloninus. Britannia, the three Gauls, Hispania, Raetia, and the German provinces declared their support for Postumus. And although Raetia, in 265, and Hispania, in 270, returned to the loyalty of the legitimate emperor, the “Gallic Empire” and the last Gallic “tyrant” were finally crushed only in 274 by Aurelian.¹⁶

The *Epitome* mentions only two Eastern usurpers, Aemilianus from Egypt and Valens from Macedonia.¹⁷ They very likely existed, but the lack of numismatic evidence shows that they never wore the purple. In the summer of 260, the Sassanid king of kings, Shapur I, attacked the Eastern

¹² *SHA Tyranni Triginta*.

¹³ SCHLUMBERGER (1974: 245–246).

¹⁴ Eutropius 9,8; Aur. Victor 33,3.

¹⁵ Eutropius 9,8; Aur. Victor 33,2; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 9–10; FITZ (1966: 1–71).

¹⁶ Eutropius 9,9–9,10; 9,13; Aur. Victor 33,8–33,14; 35,3–35,5; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 3–8; 14–15; DRINKWATER (1987: 92–108); KÖNIG (1981: 198–205).

¹⁷ *Epit. de Caes.* 32,4.

provinces of the Roman Empire, defeated the Roman legions, and imprisoned Emperor Valerianus. The author of the *Epitome* knows and mentions Shapor and his great victory, but does not write about the Palmyrene tyrants and the Eastern counter-emperors.¹⁸ What events and usurpers were not mentioned in the *Epitome*? After the Sassanid victory, two armies were organised in the East. Odenathus (Udaynath), the ruler of Palmyra's oasis city and a Roman senator, had marched against Shapor with his heavy cavalry and, after some victorious battles, expelled the Sassanids from the Roman Empire.¹⁹ The other army was led by Roman generals, who made Macrianus and his sons (Macrianus Iunior and Quietus) emperors. The Macriani did not attack Shapor. Rather, they marched west and, in 261, were defeated and killed near Serdica by Aureolus and Domitian, who later became usurpers, as well.²⁰ The sole Eastern power remained Palmyra and, after the death of Odenathus, his wife and son, Zenobia and Vaballathus, became *augusta* and *augustus*. The forces of the caravan city had conquered Egypt and Asia Minor between 270 and 272, and only Aurelian was finally able to crush Palmyra in 273.²¹

The usurpation of Postumus is mentioned in chapter 32 of the *Epitome*. This work is the only one in antiquity that tells the full name of the first Gallic counter-emperor, "Cassius Latienus Postumus", although incorrectly. Indeed, the usurper's real name is Marcus Cassianus Latinius Postumus, as we know it from the tyrant's inscriptions.²² The *Epitome* includes only one detail about the counter-emperor's uprising and reign: *Cassius Latienus Postumus in Gallia Gallieni filio interfecto, Epit. de Caes. 32,3*. The murder of the legitimate emperor's son in Colonia Agrippinensis (in Cologne, and not in Gaul, as the *Epitome* indicates)²³ meant Postumus' success and the birth of the Gallic Empire. The work does not mention any other information about Postumus; we must read Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, the *Historia Augusta*, or Zosimos for more details. The usurper ruled for nine years (between 260 and 269) and was

¹⁸ *Epit. de Caes.* 32,5–32,6.

¹⁹ Eutropius 9,10–9,11; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 15; Zósimos 1,39.

²⁰ Zonar. 12,24; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 12–14; 18.

²¹ Eutropius 9,13; Zos. 1,50–1,61; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 30; WATSON (1999: 59–88).

²² CIL II 4943: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Cassiani/us Latinius Pos/tumus Pius Fel(ix) / Invic[tu]s Aug(ustus) / Ger(manicus) max(imus) / pont(ifex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / proco(n)s(ul) res/tituit*

²³ DRINKWATER (1987: 26–27).

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murdered by his own legions in *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) for not allowing them to sack the traitor settlement.²⁴

The author of the *Epitome* wrote only one sentence about Laelianus in chapter 32, but corrupted the usurper's name, although at least the place of the revolt, *Mogontiacum* is correct: *pari modo Aelianus apud Mogontiacum (...) dominatum invasere, Epit. de Caes. 32,4*. After this event, the work discusses the victory of the Sassanid king of kings, Shapor, who had defeated Emperor Valerianus in 260—nine years before Laelianus' usurpation, which means that the *Epitome's* chronology is wrong in this chapter. The other sources and the numismatic evidence indicate that Laelianus rebelled against Postumus in 269, ruled for five months, and was killed by Postumus' army.²⁵

The rule of Victorinus is discussed in chapter 34, after the events of Emperor Claudius' wars and death. The *Epitome* states that *his diebus Victorinus regnum cepit, Epit. de Caes. 34,3*, but the exact time and the place of the usurpation are not mentioned. We cannot read about the counter-emperor's death in the work, but Aurelius Victor wrote that Attitianus killed him because Victorinus had an affair with his wife.²⁶ He ruled the Gallic Empire between 269 and 271.²⁷

Tetricus was the last Gallic usurper between 271 and 274.²⁸ The *Epitome* mentions Aurelian, the legitimate emperor, in chapter 35: *Hic Tetricum, qui imperator ab exercitu in Galliis effectus fuerat, (Aurelianus) correctorem Lucaniae provexit, aspergens hominem eleganti ioco sublimius habendum regere aliquam Italiae partem quam trans Alpes regnare, Epit. de Caes. 35,7*. The author does not mention Tetricus Iunior, the son of the Gallic counter-emperor;²⁹ does not mention Faustinus' uprising against the usurper;³⁰ does not mention the battle *apud Catalaunos* between Aurelian and Tetricus.³¹ Only the defeated Gallic tyrant's fate is clear in the work. Aurelian pardoned him and appointed *corrector Lucaniae*, who was responsible for the southern part of Italia. According to Eutropius, he died at an advanced age.³²

²⁴ DRINKWATER (1987: 27–35).

²⁵ DRINKWATER (1987: 34–35).

²⁶ Aur. Victor 33,13.

²⁷ DRINKWATER (1987: 35–39).

²⁸ DRINKWATER (1987: 39–44).

²⁹ Aur. Victor 33,14; *SHA Tyranni Triginta 25*.

³⁰ Aur. Victor 35,4.

³¹ Eutropius 9,13; *Paneg. Lat.* 8,4,3.

³² Eutropius 9,13.

COUNTER-EMPERORS OF THE GALLIC EMPIRE		
	<i>Beginning of the reign</i>	<i>End of the reign</i>
Postumus (Epit. de Caes. 32.)	<i>Summer 260</i>	<i>May / June 269</i>
Laelianus (Epit. de Caes. 32.)	<i>January 269</i>	<i>May / June 269</i>
Marius (not in the Epitome)	<i>May / June 269</i>	<i>September / October 269</i>
Domitian II. (not in the Epitome)	<i>270</i>	<i>270</i>
Victorinus (Epit. de Caes. 34.)	<i>September / October 269</i>	<i>Beginning of 271</i>
Tetricus (Epit. de Caes. 35.)	<i>Beginning of 271</i>	<i>Spring / summer 274</i>

In 260, the Roman legions appointed two military commanders as emperors in Illyricum. Ingenuus was made imperator first in Pannonia, but he was defeated by the legitimate emperor, Gallienus.³³ After the usurpation had ended, the remaining Pannonian armies voted the purple for another general, Regalianus. Only this second tyrant is included in the *Epitome*, but the source corrupts his name and calls him “Regillianus”.³⁴ There is another error in the work: the author locates the uprising in Moesia, although the coins of Regalianus and his wife (or mother), Sulpicia Dryantilla can be found only near Carnuntum, in Pannonia Superior. He likely was killed by German tribes or by his own rebelling army.³⁵

Only one ancient Latin source mentions Septimius: the *Epitome*, which names the place of his usurpation (Dalmatia)³⁶ and states that he was immediately killed by his own soldiers. Zosimos writes about an “Epitimios”³⁷ in the *Historia Nova*, and Schlumberger believes that Septimius and Epitimios are the same person. The hypothesis is probably correct, even if the available evidence cannot prove it.

COUNTER-EMPERORS IN ILLYRICUM		
	<i>Beginning of the reign</i>	<i>End of the reign</i>
Ingenuus (not in the Epitome)	<i>260</i>	<i>260</i>
Regalianus (Epit. de Caes. 32.)	<i>260</i>	<i>260</i>
Septimius (Epit. de Caes. 35.)	<i>270 or 271</i>	<i>270 or 271</i>

³³ FPA 162–166.

³⁴ *Epit. de Caes.* 32,3.

³⁵ FPA 166–168; RIC Vol. V. Part 2. Regalianus 1–8; Sulpicia Dryantilla 1–2.

³⁶ *Epit. de Caes.* 35,3.

³⁷ Zos. 1,49.

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Aureolus was the cavalry commander of Emperor Gallienus, who defeated the Eastern usurpers (the Macriani) near Serdica.³⁸ In 268, however, he declared for the Gallic tyrant, Postumus. The 32nd chapter of the *Epitome* mentioned only that *Mediolani Aureolus dominatum invasere, Epit. de Caes. 32,4*, but the details of his usurpation are in the 33rd chapter. Gallienus immediately marched against his traitor general, destroyed a bridge, and besieged Mediolanum: *quem cum apud pontem, qui ex eius nomine Aureolus appellatur, obtentum detrusumque Mediolanum obsedit, Epit. de Caes. 33,2*. The story of the “Aureolus bridge” is very strange, but Aurelius Victor gives the answer: he says that there was a battle near the bridge and it was named Aureolus only after the defeat of the usurper.³⁹ During the siege of Mediolanum, Aureolus declared himself emperor, but was defeated a second time and was killed. Ironically, his enemy, Gallienus, was murdered too by his own soldiers.⁴⁰

<i>COUNTER-EMPERORS IN MEDIOLANUM, EGYPT AND MACEDONIA</i>		
	<i>Beginning of the reign</i>	<i>End of the reign</i>
Aureolus (<i>Epit. de Caes. 32-33.</i>)	268	268
Aemilianus (<i>Epit. de Caes. 32.</i>)	260 or 261 or was not usurper	261 or 262 or was not usurper
Valens (<i>Epit. de Caes. 32.</i>)	260 or 261 or was not usurper	260 or 261 or was not usurper

Only two Eastern usurpers are mentioned by the *Epitome*, but neither Aemilianus nor Valens struck coins, so the lack of numismatic evidence indicates that they were not counter-emperors. Another possible solution for the problem is that they were unable to strike coins because they did not have a coin mint. The *Epitome* briefly mentions Aemilianus and Valens: *in Aegypto Aemilianus, apud Macedonas Valens (...) dominatum invasere, Epit. de Caes. 32,4*.

The *Epitome* is one of the last pagan historical works written in the Latin language. It includes mostly the Western historical traditions of the Roman Empire and gives only a brief summary of the Roman emperors' and counter-emperors' lives. The work mentions nine of the “thirty tyrants” and contains three unique pieces of information about the rebelling usurpers. The first is the full name of Postumus, although it is not exactly correct (*Cassius Latienus Postumus* rather than *Marcus Cassianus*

³⁸ Zonar. 12,24; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 11–13; *Gallieni Duo* 2.

³⁹ Aur. Victor 33,17–33,20.

⁴⁰ Zos. 1,41; Zonar. 12,25–12,26; Aur. Victor 33,19–33,22.

Latinius Postumus).⁴¹ The second is the mention of the usurper Septimius as Septimius and not as Epitímios.⁴² The third is the place of Septimius' uprising, which is Dalmatia.⁴³ Beside these positive aspects, the *Epítome* made several mistakes too. Postumus', Laelianus' and Regalianus' names, the place where Postumus killed Gallienus' son (Gallia instead of Colonia Agrippinensis), the chronology of Laelianus' rule and the area of Regalianus' uprising (Moesia instead of Pannonia Superior) are wrong. With all of these errors and weaknesses, the *Epítome* fits well in the late 4th century's historiographical tradition. Although it is not the most important source from late antiquity, it deserves some attention, despite the open questions it presents.

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⁴¹ *Epít. de Caes.* 32,3.

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NEW DATA ON THE USE OF TERM RAETIA-VINDELICIA

ISTVÁN GERGŐ FARKAS

In the previous two decades, the topic of Raetia's occupation became a focal point in Roman provincial history.¹ These recent publications have dealt with many aspects of early Raetian history and the organization of the province. The aim of this paper is to elaborate the reasons behind the use of the terms *Raetia* and *Vindelicia*, via the collection and synopsis of contemporaneous literary sources up to 476 (*Table 4*),² epigraphical sources, and the results of archaeological excavations and find-material analysis, presented in chronological order.

Introduction

The Roman province known as Raetia is located in Central-Europe and its territory is presently divided amongst four countries: the northern part of Raetia is occupied by the two southernmost German states – Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. Raetia's southwestern part belongs to Switzerland and Lichtenstein, its southeastern part to Austria's two westernmost states – Vorarlberg and Tyrol.³ At its greatest extent, Raetia covered an area of approx. 80.000 km^{2,4}

Graeci et quidam nostri XXV oram Germaniae tradiderunt, Agrippa cum Raetia et Norico longitudinem DCXXXVI, latitudinem CCXLVIII, Raetiae prope unius maiore latitudine, sane circa excessum eius subactae; nam Germania multis postea annis nec tota percognita est, Agrippa 21.

¹ USLER (1996: 155–213); LANG (2003: 72–79); DIETZ (2004a: 1–23); DIETZ (2008: 10–22); STROBEL (2009: 437–509).

² Although 476 was designated as the end date for the inclusion of auctors, a significant number of works edited in subsequent centuries reflect on events of Raetian history and aspects of provincial life, e.g. Evgipp. *Sev.* 15,1; *Provinc. laterc.* 10,9; *Cassiod. var.* 1,4; *Chron. ecc. ann.* 2002; 2012.

³ RBy (1995: 18), SOMMER (2008: 207–208).

⁴ Cf. *Plin. nat.* 4,98; *Ptol. Geog.* 1,16.

It stretched from the high summits of the Alps northward through a hill-country rich in rivers all the way to the Schwäbische Alb (Swabian Jura) Mountains:

Pannonia, Noricus et Raetia habent ab oriente Moesiam, a meridie Histriam, ab africo Alpes Poeninas, ab occasu Galliam Belgicam, a circio Danubii fontem et limitem, qui Germaniam a Gallia inter Danubium Galliamque secernit, a septentrione Danubium et Germaniam. (...) [Alpium] quae a Gallico mari super Ligusticum sinum exsurgentes, primum Narbonensium fines, deinde Galliam Raetiamque secludunt, donec in sinu Liburnico defigantur, Oros. hist. 1,2,60–61.

Raeti and Vindelici in the light of Roman sources

Geographical and Social conditions in Raetia before Roman occupation

Preceding Roman occupation, the area later organised as the province of Raetia was controlled by numerous Celtic tribes (*Figure 1*):

Incolae Alpium multi populi, sed inlustres a Pola ad Tergestis regionem Fecusses, Subocriini, Catali, Menoncaleni iuxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici. His contermini Raeti et Vindolici, omnes in multas civitates divisi. Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto. Verso deinde in Italiam pectore Alpium Latini iuris Euganaeae gentes, quarum oppida XXXIII enumerat Cato, Plin. nat. 3,54.

Tusci quoque duce Raeto avitis sedibus amissis Alpes occupavere et ex nomine ducis gentem Raetorum condiderunt, Iust. 20,5,9.

It is clear that there was little consent among ancient literary accounts regarding the ethnic status of tribes located in the subsequent province of Raetia.⁵ It is beyond doubt however, that all these tribes were collectively referred to as Raeti and Vindelici, both being Celtic terms.⁶

The slopes of the Alps stood under the supervision of the Alpine tribes.⁷ Two of these tribes—the Breuni and Genauni—are listed by Strabo as Illyrians:

Οἱ δὲ Ὀυινδολικοὶ καὶ Νορικοὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς παρῳραϊαν κατέχουσι τὸ πλεόν μετὰ Βρεῦνων καὶ Γεναύνων, ἤδη τούτων Ἰλλυριῶν, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,4:

⁵ GRIMMEISEN (1997); DIETZ (2004a: 14–15; table 2).

⁶ Raeti: LANG (2003: 80); Vindelici: DIETZ et al. (2007: 446).

⁷ CIL 5² (1959: 7817); Plin. *nat.* 3,136–137.

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

Areas outside the range of the Alps, bordering its northeastern slopes, were under supervision of several tribes which were collectively called Vindelici.⁸ Strabo listed five tribes that belonged to the Vindelici: Licat(t)ii, Clautenatii, Vennonnes, Estiones and the Brigantii:

Ιταμώτατοι δὲ τῶν μὲν Ὀυνδολικῶν ἐξητάζοντο (1) Λικάττιοι καὶ (2) Κλαυτηνάτιοι καὶ (3) Ὀυένωνες, τῶν δὲ Ῥαιτῶν Ῥουκάντιοι καὶ Κωτουάντιοι. καὶ οἱ (4) Ἐστίωνες δὲ τῶν Ὀυνδολικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ (5) Βριγάντιοι, καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν (a) Βριγάντιον καὶ (b) Καμβόδουον καὶ ἡ τῶν Λικαττίων ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις (c) Δαμασία, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,6–7.

The Tropaeum Alpium listed four nations belonging to the Vindelici without further distinguishing them.⁹ Strabo considered Rucantii and Cotiantii as Raetian tribes.¹⁰ Pliny the Elder reckoned the Vennonnes (considered Vindelican by Strabo) to the Raeti as well as the Sarunetes, who both occupied the area neighbouring the source of the Rhine:

Raetorum Vennonnienses Sarunetesque ortus Rheni amnis accolunt, Plin. *nat.* 3,135.

He stated that the region south of the Danube belonged to the Raeti all the way to the Norican Kingdom which bordered Raetian territories from the east:

A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert mangus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici, Plin. *nat.* 3,146.

The river Inn (Aenus, cf. Pons Aeni) and its longest affluent, the Salzach, acted as a natural barrier between these two regions:¹¹

Ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, Tac. *hist.* 3,5,6.

These rivers acted also as the occasional barriers separating the Gallic and Illyrian districts of taxes and customs (*portorium*),¹² as from time to time Raetia had been rated from one to the other.¹³ Raetia's belonging to the Illyrian district is reflected by Appian:

⁸ Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,4.

⁹ CIL 5² (1959: 7817); Plin. *nat.* 3,136–137.

¹⁰ Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,6.

¹¹ Tac. *hist.* 3,5,6.

¹² STEIDL (2008: 77–84); SOMMER (2008: 208).

¹³ KÜNZL (1996: 2458).

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τοῦσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώτῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὄμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστρου καταπλέοντι ὄκηται, διαιροῦσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται, *App. Illyr.* 6,1.

It is uncertain how much the Romans knew of autochthonous settlements, as all of the geographical summaries and lists were completed after Raetia’s organization (*Table 1*). Strabo wrote that the settlements of the Brigantii and Estiones were named Brigantium, Cambodunum and that of the Licatii, Damasia.¹⁴ Pliny the Elder listed four oppida located in North Italy as Raetian: Feltria (alternatively spelt Fertria, present-day Feltre), Tridentum (present-day Trento), Breuna (unidentified) and Verona.¹⁵

Feltrini et Tridentini et Beruenses Raetica oppida, Raetorum et Euganeorum Verona, Iulienses Carnorum, Plin. nat. 3,130.

In the 160s, Claudius Ptolemy edited a fundamental list of settlements (and their geographical data) in Raetia and Vindelicia.¹⁶ Several subsequent geographers have based their work on Ptolemy’s data.¹⁷

Raetia ¹⁸		Vindelicia ¹⁹	
Settlements along the Danube	Settlements along the Rhine	Settlements along the Danube	South of the Danube
Bragodurum	Tasgaetium	Artobriga	Augusta
Alkimoennis	Brigantium	Boiodurum	Vindelicum
Viana	Vico		Carrodunum
Faviana	Ebodurum		Abodiacum
	Drusomagus		Cambodunum
	Octodurus		Medullum
			Inutrium

Table 1. Claudius Ptolemy’s list of settlements in Raetia and Vindelicia²⁰

Currently the most extensive list of Raetian settlements is the one edited by H. Bender who cross-checked ancient itineraries with archaeological

¹⁴ *Str. Geog.* 4,6,8,7.

¹⁵ *Plin. nat.* 14,3.

¹⁶ *Ptol. Geog.* 2,1.

¹⁷ *Divisio orb.* 10; *Dimens. provinc.* 19; DIETZ (2004a: 4–8).

¹⁸ *Ptol. Geog.* 2,12.

¹⁹ *ibid.* 2,13.

²⁰ Latin transcript based on DIETZ (2004a: 12–13, table 1).

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data.²¹ He identified most of the ancient toponyms with present-day settlements and plotted known Raetian settlements on a map. No literary records made by these tribes themselves – presuming that they had any – survived from the times preceding Roman occupation. For this reason, one can reconstruct their history and living conditions only via the necessarily subjective testament of contemporary and subsequent ancient literary sources.

The Greek geographer, Strabo was the first to document the autochthonous conditions of Raetia in his geographical and historical work, the *Geographica* (*Geógraphika hypomnémata*). He reflects on a province which has two keenly dissimilar aspects: on one side, a fertile hill-country stretching between the Alps and the Danube which was well suited for agriculture and where many had settled in the sheltered dales:

Κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων ὄρεινὴν ἔστι μὲν καὶ γεώλοφα χωριακαλῶς γεωργεῖσθαι δυνάμενα καὶ αὐλῶνες εὖ συνεκτισμένοι, τὸ μέντοι πλέον καιμάλιστα περὶ τὰς κορυφάς, περὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ λησταί, λυπρὸν καὶ ἄκαρπονδιά τε τὰς πάγκυας καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς γῆς, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,9,3.

On the other hand, a significant area of the province is occupied by the barren and sparsely populated Alpine chain. Besides the wintry climate and meagre soil, highwaymen gathered in the ravines who often plundered the inhabitants of nearby lands:

Κατὰ σπάνιν οὖν τροφῆς τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐφείδοντο ἔσθ' ὅτε τῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, ἴν' ἔχοιεν χορηγούς: ἀντεδίδουσαν δὲ ῥήτιν ἠνίπτιαν δᾶδα κηρὸν τυρὸν μέλι: τούτων γάρ εὐπόρουν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Κάρνων τὸ Ἀπέννινον ὄρος, λίμνην ἔχον ἐξείσαν εἰς τὸν Ἀτῆσινον ποταμὸν, ὃς παραλαβὼν Ἄταριν ἄλλον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐκβάλλει, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,9,4.

Numerous rivers and streams intersected Raetia which all were rapid-flowing near their alpine river-heads and thus unnavigable:

Prima trans Alpes arma nostra sensere Saluvii, cum de incursionibus eorum fidissima atque amicissima civitas Massilia quereretur; Allobroges deinde et Arverni, cum adversus eos similes Haeduorum querelae opem et auxilium nostrum flagitarent; utriusque victoriae testes Isara et Vindelici amnes et inpiger fluminum Rhodanus, Flor. epit. 1,37,2.

²¹ BENDER (2000: 272–285); cf. ZANIER (2006) and various works from H. GRASSL and K. STROBEL.

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At Valentinianus magna animo concipiens et utilia, Rhenum omnem a Raetiarum exordio ad usque fretalem Oceanum magnis molibus communiebat, Amm. 28,2,1.

Sublimis in Arcton / prominet Hercyniae confinis Raetia silvae / quae se Danuvii iactat Rhenique parentem / utraque Romuleo praetendens flumina regno, Claud. 26,332.

However later on they flared and became suitable for naval traffic.²²

At ille qui Scythiae populos a sequentibus dirimit, apertis in Germania fontibus, alio quam desinit nomine exoritur. Nam per immania magnarum gentium diu Danuvius est, deinde aliter eum adpellantibus accolis fit Hister, acceptisque aliquot annibus, ingens iam et eorum qui in Nostrum mare decidunt tantum Nilo minor, totidem quot ille ostiis, sed tribus tenuibus, reliquis navigabilibus effluit, Mela 2,8.

Amnis vero Danubius oriens prope Rauracos monte confine limitibus Raeticis per latiore orbem praetentus ac sexaginta navigabilis paene omnes recipiens fluvios, septem ostiis per hoc Scythicum litus erumpit in mare, Amm. 14,4,1–6.

According to Strabo the land of the Raeti reached from the southern alpine chain of mountains facing Italy to present-day's Bavarian Alps:

Ἐξῆς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὰ ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς νότον Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐινδολκοὶ κατέχουσι συνάπτοντες Ἐλουηττίοις καὶ Βοῖοις: ἐπὶ κείναι γὰρ τοῖς ἐκεῖνων πεδίοις, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,1.

Tacitus described in detail various conditions of Raetia, although one should bear in mind that his work was written more than a century after the province's occupation. Whilst discussing the borders of Germania, Tacitus stated that the river-head of the Rhine as well as the northern slopes of the Alps belonged to the Raeti:

Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur, Tac. Germ. 1,1.

His description, although brief, reverberates Strabo's topos of the desolate, barren and thus uninhabited Alps:

²² Cf. Amm. 22,8,44.

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Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur, Tac. Germ. 1,2.

The contrast between the barren Alps and the fertile hill-country bordering it from the north is a recurring motif in Germania:

Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia, Tac. Germ. 41,1–2

One can conclude that in the 1st – 3rd centuries, the area of Raetia in comparison to other provinces, both relatively (percentage) and absolutely (area), had little fertile land. Most of this land was situated in the aforementioned river-valleys. In the 2nd century, the emperors Trajan and Marcus Aurelius gradually expanded Raetia northwards, to incorporate the rich lowlands between the Rhine and the Danube (the so-called Agri Decumates), and the Schwäbische Alb mountain, the southern slopes of which gave home to numerous villas.²³ Yet the main function of Raetia remained in providing a buffer-zone to prevent Germanic tribes from harassing Gallia and Italy. For this reason, the number and ratio of settlements in Raetia with municipal rank was significantly lower than in other provinces. During the principate, only eight classical civilian towns are known (larger settlements which have grown independent from the military), and only one amongst these, Municipium Augusta Vindelicum, is confirmed to have had a municipal rank.²⁴

Tacitus' *Germania* reveals how little the Romans knew of the origins and history of the nations comprehensively referred to as Raeti and Vindelici and how they attempted closing these gaps in their knowledge by applying mythological analogies which they themselves doubted – e.g. the idea of Raetians originating from Amazons or Ulixes' travel to Germania:

Hi Vindelici sedibus ab Amazonibus eiecti [et] ex Thracia in exilium se contulisse Alpiumque loca insedis dicuntur, et, quod potentissima in se

²³ SOMMER (2012: 141)

²⁴ Ptol. *Geog.* 2,12,3: *Αγγονστα Οβινδελίχων*; Iord. *Rom.* 217: *Augusta Vindicas*; Not. dign. occ. 11,5: *Augustae Vindelicensis*; Tab. *Peut.* 3,1: *Augusta Vindelicu(m) -rum*). The rank of the settlement is attested on a sole military constitution issued in 234: *AE* (2009: 1799): *Aug. Vindelicho*. For a brief summary on the settlement's history cf. ZAHARIADE (2008: 1172–1175).

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tela secures Amazonum experti fuissent, ipsos quoque usum earum in bello accepisse, Porph. Hor. *carm.* 4,4,18–21.

Tutus ideo tutus, quia Raeti Vindelici ipsi sunt Liburni, saevissimi admodum populi, contra quos saevissimi admodum populi, contra quos missus est Drusus. Hi autem ab Amazonibus originem ducunt, ut etiam Horatius dicit “quibus mos unde deductus per omne tempus Amazonia securi dextrasobarmet, quaerere distuli”. Hoc ergo nunc ad augmentum pertinet, quod tutus est etiam inter saevos populos, Serv. *Aen.* 1,243.

Aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem, Tac. *Germ.* 3,3.

Based on linguistic similarities between the Venetian and the Raetian language, Livy suggested that the latter originated from the former, although he stated that the Raetian language underwent significant changes:

Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae nec eum incorruptum retinerent, Liv. 5,33,11.

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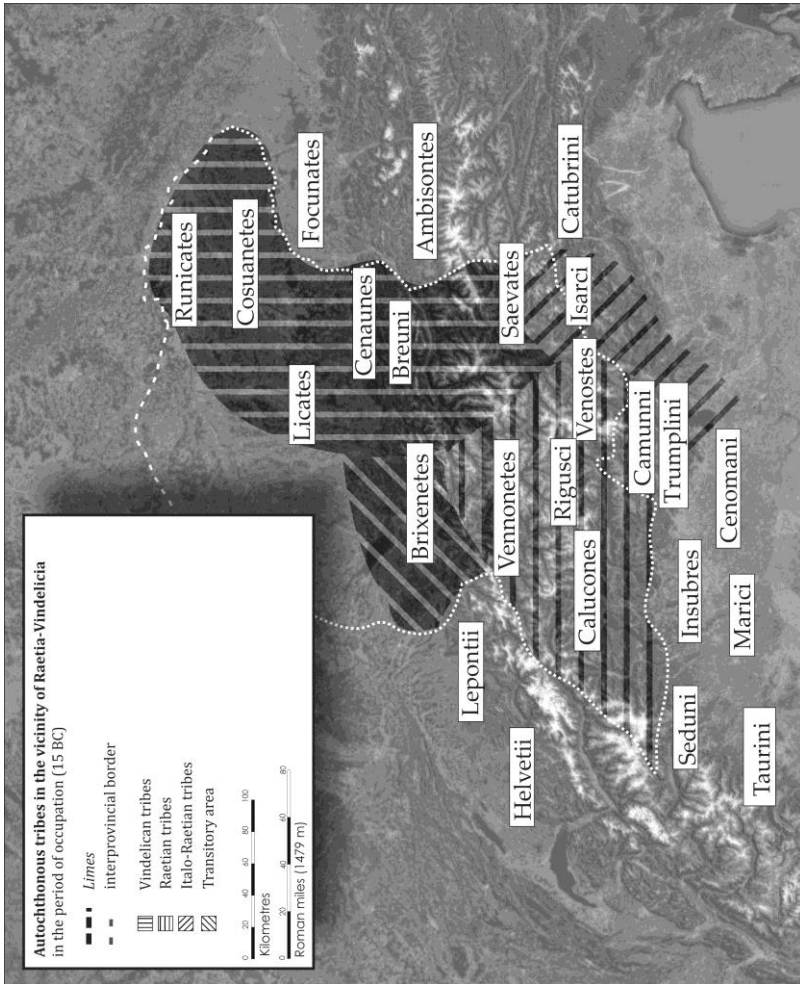


Figure 1. Autochthonous tribes of the central Alpine region in the period of the occupation (15 BC)

The effect of annexation on the autochthonous nations

Roman occupation in the light of the sources

The campaign against the Raeti and Vindelici

In the course of the 2nd and 1st century BC, several smaller campaigns were led against Raeti.²⁵ However, Raetian tribes came into the spotlight of Roman interest only in the last decades of the 1st century BC.²⁶

Καί μοι θαυμά ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι Ῥωμαίων στρατοὶ ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβηρας διὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὀδεύοντες ὑπερεῖδον τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οὐδὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, εὐτυχέστατος ἐς πολέμους ἀνὴρ, ἐξήνυσεν αὐτά, ὅτε Κελτοῖς ἐπολέμει καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐχείμαζεν, App. *Illyr.* 3,15.

In 17/16 BC the united forces of the Sicambri, Usipetes and Tencteri crushed the forces of M. Lollius Paulinus, the governor of Gallia. Lollius' humiliating defeat brought about a turning point in Emperor Augustus' policy regarding the Alpine region.²⁷ This loss – commonly referred to as *clades Lolliana* – incited Augustus to bring the lands of these incursing Germanic tribes under Roman control:

Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iullos, Tac. ann. 1,10,3.

Ubi vero per licentiam scandens in maius ad funestis provinciarum clades erepsit et crebras, communitis aditibus Raeticis tutelaque pervigili Galliarum securitate fundata (...), Amm. 17,13,28.

These lands were occupied gradually, in a series of campaigns:

Λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παίωνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νορικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον Πόντον. Ραιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νορικοὺς ἠγοῦμαι Γάιον Καῖσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἢ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειροῦμενον Παίονας: ἐν μέσφ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡῶρον ἴδιον ἐς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νορικοὺς γενόμενον: ὅθεν μοι δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἐτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι, App. *Illyr.* 10,5,29.

²⁵ 2nd century BC: Flor. *epit.* 1,37,2; 1st century BC: CIL 10 (1883: 6087).

²⁶ RAEGETH – ZANIER (2010: 241–283).

²⁷ RBy (1995: 21).

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In 16 BC, P. Silius Nerva subdued the Camunni, Trumplini and Vennoneti living on the southern slopes of the Alps, located north of Brixia (present-day Brescia):

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνιοι καὶ Οὐέννιοι, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὄπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν, Dio *hist.* 54,20,1.

The names of these tribes lead the list of subdued peoples on the Tropaeum Alpium. Their conquest defined the initiative of Augustus' Alpine campaign, which culminated in the occupation of lands from the Raeti and Vindelici:²⁸

Nam exceptis civilibus bellis, in quibus invictus fuit, Romano adiecit imperio Aegyptum, Cantabriam, Dalmatiam saepe ante victam, sed penitus tunc subactam, Pannoniam, Aquitaniam, Illyricum, Raetiam, Vindelicos et Salassos in Alpibus (...), Eutr. 7,9,2.

In the summer of 15 BC, Ti. Claudius Nero (who later became Emperor Tiberius) and his younger brother, Nero Drusus Claudius, in a short, yet mortal campaign, subdued the territories that were organised as Raetia province:²⁹

Scripta est ergo in Neronem Drusum privignum et successorem Augusti, qui Rethos Vindelicos bello vicit. (...) Nam Drusum ait tanto vigore atque impetu hostes Vindelicos invasisse, quanta vi soleat aquila in rapinam inruere, primum ovium, mox corroborato vigore etiam draconum, Porph. Hor. carm. 4,4 (titulus).

In the year before, Tiberius was charged with the management of Gallia comata.³⁰ Led by the two commanders, Roman armies enclosed the area from Gallia and Italy, putting the pincers on Celtic tribes.³¹ The advance of legio III, X and XII through the Iulian Pass, from the Lake Como up to Brigantium is evidenced by both stray³² and excavated³³ small inscribed finds. A temporary fort of 1.3 hectares has been unearthed near the Septimer Pass.³⁴

²⁸ Cf. CIL 5² (1959: 7817); Plin. *nat.* 3,136–137.

²⁹ Chron. *ecc. ann.* 2002; 2012; FPA 1 (2004: 229).

³⁰ Suet. *Tib.* 9,1.

³¹ RBy (1995: 28).

³² RAEGETH – ZANIER (2010: 242–251, figure 2–6).

³³ *ibid.* (2010: 251–269, figure 7–10; table 1–2).

³⁴ *ibid.* (2010: 270).

In a series of open-field battles and storming strongholds, the forces of Tiberius and Drusus gradually lessened and vanquished local nations one by one.³⁵ Not all tribes north of the Alps were subdued by force however, as the Norican Kingdom was an ally and client-kingdom of the Roman Empire for several decades in the 1st century and its annexion in 15 BC was merely a political manoeuvre.³⁶ Similarly, the Kingdom of Cottius was incorporated into the Empire by peaceful means. King Cottius realized in time that with his limited resources he could not compete with Roman conquest on the long run, and therefore established a perpetual alliance with Rome, ceding his kingdom to the Roman Empire:³⁷

Unde ad solis ortus adtollitur, aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum: quas rex Cottius, perdomitiis Galliis solus in angustiis latens inviaque locorum asperitate confisus, lenito tandem tumore in amicitiam Octaviani receptus principis, molibus magnis extruxit ad vicem memorabilis muneris, conpendiarias et viantibus oportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas super quibus conperta paulo postea referemus, Amm. 15,10,2.

Huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse rettulimus, Segusione est moenibus proximum manesque eius ratione gemina religiose coluntur, quod iusto moderamine rexerat suos et adscitus in societatem rei Romanae quietem genti praestitit sempiternam, Amm. 15,10,7.

Cottius received Roman citizenship and, as a Roman magistrate, he continued to hold a supervising role over his people:

Imp. Caesari Augusto divi f. pontifici maximo tribunic. potestate XV imp. XIII M. Iulius Regis Donni f. Cottius praefectus civitatum quae subscriptae sunt Segoviorum Segusinorum Belacorum Caturigum Medullorum Tebaviorum Adanatum Savincatum Ecdinorum Veaminiorum Venisamorum Iemerium Vesubianorum Quadiatum et civitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt.³⁸

Cottius' case was a triumph of Romanization and the flexibility of Roman administration.

Several forts of the Roman occupation forces have been identified. The largest amongst these was the legionary fortress near Dangstetten which

³⁵ RBy (1995: 30).

³⁶ *ibid.* (1995: 18–19).

³⁷ The Kingdom of Cottius was organised a province during Emperor Nero's time under the name of Alpes Cottiae, Suet. *Nero* 18,1.

³⁸ CIL 5² (1959: 7231).

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covered an area of approx. twelve hectares.³⁹ Under the command of Nero Claudius Drusus, Roman soldiers began constructing a road—known as the Via Claudia Augusta—which connected the newly conquered territories to Italy. With the Raeti and Vindelici pacified, the main obstacle in conquering the tribes of Germania libera was removed.⁴⁰ With the death of Agrippa in 12 BC, Augustus entrusted Drusus with continuing the expansion by occupying the area between the Rhine and the Elbe.⁴¹ In the same year, Tiberius was awarded the permit to hold a triumphus for his victory over the Alpine tribes.⁴² Drusus completed the task of occupying the aforementioned regions in three years. During his campaigns, Drusus supervised the construction of a canal connecting the Rhine delta with Lake Flevo (present-day IJsselmeer). The canal secured Drusus' army's supplies and was named *fossa Drusiana* after him:

Is Drusus in quaesturae praeturaeque honore dux Raetici, deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit transque Rhenum fossas navi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur, Suet. Claud. 1,2.

The first account of Tiberius' and Drusus' Raetian campaign was written by Horace in 13 BC who, at the request of Emperor Augustus, composed a fourth volume to his already published Odes:

Videre Raeti bella sub Alpibus / Drusum gerentem; Vindelici / quibus / mos unde deductus per omne / tempus Amazonia securi, Hor. carm. 4,4,17–20.

Scripta quidem eius [Horatius] usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo Saeculare carmen com-ponendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus Carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere, Suet. vita Hor. 20.

Horace wrote of a decisive battle, which ultimately led to a Roman victory over the Raeti and Vindelici:

Maior Neronum mox graue proelium / commisit immanisque Raetos / auspiciis pepulit secundis, Hor. carm. 4,14,14–16.

³⁹ RBy (1995: 35; 46); SOMMER (2008: 210, note 22–23).

⁴⁰ RBy (1995: 21).

⁴¹ GUERRA (2013: 58).

⁴² KIENAST (1990: 76).

*Milite nam tuo / Drusus Genaunos, inplacidum genus / Breunosque uelocis
et arces / Alpibus impositas tremendis / deiecit acer plus uice simplici,*
Hor. *carm.* 4,14,9–13.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa was the first to mention Raetia after the conquest in his monumental survey of the Roman Empire, completed in 13 BC.⁴³

The inscription of the Tropaeum Alpium is the next known account of the campaign, and was made nearly a decade after the events. In 7/6 BC, by right of a senatorial decree, Emperor Augustus was granted the privilege of constructing a monument to commemorate his triumph over the alpine tribes, named Tropaeum Alpium by modern historians. The Tropaeum is located in Monaco, within the limits of the present-day town of La Turbia. The monument consisted of a base measuring 38 × 38 meters, which was topped with twenty-four columns supporting a dome of 35 meters in diameter, housing a monumental statue of Emperor Augustus. The total height of the Tropaeum was approx. fifty meters. During the Middle Ages, the monument, which stood on a natural hill, was expanded and rebuilt several times. It was encircled by walls and used as a fortification until the early 18th century. During the War of Spanish Succession, a conflict broke out between Savoy and France, which ended in a French victory. After his victory, Louis XIV of France ordered all fortifications destroyed in the region, including the Tropaeum. In the 18–19th centuries, locals used the remains of the Tropaeum as a stone quarry constructing, among other things, the nearby church of St. Michel. The evolution of heritage protection brought about the need to reconstruct the Tropaeum. Under the supervision of archaeologists in the early 20th century, the monument was reconstructed to its former state belonging to the era of the principate. The tabula displaying the original inscription of the Tropaeum was lost for the most part, but due to Pliny the Elder documenting its text in his Natural History, a supplement with fragments from the original inscription is visible even today, listing a total of forty-nine nations:

*Imperatori Caesari divi filio Augusto pont. max. imp. XIII trib. pot. XVII
quod eius ductu auspiciisque gentes Alpinae omnes quae a mari supero ad
inferum pertinebant sub imperium p. R. sunt redactae gentes Alpinae
devictae (1) Trumpilini (2) Camunni (3) Vennonetes (4) Vennonestes (5)
Isarci (6) Breuni (7) Genaunes (8) Focunates (9–12) Vindellicorum gentes
quattuor (13) Cosuanetes (14) Rucinates (15) Licates (16) Catenates (17)
Ambisontes (18) Rugusci (19) Suanetes (20) Calucones (21) Brixentes
(22) Leponti (23) Viberi (24) Nantuates (25) Seduni (26) Veragri (27)*

⁴³ Agrippa 21.

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*Salassi (28) Acitavones (29) Medulli (30) Ucenni (31) Caturiges (32) Brigiani (33) Sogiontii (34) Brodionti (35) Nimaloni (36) Edenates (37) (Vesubiani (38) Veamini (39) Gallitae (40) Triullatti (41) Ectini (42) Vergunni (43) Egui (44) Turi (45) Nemeturi (46) Oratelli (47) Nerusi (48) Velauni (49) Suetri.*⁴⁴

The nations are listed in the order in which they were defeated.⁴⁵ R. Guerra offered an alternate reading by grouping the names of these tribes, and tried to synchronize the names of these tribes with modern toponyms,⁴⁶ although the interpretation proposed by K.-H. Dietz seems more plausible.⁴⁷

Livy wrote a lengthy chapter on the war against the Raeti in his History of Rome in 9 BC, yet the book itself has been lost, with only Livy's own excerpt—published as the *Periochae*—surviving:

Raeti a Tib. Nerone et Druso, Caesaris privignis, domiti. Agrippa, Caesaris gener, mortuus. A Druso census actus est. Liv. perioch. 138.

Augustus took note of his victory over Alpine tribes in his Res Gestae in 14:

Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadriano mari ad Tuscum pacificavi nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato, R. Gest. div. Aug. 5,26.

Contrary to other accounts of the Summer Campaign, Augustus included an approach considering the entire Roman Empire. In his Res Gestae, Augustus considered the occupation of Raetia one in a series of Imperial campaigns, and thus did not go into particulars, nor did he distinguish the subjugated tribes.

Among ancient literary sources covering the Raetian campaign, the next in chronological succession is Strabo's *Geographica*, finished in the years between 19 and 23. While describing the geographical aspects of the land of the Raeti, Strabo mentioned that during the campaign, Tiberius established a temporary base on one of the islands on Lake Constance:

Ἔχει δὲ καὶ νῆσον, ἧἐχρήσατο ὀρημητρίῳ Τιβέριος ναυμαχῶν πρὸς Ὀυινδολικούς. νοτιωτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγῶν καὶ αὐτῆ1, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπιτὸν Ἐρκύνιον δρυμὸν ἰόντι πρῶτον μὲν διαπερᾶσαι τὴν λίμνην, ἔπειτα τὸν Ἰστρον, εἶτ' ἤδη δι' εὐπετεστέρων

⁴⁴ CIL 5² (1959: 7817); Plin. *nat.* 3,136–137.

⁴⁵ RBY (1995: 24–25).

⁴⁶ GUERRA (2013: 84–85).

⁴⁷ DIETZ (2003: 1–2).

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χωρίων ἐπὶ τὸν δρυμὸν τὰς προβάσεις ποιεῖσθαι δι' ὄροπέδιων. ἡμερήσιον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης προελθὼν ὁδὸν Τιβέριος εἶδε τὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγὰς. προσάπτονται δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐπ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ Ῥαιτοί, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Ἑλουήττιοι καὶ Ὀυνδολκοί (...) καὶ ἡ Βοίων ἐρημία. μέχρι Παννονίων πάντες, τὸ πλεόν δ' Ἑλουήττιοι καὶ Ὀυνδολκοί, οἰκοῦσιν ὄροπέδια. Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ καὶ Νωρκοὶ μέχρι τῶν Αλπειῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἀνίσχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περινεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἰνσοῦβροις συνάπτοντες οἱ δὲ Κάρνοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀκυλιαν χωρίοις, Str. Geog. 7,1,5.

This island may have been the Werd Island, on which F. Hertlein and P. Göbler have discovered the remains of a Roman timber bridge in the 1930s.⁴⁸ The construction of this (or a similar) bridge during the campaign is documented by Pliny the Elder, as well:

Sic certe Tiberius Caesar concremato ponte naumachiariorum larices ad restituendum caedi in Raetia praefinivit, Plin. nat. 16,74.

Velleius' *Compendium of Roman History*, published in 30 and dedicated to M. Vinicius on his consular appointment, is the next work which recounts the war against the Raeti. Velleius' description attests the significant differences in both preparedness and numbers between the opposing Raeti–Vindelici and the Roman forces. Tiberius' soldiers met little or no resistance on their advance, and subdued well-placed fortifications (Raeti) and civil settlements (Vindelici, cf. *splendidissima Raetia provinciae colonia* Tac. *Germ.* 41,1–2) with relative ease:

Reversum inde [Armenia] Neronem [Ti. Claudius Nero] Caesar [Imp. Caes. Divi f. Augustus] haud mediocris belli mole experiri statuit, adiutore operis dato fratre ipsius Druso Claudio [Nero Drusus Claudius], quem intra Caesaris penates enixa erat Livia. Quippe uterque e diversis partibus Raetos Vindelicosque adgressi, multis urbium et castellorum oppugnantibus nec non directa quoque acie feliciter functi gentes locis tutissimas, aditu difficillimas, numero frequentes, feritate truces maiore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus plurimo cum earum sanguine perdomuerunt, Vell. 2,95,2.

The term *diversis partibus* indicates that the two commanders started their forces simultaneously from Gallia and Italy.⁴⁹ His text distinguishes between Raeti and Vindelici on numerous occasions:

Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro [Tiberius Caesar] subiunxit provincias, Vell. 2,39,3.

⁴⁸ GÖBLER – HERTLEIN (1930: 172–177).

⁴⁹ GONZALEZ (2003: 379).

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At vero militum conspectu eius [Tiberius] elicita gaudio lacrimae alacritasque et salutationis nova quaedam exultatio et contingendi manum cupiditas non continentium protinus quin adicerent, „videmus te, imperator? Salvum recepimus?“ Ac deinde „ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetia fui, ego a te in Vindeliciis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum“ neque verbis exprimi et fortasse vix mereri fidem potest, Vell. 2,104,2.

Quis enim dubitare potest, quin ex Armenia recepta et ex rege praeposito ei, cuius capiti insigne regium sua manu imposuerat, ordinatisque rebus Orientis ovans triumphare debuerit, et Vindelicorum Raetorumque victor curru urbem ingredi?, Vell. 2,122,1.

Florus's compilation of Rome's wars gives a naturalistic account of the Raetian campaigns, although it mistakenly terms the mountainous Raetian tribes as Norici:

Noricis animos Alpes dabant, quasi in rupes et nives bellum posset ascendere; sed omnes illius cardinis populos, Breunos, Ucennos atque Vindelicos, per privignum suum Claudium Drusum pacavit. Quae fuerit Alpinarum gentium feritas, facile est vel per mulieres ostendere, quae deficientibus telis infantes suos adflictos humi in ora militum adversa miserunt, Flor. epit. 4,12,4–5.

Suetonius summed up Augustus' conquests from over a century's distance in his *Vita divi Augusti*:

Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos, gentes inalpinas, Suet. Aug. 21,1.

Suetonius commemorated Tiberius' role in the campaign, as well:

Post hoc Comatam Galliam anno fere rexit et barbarorum incursionibus et principum discordia inquietam. Exin Raeticum Vindelicumque bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum gessit. Raetico atque Vindelico gentis Alpinae, Pannonico Breucos et Dalmatas subegit, Germanico quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis conlocavit. Quas ob res et ovans et curru urbem ingressus est, prius, ut quidam putant, triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, novo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris, Suet. Tib. 9,2.

The monumental Roman History of Cassius Dio, a third century senator from Nicaea, offers an extensive account of the events of the Raetian campaign. His work outlined that the main reason behind initiating the campaign was to restrain increasingly aggressive Germanic incursions:

Δροῦσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. Ῥαιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξύ τοῦ τε Νορῖκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίαις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τοὺς τε ὁδῶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς, σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πῶς τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἀλισκομένων, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς γαστράσιν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὄν μαντείας τισιν. ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε: καὶ ὃς τοὺς προαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο, ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ὧς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν, Dio *hist.* 54,22,1–3.

Dio confirmed that the conquest of the Alpine region was carried out in a series of campaigns:

Ἐσβαλόντες οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ἀμφοτέροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὃ γε Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθεῖς, ἀπὸ τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμιγνόντες, τοὺς τε αἰεὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικνουμένους οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἅτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμένους, κατειργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενετέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους εἶλον, Dio *hist.* 54,22,4.

Later sources, such as Orosius and Pseudo-Dionysius, briefly noted the campaign, as well.⁵⁰

Quibus etiam diebus multa per se multaque per duces et legatos bella gessit. Nam inter ceteros et [Piso] <Nero> [Ti. Claudius Nero] adversum Vindelicos missus est; quibus subactis victor ad Caesarem Lugdunum venit, Oros. *hist.* 6,21,22.

As geographical works suggest, the Romans had a rudimentary geographical knowledge of the area north of the Alps before the Summer Campaign, although they knew little about the areas north of the Danube. Consequently, the campaign not only meant the occupation of new lands, but also discovery, as new regions entered into the view of the Empire.⁵¹

The organization of Raetia–Vindelicia

⁵⁰ Chron. *ecc. ann.* 2002; 2012; RBy (1995: 31).

⁵¹ Dionys. *ant.* 14,1,1; Sen. *nat.* 4,1,2; Plin. *nat.* 4,79; Epiced. *Drusi* 20; 314; 391; 457; Paneg. 11,5,4.

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Having subdued the Raetian tribes, Augustus achieved his goal and put an end to the growing concern of raids that had vexed Gallia and Italy in previous years. Strabo attested that by his time—in the first decades of the 1st century—no hostile tribes had remained in the area:

ὑπέρκεινται δὲ τοῦ Κόμου πρὸς τῆ ρίζῃ τῶν Ἄλπεων ἰδρυμένου τῆ μὲν Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Ὀυένωνες ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω κεκλιμένοι, τῆ δὲ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Τριδεντίνοι καὶ Στόνοι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω μικρὰ ἔθνη κατέχοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις, Str. *Geog.* 4,6,6,6.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa is the first who used the term 'Raetia' three years after the time of the Roman conquest,⁵² followed by Velleius Paternus and P. Cornelius Tacitus.⁵³ However, K.-H. Dietz suggested that the act of provincial organization ("*redactio in formam provinciae*")⁵⁴ occurred in the early 1st century,⁵⁵ during either the reign of Emperors Tiberius or Claudius.⁵⁶ If Raetia was organised a province under Tiberius, it could have occurred together with Germanicus' reorganization of the Gallic provinces.⁵⁷ Either way, by Claudius' reign, the latest Raetia was organised a province, as attested by a statue base set for Q. Caecilius Cisiacus Septicius Pica Caecilianus, *prolegatus provinciae Raetiae et Vindeliciae*.⁵⁸ K.-H. Dietz suggested that after the conclusion of the Summer Campaign, the territory of Raetia was briefly under joint command with the rest of Gallia Comata.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, this hypothesis has not been directly attested by literary, epigraphical or other sources. After Raetia became an independent organizational unit, its territory was overseen by praefecti – e.g. S. Pedius Lusianus Hirrutus⁶⁰ – and procuratores:

Duae Mauretaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur, Tac. *hist.* 1,11,4.

⁵² Agrippa 21.

⁵³ Vell. 2,39,3; Tac. *ann.* 1,44,6, cf. BECHERT (1999: 151); KAISER (2003, 81).

⁵⁴ ThLL 1076, 50, under the entry "*forma*".

⁵⁵ RBy (1995: 70).

⁵⁶ *ibid.* 70–71. It was an ongoing process, as the tribes of Alpes Maritimae received Latin citizenship by Emperor Nero in 67 (Tac. *ann.* 15,32).

⁵⁷ *Lex de Germ. tab. Sjar. frag.* I, c. 15.

⁵⁸ CIL 5² (1959: 3936).

⁵⁹ RBy (1995: 71).

⁶⁰ CIL 9² (1963: 3044); HAUG 1914, 49.

These inscriptions list a wide variety of offices for the governor of Raetia: praefectus, pro legato provinciae, procurator Augusti, procurator Caesaris Augusti. The last two terms, including *procurator*, are fairly common, and refer to the general governorship of senatorial provinces where no legions were stationed (as in Raetia before the transfer of the *legio III Italica* in the 170s).⁶¹ Both praefectus and pro legato are military-related terms and during the Principate, *legati* commanding legions were in charge of imperial provinces. This leadership structure may indicate that after Roman occupation, Raetia was briefly overseen by a high ranking officer of a nearby legion, possibly the *legio XXI Rapax* in Vindonissa,⁶² whose soldiers are known to have been sent to Raetia.⁶³ Hirrutus who was in charge of Raetia also served in this legion.⁶⁴

Based on K. Dietz, the chronology of Raetian governing offices can be summarized thus:⁶⁵

- 15 BC ~ AD 16/17: praefectus Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae
- 16/17 ~ 17/41: procurator Caesaris Augusti in Vindolicis et Raetis et in valle Poenina
- 17/41 – ca. 170: procurator Augusti et pro legato provinciae Raetiae et Vindeliciae et vallis Poeninae
- ca. 170 – 3rd century: legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Raetiae

The seat of the province was Augusta Vindelicum. Although the entire Alpine region was pacified by the beginning of the 1st century,⁶⁶ the neighbouring Alpine provinces were established only later, with Alpes Maritima and Alpes Graiae et Poenina during the reign of Emperor Claudius, and Alpes Cottiae under Nero.⁶⁷ After the fighting was concluded, steps were taken to incorporate the new province into the military, administrative, economical and religious system of the Roman Empire. Militaristic incorporation meant ensuring the internal peace of the province and protecting it against foreign belligerents. To prevent revolts, the youth of the Raeti and Vindelici as well as those most apt to rise to arms were forcefully recruited into auxiliaries and transferred to distant provinces:

⁶¹ Tac. *hist.* 1, 11, 3.

⁶² BÉRARD 2000, 49–67.

⁶³ Tac. *ann.* 1, 44, 6.

⁶⁴ CIL IX, 3044 [San Valentino – S. Donato Church, ca. 30/70].

⁶⁵ *RB*y 1995, 81–86.

⁶⁶ Str. *Geog.* 4,6,6,6.

⁶⁷ Suet. *Nero* 18,1; BECHERT (1999: 188–189).

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Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐπολύανδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτεριεῖν, τό τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσούτους ὅσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμῶσαι δέ τι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, Dio *hist.* 54,22,5.

Most units created in this manner bore the designation *Raetorum et Vindellicorum*,⁶⁸ *Montanorum*⁶⁹ or *Alpinorum*⁷⁰ (Table 2). Other units were named after the nation from which they were recruited, such as the *cohors Trumplinorum*. The epitaph of Staius offers insight into this system:

*Staiο Esdgrass. f. Voben. principi Trumplinorum praef(ecto) [c]ohort. Trumplinorum [s]ub C. Vibio Pansa legato pro [pr(aetore) i]n Vindol. [i]m]munis Caesaris [...] et suis Messava Veci f. uxor.*⁷¹

Prior to Roman occupation, Staius was chieftain of the Trumplini, a nation that was conquered under Emperor Augustus in 15 BC, as attested by the inscription of the Tropaeum Alpium.⁷² After the conquest, an infantry cohort was raised from the Trumplini, and Statio was appointed as head of this unit. The similar practice was possibly carried out in other units raised after the Summer Campaign. Tacitus attests that similarly to the inhabitants of other provinces, the tribes of Raetia were obliged to give soldiers:

Respicerent Raetos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa, sed virtutem et viros indici, Tac. *hist.* 5,25,4.

Some of these units can be identified via the works of auctores. In particular, the cohort of Raeti and Vindelici which took part in Germanicus' campaign against the Cherusci in 16 can be identified with the *cohors Raetorum et Vindellicorum*, later renamed to *cohors II Raetorum*, and known from a number of epigraphical sources from Germania:

Medii inter hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam. Incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vindellicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent. Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo curore ne nosceretur, Tac. *ann.* 2,17,7.

⁶⁸ CIL 13² (1966: 7048); AÉ (1940: 114; 115).

⁶⁹ CIL 13² (1966: 6240; 7047; 7684).

⁷⁰ SPAUL (2000: 259–268).

⁷¹ CIL 5² (1959: 4910).

⁷² CIL 5² (1959: 7817); Plin. *nat.* 3,136–137.

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Unit name	Province ⁷³	Bibliography
cohors I Raetorum eq. c. R.	Asia, Moesia	MATEI-POPESCU (2010: 226–228); SPAUL (2000, 276).
cohors I Raetorum	Raetia	FARKAS (2012: 99–101); SPAUL (2000: 276).
cohors II Raetorum	Raetia	SPAUL (2000: 279).
cohors Raetorum et Vindelicorum = cohors II Raetorum c. R.	Germania superior	SPAUL (2000: 280–281); Tac. <i>ann.</i> 2, 17, 7.
cohors III Raetorum	Moesia superior	SPAUL (2000: 282).
cohors V Raetorum	Britannia	JARRET (1994: 35–74); SPAUL (2000: 283).
cohors VI Raetorum	Germania superior	SPAUL (2000: 284).
cohors VII Raetorum eq.	Germania superior	HORN (1982: 52–55); SPAUL (2000: 285).
cohors VIII Raetorum eq. c. R.	Dacia, Moesia, Pannonia	SPAUL (2000: 278).
cohors I Vindelicorum ∞ eq. c. R.	Dacia superior, Pannonia, Moesia superior	BENEA (1985: 47–58); SPAUL (2000: 288–289); LÓRINCZ (2001: 48, Number 17).
cohors III Vindelicorum	Germania superior	ROXAN (1973: 838–852); SPAUL (2000: 290–291).
cohors I Montanorum	Pannonia inferior	ŠAŠEL (1983: 782–786); SPAUL (2000: 292).
cohors I Montanorum c. R.	Dacia, Moes. sup., Pannonia, Syria Palaestina	ŠAŠEL (1983: 782–786); SPAUL (2000, 295).
cohors II Montanorum ∞	Africa ?	SPAUL (2000, 296).

Table 2. Auxiliary units recruited after the conclusion of the Summer Campaign⁷⁴

The second goal of military organization was providing a garrison to protect the newly founded province from foreign raids. This garrison established its earliest forts near autochthonous settlements (Bregenz) and alongside roads and rivers (Kempten, Auerberg, Epfach-Lorenzberg, Oberhausen, Augsburg, Friedberg-Rederzhausen, Ingolstadt-Zuchering).⁷⁵ The dimensions and layout of these forts are unknown, as the new province's first colonies were established in their vicinity. During the course of later centuries, the former forts were razed and constructed over by Roman, Medieval and modern settlements. As emperor, Tiberius established a single auxiliary fort at Aislingen and other smaller forts along the Danube, in the vicinity of Burlafingen, Nersingen, Neuburg a. d. Donau and Ingolstadt.

⁷³ The destination where the unit was transferred after its levy.

⁷⁴ DIETZ (2004a: 16–17; table 3–4); GUERRA (2013: 280).

⁷⁵ For ancient toponyms: DIETZ (2008: 10–22).

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Little is known of the garrison of these forts and fortlets, though some units of the early garrison may be identified. The presence of legionary soldiers is attested by both literary and archaeological evidence, in particular a legionary helm found near Burlafingen belonged to a soldier of the *legio XVI Gallica*:

*Le. XVI (Gallica) P. Aur. IRI (centuria) Arabi M. Munati.*⁷⁶

Tacitus noted that after their unsuccessful revolt in the double fort at Castra Vetera (Xanten), soldiers of the *legio V Alaudae* and the *legio XXI Rapax* were sent to Raetia to protect the province against the Suebi:⁷⁷

Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria, Tac. ann. 1,44,6.

Raetia-Vindelicia in ancient literary sources

Topoi regarding Raetia and local peculiarities

There are four topics that reverberate in several ancient literary sources dealing with Raetia:

The insurmountable Alpine passes

The general idea of the Alps as an impassable barrier – although by the time of its conquest, it had already been breached by several generals, the most noteworthy being Hannibal himself – appears often in ancient literary sources.⁷⁸ Apart from being insurmountable, the Alps were widely considered a barren, unforgiving land.⁷⁹ Crossing over the Alps was the subject of vows even in the 2–3rd centuries.⁸⁰

Alpine rivers in their section closest to the river-heads were too fast-flowing and perturbed to be used for naval means.⁸¹ Having control over the Alpine passes was important, as it led directly to Italy, the heartland of

⁷⁶ AÉ (1978: 580).

⁷⁷ FRANKE 2000, 41.

⁷⁸ Tac. *Germ.* 1,2.

⁷⁹ Str. *Geog.* 4,6,9,4.

⁸⁰ CIL 5² (1959: 6869): *Iovi Op. M. Poenino* (...).

⁸¹ Mela 2,8; Tac. *Germ.* 1,1–2; 41,1; Flor. *epit.* 1,37,2; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4,4,38; Amm. 14,4,1–6; 22,8,44; 28,2,1; Claud. 26,332.

the Roman Empire. Throughout history, Raetia has been a stepping stone for invading the peninsula.⁸²

*Sed latus, Hesperiae quo Raetia iungitur orae / praeruptis ferit astra iugis
panditque tremendam / vix aestate viam,* Claud. 8,343–345.

*Non tamen ingenium tantis se cladibus atrox / deicit: occulto temptabat
tramite montes / si qua per scopulos subitas exquirere posset / in Raetos
Gallosque vias,* Claud. 28, 231–234.

Raetians originating from Amazons

Several authors, the earliest being Horace, derived the Raetians from the Amazons, or the general area of Thracia.⁸³

The contrast between hostile and peaceful local tribes

The ambiguity regarding the stance of Raetian-Vindelican tribes was first penned by Strabo, who made a clear distinction between the peaceful and prosperous peoples north of the Alps,⁸⁴ and the raiders who dwelled in the rifts of the mountains.⁸⁵ On the other hand, Tacitus listed Raetia as a province of prosperous settlements.⁸⁶

Raetian peculiarities

Although Raetia was not considered a province of wealth, during the Principate it had provided the Roman Empire with a series of local goods and specialities. Probably the most widely known of these commodities was the so-called Raetian wine, the personal favourite of Emperor Augustus:

Et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdium bibit, Suet. Aug. 77,1.

This wine was rather famed and popular in Roman times, thus many ancient authors discussed its qualities. Cato Senex, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Suetonius and Martial all praised Raetian wines, arguing that their flavour rivalled other wines which were considered the best in Italy:⁸⁷

⁸² Year of the Four Emperors: Tac. *hist.* 1,70,4; 4–5th centuries: Claud. 8,343–345; 28,231–234; Oros. *hist.* 1,2,60–61; 7,22,1; 7,22,7.

⁸³ Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–20; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4,4,18–21; Serv. *Aen.* 1,243.

⁸⁴ Str. *Geog.* 4,6,9,3.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* 4,6,9,4.

⁸⁶ Tac. *Germ.* 41,1–2.

⁸⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 77,1

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οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐήρωνοςκαὶ Κώμου. καὶ ὁ γε Ῥαιτικὸς οἶνος τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς ἐπαινουμένων οὐκ ἀπολείπεσθαι δοκῶν ἐν ταῖς τούτων ὑπωρείαις γίνεται: διατείνουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶνχωρίων δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥῆνος φέρεται: τούτου δ' εἰσι τοῦ φύλου καὶ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Καμοῦνοι, Str. Geog. 4,6,8,2–3.

Si non ignotast docti tibi terra Catulli, Potasti testa Raetica vina mea, Mart. 14,100.

Ante eum [Tiberius Caesar] *Raeticis prior mensa erat uvis ex Veroniensium agro,* Plin. nat. 14,3.

Catullus was the only author who did not agree with this general opinion and based on his viewpoint, Vergil suggested that the term *Raeticus* was used for two different types alike:

(...) *quo te carmine dicam, Rhaetica? Nec cellis ideo contende Falernis* (...), Verg. Georg. 2,95–96.

His quod nomen inponimus? An facio quod Vergilius, qui dubitavit de nomine, deinde id de quo dubitarat proposuit?, Sen. nat. 1,11,2.

(...) *in Veroniensi item Raetica, Falernis tantum postlata a Vergilio* (...), Plin. nat. 14,67.

Quo te carmine dicam Raetica hanc uvam Cato praecipue laudat in libris, quos scripsit ad filium; contra Catullus eam vituperat et dicit nulli rei esse aptam, miraturque cur eam laudaverit Cato. Sciens ergo utrumque Vergilius medium tenuit, dicens „quo te carmine dicam Raetica?”, Serv. Aen. 2,95.

In relation to Raetian wines, Pliny the Elder stated that the vine-stock was closely dependent on the local moderate climate, and whenever one tried to domesticate it elsewhere, its quality suffered:

Fecundae tamen bonitatis vice copiam praestant, eugenia ferventibus locis, Raetica temperatis (...), Plin. nat. 14, 26.

Namque est aliquis tantus locorum amor, ut omnem in iis gloriam suam relinquunt nec usque transeant totae. Quod et in Raetica Allobrogicaque (...), Plin. nat. 14,25–26.

Quando non racemos, sed uvas alias gerunt, item tripedanea, cui nomen a mensura est, item scripula passo acino et Raetica in maritimis Alpibus appellata, dissimilis laudatae illi, Plin. nat. 14,41.

In his book on medicine, Celsus recommended the consumption of dry Raetian wine to counter stomach aches:

Potui quidem aptissimum est vinum frigidum, vel certe bene calidum meracum, potissimum Raeticum vel Allobrogicum aliudve, quod et austerum et resina conditum est: si id non est, quam asperrimum maximeque Signinum, Cels. 4,12.

Another local speciality of medical interest was the herb, native to Raetia and Gallia, called *plaumoratus* in the vernacular, which was discovered in the years between in the third quarter of the 1st century, shortly before Pliny the Elder completed his work on natural history:

Non pridem inventum in Raetia Galliae duas addere tali rotulas, quod genus vocant plaumorati, Plin. nat. 18,69.

Raetia is also the land of origin of a maple subgenus:

Alterum genus Crispo Macularum discursu, qui cum excellentior fuit, a similitudine caudae pavonum nomen accepit, in Histria Raetiaque praecipuum, Plin. nat. 16,26.

Another Raetian peculiarity – a famous dish – was the liver of local eels, bred in Lake Constance. As Pliny the Elder stated in his rarely cited work on fish curio, the flavour of Raetian eels rivalled those of their maritime brethren:

Proxima est mensa iecori dumtaxat mustelarum, quas, mirum dictu, inter Alpibus quoque lacus Raetiae brigantinus aemulas marinis generat, Plin. nat. 9,32.

The Raetia-Vindelicia dichotomy in subsequent centuries

Chronological summary of relevant literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources

The previous chapter has concluded that most of the writers who have dealt with the pre-Roman geographical conditions, occupation history, and organization of Raetia–Vindelicia made a distinction between the collective designations *Raeti* and *Vindelici* (Table 4). Although there was some disagreement as to which nations belonged to these designations,⁸⁸ it was generally accepted that the inhabitants of the southern slopes of the Alps and the Alps themselves were termed *Raeti*, as well as the peoples

⁸⁸ DIETZ (2004a: 14–15; table 2).

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occupying the northwestern slopes of the Alps. On the other hand, nations located on the northeastern foothills of the Alps all the way north to the Danube were referred to as Vindelici, the border between the two groups being the river Lech.⁸⁹

The name of the province is given as *Raetia et Vindelicia* on several inscriptions set up by governors of the new province in the 1st and 2nd centuries:

[S]ex. Pedio Sex. f. Ar[n.] Lusiano Hirruto prim. pil. leg. XXI pra[ef.] Raetis Vindolicis valli[s] [P]oeninae et levis armatur. IIIIvir. i. d. praef. Germanic[i] Caesaris quinquemalici iuris ex s. c. quinquen. iterum hic amphitheatrum d. s. p. fecit M. Dullius M. f. Gallus.⁹⁰

Q. Octavius L. f. C. n. T. pron. Ser. Sagitta IIvir quinq. III praef. fab. prae. equi. trib. mil. a populo procurat. Caesaris Augusti in Vindaliciis et Raetis et in valle Poenina per annos IIII et in Hispania provincia per annos X et in Suria biennium.⁹¹

Q. Caecilio Cisiaco Septicio Picae Caeciliano procur. Augustor. et pro leg. provinciae Raitia et Vindelic. et Vallis Poenin. auguri flamini divi Aug. et Romai C. Ligurius L. f. Vol. Asper (centurio) coh. I c. R. ingenuor.⁹²

L. Titulenus L. f. Pollia ... IIvir] i. d. a[edil. quaest. praef. coh. ... trib. mil. leg. ... praef. alae ... proc.] Aug. Raetiae et [Vindeliciae f. c. cuius liberalitate(?) i]n opera colonia[e Iuliae Fani Fortunae HS ...] m. erogata sun[t ...].⁹³

D. [M.] Sex. Ba[io] ... f. ... Pudenti primo pilo II] proc. Aug. [...] item [regni] Norici Raetiae Vindelic[iae Maur]jetaniae Caesar. et Septim[iae] ...]e M. filiae Baia P[udentilla?] par]entib. dulciss.⁹⁴

T. Bechert dated the primipilatus of Hirrutus to the early years of Emperor Tiberius' reign,⁹⁵ thus it is possible that he was praefectus of Raetia in the years around 30. According to K. Strobel, Q. Octavius Sagitta was Raetian governor in the years between 10–14 and Q. Caecilius Cisiacus in 14, thus dating both inscriptions to the first half of the 1st century.⁹⁶ L. Titulenus

⁸⁹ Ptol. Geog. 2,12,2; DIETZ (2004a: 5).

⁹⁰ CIL 9² (1963: 3044).

⁹¹ AÉ (1902: 189).

⁹² CIL 5² (1959: 3936).

⁹³ CIL 11² (1968: 6221).

⁹⁴ CIL 9² (1963: 4964).

⁹⁵ BECHERT (1999: 151).

⁹⁶ STROBEL (2011: 223).

was procurator in the first half of the 2nd century,⁹⁷ and S. Baius Pudens in the 160s.⁹⁸ These inscription list a wide variety of offices for the governor of Raetia: praefectus, pro legato provinciae, procurator Augusti, procurator Caesaris Augusti. The last two terms, including *procurator*, are fairly common, and refer to the general governorship of senatorial provinces where no legions were stationed (as in Raetia before the transfer of the *legio III Italica* in the 170s). Both praefectus and pro legatus are military-related terms and during the Principate, *legati* commanding legions were in charge of imperial provinces. This may indicate that after Roman occupation, Raetia was briefly overseen by a high ranking officer of a nearby legion, plausibly the *legio XXI Rapax* in Vindonissa,⁹⁹ whose soldiers are known to have been sent to Raetia.¹⁰⁰ Hirrutus who was in charge of Raetia also served in this legion.¹⁰¹

When considering literary sources however, a different tendency can be seen. The terms *Vindelici* and *Vindelicia* only appear in a few accounts, mostly those preceding or briefly succeeding the Roman occupation in 15 BC.¹⁰² This is reflected in the works of Tactius and Suetonius, both of whom completed their work in the years around 120. The wording of such common terms as 'Raeti/Raetia' and 'Vindelici/Vindelicia' is rather automatic than stylistic, thus it offers an insight into Roman terminology. When describing the events of 15¹⁰³ and those during and in the aftermath of the Year of the Four Emperors,¹⁰⁴ Tacitus always refers to Raeti and Raetia, never Vindelici or Vindelicia. The only instance when Tacitus refers to the Vindelici is in the passage on Germanicus' campaign against the Cherusci. In this chapter, Tacitus refers to a *cohors Raetorum et Vindelicorum*, which may indicate that in 16, the unit still used its original name, not the subsequent *cohors II Raetorum*.¹⁰⁵ Tacitus' contemporary, Suetonius, referred to Vindelici on numerous occasions, but all in regard

⁹⁷ PFLAUM (1950: 1059).

⁹⁸ PFLAUM (1961: 422–434; Number 1731).

⁹⁹ BÉRARD (2000: 49–67).

¹⁰⁰ Tac. *ann.* 1,44,6.

¹⁰¹ CIL 9² (1963: 3044).

¹⁰² Vindelici: Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–20; Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8; 7,1,5; Vell. 2,39,3; 2,95,2; 2,104,4; 2,122,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,54; 3,133; Mart. 9,84; Suet. *Aug.* 21,1; Suet. *Tib.* 9,2; Suet. *vita Hor.* 20; Flor. *epit.* 1,37,2; 4,12,4–5; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4,4,18–21; Serv. *Aen.* 1,243; Oros. *hist.* 6,21,22.

¹⁰³ Tac. *ann.* 1,44,6.

¹⁰⁴ Tac. *hist.* 1,11,4; 1,59,5; 1,67,5; 1,68,2 (2); 1,68,4; 1,70,4; 2,98,2; 3,5,5–6; 4,70,2; 5,25,2.

¹⁰⁵ Tac. *ann.* 2,17,7.

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

to the occupation of the region.¹⁰⁶ Claudius Ptolemy also distinguishes clearly between Raetia (Ραιτία) and Vindelicia (Ουνδελυκία, sometimes spelled Βινδελυκία), but this could be due to the fact that for the geographical nature of his work, it was more important that he respect active cultural and ethnic boundaries than follow only the administrative borders.

Most authors of the Principate however, refer solely to Raetia, and omit Vindelicia and related terms entirely:¹⁰⁷

Quod dominus nostrum imperator (...) M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus [Caracalla] (...) per limitem Raetiae ad hostes extirpandos barbarorum (terram) introiturus est, Act. Arv. a. 213.

Similarly, works written after the Limesfall in 254 also refer only to Raetia.¹⁰⁸

(...) porrectis usque d Danuvii caput Germaniae Raetiaeque limitibus (...), Paneg. 8,3,3.

(...) amissa Raetia, Noricum Pannoniaeque vastatae (...), Paneg. 8,10,2.

Ingressus est nuper illam quae Raetiae est obiecta Germaniam similique virtutem Romanum limitem victoriam protulit, Paneg. 10,9,1.

(...) transeo limitem Raetiae repentina hostium clade promotum (...), Paneg. 11,5,4.

(...) et ecclesiae Curiensis primae Raetiae (...), Eugripp. Sev. 15,1.

Retia, Dioecesis Italicihana, Provinc. laterc. 10,9.

¹⁰⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 21,1; Suet. *Tib.* 9,2; Suet. *vita Hor.* 20.

¹⁰⁷ Agrippa 21; Vell. 2,39,3; 2,104,4; Plin. *nat.* 3,146; 4,98; 9,32; 16,26; 16,74; 16,37; 18,69; Tac. *hist.* 1,11,4; 2,98,2; 3,5,5; 4,70,2; Tac. *Germ.* 1,1–2; 3,3; 41,1–2; Tac. *ann.* 1,44,6; Suet. *Aug.* 21,1; Act. *Arv.* a. 213; Dio *hist.* 55,24,4; Iust. 20,5,9.

¹⁰⁸ Dimens. *provinc.* 19; Eutr. 7,9,2; Auson. *grat.* 17,11; Amm. 15,4,1; 16,10,20; 16,12,16; 17,6 (titulus); 17,6,1; 17,13,28; 21,8 (titulus); 21,8,3; 22,8,44; 28,2,1; 28,5,15; 31,10,2; Divisio *orb.* 10; Hist. *aug. Aur.* 8,7; Hist. *aug. Pert.* 2,6; Hist. *aug. Prob.* 16,1; Claud. 8,441–445; 26,281; 26,332; 26,343; 26,418; Not. *dign. occ.* 1,21; 1,32; 2,3; 5,3; 5,5; 7,2 (6); 35 (6); Paneg. 8,3,3; 8,10,2; 10,9,1; 11,5,4; Oros. *hist.* 1,2,60–61; 7,22,1; 7,22,7; Evgipp. Sev. 15,1; Provinc. laterc. 10,9.

Literary sources use the ethnic term *Vindelici* considerably more often than the geographic term *Vindelicia*.¹⁰⁹ When referring to the inhabitants of Raetia-Vindelicia, the ethnic term *Raeti* is unanimously more common than *Vindelici*:¹¹⁰

Laurea illa de victis accolentibus Syriam nationibus et illa Raetica et illa Sarmatica te, Maximiane, fecerunt pio gaudio triumphare, Paneg. 11,7,1.

Sarmaticas vestras et Raeticas et transrhenanas expeditiones furore percita in semet imitentur, Paneg. 11,16,1.

Early literary evidence distinguishes between Raetian and Vindelician nations, yet first century authors do not use the term *Vindelicia* (Table 4).¹¹¹ In his Compendium of Roman History, published in 30, Velleius referred to Raetia province and Vindelician territories, thus expressing that *Vindelicia* was not a province.¹¹² The same can be seen in the exclamation of one of Tiberius' soldiers.¹¹³ Suetonius also distinguished between Raetia provincia and the lands of the *Vindelici* in his biography of Emperor Augustus.¹¹⁴ Suetonius is first to use the term *Vindelicia* during Emperor Hadrian's reign,¹¹⁵ and the term also appears in the geographical opus of Claudius Ptolemy completed in the 160s.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ *Vindelici*: Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–20; 4,14,14–16; Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8,1; 4,6,8,4; 4,6,8,6–7, 7,1,5 (3); Vell. 2,39,3; 2,95,2; 2,104,4; 2,122,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,133; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4,4 (titulus); 4,4,18–21; Mart. 9,84; Tac. *ann.* 2,17,7; Flor. *epit.* 1,37,2; 4,12,4–5; Suet. *vita Hor.* 20; Suet. *Aug.* 21,1; Suet. *Tib.* 9,2; Eutr. 7,9,2; Serv. *Aen.* 1,243; Oros. *hist.* 6,21,22; cf. *Vindelici*s: AÉ (1996: 1185).

¹¹⁰ *Raeti*: Verg. *Georg.* 2,95–96; Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–20; 4,14,14–16; Liv. 5,33,11; Str. *Geog.* 4,6 (5); 7,1,5; Vell. 2,95,2, 2,122,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,54; 3,130; 3,135; 14,3; 14,25–26 (2); 14,41; 14,67 (3); Tac. *Germ.* 1,1; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 4,4 (titulus); Mart. 9,84; 11,74; 14,100; Tac. *hist.* 1,59,5; 1,67,5; 1,68,2 (2); 1,68,4; 1,70,4; 3,5,6; 5,25,2; Tac. *ann.* 2,17,7; Suet. *Aug.* 77,1; Suet. *Tib.* 9,2; Claud. 1,2; App. *Illyr.* 6,1; 5,29; Iust. 20,5,9; Liv. *Perioch.* 138; Paneg. 11,7,1; 11,16,1; Dio *hist.* 54,22,1–5; Amm. 15,4,3; Claud. 28,231–234; Hist. aug. *Aurelian.* 13,1; Hist. aug. *quatt. tyr.* 14,2; Serv. *Aen.* 1,243; 2,95 (2).

¹¹¹ Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–20; Str. *Geog.* 4,6,8; 7,1,5; Vell. 2,39,3; 2,95,2; 2,122,1; Mart. 9,84.

¹¹² Vell. 2,39,3: *Raetiam* vs. *Vindelicos*.

¹¹³ Vell. 2,104,4: *Raetia* – *Vindelici*s.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 21,1: *Raetiam* – *Vindelicos*.

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 9,2.

¹¹⁶ Ptol. *Geog.* 2,1; 2,12–13.

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

In the writings of subsequent centuries, the use of the terms *Vindelici* and *Vindelicia* almost completely disappears (*Figures 2–3*). With the exception of passages referring to the times of the occupation, which refer to both *Raeti* and *Vindelici*, all other contemporaneous references exclusively use the term *Raeti* (*Table 4*). In his work on Gothic wars, Claudian refers to the land of the *Vindelici*, though the reading of this passage is doubtful, as it may refer to either *Vindelici*s or *Vandalici*s.¹¹⁷

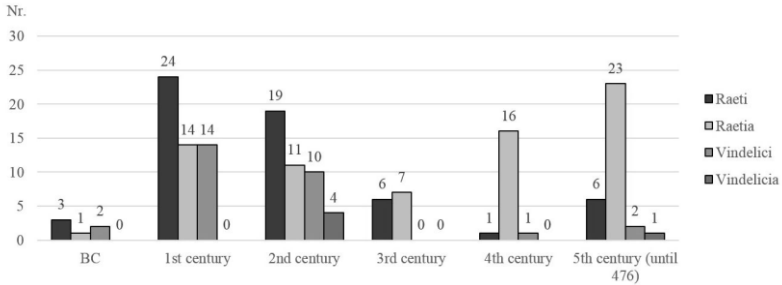


Figure 2. The frequency of the use of ethnic terms *Raeti*, *Vindelici* and geographical terms *Raetia* and *Vindelicia* in literary sources prior to 476 based on the date when the source was created (cf. I in *Table 4*)¹¹⁸

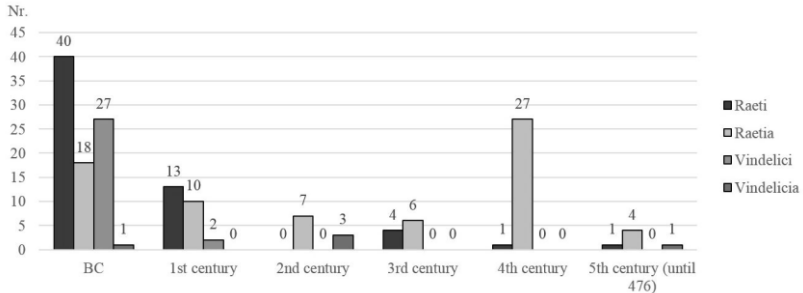


Figure 3. The frequency of the use of the ethnic terms *Raeti*, *Vindelici* and geographical terms *Raetia* and *Vindelicia* in literary sources prior to 476 based on the date to which sources refer (cf. II in *Table 4*).

Summary

In the years before and soon after the Roman occupation, the geographical term *Raetia* was applied to the high mountain ranges of the Alps and its

¹¹⁷ Claud. 26,418.

¹¹⁸ 0: ante natus Christi, 1 – 1st cent., 2 – 2nd cent., 3 – 3rd cent., 4 – 4th cent., 5 – 5th cent. (ante 476).

southern and northwestern slopes, expanding over the northern border of the Italian peninsula, approximately enclosing the pentagon of present-day Como – Verona – Udine – Innsbruck – Kempten. This area was more a mountain range than a hill country. On the other hand, Vindelicia consisted of the northern foothills of the Alps and the fertile hill country stretching north to the Danube. It is worth mentioning that having reached its peak extent in the 2nd century, the territory of Raetia province included more lands traditionally belonging to the Vindelici than the Raeti. Keeping this and the negative ancient topoi related to Raetia in mind, it is curious why the province was named Raetia rather than Vindelicia.

A plausible explanation is that the Vindelici were fewer in numbers compared to the Raeti. Another reason may be that the original topographical term *Raetia et Vindelicia* – reflecting the new territories' distance from Rome – was abbreviated for practical reasons. A similar tendency can be seen regarding units recruited from the region that was originally termed *cohortes Raetorum et Vindelicorum*, but was shortened to either *cohortes Raetorum* or *cohortes Vindelicorum*.¹¹⁹ Both terms were in use in the 3rd century.¹²⁰ Although not a province on its own, the land of the Vindelici, and the nation itself, retained its ethnic identity.¹²¹ The province's capitol, Augusta Vindelicum, was clearly named after the Vindelici.¹²² Names originating from the collective designation *Vindelici* (e.g. Vindelicus, -a, Vindelio, Vindelicius etc.) were in use even in the 3rd century.¹²³ On the other hand, no epigraphical sources attest Vindelician origin, while numerous individuals were specified as *Raeti*,¹²⁴ *ex natione Raetus* or *civis Raetus*.¹²⁵

Curandum penem commisit Baccara Raetus / rivali medico. Baccara Gallus erit, Mart. 11,74.

¹¹⁹ Due to the limits of this paper, it is not possible to list all epigraphical sources referring to *cohortes Raetorum* (ca. 160 inscriptions) and *cohortes Vindelicorum* (ca. 60 inscriptions). Estimates based on EDCS.

¹²⁰ *cohortes Vindelicorum*: AÉ (1987: 848); AÉ (1977: 697); CIL 3² (1958: 1343).

¹²¹ AÉ (1996: 1185).

¹²² Cf. note 25.

¹²³ OPEL 4 (2002: 171) cf. AÉ (1923: 36): *T. Vindelicius Tertinus*; CIL 3² (1958: 5780): *Vindelica fil(i)a*; CIL 3² (1958: 5969): *Vindelicius Ermogeniano (...)* *Vindel. Surinus*; CIL 13² (1966: 5282): *Vindelucio*; CIL 16² (1974: 5): *Vindelico filius*; GERSTL (1961: 236): *Vindelicius*; RIB 2 (1965: 2501,617): *Vindalici*; RIU 3 (1981: 921): *Vindelionis filius*; RIU 6 (2001: 1461): *Vindelicae matri*; RMD 1 (1978: 14) *C. Vindelicius Fontanus*.

¹²⁴ Mart. 11,74.

¹²⁵ DIETZ (2004a: 18–19; table 5) listed 43 inscriptions.

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

K.H. Dietz proposed that *Vindelicus* referred to the origin of the unpublished military constitution issued to Augustus Artissi filius of the *ala Aetectorigiana* of the garrison in Moesia superior on the 4th of January 97.¹²⁶ If so, this is the sole epigraphical record of Vindelican origin. Similarly to origins, personal names originating from the collective designation Raeti (e.g. Raetus, Raeticus, Raeticianus etc.) were far more common than those of Vindelici.¹²⁷

Sources	Dating ¹²⁸	Ethnic terms	Geographical terms
CIL 5 ² (1959: 4910)	15 BC / AD 25	–	<i>Vindol(icis)</i>
CIL 5 ² (1959: 7817)	7/6 BC	<i>Vindelicorum gentes</i>	–
AÉ (1902: 189)	10 – 14/15	–	<i>Vindalicens et Raetis</i>
CIL 5 ² (1959: 3936)	14	–	<i>Raitiai et Vindelic.</i>
CIL 16 ² (1974: 5)	15.6.64	<i>Vindelico</i>	–
RMD 1 (1978: 14)	19.7.114	<i>Vindilicius</i>	–
CIL 3 ² (1958: 5780)	1–3 cent.	<i>Vindelica</i>	–
CIL 3 ² (1958: 5969)	1–3 cent.	<i>Vindelici(i)s, Vindel.</i>	–
CIL 13 ² (1966: 5282)	1–3 cent.	<i>Vindaluco</i>	–
GERSTL (1961: 236)	1–3 cent.	<i>Vindelicus</i>	–
RIB 2 (1965: 2501/617)	1–3 cent.	<i>Vindalici</i>	–
CIL 11 ² (1968: 6221)	1 st h. of 2 nd cent.	–	<i>Raetiae et [Vindeliciae]</i>
RIU 3 (1981: 921)	1 st h. of 2 nd cent.	<i>Vindelionis</i>	–
RIU 6 (2001: 1461)	2 nd cent.	<i>Vindeliae</i>	–
CIL 9 ² (1963: 4964)	167/169+	–	<i>Raetiae Vindelic[iae]</i>
AÉ (1996: 1185)	179/230	<i>Vindelicis</i>	–
AÉ (1923: 36)	205	<i>Vindelicius</i>	–
AÉ (2009: 1799)	9.1.234	–	<i>Aug(ustae) Vindelicho(rum)</i>
Not. dign. occ. 11,5.	430	–	<i>Augustae Vindelicensis, Raetia</i>
Tab. Peut. 3,1.	4 th cent. (1508)	–	<i>Augusta Vindelicu(m or -rum)</i>
Iord. Rom. 217.	551	–	<i>Augusta Vindicas</i>

Table 3. Epigraphical sources using the ethnic or geographical terms Vindelici or Vindelicia

¹²⁶ DIETZ (2004b: 587).

¹²⁷ OPEL 4 (2002: 22).

¹²⁸ The date in brackets refers to the time when the source was written, if it differs from the period it accounts of.

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Sources	I. ¹²⁹	II.	Ethnic terms	Geographical terms
Verg. <i>Georg.</i> 2. 95–96.	37/36–30/29 BC	1 st cent. BC	<i>Rhaetica</i>	–
Agrippa 21.	ca. 13 BC	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetia</i>
Hor. <i>carm.</i> 4.4,17–20.	13 BC	15 BC	<i>Raeti, Vindelici</i>	–
4,14,14–16.	13 BC	15 BC	<i>Raetos, Vindelici</i>	–
Cels. 4,12.	14/37	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raeticum</i>
Liv. 5,33,11.	17	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetis</i>	–
Str. <i>Geog.</i> 4,6,6,6.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ῥαιτοὶ</i>	–
4,6,8,1.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ῥαιτοὶ, Ὀυνιδολικοὶ</i>	–
4,6,8,2.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ῥαιτοὶ,</i>	–
4,6,8,3.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ῥαιτικός</i>	–
4,6,8,4.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ὀυνιδολικοὶ</i>	–
4,6,8,6–7.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ῥαιτῶν, Ὀυνιδολικῶν (2)</i>	–
7,1,5.	20/30	1 st cent. BC	<i>Ὀυνιδολικούς, Ῥαιτοὶ (2), Ὀυνιδολικοὶ (2)</i>	–
Vell. 2,39,3.	30	15 BC	<i>Vindelicos</i>	<i>Raetiam</i>
2,95,2.	30	15 BC	<i>Raetos Vindelicosque</i>	–
2,104,4.	30	15 BC	<i>Vindelici</i>	<i>Raetia</i>
2,122,1.	30	12 BC	<i>Vindelicorum Raetorumque</i>	–
Plin. <i>nat.</i> 3,54.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raeti et Vindelici, Raetos, Raeto</i>	–
3,130.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetica, Raetorum</i>	–
3,133.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Vindelicorum gentes</i>	–
3,135.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetorum</i>	–
3,146.	79	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetis</i>
4,98.	79	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetia, Raetiae</i>
9,32.	79	1 st cent.	–	<i>Raetiae</i>
14,3.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raeticis</i>	–
14,25–26.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetica (2)</i>	–
14,41.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raeticis</i>	–
14,67.	79	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetica (3)</i>	–
16,26.	79	1 st cent.	–	<i>Raetiaque</i>
16,74.	79	15 BC	–	<i>Raetia</i>
16,37.	79	1 st cent.	–	<i>Raetia</i>
18,69.	79	1 st cent.	–	<i>Raetia</i>
Tac. <i>Germ.</i> 1,1.	98	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetisque</i>	–
1,2.	98	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raeticarum</i>
3,3.	98	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetiaequae</i>
41,1–2	98	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetiae</i>
Porph. <i>Hor. carm.</i> 4,4 (titulus)	2–3 cent.	15 BC	<i>Rethos, Vindelicos (2)</i>	–
4,4,18–21.	2–3 cent.	1 st cent. BC	<i>Vindelici</i>	–

Table 4. List of ethnic (Raeti/Vindelici) and geographical (Raetia/Vindelicia) terms in literary sources

¹²⁹ Regarding chronology, the date when the sources were written (I) and the date to which the sources refer (II) are distinguished. Dating and abbreviations as in ThLL and ThLG.

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

Sources	I.	II.	Ethnic terms	Geographical terms
Mart. 9,84.	103	1 st cent.	<i>Vindelicis, Raetus</i>	–
11,74.	103	1 st cent.	<i>Raetus</i>	–
14,100.	103	1 st cent.	<i>Raetia</i>	–
Tac. <i>hist.</i> 1,11,4.	100/110	69	–	<i>Raetia</i>
1,59,5.	100/110	69	<i>Raeticis</i>	–
1,67,5.	100/110	69	<i>Raetia</i>	–
1,68,2.	100/110	69	<i>Raeticae, Raetorum</i>	–
1,68,4.	100/110	69	<i>Raetisque</i>	–
1,70,4.	100/110	69	<i>Raeticis</i>	–
2,98,2.	100/110	69	–	<i>Raetiam</i>
3,5,5.	100/110	69	–	<i>Raetia</i>
3,5,6.	100/110	69	<i>Raetos</i>	–
4,70,2.	100/110	69	–	<i>Raetiam</i>
5,25,2.	100/110	69	<i>Raetos</i>	–
Tac. <i>ann.</i> 1,44,6.	116/120	15	–	<i>Raetiam</i>
2,17,7.	116/120	16	<i>Raetorum Vindelicorumque</i>	–
Flor. <i>epit.</i> 1,37,2.	117/138	123 BC	<i>Vindelicus</i>	–
4,12,4–5.	117/138	15 BC	<i>Vindelicos</i>	–
Suet. <i>vita Hor.</i> 20.	ca. 120	15 BC	<i>Vindelicam</i>	–
Suet. <i>Aug.</i> 21,1.	121	15 BC	<i>Vindelicos</i>	<i>Raetiam</i>
77,1.	121	30BC / AD 14	<i>Raetico</i>	–
— <i>Tib.</i> 9,2.	121	15 BC	<i>Raetico atque Vindelico gentis</i>	<i>Raeticum Vindelicumque</i>
— <i>Claud.</i> 1,2.	121	12 BC	<i>Raetici</i>	–
App. <i>Illyr.</i> 6,1.	ca. 160	1 st cent.	<i>Ραιτοῦς</i>	–
5,29.	ca. 160	15 BC	<i>Ραιτοί, Ραιτοῦς</i>	–
Ptol. <i>Geog.</i> 1,16.	ca. 160	2 nd cent.	–	<i>Ραιτία</i>
2,1.	ca. 160	2 nd cent.	–	<i>Ραιτία, Βινδελικία</i>
2,12.	ca. 160	2 nd cent.	–	<i>Ραιτίας, Ὀνινδελικίας</i>
2,13.	ca. 160	2 nd cent.	–	<i>Ὀνινδελικίας</i>
Iust. 20,5,9.	3 rd cent. (?)	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raeto, Raetorum</i>	–
Liv. <i>Perioch.</i> 138.	3–4 cent. (?)	15 BC	<i>Raeti</i>	–
Paneg. 8,3,3.	3–4 cent. (?)	3–4 cent. (?)	–	<i>Raetiaeque</i>
8,10,1.	3–4 cent. (?)	3–4 cent. (?)	–	<i>Raetia</i>
10,9,1.	3–4 cent. (?)	289	–	<i>Raetiae</i>
11,5,4.	3–4 cent. (?)	291/292	–	<i>Raetiae</i>
11,7,1.	3–4 cent. (?)	291/292	<i>Raetia</i>	–
11,16,1.	3–4 cent. (?)	291/292	<i>Raeticas</i>	–
Act. <i>Arv.</i> a. 213.	213	213	–	<i>Raetiae</i>
Dio <i>hist.</i> 54,22,1–5.	ca. 230	15 BC	<i>Ραιτοί</i>	–
55. 24. 4.	ca. 230	166/167	–	<i>Ραιτία</i>
Dimens. <i>provinc.</i> 19.	4 th cent.	4 th cent.	–	<i>Raetia</i>
Divisio <i>orb.</i> 10.	4 th cent.	1–2 cent.	–	<i>Raetia</i>
Eutr. 7,9,2.	364/378	15 BC	<i>Vindelicos</i>	<i>Raetiam</i>
Auson. <i>grat.</i> 17,11.	379	4 th cent.	–	<i>Rhaetiae</i>

Table 4. List of ethnic (Raeti/Vindelici) and geographical (Raetia/Vindelicia) terms in literary sources

Sources	I.	II.	Ethnic terms	Geographical terms
Amm. 15,4,1.	ca. 390	355	–	<i>Raetias</i>
15,4,3.	ca. 390	355	<i>Raetus</i>	–
16,10,20.	ca. 390	355	–	<i>Raetias</i>
16,12,16.	ca. 390	355	–	<i>Raetias</i>
17,6 (titulus)	ca. 390	355/357	–	<i>Raetiis</i>
17,6,1.	ca. 390	355/357	–	<i>Raetias</i>
17,13,28.	ca. 390	15 BC	–	<i>Raeticis</i>
21,8,(titulus)	ca. 390	361	–	<i>Raetias</i>
21,8,3.	ca. 390	361	–	<i>Raetiarum</i>
22,8,44.	ca. 390	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raeticis</i>
28,2,1.	ca. 390	361	–	<i>Raetiarum</i>
28,5,15.	ca. 390	370	–	<i>Raetias</i>
31,10,2.	ca. 390	378	–	<i>Raetiarum</i>
Claud. 8,441–445.	397	397	–	<i>Raetia</i>
26,281.	402	401/402	–	<i>Raetia</i>
26,332.	402	402	–	<i>Raetia</i>
26,343.	402	402	–	<i>Raetia</i>
26,418.	402	401/402	–	<i>Raetia, Vandalicis</i> (?)
28,231–234.	403	401/402	<i>Raetos</i>	–
Hist. aug. <i>Aur.</i> 8,7.	5 th cent.	161	–	<i>Raetiam</i>
— <i>Pert.</i> 2,6.	5 th cent.	175	–	<i>Raetias</i>
— <i>Carac.</i> 5,4.	5 th cent.	211	–	{ <i>Raetiam</i> } ¹³⁰
— <i>Prob.</i> 16,1.	5 th cent.	278	–	<i>Raetias</i>
— <i>Aurelian.</i> 13,1.	5 th cent.	254/255	<i>Raetici</i>	–
— <i>quatt. tyr.</i> 14,2.	5 th cent.	254/280	<i>Raetici</i>	–
Serv. <i>Aen.</i> 1,243.	5 th cent.	15 BC	<i>Raeti Vindelici</i>	–
2. 95	5 th cent.	1 st cent. BC	<i>Raetica</i> (2)	–
Oros. <i>hist.</i> 1,2,60–61.	417/418	1 st cent. BC	–	<i>Raetia, Raetiamque</i>
6. 21. 22.	417/418	15 BC	<i>Vindelicos</i>	–
7. 22. 1.	417/418	364	–	<i>Raetia</i>
7. 22. 7.	417/418	364	–	<i>Raetia</i>
Not. dign. <i>occ.</i> 1,21; 1,32; 2,3; 5,3; 5,5; 7,2.	430	430	–	<i>Raetia</i> (6)
35.	430	430	–	<i>Raetia</i> (6)

Table 4. List of ethnic (Raeti/Vindelici) and geographical (Raetia/Vindelicia) terms in literary sources

Ancient literary sources

Act. *Arv.* = acta fratrum Arvalium

ad ann. 105, col. II lin. 7

ad ann. 27, fragm. f lin. 8

Agrippa = M. Vipsanii Agrippae fragmenta ad chorographiam spectantia,
cap. 37

¹³⁰ SZABÓ (2000: 287–292).

New data on the use of term Raetia-Vindelicia

- Amm. = Ammianus Marcellinus Antiochenus, rerum gestarum quae exstant (sc. libri 14–31, complectentes a. 353–378), lib. 31 cap. 16 § 9
- App. *Illyr.* = Appianus Alexandrinus, Illyrica, cod: 4,977
- Auson. *grat.* = D. Magnus Ausonius Burdigalensis, vasatis gratiarum actio ad Grati Angratianum Imperatorem pro consulatu, cap. 17
- Cassiod. *var.* = Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, variae (sc. epistulae, formulae sim. a Cassiodoro officiis variis fungente conscripta), lib. 12 epist. 28 § 10
- Cels. = A. Cornelius Celsus, medicina, lib. 8 cap. 25 § 5
- Chron. *ecc.* = chronicon ecclesiasticum (perperam Ps. Dionysii adscripta sunt)
- Claud. = Claudius Claudianus, carm. maiorum series, carm. 28 vers. 660
- 8 – paneg. dictus Honorio cos. IV
- 25 sq. – bellum Geticum (Pollentinum)
- 27 sq. – paneg. dictus Honorio cos. VI
- Dimens. *provinc.* = demensuratio (olim dimensuratio) provinciarum, § 31
- Dio. *hist.* = Cassius Dio Cocceianus Nicaensis, historiae Romanae, Q, cod: 96,350
- Dionys. *ant.* = Dionysius Halicarnassensis, antiquitatum Romanarum (Ρωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας) quae supersunt, lib. 1 cap 84 § 4
- Divisio *orb.* = Divisio orbis terrarum, § 26
- Epiced. *Drusi* = epicedion Drusi (Tiberii fratris) vel consolatio ad Liviam (carmen Ovidio perperam adscriptum), vers. 474
- Evgipp. *Sev.* = Eugippius abbas castelli Luculliani prope Neapolim, vita Severini (commemoratorium), cap. 46 § 6
- Eutr. = Eutropius, breviarium ab urbe condita, lib. 10 cap 18 § 3
- Flor. *epit.* = L. (?) Annaeus Florus, epitoma de Tito Livio q. d., lib. 4 cap. 12 § 66
- Hist. *aug.* = scriptores historiae Augustae q. d., sc. vitae principum sim. Romanorum inde ab Hadriano usque ad Numanum
- *Aur.* = M. Aurelius Antoninus philosophus (vita IV), cap. 29 § 10
- *Aurelian.* = Aurelianus (vita XXVI), cap. 50 § 5
- *Carac.* = Antoninus Caracallus (vita XIII), cap. 11 § 7
- *Pert.* = Helvius Pertinax (vita VIII), cap. 15 § 8
- *Prob.* = Probus (vita XXVIII), cap. 24 § 8
- *quatt. tyr.* = quattuor tyranni (sc. Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, Bonosus; vita XXIX), cap. 15 § 10
- Hor. *carm.* = Q. Horatius Flaccus, Carmina
- Iord. *Rom.* = Iordanes Gothus, de summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum, §388
- Iust. = M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus, epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi, lib. 44 cap 5 § 8

- Lex de Germ. tab. Siar.* = lex (rogata) Valeria Aurelia de honoribus Germanico Caesari defuncto tribuendis, tabula Siarensis, fragm. II, col c lin. 21
- Liv.* = T. Livius Patavinus, operis maximi historici ('ab urbe condita') quae exstant lib. 45 cap. 44 § 21
- Liv. perioch.* = operis Liviani intergri periochae, quae codicibus servantur, periochae libri 142 (ubi opus est, addebamus paginam et lineam sec. Rossbach, addimus nunc paragraphum sec. Jal)
- Mart.* = M. Valerius Martialis ex Hispania Tarraconensi Bilbilitanus, epigrammata, lib. 14 carm 223 vers. 2
- Mela* = Pomponius Mela ex Hispania Tingenterianus, de chorographia, lib. 3 § 107
- Not. dign. occ.* = notitia dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium in partibus occidentis, cap. 45 comma 15
- Oros. hist.* = Paulus (?) Orosius presbyter Hispanus, historiae adversum paganos, lib. 7 cap. 43 § 20
- Paneg.* = collectio panegyricorum latinorum, paneg. 12 cap. 26 § 5
- Plin. nat.* = C. Plinius Secundus (vulgo Plinius maior), naturalis historia, lib. 37 § 205
- Porph. Hor. carm.* = Pomponius Porphyrio, commentum in Horatii Carmina
- Provinc. laterc.* = Provinciarum laterculus codicis Veronensis, cap. 15 § 7
- Ptol. Geog.* = Claudius Ptolemaeus, Geographia, lib. 4–8
- R. Gest. div. Aug.* = res gestae divi Augusti (olim ex monumento Ancyrano solo allatae) part. 6, cap. 35
- Sen. nat.* = L. Annaeus Seneca (Seneca rhetor, philosophi pater), naturales *quaestiones*, lib. 7 cap. 32 § 4
- Serv. Aen.* = Servius grammaticus, commentarius in Vergiï opera
- Str. Geog.* = Strabo, Geographica, lib. XVIII
- Suet.* = C. Suetonius Tranquillus
- *Aug.* = de vita caesarum XII, divus Augustus (vita II), cap. 101 § 4
- *Claud.* = ibid, divus Claudius (vita V), cap. 44 § 3
- *Tib.* = ibid, Tiberius (vita III), cap. 75 § 3
- *vita Hor.* = de viris illustribus, de poetis, vita Horatii, p. 48 lin. 9
- Tab. Peut.* = tabula Peutingeriana, segmentum 12 pars 5
- Tac.* = (P.) Cornelius Tacitus
- *ann.* = Annalium (ab excessu divi Augusti) quae exstant, lib. 16 cap. 35 § 2
- *Germ.* = Germania (de origine et situ Germanorum), cap. 46 § 4
- *hist.* = Historiae, lib. 5 cap 26 § 3
- Vell.* = Velleius Paterculus, historiae romanae q. d. quae exstant, lib. 2 cap. 131 § 2
- Verg. Georg.* = P. Vergilius Maro, Georgica, lib. 4 vers. 566

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“*ARCHIATRES ID EST MEDICUS SAPIENTISSIMUS*”
CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF THE TERM
ARCHIATROS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ÁKOS ZIMONYI

The outlines of the changes of the term *archiatros* and his Latin equivalent *archiater* are clear: initially the word denoted a court physician but in the 2nd Century CE, a new meaning appeared, that of a public physician. Only in late antiquity can one identify *archiatros* as an honorary title, one denoting a famous, skilled doctor. The inscription of C. Procleius Themison from Alexandria (7 CE) does not fit into this scheme. In this paper, I argue that the title of Themison should be viewed as an honorary one, indicating that the honorary usage of *archiatros* began sooner, as previously thought. The inscription from Themison also affords an opportunity to re-examine the term *archiatros*, and to investigate, whether the use of the term in a flattering manner can be traced in Greek and Latin inscriptions.

A fragmentary inscription was found in 1981 in Alexandria. It is dedicated to the *archiatros* Caius Procleius Themison, and dates to 7 CE.¹

Γάιον Προκλήμιον Θεμισώνα ἀρχιατρὸν
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι [συνηγ?]-
μένων ἰατρῶν εὐνοίας χάριν
[ἔτους] λζ΄ Καίσαρος vac. Φαῶφι [...]

The assembly of physicians in Alexandria honours Gaius Procleius Themison, *archiatros*, because of his benevolence [in the] 37th [year] of Caesar (Augustus), on [...] of the month Phaophi (between 29.9. and 28.10. 7 CE).²

The Greek inscription has four lines. The first contains the name of the honorand and his title. The second and third lines include the association

¹ RÖMER (1990: 81), SAMAMA (2003: 474–475, no. 394).

² The Roman era in Egypt begins on the 30th of August in the year 30 BCE. Phaophi was the second month of the year, from the end of September until the end of October. SAMAMA (2003: 475, note 13).

of physicians in Alexandria who honoured him with this inscription. The last line is the date of the inscription. Due to the fragmentary nature of this inscription, it is hard to decide whether the dedicatory association is a collegium of Alexandrian physicians³ or an honorary association of physicians and maybe other healers, e.g. masseurs.⁴ The possible meaning of the term *archiatros* also remains unclear. It was first recorded as the title of the Emperor's personal physician in the Seleucid court.⁵ Themison⁶ may have obtained Roman citizenship through C. Proculeius, a close friend of Augustus, but the sources are insufficient to identify Themison as a court physician.⁷ *Archiatros* also designates a municipal physician from the 2nd Century CE,⁸ but this inscription is dated, much earlier, to the year 7 CE. The honoured may be regarded as a renowned travelling doctor, or as a member or maybe president of an association of physicians.⁹ In this case, the term *archiatros* should be interpreted as an honorary title, denoting a great and famous physician, awarded by an association of doctors.¹⁰ The inscription dedicated to Themison is the earliest occurrence of the phrase *archiatros* in the Roman Empire, affording us the opportunity to reconsider the term *archiatros*.

The term *archiatros* in this inscription from 7 CE might designate neither a court nor a municipal physician, as Themison must have practiced in Alexandria, and probably had no close connection to Augustus, while the term *archiatros* for civic doctors appeared only in the 2nd century CE. In this paper I offer a different solution to the interpretation of the word. I argue that *archiatros* was also an honorary

³ As I. Alex. Imp. (283, no. 97) and HIRT-RAJ (2006: 41–42) thought.

⁴ The word *πληθοσ* can denote a corporation of craftsmen or priests (for examples, see RÖMER [1990: 85, note 36]), but cannot be found elsewhere in connection with physicians. RÖMER (1990: 85–87), NUTTON (1995: 6).

⁵ NUTTON (1977: 193), NUTTON (2013). Cf. IDelos 1547, TAM V, 1, 689.

⁶ It is tempting to identify the honorand with the founder of the Methodist school, Themison of Laodicea, but sources do not permit any certainty. More probable is the thesis that a disciple or follower could have adopted his name. RÖMER (1990: 82–84; 88), SAMAMA (2003: 475, note 11).

⁷ RÖMER (1990: 84–85), HIRT-RAJ (2006: 63). HIRT-RAJ (2006: 167–168) also suggested an alternative interpretation that Themison probably arrived at Alexandria with Augustus and his staff after the battle of Actium to study medicine.

⁸ NUTTON (1977: 198–199; 201, 204), NUTTON (2013). Cf. Dig 27, 1, 6. and the collection of inscriptions from *archiatri* in NUTTON (1977: 218–226).

⁹ RÖMER (1990: 87–88), I. Alex. Imp. (283, note 97), SAMAMA (2003: 44), HIRT-RAJ (2006: 41–42).

¹⁰ ISRAELOWICH (2010: 3, note 15).

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title, one used in a flattering way, denoting a renowned, respected, skillful physician. In this particular case, the doctor was not employed by the court or the city, but was in private practice. This usage is well attested in late antiquity,¹¹ but the case of Themison and some other inscriptions suggest that the honorary function of the word can be demonstrated earlier, during the Principate. To complicate matters, the term *archiatros* remained in use for both court and civic physicians until the Byzantine era.¹² Thus, I will survey the epigraphic and legal sources related to *archiatri* in the imperial courts, in Eastern cities, in the West and finally, in Rome.¹³

The word *archiatros* can be derived from either ἀρχὸς τῶν ἰατρῶν, chief (of) physician(s) or τοῦ ἀρχοντος ἰατρός, doctor of the Emperor.¹⁴ The latter is seen by Briau as the original meaning of the term¹⁵ because, as Nutton rightly states: “The earliest attested meaning of *archiatros* is that of a personal physician to a ruler, and modern discussion has concentrated upon identifying the court where the title was first used.”¹⁶ Scholars argued that the term was used first by the Seleucids at the end of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd Century BCE,¹⁷ but earlier, at the beginning of the 6th Century BCE, a similar Egyptian title, “*wr sinw*”, denoting supreme or chief physician, is known from Pharaonic Egyptian texts.¹⁸ Nutton emphasized however, that the Egyptian title is missing from early Ptolemaic papyri.¹⁹ It is debated whether the Greek form derives from the Seleucids, or is a translation of the Egyptian title. When precisely *archiatros* denoted court physician in the Roman Empire is difficult to determine. The term cannot be found on the inscriptions of the first court physicians from the Julio-Claudian dynasty until the reign of Claudius

¹¹ NUTTON (1977: 197–198, 215), KORPELA (1987: 18, note 70; 105, note 61).

¹² NUTTON (1977: 198).

¹³ In Egypt, the *archiatros* as civic physician only appears in the 4th Century CE, although two papyri (SB 5216 = Select Pap. 104 from the 1st Century BCE and P.Oslo 53 from the 2nd Century CE) does not fit in this concept. The exact functions of the two *archiatri* could not be determined with security, which raises the possibility of an honorary use of this title. NUTTON (1977: 194; 214–215), RÖMER (1990: 86–87). To the honorary usage s. KUDLIEN (1979: 25–34) and ISRAELOWICH (2010: 3, esp. note 15).

¹⁴ BRIAU (1877: 14–15).

¹⁵ BRIAU (1877: 15; 19–26).

¹⁶ NUTTON (1977: 193).

¹⁷ The first *archiatros*, Apollophanes was the doctor of the Seleucid king Antiochos III (ruled 223–187 BCE), cf. IDelos 1547 = TAM V, 1, 689. POHL (1905: 25–28); MASTROCINQUE (1995: 147), MARASCO (1996: 446, note 47).

¹⁸ JONCKHEERE (1958: 96–98).

¹⁹ NUTTON 2013.

(41–54 CE). The first occurrence is on two Coan inscriptions in honour of C. Stertinius Xenophon, the doctor of Claudius and his family in Rome. Xenophon, however, was called *medicus Augusti*: his title, *archiatros* can be found only on those Greek inscriptions. But the term was not used by his immediate successors. It spread from the end of the 1st Century CE, and it is attested not only in inscriptions, but also in medical texts, such as those of Erotian and in the 2nd Century CE Aretaeus and Galen. The Latinized form, *archiater* does not occur in texts until the end of 3rd Century CE.²⁰

As for the public physicians of the Hellenistic age, the *iatroi demosioi* “...are known almost exclusively from a series of inscriptions from the 4th Century BC to the 2nd Century AD.”²¹ It is debatable whether public doctors were organised in a public health care system.²² Public doctors worked in the service of local communities, and might be employed by the city council. They might obtain payment and a public salary from the city, although it did not mean that they had to treat every citizen for free. In return for their public service, they might receive a statue or an honorary decree stating the physician’s merits and privileges. The public doctors acquired an appreciation for their medical skills in the city, which meant more patients for them in a society lacking state-controlled qualification for physicians. In return, the city could have access to an “officially” approved physician. But only some cities could afford the support of a qualified public physician. There can be no doubt that the privileges of public physicians remained unchanged during the Roman period.²³

In spite of the continuity of the institution of public physicians, there is a change in use of relevant terms. The *iatroi demosioi* were replaced by *archiatroi* in the 2nd Century CE, reflected in the epigraphic evidence of the list of public doctors. Pohl and Woodhead argued that the *archiatroi* were identical with the Hellenistic public physicians.²⁴ Below and Cohn-Haft believed, however, that the change of titles was connected to institutional reforms, although the lack of sources has made it impossible to determine what exactly these reforms were.²⁵

²⁰ BRIAU (1877: 19–52), NUTTON (1977: 193–197), KUDLIEN (1979: 76–77), SAMAMA (2003: 42–43), NUTTON (2004: 152), ISRAELOWICH (2010: 3, note 15) NUTTON (2013).

²¹ NUTTON (1977: 199).

²² WOODHEAD (1952: 235).

²³ POHL (1905: 45–54; 57–63; 67–79), COHN-HAFT (1956: 76–91), NUTTON (1977: 198–199), KUDLIEN (1979: 52–64), NUTTON (1981: 11–15), SAMAMA (2003: 38–42); NUTTON (2004: 153–155).

²⁴ POHL (1905: 42; 45), WOODHEAD (1952: 241–242).

²⁵ BELOW (1953: 34–38), COHN-HAFT (1956: 69–72).

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The debate is centred on the edict of Antoninus Pius (*Dig.* 27, 1, 6, pr.–8), valid for the councils of Asia Minor in the early 140s, which restricted the number of public physicians to five, seven, or ten in accordance with the size of the city. The Emperor did not prescribe a minimum number of doctors for each city, but instead tried to stabilize the finances of the cities. The generous decision of Hadrian to grant immunity to all physicians, grammarians, orators and philosophers was obviously having a negative effect on the financial situation of the Asian towns and of the citizens, who had to complement the missing taxes and liturgies. It is tempting to “...identify the *archiatroi* with the doctors included within the numerus of civically approved physicians”,²⁶ but in legal texts, municipal doctors are not qualified with the title of *archiatri* until the end of 3rd Century CE. There can be no doubt, however, that they were designated by this title, as is shown on the inscriptions. Another question is whether the title was already in use before the time of Antoninus Pius. Nutton argues that most civic *archiatri* appeared only after the edict of Pius, which “...undoubtedly stimulated the spread of the title.”²⁷ A dated inscription of an *archiatros* of the 1st or early 2nd Century CE would resolve the controversy, as the earliest precisely dated inscription is from 192 CE.²⁸

The term *archiatros* was used for imperial and civic physicians, however in some inscriptions, neither meaning can be associated with security. In this case, it could be interpreted as an honorary title. I will offer four examples from the Eastern—and one from the Western—Roman Empire. The first example is the epitaph of Heleis from Thyatira. Dating to the 2nd–3rd century CE, Heleis was *archiatros* of the entire athletic association (ἀρχιατρὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος ξυστοῦ).²⁹ Thyatira had three gyms (*xystos*), which were managed by a general athletic association (*sympas xystos*), and had its own priests (*archiereis*), secretary (*archigrammateus*) and doctor (*archiatros*), Heleis. So, the deceased was nor a royal nor a municipal physician, but was undoubtedly a private physician. The law of Valentinian from 368 CE, which established an association of Roman *archiatri*, also supports this view by excluding the *archiatri* of athletes and Vestal Virgins and the port from their ranks,

²⁶ NUTTON (1977: 201).

²⁷ NUTTON (1977: 215).

²⁸ BRIAU (1877: 56–59; 79), BELOW (1953: 35), NUTTON (1977: 199–206; 215), NUTTON (1981: 15), SAMAMA (2003: 43–44).

²⁹ ROBERT (1950: 25, no. 2) = SAMAMA (2003: 350–351, no. 229).

“...since these *archiatri* served private institutions, not open to all citizens.”³⁰

Cosinius or Cosutius Bassus, who died at the age of 21, bears the title *archiatros* on a Koan inscription from the 1st–2nd Century CE.³¹ Nutton explained that he cannot be regarded as a court doctor, nor head of a medical school or *collegium*, but rather as a public physician.³² Samama emphasized that he may have continued the activity of his father, practicing in the same city for generations.³³ If we take his young age into consideration, it can be concluded that the title of Bassus must be an honorary one. However, this does not seem probable that a young physician had gained enough recognition and fame to be assigned as public physician, when in Roman society, doctors were highly dependant on reputation and public recognition. It is rather likely due to his family, who brought glory to Cos, either by their medical skills, or by public services.

The inscription of Lucius Luscus Eukarpos is from Acruvium, located on the Gulf of Kotor, dates to late 2nd century CE.³⁴ His title is recorded as *archiatros kleinikos*. This is the only Greek epigraphic attestation of the term *klinikos*, which Galen attributed to physicians visiting their patients at home. Nutton thought that these two functions, that of civic and travelling physician, could not be combined, questioning the authenticity of the inscription.³⁵ Samama suggested that a doctor in charge of visits can refer to the existence of a municipal medical service.³⁶ There is another possibility. Three Latin inscriptions from Italy contain the title *medicus clinicus* from the 1st–2nd Century CE.³⁷ The second element, that is *clinicus*, is mentioned in literary texts, such as those of Martial and Pliny the Elder, in the same meaning as Galen.³⁸ The Greek title from Acruvium must have been a translation of the Latin term *medicus clinicus*, but

³⁰ NUTTON (1977: 218). Cf. ROBERT (1950: 25–28), KORPELA (1987: 133–134), SAMAMA (2003: 351, note 35, 36).

³¹ ICos 282 = SAMAMA (2003: 264, no. 149).

³² NUTTON (1977: 202–203).

³³ SAMAMA (2003: 43). We have epigraphic evidence for *archiatri*-generations in one city, like Attalus Priscus, ἀρχιατρός διὰ γένους in Ephesus or Aurelius Lucianus, ἐκ προγόνων ἀρχιατρός in Philadelphia. SAMAMA (2003: 19, note 57). This might seem probable also in this case, although firm evidence is missing.

³⁴ SAMAMA (2003: 182–183, no. 79).

³⁵ NUTTON (1981: 37, note 33).

³⁶ SAMAMA (2003: 183, note 33).

³⁷ Rome: CIL VI, 2532; Asisium: CIL XI, 5400; Salernum: AE 1951, 201.

³⁸ SAMAMA (2003: 183, note 34). Cf. KORPELA (1987: 98).

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instead of the word *iatros*, the more respected *archiatros* was written. In this case, it can be concluded that *archiatros* is an honorary title.

We also have to take into consideration that, according to the epigraphic evidence, not only small towns, but also villages, such as Gdanmaa in Lycaonia, had *archiatri*. The funerary inscription can be dated to the 3rd or 4th Century CE.³⁹ This inscription is unique, as it is the only epigraphic evidence for a female *archiatros* (*archiatrine*), called Augusta, who is praised for her medical skills. She is regarded, by SAMAMA, as a public doctor, getting paid by the community along with her husband, who was also an *archiatros*.⁴⁰ The financial situation of the cities in the Roman Empire worsened in the 3rd–4th Century CE, and it is therefore highly unlikely that a village could afford to hire a public doctor.⁴¹ The *archiatri* in villages can be regarded rather as travelling or even famous, skilled physicians. Returning to the inscription of Gdanmaa, the female *archiatros*, Augusta, may have inherited the title from her husband, and it can be considered as a kind of honorary title.

The term *archiatros* appears only in Italy and in Christian Africa in the Western Roman Empire, but this does not mean that other provinces did not have public physicians. For example Strabo mentioned the existence of public doctors (*iatroi demosioi*) in Marseille, which can be attributed to Greek influence. In Ferentum, M. Ulpius Telesphorus was paid by the city for the practise of a public physician after retiring from military service.⁴² Other towns, like Corduba⁴³ and Nemausus,⁴⁴ also maintained public physicians (*medici colonorum*).⁴⁵

There are only nine *archiatri* on Italian inscriptions from the Roman period. The Greek inscription related to a Jewish physician, from the 4th century CE, is worth mentioning.⁴⁶ It is dedicated to Flavius Faustinus. It is debated whether he was the personal physician of the elders of the Jewish community,⁴⁷ or if he was the leader of the elders and the public physician of Venusia.⁴⁸ Gummerus denied that Faustinus was a public

³⁹ MAMA VII (1956) 566; SAMAMA (2003: 442–443, no. 342); SCHULZE (2005: 53–54, note 12–13).

⁴⁰ SAMAMA (2003: 443, no. 49).

⁴¹ ALFÖLDY (2011: 224–226; 275–276).

⁴² CIL XI, 3007, ILS 2542, GUMMERUS (1932: 65, no. 241).

⁴³ CIL II, 2348, GUMMERUS (1932: 84–85, no. 327).

⁴⁴ CIL XII, 3342, GUMMERUS (1932: 88, no. 342).

⁴⁵ NUTTON (1977: 207), NUTTON (1981: 17).

⁴⁶ CIJ 600, GUMMERUS (1932: 57, no. 204), JIWE 76, SAMAMA (2003: 546, no. 509).

⁴⁷ KUDLIEN (1985: 43–44).

⁴⁸ JIWE (101, note 76).

physician, given that the sharp distinction between *medicus*, physician in general, and *archiater* or public physician, disappeared.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the term *archiatros* cannot be regarded unambiguously as relating to a civic doctor, since the inscription does not offer a clear distinction from that of an ordinary physician.

The epitaph of Faustinus also allows us to focus on *archiatri* who had other functions in the community, as there are several inscriptions in which a physician was called *archiatros* and obtained several other offices. For example, Aurelius Artemidorus was also a hierophant,⁵⁰ Sulpicius Demetrius was an attendant (*epimeletes*) to the celebration of the mysteries,⁵¹ M. Aurelius Charmides and his son are both recorded as *prytanis* and *stephanephos*,⁵² and C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo is called councilor (*buleutes*), orator, and philosopher in addition to *archiatros*.⁵³ These doctors gained their other – probably honorary – functions due to public recognition of their medical skills or rather, due to their public services to the community.⁵⁴ If the cultic and legal offices are honorary, could the title *archiatros* also be employed in a complimentary manner, referring to the great skill or fame of the honoured? Or were public physicians entrusted with other, possibly representative, tasks? The lack of evidence makes it impossible to answer these questions with absolute certainty.

Rome has a special place in the Empire. The epigraphic evidence exists only after the 4th Century CE, when Valentinian instituted a *collegium* of 14 *archiatri* in 368 CE (*CTh.* 13, 3, 8), equal to the number of districts and defined their hierarchy and salary.⁵⁵ Before the law was instituted, the physicians of Rome had been granted freedom from public taxes, and this exceptional situation was available for all of them, which always had attracted a great number of physicians to Rome, negating the need to establish a public health care system. Why did Valentinian decide to form the so-called *archiateratus*? Below presumed that the civic doctors of the East influenced the western provinces, urging Rome to set up a public

⁴⁹ GUMMERUS (1932: 57, no. 204).

⁵⁰ SAMAMA (2003: 359, no. 238).

⁵¹ SAMAMA (2003: 376–377, no. 264).

⁵² SAMAMA (2003: 367–368, no. 249, 250).

⁵³ SAMAMA (2003: 432–434, no. 334).

⁵⁴ Cf. NUTTON (1977: 200).

⁵⁵ The law also mentions the *archiatri* of the port, of the athletes' club and of the Vestal Virgins, who are exempt from the privileged class of Roman *archiatri*, because they practise in private institutions. The title *archiater* denoting physicians in charge of private institutions should be viewed as an honorary usage. NUTTON (1977: 217–218).

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health care system.⁵⁶ But, as Nutton rightly argues, the *archiatri* of Rome “...should not be regarded as health providers for the average Roman population due to their small number.”⁵⁷ And neither epigraphic, nor literary evidence can support this possibility: the Valentinian law puts the city *archiatri* under a close administrative control, unlike the municipal physicians. Briau emphasized that the Christian ideal of charity was the motivation for the creation of the institution.⁵⁸ It can be supported by the text of the law, stating that the *archiatri* ought to offer “...honourable service to the poor before squalid servitude to the rich.”⁵⁹ The political situation must be taken into consideration, as the beginning of Valentinian’s reign was a time of consolidation, restricting the power of aristocrats in Rome, and favouring the Roman *plebs*.⁶⁰ The *archiateratus* is ideal for deserving appreciation of the people of Rome and for weakening their aristocratic opponents.⁶¹

We must set a new framework for the interpretation of *archiatri*. It means chief or supreme physician, first used with regard to the personal doctors of the Emperor, then municipal doctors, regarded as the chief physicians of their community, in the 2nd Century CE, as reflected in the edict of Antoninus Pius in the 140s CE. However, we have several examples from the 2nd to 4th Centuries CE (Bassus, Eukarpos, Augusta and Faustinus), when the title *archiatros* can be understood as an honorary title. The term *archiatros* in the inscription of Themison from Alexandria does not fit either the imperial, or municipal physicians, but can be regarded as an honorary title, as early as the first Century CE. This kind of usage survived in the Middle Ages, in the phrase: *archiatres id est medicus sapientissimus*.⁶²

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“PROPTER POTENTIOREM PRINCIPALITATEM”
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRIMACY
OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

GÁBOR SZÉLL

The Patriarchate of Rome enjoyed a particularly distinguished position, and for its mighty and illustrious past, was entitled to principality within the Christian Church. Since the Bishop of Rome was regarded both as Peter’s successor and as the embodiment of apostolic tradition, the bishops of the East and West frequently made their requests to Rome. The primacy of Rome was widely acknowledged in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, nonetheless, in such areas the idea of a principal Rome would not even arise, as the bishops were equally looked upon as Peter’s successors. Constantine as protector of the church of the Empire, and as a ruler of almost limitless power, the Emperor was at liberty to intervene in church matters in order to ensure religious unity for the Empire. Nevertheless, in 325, the issue whether the Bishop of Rome ought to receive special powers was never raised.

The Development of Church Hierarchy

The majority of historical sources¹ confirm that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, there occurred a dramatic increase in the membership of Christian churches, and through gradual geographical expansion, a universal church had been formed. Since in the 1st century AD Christianity primarily spread in the eastern areas of the Empire, this was where the major church centres had emerged. Nonetheless, several communities had appeared in the western areas as well.²

During the growth of the Christian Church, the first dioceses were mostly established in the chief cities of the provinces, which was followed

¹ Iren. *Adv. haer.* 1,10,1; Tertull. *Apol.* 37,4.

² In the East, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Edessa, Persia and India came to prominence, while in the West, Italy, Gaul, the Danube frontier, Germania, Hispania, Africa and Egypt had emerged; see more: SZÁNTÓ (1983: 74–76) and HARNACK (1924).

by the foundation of all the others.³ Around a prominent diocese, the local communities organised themselves into larger units, or church territories (from the 4th century *metropolia*). Canon 9 of the Council of Antioch in 341 decreed that only the bishops heading these territories could be the bishops of the seat or the metropolis of the province.⁴

From the first half of the 3rd century, the patriarchates came into being, which consisted of several church units, their operation and jurisdiction being regulated at universal councils. In the early days, the heads of Rome and Carthage in the West, and those of Alexandria and Antioch in the East, had larger authority than the other bishops,⁵ and this list of the privileged later grew with the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople. It was the metropolitan archbishops, or patriarchs, who ordained the metropolitan bishops in their region, and it was they to whom appeals against the decrees of bishops and regional councils could be directed. They represented their patriarchate before the Emperor and the Pope.⁶

From the end of the 2nd century, the heads of church territories – first in Asia Minor – held regional councils, as well as pan-regional discussions to address their regional problems.⁷ Universal councils were organised on the model of regional councils, but carried the significance of an imperial assembly in that the participating bishops, patriarchs, and magistrates clarified matters of controversy concerning the Christian faith and issues of discipline. The first universal councils were convened by emperors, who even financed the events, therefore it was always in their power to order a sudden change of time or venue. Their legates at the councils were highly influential and frequently presided over these meetings.⁸

³ O'GRADY (2003: 140).

⁴ HEUSSI (2000: 107).

⁵ MARTON (2004: 118).

⁶ KURTSCHIED (1941: 120–123). The jurisdiction of some bishops extended beyond the borders of their church units, however, these did not reach the level of patriarchate but with the latter formed *exarchates*. Thus, the bishop of Heracleia extended his authority over the Thracian state territory; that of Ephesus over the church territories of Asia; while the head of Caesarea in Cappadocia over Pontus. Later on, these three exarchates comprised the Patriarchate of Constantinople, while the territory of Palestine was overseen by Jerusalem, cf. SZÁNTÓ (1983: 201).

⁷ The meetings of the bishops of Ancient Christianity were called *synodus*, which originally meant the assembly itself or its venue. The Jerusalem council of apostles and presbyters could well be a forerunner of these; cf. *Acts* 15:6–29.

⁸ JEDIN (1998: 16).

“*Propter potentioorem principalitatem*”

The Beginnings of the Primacy of Rome

The gradual expansion of the Church and the establishment of its institutions naturally created the need for a church leader to emerge who would make the ultimate decision in matters of controversy and discipline, and, serving as the central authority, oversee the life of the Christian Church and represent its unity.⁹

From among the developing church centres, it was traditionally the apostolic sees that rose above the rest. Of these, the Patriarchate of Rome, which Paul finds to surpass all else, among other things in its mercy,¹⁰ had gained the most distinguished position, with a steadily increasing congregation. Heussi mainly attributes Rome’s significance in church matters to its central role in administering the Empire,¹¹ and even according to Urban, it was primarily historical traditions that made Rome the centre of the universal Christian Church.¹² Yet most authors and contemporary sources justify Rome’s outstanding authority by the fact that the activities of Peter and Paul are inseparable from this city; it was these two who founded the Roman Church, and it was here that they both died a martyr’s death.¹³

From as far back as the end of the 1st century AD, the Bishop of Rome was regarded as Peter’s successor, whom Christ himself had raised to the position of leader of the Christian Church.¹⁴ This sentiment is clearly reflected in the additional entitling of the Bishop of Rome as *vicarius Christi* and *summus pontifex* or *summus sacerdos*; the cultivator and most trustworthy representative of apostolic tradition.¹⁵ The legitimacy of Peter’s authority over the Church was questioned even by many contemporaries, who stressed Peter’s notability rather than his primacy; it was underlined that the Pope was in fact not the head of Christendom, but merely the Bishop of Rome.¹⁶

Rome’s popularity within the Church was further enhanced by the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 and 135, a destruction which shifted the focal points of Christianity to Alexandria, Antioch and, above all, to

⁹ SZÁNTÓ (1983: 206).

¹⁰ Cf. *Rom.* 1:8.

¹¹ HEUSSI (2000: 81).

¹² URBAN (1987: 137–139).

¹³ Euseb. *HE* 2,25,8; CLAPSIS (2000: 102) and ADRIÁNYI (2001: 53).

¹⁴ *Matt.* 16:18: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.* According to some scholars, the view that Peter was the first bishop of Rome originates from as late as the 3rd century, cf. O’GRADY (2003: 146).

¹⁵ DULLES (1987: 140).

¹⁶ URBAN (1987: 134–136) and O’GRADY (2003: 143).

Rome, capital of the Empire, a lure for Christians from all parts of the world.¹⁷

The recognition that Rome enjoyed is well shown by the fact that as early as the first few centuries, church leaders of both eastern and western territories turned to Rome with their requests, accusations, and appeals, although at this time, the need to precisely outline episcopal jurisdiction had not yet arisen. In the character of a true mission-conscious leader, Pope Clement put down the Corinthian riots around 96, and demanded obedience from the congregation, stressing that the apostles were Christ's successors, and threatening to mete out harsh punishments. In about 110, Ignatius of Antioch in his letter to the Romans described the Church of Rome as one primarily worthy of love, and called the Roman community more prominent than his own.¹⁸

The primacy of the bishops of Rome received particular emphasis from the middle of the 2nd century, as the struggle against the Montanists and the Gnostics created the need to reassert that the possessors of the true Christian tenet could only be the apostolic churches. As the most significant of these was the Church of Rome, the beliefs of all the other churches had to be identical with those of Rome, representative of the apostolic tenet. From this time on, Rome played a leading role in the conversion of communities that turned against the teachings of the Church.

Apollinaris, the Bishop of Hieropolis, for instance, took a firm stance against Montanism, as did Eleutherius and Victor, Bishops of Rome, but their effective repression called for active cooperation. In 170, as the bishops of Asia were determined to engage the Montanists beyond their own territories, 26 bishops gathered in Hieropolis to discuss the matter.¹⁹ In a debate with the Montanists, Dionysius of Corinth cited Peter and Paul to emphasize Rome's superiority,²⁰ with the regional councils in Thrace holding a similar view. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, gathered signatures against the Montanists from the bishops of the territory.²¹

Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 202), Bishop of Lugdunum, introduced logical arguments in an attempt to justify that the faith of the oldest and most well-known church,²² Peter's Church of Rome, must be looked upon as guidance in the Church as a whole, due to its outstandingly mighty and

¹⁷ SZÁNTÓ (1983: 130) and MARTON (2004: 119).

¹⁸ *Ep. ad Rom.* 4,3.

¹⁹ MARTON (2004: 67).

²⁰ HEUSSI (2000: 56).

²¹ Euseb. *HE* 5,19,3.

²² STEVENSON (1987: 114).

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illustrious past.²³ Consequently, the tenets of the other churches had to be refashioned in harmony with the apostolic tradition represented by the Church of Rome. But this was merely presented as a logical necessity and not as proof of the *de jure* primacy of the Bishop of Rome.²⁴ Yet Rome’s superiority is seen to prevail in a list, drawn up by Irenaeus, of the bishops supporting the apostolic tradition.²⁵ He listed only the Roman heads from Peter to his own age,²⁶ failing to mention the leaders of such notable church centres as Ephesus or Corinth.

According to Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220), from the beginnings, the apostolic succession (*successio apostolica*) passed on, without interruption, the tenet which was received by the churches from the apostles, who had received it from Christ, who had received it from God.²⁷

Rome was also the centre of correspondence and a major point of contact between the churches, and one could only be a legitimate Christian if he identified himself with the Church of Rome. When at the Council of 268 Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, was stripped of office, but was still reluctant to hand over the church and his lodgings to his successor, Emperor Aurelian ruled that these were to be received by someone who was in correspondence with the bishops of Rome.²⁸

The Struggle for Primacy

Despite the fact that Rome’s desire for primacy intensified and that in Italy, the nearly one hundred dioceses were dwarfed by Rome’s grandeur and influence,²⁹ remote Christian churches did not submit to the will of Rome, and even the notion of Rome’s primacy was often alien to these territories.

In 190–191 for instance, from among the churches in Asia Minor, Ephesus, headed by Polycrates, would not accept the unifying Roman proposal for the computation of the date of Easter, leading Pope Victor I to

²³ Iren. *Adv. haer.* 3,3,1–2: *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potentioorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est quae est ab apostolis traditio.*

²⁴ HEUSSI (2000: 81).

²⁵ Iren. *Adv. haer.* 3,3,2–3.

²⁶ To Eleutherius or Victor I; cf. CHADWICK (2003: 75) and STEVENSON (1987: 114–115).

²⁷ Tertull. *De praescr. haer.* 21,4.

²⁸ Euseb. *HE* 7,30,18.

²⁹ MARTON (2004: 68).

decree that regional councils should decide this controversial question. Although the eastern and western churches sided with the Roman proposal,³⁰ and Irenaeus even tried pressing Polycrates for obedience,³¹ the churches of Asia Minor refused to accept the papal suggestion. Consequently, Victor excluded them from the religious community,³² and it was not until much later, in the 4th century, that the Roman practice gained ground in this territory. In 217, Tertullian, who had converted to Montanism, expressed his resentment concerning the relentlessly growing powers of bishops by sarcastically addressing Callixtus, Bishop of Rome, as *pontifex maximus* and *episcopus episcoporum*.³³

The spread of heretic movements raised other questions: Could baptisms administered by heretics be considered valid, and if a heretic wishes to return to the Christian Church, would he need to be re-baptised? On Tertullian's proposal, several councils in Africa and Asia Minor accepted, diverging from the Roman practice that baptism by heretics was invalid. But when, in 255, even Cyprian opposed the arguments of Pope Stephen I, Rome forbade Carthage to re-baptise heretics.³⁴ In 256, at the Council of Carthage, 87 bishops held on to their earlier view, and as a result, the Pope severed ties with them, stressing that he represented the better tradition.³⁵

It was Cyprian who introduced the notion of a universal episcopal church. According to his teachings, the unity of the Church is based upon the bishops, who can be completely and equally regarded as Peter's successors. Accordingly, the Bishop of Rome inherited authority only over the Church of Rome, and his jurisdiction did not extend to the other churches; the Church itself was indivisible, as its oneness was unquestionable.³⁶ Episcopalism, as suggested by Cyprian,³⁷ involved an oligarchic episcopal church leadership, whereas papalism, represented by Stephen, drew on the words of Christ for support to emphasize the primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the other bishops.³⁸

³⁰ Yet, some scholars regard this as the first step towards the schism between the eastern and western churches, cf. CLEENEWERCK (2008: 155).

³¹ Euseb. *HE* 5,24,12–17.

³² CHADWICK (2003: 77).

³³ Tertull. *De pud.* 1,6; WILHITE (2007: 174).

³⁴ Cypr. *ep.* 70,6; 75,17; 75,25.

³⁵ For more on Cyprian's standpoint and his debate with Stephen see: SZABÓ (2012: 5–16).

³⁶ MARTON (2004: 86).

³⁷ Cypr. *ep.* 48,3; 59,14.

³⁸ In the Western Church the idea of episcopalism held for a while, but with the expansion of papal power papalism was beginning to gain dominance.

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Constantine and the 1st Universal Council of Nicaea

As a consequence of Constantine’s Edict of Milan of 313,³⁹ in addition to state recognition, the Christian Church also received political power. In return however, the Emperor demanded obedience and full compliance with state interests.⁴⁰ Constantine’s concessions and endowments also served his own political interests, providing the means to win over the leading classes of the eastern and African regions.⁴¹ Plans for a unified Empire demanded religious unity. To facilitate this unity, as protector of the Imperial Church, not only was he at liberty to intervene in church matters, but he was also entitled to convene councils, and to take a position in theological debates.⁴² He often confirmed church-elected bishops in their offices and in many cases, he himself appointed the leaders of dioceses. There are cases when following a deposed bishop’s appeal to the Emperor, the rightfulness of the deposition had to be reviewed at a separate council.⁴³

Constantine, who considered himself the 13th apostle, in his capacity as bishop intervened in external church matters,⁴⁴ muddying the waters between internal and external religious issues.⁴⁵ According to Eusebius, the Roman Empire and the Christian Church are both reflections of the Heavenly Realm. It therefore follows that Constantine, Emperor of the Christian Empire, is also Supreme Lord of the Church and, as God’s Vicar on Earth, holds sway over the Church as a whole.⁴⁶ Constantine did not look upon himself as Absolute Lord of the Church, and all he intended to achieve was religious unity within the Empire.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, later

³⁹ In: Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48 and Euseb. *HE* 10,5.

⁴⁰ SZÁNTÓ (1983: 141).

⁴¹ Constantine’s attitude toward the Christian faith is still highly debated. Did he support this religion out of political interest, in order to benefit from the latent power Christianity had to offer, cf. SZIDAT (1985: 515) and BLEICKEN (1992), or did his conversion really stem from a conviction of faith, cf. BAYNES (1929)? What makes solving the problem even more difficult is that not only are the sources contradictory, but Constantine himself took steps in both directions.

⁴² SZÁNTÓ (1983: 138).

⁴³ HEUSSI (2000: 106).

⁴⁴ Euseb. *Vita Const.* 4,24.

⁴⁵ ADRIÁNYI (2001: 96).

⁴⁶ JEDIN (1962: 2,1,83–84).

⁴⁷ SZÁNTÓ (1983: 144) and MARTON (2004: 133).

emperors, unlike Constantine, made references to Eusebius when they wanted to emphasize their authority over the Church.⁴⁸

Since Constantine really intended to keep the whole Church under his control, bishops from all over the Empire received invitations to the Council of Nicaea of 325. Some accounts mention 318 participants, probably referring to Abraham having had 318 trained servants.⁴⁹ Socrates simply writes more than 300 attended,⁵⁰ while Eusebius puts the number of bishops at over 350. In fact, there could have been 220–250 bishops present at the Council between 20 May and 25 July.⁵¹ It is regarded as the first universal or ecumenical council, however the majority of participants arrived from the eastern provinces, and no more than five western bishops, including those of Carthage, accepted the imperial invitation.

Canon 6 of the Council guaranteed certain primacy to the Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch over the others. Their chief metropolitan prerogatives were equally confirmed, but there was no mention of the Bishop of Rome having to receive more special authority than that of Alexandria or Antioch.⁵² Several resolutions were passed, however, in favour of Alexandria.⁵³

The Emperor's transfer of seat to Constantinople, established in 330, meant that the Bishop of Rome was able to increase his authority in the western provinces.⁵⁴ Taking the Empire as a whole however, the strengthening new capital left him in a somewhat relegated position. The foundation and ceremonial consecration of the city involved Christian clergy but pagan rituals, at the time still a custom in Roman temples, were banned in Constantinople.⁵⁵ The new Rome's (*Nova Roma, Nea Rhome*) administration was based on the old Roman model, but its land was controlled not by the *praefectus urbi*, but a proconsul, which meant that legally, it was submitted to Rome.

⁴⁸ KATUS (2001: 80). For more on the limits to the authority of the Byzantine Emperor see: SCHREINER (2002: 266).

⁴⁹ JEDIN (1998: 18), cf. *Gen.* 14:14.

⁵⁰ Socr. *E.* 1,8.

⁵¹ MARTON (2004: 148).

⁵² CHADWICK (2003: 47).

⁵³ The date of Easter was always calculated by Alexandrian scientists, and it was announced by the Patriarch. Bishop of Lycopolis Meletius, who had missed the rigorous stance during the persecution of Christians, was denied any say in the matters of the Patriarch of Alexandria. All the metropolitans and bishops of Egypt, Libya, and Thebes were placed under Alexandrian control, cf. JEDIN (1998: 20).

⁵⁴ HEUSSI (2000: 125).

⁵⁵ DANIEL-ROPS (1957: 1,513).

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As a sign of strengthening Roman primacy, Pope Miltiades received the Lateran Palace from Constantine in 313, which, with its newly created offices and the buildings raised in the area, had become the seat of the Bishop of Rome. In 320, Pope Sylvester started building a church over the grave of Peter in testimony to the primacy Rome still possessed within the Church.⁵⁶ Rome’s special authority is also substantiated by the fact that the Patriarch of Constantinople was, in the forthcoming period, becoming little more than an instrument of the Emperor’s will. The Pope himself did manage to retain his independence, but Rome’s relations with the Byzantine Emperor were anything but close, meaning that its claim to primacy could mostly be upheld over the western areas.⁵⁷

The Papacy’s claim for exclusive authority, and the question of primacy, first became the focus of controversy following the resolutions of the Council of Nicaea. It is still a matter of debate what attitudes were later adopted towards Rome’s self-styled leading role by the eastern and western areas, and by various trends within western Christianity.⁵⁸ According to most scholars, the greatest obstacle in the realization of Christian unity is the critical approach itself towards Papal primacy.⁵⁹ A solution seems to present itself by the redefinition of the term primacy: the Pope’s primacy means the primacy of respect or love and not a leading role over the Church.⁶⁰

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THE DEFENSE-IN-DEPTH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

GÁBOR HORTI

Throughout its history, the Roman Empire had always been in favour of conquests. But in the second century A.D., there was a slight change in strategy and the Empire was forced more and more into a defensive mode. Though conquering new territories for different reasons had always been a goal for emperors, the Roman Empire built and developed its defenses until the end of its time. The main objective of my paper is to provide a short insight to the various defensive mechanisms and strategies of the Roman Empire, and to elaborate on the final phase, the *defense-in-depth*. The concept of *defense-in-depth* was first introduced by Edward N. Luttwak, who demonstrated that the Roman Empire had a “*grand strategy*” in relation to its defensive systems. The theory will be examined thoroughly and one main area of defense will be introduced: Roman Pannonia.

At the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries A.D., the leaders of the Roman Empire underwent a slight change concerning their perspective of foreign policy. Until that time, they followed the strategy of conquest. Newly acquired territories and newly formed provinces provided economic prosperity and served the Emperors’ cult of personality. At the time of Princeps Augustus, there was a slight pause in conquering new territories after the catastrophe of Teutoburg Forest.¹ Augustus saw that the conquest had to end eventually and that Rome should concentrate on consolidating its power and defending its frontiers.² After his death, his successor, Tiberius, neglected Augustus’ advice and the policy of conquest was reinstated. It was not until the reigns of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) and Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.) that the borders of the empire were consolidated and construction of permanent fortifications began.³

By this time, the political and military leaders of the Roman Empire realized that they had reached the peak of their power, their radius of

¹ SZÉKELY (2001: 12).

² SZÉKELY (2001: 12).

³ LUTTWAK (1976: 145).

action, meaning that no further occupation of foreign lands was possible without the significant loss of economic and human resources.⁴ At this point, the length of the borders of the Empire was more than five thousand kilometres. Throughout these borders, numerous peoples lived and were a possible threat to Rome, due to their predominantly hostile attitude towards the Empire. Several attacks in the second century A.D. showed that a strong defensive network was necessary to protect the people and the economy of Rome, verifying the need for the construction of the border defenses.⁵

Regarding geographic and structural aspects, we can distinguish four different types of border systems. The first is the *ripa*, defined as constructed defenses along a river border. The *ripa* was mainly present in the European territories, along the Rhine and the Danube, since here the borders of the Empire were pushed to these natural limits. The second border system was the constructed border, which had two different subtypes. The first subtype was defensive measures along a fortified wall, for example *Hadrian's Wall*.

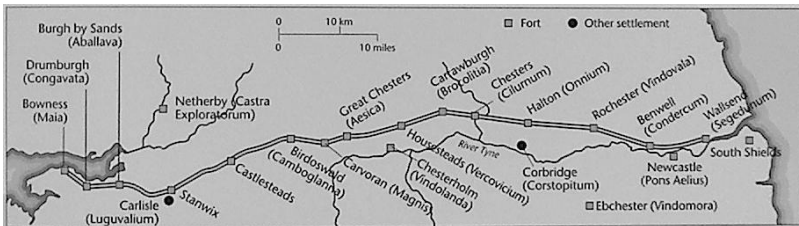


Figure 1: Hadrian's Wall. GOLDSWORTHY (2003: 157).

The second subtype was defense alongside a network of fortifications and a military road that, called the *limes road*. There was no wall, like in the case of Britannia, and no continuous river borders or other natural formations that could help in the defense of the Roman territories. An excellent example of this type is the defenses of the Near-East.⁶ The fourth type of border system was naval defense. There were only a few of these

⁴ Due to the strongly centralized state and insufficient logistics capabilities, the Roman Empire could not maintain the policy of conquest. Further occupation of lands would have excessively high costs. Balázs Kákóczki discusses this matter in detail: KÁKÓCZKI (2004: 18–34).

⁵ LUTTWAK (1976: 145); WILLIAMS (2000: 92); SOUTHERN (2002: 14–17); ZAHARIADE (1976: 385–398).

⁶ For excellent defenses of the Strata Diocletiana. MILLAR (1993: 183–184).

The defense-in-depth in the Roman Empire

borders, the most significant and highly established being the forts of the *Saxon shore*.⁷

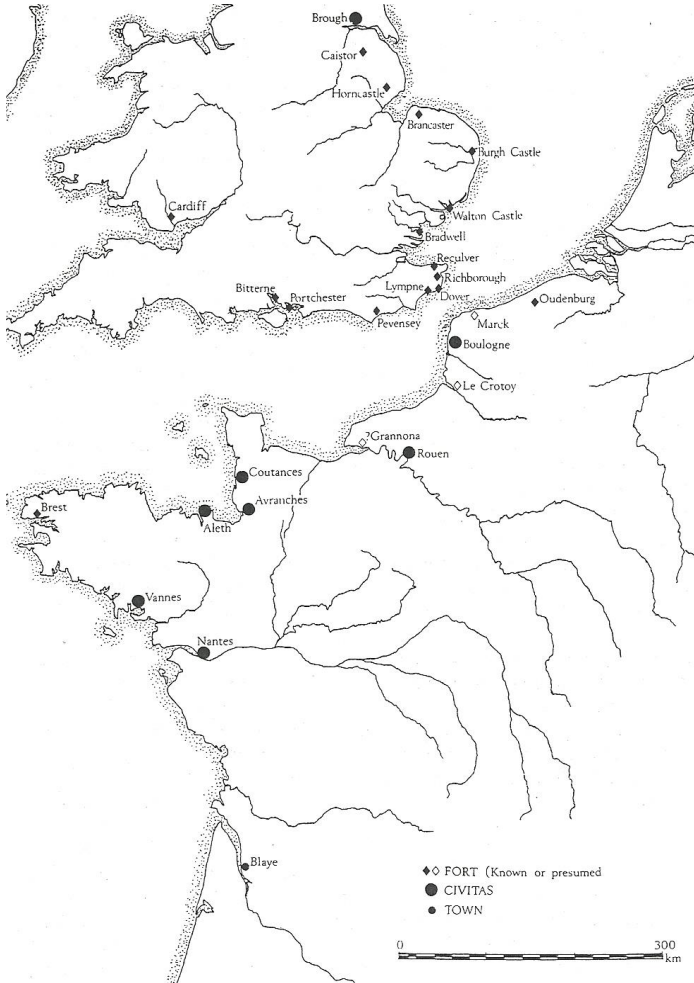


Figure 2: The Saxon Shore. JOHNSON (1983: 200).

This defense was put into use in the third century A.D., and underwent modifications in the fourth century, when the Saxon raiders intensified their attacks on Britannia.⁸

⁷ JOHNSON (1983: 200; 209).

⁸ JOHNSON (1983: 211–212).

Concerning topographical aspects, three different types of defensive mechanisms were employed in the Roman Empire. In chronological order these are the *linear defense*, the *elastic defense* and the *defense-in-depth*.⁹

According to Edward N. Luttwak, the *linear defense* was the first to be adopted at the beginning of the second century A.D. By this time, the Roman Empire had pacified its inner territories and provinces, decreasing the need of the army in these lands.¹⁰ Therefore, the Roman military command stationed the whole of its military power along the newly built *limes* and *ripa*. The network had several disadvantages—one of the main shortcomings was that a large-scale attack of enemy troops could penetrate the *linear defenses*. Furthermore, when the adversaries got through Roman defenses there were no additional armies or obstacles that could stop them.¹¹ This way severe damage was done during the second and third centuries A.D. The system operated not later than the middle of the third century, the time of the great crisis.

During the roughly 20–25 years of crisis there was no real central administration and command, but rather several different autonomous territories with their own leaderships.¹² This way, no central strategy could be applied and the defensive structures no longer represented a significant barrier, for neither the outer nor inner enemies of Rome. More stress was put on the development of the Roman armies, especially on the mounted troops and army mobility.¹³ Luttwak states that the *elastic defenses* were based only on those improvements.¹⁴ No real defensive line was in use and when an enemy mounted an attack on Roman territory, the armies were mobilized to meet the adversaries on the field.¹⁵ Battles were mainly fought on Roman land, resulting in the overall suffering of the civilian infrastructure and the economy.¹⁶

⁹ The defensive systems are clearly defined only by their topographical aspects. Although there are numerous features that can serve as the basis for investigation of the Roman border systems, the main issue of the present study is to analyse the defensive strategies of the Roman Empire based on EDWARD N. LUTTWAK's theory and his topographic-centred investigation.

¹⁰ LUTTWAK (1976: 145); WILLIAMS (2000: 92); SOUTHERN (2002: 14–17); ZAHARIADE (1976: 385–398).

¹¹ WILLIAMS (2000: 13–15; 92); SOUTHERN (2002: 66–134).

¹² WILLIAMS (2000: 13–15; 92); SOUTHERN (2002: 66–134); LUTTWAK (1976: 154).

¹³ The reformed *mobile armies* could cover the distance of 74 kilometres on a daily basis: SOUTHERN (2002: 81–101); WILLIAMS (2000: 13–15; 92–93).

¹⁴ LUTTWAK (1976: 130–131).

¹⁵ LUTTWAK (1976: 130–131).

¹⁶ I believe that Luttwak's theory of *elastic defenses* could be questioned on the basis of several different aspects. First of all, there was no central government at 258

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The reign of Diocletian and the Tetrarchs brought changes. Defenses were reestablished and defensive measures were reformed according to the new threats that surrounded the Empire. The construction of the *defense-in-depth* could have begun at this time.¹⁷ According to Luttwak, this defensive mechanism included two main parts. A layer of fortifications along the borders of the Empire that were arranged into different strata and in such order, that if an enemy army penetrated through the face of the defenses, it would find itself surrounded by Roman fortifications on all sides, sometimes called the “*kill zone*”.¹⁸ The forts went through modernization comparable to that from the second century, and these new installations allowed the facilities to defend themselves so long as an army was mobilized to relieve them.¹⁹

The second main feature of the *defense-in-depth* was the mobile and reformed armies of the Empire.²⁰ Minor forces were stationed in the border provinces, and larger armies were stationed in those territories that had the highest military threat level, including the Near-East, the Lower Danube region, the Western territories, and Italy. The layers of fortifications and the mobile armies formed the *defense-in-depth* together.²¹

In 1976, Edward N. Luttwak introduced the theories of *linear* and *elastic defenses*, as well as the concept of *defense-in-depth* in connection with the Roman Empire. In *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire From the First Century A.D. to the Third*, Luttwak states that the Roman Empire was able to adapt these different defensive strategies in

the period, meaning no central strategy could be applied. On the other hand, the period was too short—roughly 20–25 years—and the Emperors of the Roman Empire could maintain their rule for only brief periods, meaning they also lacked the time to employ a new general defensive strategy. The period in question, and the period after the rule of the Severians, is a transitory period in which no “*grand strategy*” was employed. Emperors only had the time and capacity to respond to threats and incursions. Putting emphasis on the development of the army may prove that the goal of the Emperors was to reunite the Roman Empire and to fight invading barbarians.

¹⁷ LUTTWAK (1976: 131); SOPRONI (1978: 193).

¹⁸ LUTTWAK (1976: 131).

¹⁹ Further readings about the structural upgrades and modernizations: WILLIAMS (2000: 93–94); SOUTHERN–DIXON (1996: 127–147); GUDEA (1974: 179); LANDER (1980: 1051); ATANASSOVA–GEORGIEVA (2005: 248); SZILÁGYI (1952: 214); GRÓF–GRÓH (2006: 20–21); PETRIKOVITS (1971: 200–201); WILKES (1986: 3; 59–60); GREGORY (1996: 190–193); NAGY (1946: 37–62); JOHNSON (1983: 31–55).

²⁰ LUTTWAK (1976: 131).

²¹ LUTTWAK (1976: 131).

chronological order, and the *defense-in-depth* was the most highly developed strategy introduced by Diocletian.²²

Not long after the concept was introduced, J.C. Mann (1979), Fergus Millar (1982), and Benjamin Isaac (1993) conceived their criticism of it.²³ Although these scholars accepted some statements of Luttwak, they did not completely agree with his core statement that the Roman Empire was able to adapt central defensive strategies. Based on archaeological and textual evidence, and military sciences, all three scholars agreed that the Empire had such a vast extension of territories and borders, and so many different types of enemies, that by no means could a central strategy be used on all fronts. In addition, there is no known source that mentions such central policies, and emperors did not have enough time and capacity to introduce such acts.

In the following thirteen years, Luttwak's theory was moved on the margin of the research of Roman times. In 2005 Adrian Goldsworthy published *The Complete Roman Army*, in which he moved on a more balanced position concerning Luttwak's statements.²⁴ According to Goldsworthy, the evidence available to prove the aforementioned theory was in balance with the evidence available against it, including all of the previously mentioned source types. Goldsworthy also claims that the research could not draw concrete conclusions on the matter, and that further investigation was required on all frontier types of the Roman Empire.²⁵

According to topographical aspects, I believe that there could have been a "*grand strategy*" as Luttwak claims it, but not completely in the way he described it.²⁶ The concept of a general defensive strategy should be based on a more thorough analysis, and several other analytical features should be introduced to describe the defensive system of Rome. In my opinion, the theory of the *defense-in-depth* can be approved, though not as a "*grand strategy*," and instead as one aspect of the general defensive method that was used in the late Roman Empire.

The defense systems of province of Pannonia are an excellent example of this clarification of Luttwak's findings, since in their later phase they

²² LUTTWAK (1976).

²³ MANN (1979: 175–183); MILLAR (1982: 1–23); ISAAC (1992).

²⁴ GOLDSWORTHY (2003).

²⁵ GOLDSWORTHY (2003: 200–206).

²⁶ LUTTWAK uses the term "*Grand Strategy*" for the general strategies of the Roman Empire, including the *linear defenses*, the *elastic defenses* and the *defense-in-depth*. The term also implies that there has been a central strategy that the emperors of Rome could have used as a general defensive technique.

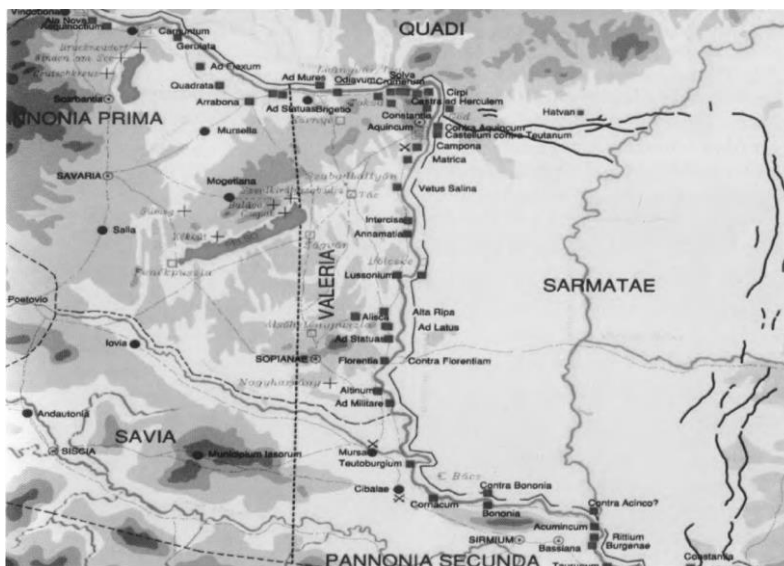
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were an excellent example of the *defense-in-depth*. The area in question gradually came under military conquest at the beginning of the first century A.D., and officially acquired provincial status during the reign of Claudius (41–54 A.D). Pannonia had always been a frontier province, and military unrest was permanent along its borders, resulting in at least two legions being constantly present in the territory. Pannonia belongs to the *ripa* type of frontier zone, as the Danube separated the Roman territories from the Quadi, Marcomanni, and the Sarmatians. The *ripa* itself had two different parts: the northern part, which we can call *ripa Svevica*, and eastern part, which we can call *ripa Sarmatica*. This distinction became more significant when the province was first separated into two, then into four different (sub)-provinces. The last changes were initiated during and subsequently after the reign of Diocletian.²⁷

Adequate evaluation of the province's defenses can be made due to the available research material of Pannonia. Although it is far from being totally uncovered, a demonstration of the different layers of defense and the structure of the *defense-in-depth* is possible. Sándor Soproni undertook a topographical analysis of Pannonia but today, additional information is available to us for a more complex investigation.²⁸

²⁷ BREEZE (2011: 171).

²⁸ SOPRONI distinguishes among three different layers of defensive measures. The first was the Devil's Dyke, the second were the fortifications on both sides of the Danube and finally, the third layer was the inner fortifications. SOPRONI (1978: 192–210). I believe that the picture is more complex, and I will elaborate on the question in the following part of the article.



1. Figure: Pannonia in the 4th century A.D. and the *Devil's Dyke*. MRÁV (2011: 7).

The first layer of defense was diplomacy. Rome always endeavoured to have its neighbours in her favour, generating a line of defense outside the Roman core territories. The situation was similar in the case of Pannonia. In the north, the Marcomanni and the Quadi lived along the borders of the late Roman province of *Pannonia Prima*. After the incursions of the second century A.D., the wars with the Marcomanni and Quadi, the relations with the Germanic tribes were diverse. Periods of peace and war changed frequently and similarly to the eastern ends, war was fought at the end of the third century A.D.²⁹ On the Sarmatian territory there was even greater military unrest. They waged war on the Romans multiple times, even in the late third century. Diocletian himself took the victorious prefix '*sarmaticus*' at least four times.³⁰ But, by the middle of the fourth century, under the reign of Constantine (306–337) or Constantius II (337–361),³¹ these people became an important part of the later Roman defenses. Possibly with the help of Roman engineers, the *Devil's Dyke* was constructed, its goal being to defend the Sarmatian territories. Although it was not an effective defensive structure, the Roman Empire warranted the land enclosed by it, so any army or people which crossed the *Dyke's* lines

²⁹ KOVÁCS (2011: 6).

³⁰ SOUTHERN (2002: 144); WILLIAMS (2000: 76–77).

³¹ BERTÓK (1995: 168); VISY (1989: 31).

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with a hostile purpose would face not only the Sarmatians, but the Roman army, as well.³² As it was the case in 332 A.D., when Gothic tribes crossed the *Devil's Dyke*, Constantine himself met them on the field and defeated the Goths together with the Sarmatians. This way, as long as Rome could keep up the status quo with the bordering natives, they would fight along Rome in case of an enemy invasion, protecting Roman lands, as well.

The second line of defense was the Roman fortification network on the left bank of River Danube. Along the *ripa Svevica* there are only three known counterforts: Celamantia, a medium sized, probably auxiliary fort encompassing 3.1 hectares, a defended harbour fort, and one fort of unknown type.³³ I believe that there should be more fortifications in this area, since on the eastern part, at the *ripa Sarmatica*, there are at least eight counter fortifications.³⁴ Of these, there are numerous defended harbour forts, one *quadriburgium* type, and additional unclassified forts. Their role was to maintain defensive positions on the most important river crossings and to make an advanced guard of the Empire, to keep a military presence on barbarian lands.

The next line of defense was the Danube itself. Since it was not regulated at time, crossing the river was not easy, even for smaller groups of raiders. The Romans held the most important crossings, with the river fleet—the *classis Pannonica*—patrolling the area.³⁵ This way, it was exceedingly difficult to remain unnoticed by Roman eyes, and to cross the Danube successfully.

The following layer of defense was the line of fortifications on the right bank of the Danube. According to the current state of excavations, there are fifty-four fortifications on the right bank, along the *limes road*.³⁶ Among these, all the major fortification types can be found. Most of them are medium and small sized fortifications and, of the classified types, there exists one *quadriburgium*, four *defended harbour forts* and five *legionary or auxiliary fortifications*. In addition to the fortifications, there was a network of watchtowers (*burgi*) which were positioned between the major forts. The purpose of these *burgi* was to keep an eye on the frontier, to alert the forts in case of an attack, and to maintain a line of

³² BERTÓK (1995: 165; 167); MRÁV (2009: 58); MRÁV (2009b: 389); TÓTH (2009: 31–61); VISY (1989: 23); VISY (2000: 128–129); VISY (2003: 141).

³³ VISY (2000: 109); VISY (1989: 56).

³⁴ VISY (1989: 55–94); VISY (2000: 77–118); SOUTHERN (2002: 1449); WILLIAMS (2000: 76–77).

³⁵ BERTÓK (1995: 165).

³⁶ VISY (1989: 39–121); VISY (2003: 15–129); VISY (2000: 55–122); VISY (2003b: 47–203).

communication. The sole presence of fortifications could be enough for barbarians to reject the idea of an attack against Roman territories. Since they did not have the technology and capacity to maintain sieges, a small watchtower could have been a major obstacle for raiding parties.

The final layer of defenses was the *inner fortifications*. Fourteen *inner forts* and *walled cities* could have been served as points of defense in case of an attack.³⁷

Behind the northern frontier, the *ripa Szeveica*, there could have been more than one layer of defense.³⁸ If we look at the major roads connecting the cities, we can form defensive triangular formations which were ideal for surrounding the enemy. This system was designed in a way so the different layers of fortifications were meant to work together as one unit. Since Pannonia was an endangered province, it must have had a minor – provincial *mobile army*. It could have had been housed in one of the inner forts, or walled cities, such as Poetovio or Siscia, since these cities already served as army bases in the time when the province was conquered.³⁹ A larger mobile force could have been stationed on the Balkans, since the whole region was threatened by barbarians. However, the location of this mobile force is still unknown.

In my opinion, the mechanism was able to operate this way with minimal loss of manpower, wealth and goods. If fortifications were able to hold the enemy in the border zone, the economic potential of the province could have been preserved.

Concerning Pannonia, the topographical analysis of the frontier proves that the *defense-in-depth* was adopted. It had five distinct layers of defense: diplomacy, counterforts, the Danube, the line of fortifications on the right side of the river, and the inner forts and walled towns. Regarding the theory of Edward Luttwak, I trust that it can be accepted, but with several major amendments. First, the different types of defensive measures he described may not be used to define “*grand strategies*”. The analysis Luttwak worked out is solely based on topography and therefore is not thorough enough to describe the complex system that the Roman Empire used from the second century A.D. His theory may be accepted as one important step in completing a full analysis.

On the other hand, Diocletian was not able to construct the entire system by himself. He could have started the modifications and created the basis for the new system, one which was finished under Constantine the Great. Furthermore, we are aware of building programs much later, such

³⁷ TÓTH (2009b: 28–156).

³⁸ MRÁV (2011: 7).

³⁹ VISY (2000: 125–127).

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as those undertaken during the reign of Valentinian I. I believe that the *defense-in-depth* could not have been entirely completed at all. The network of fortifications was in a constant change and development until the fall of the Western Empire, and in the East even further. It is clear that from the end of the third century A.D., a new defensive system was developing, but it is also clear that further and more complex investigation is needed for us to be able to define the defensive systems and “*grand strategies*” of the Roman Empire.

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PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT ON THE GEOMORPHOLOGY OF THE ROMAN PORT OF *ARIMINUM*

FEDERICO UGOLINI

The northern and central Adriatic Sea was one of the wealthiest maritime communities in the Roman world, and the presence of harbours was well-attested. In this area, the presence of maritime structures captured the imagination of Greek and Roman writers such as Strabo, Livy and Pliny. The scant physical and literary evidence left behind by the reports of ancient authors has certainly hampered scholars from dedicating much attention to the harbours. My investigation offers a more defined picture of the harbour of Rimini, with the help of the rare but important and understudied archaeological and geomorphological evidence remaining along the Adriatic Sea area. The first part analyses the historical development of the Rimini harbour and its topographic location. The second part of my research identifies how it is possible to conduct an investigation through the adoption of geomorphological data regarding this complex structure. I note how to link this data to the investigation of the harbours, and assert that certain aspects of its use allow us to study these structures, while also showing the rich potential geoscience offers in reconciling important archaeological questions.

The Roman ports located along the Italian coastline of the Adriatic Sea were part of a unique geomorphological context. While in the environment of the Dalmatian coast these were natural and coastal harbours, here they were built as advanced structures, linked with the nearest rivers and core cities. A preliminary account of these structures should begin with the analysis of the geomorphology which allow us to understand better the causes that favoured the decline of these monumental structures. The ports of the Roman Adriatic represent an element undoubtedly connected with the surrounding landscape, and the presence of river mouths, swamps and marshes, hills and low shallows have deeply influenced the development of these ports and their continued use. The Roman port of Rimini, for instance, has a unique geomorphological context which probably affected its development and its decline. The principal focus of this paper is to give a preliminary account of the geomorphological variation which occurred in the case of the Roman port of Rimini in Italy. This is an abbreviated

version of an argument to be developed at greater length in my PhD thesis. This work also aims to clarify and to fill in some of the lacunas in our knowledge of the Rimini harbour. The first part will examine the history of the ancient port. The second part will investigate the geomorphological interactions considering the structures. A first attempt to define the elements that contributed to these changes will be analysed in this paper and some conclusions will be suggested.

The Roman city of *Ariminum* and its port

The city of Rimini (Latin: *Ariminum*) is situated at the Adriatic Sea on the coast between the rivers Marecchia (ancient *Ariminus*) and Ausa (ancient *Aprusa*).¹ During the Roman period, the city was a key communications node between the north and south of the peninsula. Rimini, in Northeastern Italy, contains some spectacular extant architectural monuments which date to the Roman period, including the Arch of Augustus, the Tiberius Bridge, supported by five arches of Istrian stone, and one of the biggest amphitheatres in Italy. The city was one of the most important cities in the Adriatic world, the area being previously settled by the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Greeks (possibly from Aegina), and the Gauls. In 268 BC, the Romans founded the colony of *Ariminum*, a name probably came from the toponym of the river.² *Ariminum* was not only intended as a starting point for conquering the Padana Plain, but was also a bastion against invaders from Gaul. Being the terminus of the *Via Flaminia*, whose end was indicated by the Arch of Augustus, Rimini was a road junction connecting Central and Northern Italy by the *Via Aemilia*, which led to Piacenza, and the *Via Popilia*, which extended to Ravenna. Rimini also opened up trade by sea and river thanks in large part to its strategic location. The city developed and prospered further during the Imperial period because its port, trade, and commerce supported the spread of farming products.³

In the case of Rimini, the near absence of direct archaeological finds means that the evidence must be sought mostly in historical and literary evidence. According to the chronicles of the classical authors, the initial indications seem to be poor. A brief reference pertaining to a harbour does exist, one which shares the same name as the local river. Additionally is the fact that the area was repeatedly used as a starting point for military expeditions from the Republican period to the beginning of the Middle

¹ TONINI (1864); MANSUELLI (1941).

² BRACCESI (2007).

³ TURCHINI (1992: 134).

The Geomorphology of the Roman Port of *Ariminum*

Ages. Strabo included Rimini among the main cities of Umbria, and claimed the presence of a river and a harbour with the same name.⁴ During the Second Punic War, the consul *Titus Sempronius Longus* led an army from Sicily to Rimini by way of the Adriatic Sea.⁵ In addition, Archbishop Giovanni Agnello, in the middle of the 9th century, reported a well-dated event in his chronicles. He recorded that in 491 AD, the Ostrogothic king Theodoric left the port of Rimini to conduct a siege of Ravenna, while the *Chronicle Sorattense*, from the 10th century, recalls the decision of Charlemagne to provide with guards several Adriatic ports, such as Aquileia, Ravenna, Rimini and Ancona.⁶

During the Late Antique period, we must note the medieval partition between *Portus Mariculae*, in the present day course of the Marecchia, and the *Portus Aprusae*, oriented east of the ancient Roman port, linked to the *Fossa Patara*, also renamed *Apisa* or *Apsella*.⁷ As evidence would suggest, this implies the presence of two different moorings during Late Antiquity. For instance, as has been stated by Cardinal Anglico in 1371: “*Civitas Arimini...habet portum pulcherrimum supra mare iuxta civitatem et supra fluvium Mariculae*”, which would still suggest the use of the whole coastline near the city, and the defensive breakwater close to the Marecchia. Later, during the Renaissance period, sea-structures were identified, with docks dating to the medieval period, probably already reinforced during the period of Charlemagne.⁸

The historical evidence supports a plausible confirmation of the presence of port structures located in the area of the modern city centre. The critical review of the current research may demonstrate the location of the remains and the continuity of use over the Late Antique period. Different elements contribute to the resolution of this question, elements which are closely related to the morphology of the ancient basin and its topographical definition.⁹

Geomorphology of the ancient port of *Ariminum*

The latest research on the geomorphological development of the local watercourses located near the city centre has partially contributed to our knowledge about the causes of the abandonment of the maritime structures

⁴ Strab. 5,1; 5,11.

⁵ Liv. 21,5: 21,7.

⁶ TONINI (1864: 2); MORIGI 1998; PAUTRIER (2010: 124).

⁷ TONINI (1864); MORIGI (1998).

⁸ TONINI (1864).

⁹ GIORGETTI (1980: 109).

belonging to the Roman period. The research, based on the formation activities of the River Marecchia, is particularly relevant for a better understanding of what caused the obstruction of the port facilities. For instance, between 1980s and 1990s, Antonio Veggiani and Stefano Cremonini analysed the evolution of the Marecchia River and the geomorphology of the harbour area.¹⁰ They point out that sea-level changes and sedimentary deposits influenced the development of the port and the river-mouth, the coastal lagoon, and geological features. Their investigation of the geological background rightly focused on the analysis of the lengthening shoreline and the progressive formation of the Marecchia delta, linking these changes to the resulting sedimentation of the mouth in the proximity of the ancient port.¹¹

This achievement permitted Veggiani to quantify the sea level change in the Upper Adriatic, with particular attention paid to the area of the littoral of Rimini. In this context, he knew that the sea level in the 3rd century AD was approximately one metre higher than in the Republican period.¹² The perception that this difference may have implied some direct impact to the harbour structure is confirmed by the progressive obstruction of the basin and the area of the docks recorded by the local chronicles of the Late Antique period. The flooding of the port basin and the growth of the sedimentary deposit level, operated by the combined forces of the river and the sea level, have completely modified the maritime position of ancient Rimini. In other words, the geomorphological impact has been an obstacle for the development of the port, having caused the disappearance of the structures in the mooring area of the Marecchia.¹³ The Marecchia silted up and progressively buried the area in front of the docks covering the basin with sand and clay. This presumably explains why starting from the Middle Ages, several references have been made regarding the presence of a small sheltered port on the River Ausa as a replacement for the ancient one.

The chronicles record how the Marecchia mouth was unsafe and dangerous for the loading of boats and small vessels because of its currents. Although some doubts still remain as to the existence of this secondary harbour, as a confirmation of the precarious condition of the ancient port, some speculations reinforce the claim about the particularly adverse condition of the ancient basin which led to the change of that

¹⁰ CREMONINI (1995); VEGGIANI (1983).

¹¹ VEGGIANI (1983: 125).

¹² VEGGIANI (1968: 117).

¹³ ADIMARI (1616).

The Geomorphology of the Roman Port of *Ariminum*

city's context.¹⁴ Indeed, as previously seen, first Veggiani and later Cremonini clearly illustrated that in the pre-Roman period, especially in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the Marecchia originally had two or three mouths that flowed into the sea to the north-east and east of the port site.¹⁵ Their conclusions are based on the observation of fluvial deposits in the deep centre of the foundation level of the harbour, deposits which suggest two implications: first, the port was effectively located in the core city, more precisely at the intersection of the *cardus* and the *decumanus*, which are the main roads of the Roman settlement; secondly the setting of the Marecchia widely contributed to the changes which occurred throughout the centuries, changes that affected mainly the Roman port basin and then the core city, as well.¹⁶

The classification of the harbour by Marriner and Morhange may help us better explain the geomorphological variation which occurred in the area of the ancient sea structures in Rimini. According to their ranking, the port of Rimini may be classified as a buried urban harbour.¹⁷ This may be explained by some of the factors that contributed to the changes of the territory of Rimini and increased the deposition activities until the complete burial of the infrastructures. For instance, the impact of human activities on the riverine environment (e.g. farming, deforestation) from the pre-Roman period onwards increased silt levels in the river Marecchia. These processes of accumulation and deposit of sand and clay in the mouth of the river accelerated the progradation of the coastline. These combined factors worked simultaneously with the sea level change, deeply modifying the local environment and burying the sea structures.

Having seen that the depositional activities of the river and the sea changes operated with a considerable impact on the Rimini coast, the study of the geomorphological evidence of the ancient port may be supported by the analysis of the depth of the shallow. In fact, a careful evaluation of the depth of the shallow of the Upper Adriatic, in the view of the recent studies done by Betti and Morolli, helps us ascertain the causes that favoured the modification of the port environment.¹⁸ Briefly, the Upper Adriatic presents a bathymetry equal to 0-30 meters depth (up to 20 km from the coast), implying a modest shallow of the water. Here the shallow is subjected to variation due to the eustatic rise, calculated at 1.25 mm per year, a phenomenon which occurred starting after 5000 BC. More

¹⁴ CREMONINI (1993).

¹⁵ VEGGIANI (1986: 4).

¹⁶ IDROSER (1991).

¹⁷ MARRINER–MORHANGE (2006: 143).

¹⁸ BETTI–MORELLI (1998: 35).

recently, Betti's study has shown that this rise, combined with the progradation of the coast (due to the sedimentary activity of the river), has changed the above sea level of +2.5-3.00 metres (from the Early Imperial period).¹⁹ Thanks to this, in the Rimini context, the coastline advanced 1.5 km toward the sea from the Roman period.²⁰ This means that the combined effect of these phenomena has contributed to the obliteration of the port. The sediment of the Marecchia, the stretching of the coastline, and the flooding of the port basin have implied the formation of several layers of sediment that nowadays cover the ruins of the port. This allows us to hypothesize that the ruins of the port may be still buried at -2.50-3.00 metres ASL. These types of evidence (sea-level change, bathymetric data and analysis of sedimentary deposits) helped the current investigation achieve a better understanding of the geomorphological variation that affected the Rimini port structures.

Conclusion

The ancient harbour of Rimini is unique due to its geomorphological and topographical context (Fig. 1). Near the current city centre or, more precisely, the modern railway station, and in proximity to the ancient urban walls, the Roman port complex may be still buried. The port was named and mentioned by the locals as Marecchia or Maricla harbour. The sea-structures were probably made of *opus quadratum*, as evidenced by local scholars.²¹ Tonini first pointed out that the presence of these stone blocks might be referred to the remains of the mole of the ancient port, with Cremonini and Morigi agreeing with Tonini's finds in subsequent decades. These remains would have also been confirmed earlier in the historical chronicles, which also confirmed that the port suffered from geomorphological instability starting at the beginning of Late Antiquity.²² During the Renaissance, the port was completely buried, but was still known and identified thanks to the docks related to the medieval period, previously reinforced during the period of Charlemagne.

¹⁹ BETTI-MORELLI (1998).

²⁰ ZAGHINI (1994).

²¹ MORIGI (1998); CREMONINI (1993); TONINI (1864: 2).

²² ARRIGONI (1616); CLEMENTINI (1610).

The Geomorphology of the Roman Port of *Ariminum*

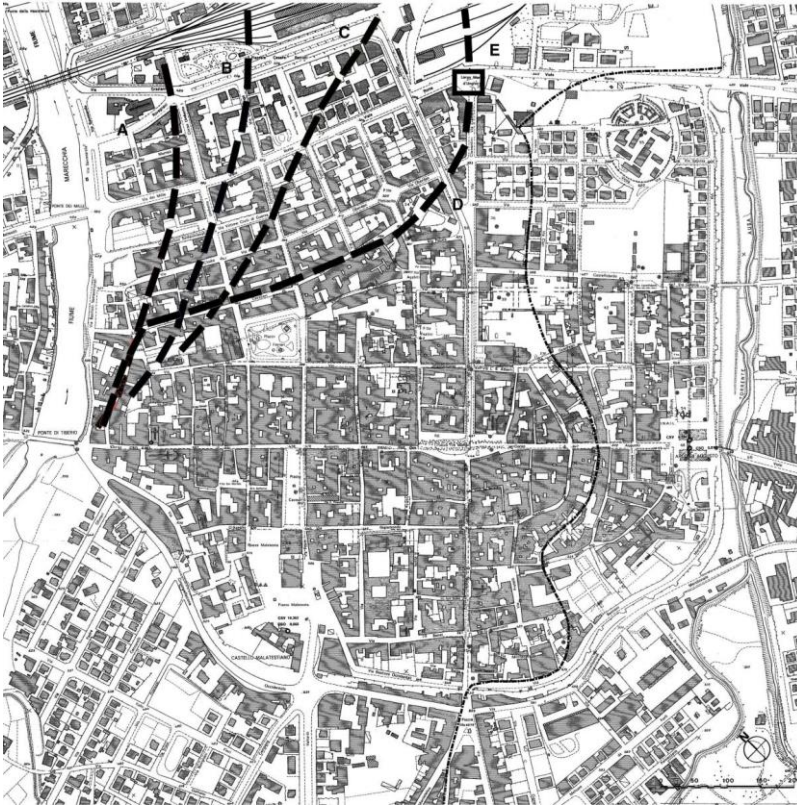


Figure 1. Ariminum city centre

Line A: silting Imperial period 3rd century AD

Line B: silting Late Antique period 5th- 6th century AD

Line C: silting Medieval period 9th - 12th century AD

Line D: quay and mole of the Roman port

Square E: location of the Roman lighthouse

The historical sources reported that the port was a great commercial hub, and that it was linked to the course of the riverine environment of the city that was presumably reconstructed by Augustus in the years of his principate, mainly to supply the lack of mooring points. From these historical mentions, the port was considered only a modest fluvial mooring, but a harbour well-structured for commercial purposes, nonetheless. The port was the result of several transformations, probably also because of the impact of the nearest natural element, one which

influenced the development of the infrastructures. The partial remains may still be placed in the area of the current railway station, as well as its foundations made of stone blocks. Briefly, this port may be considered a 1st century structure made by Augustus, most likely to confer prestige on the city and to emphasize its role in the Adriatic. The ancient port was reinforced during the Middle Ages, and then was gradually involved in the urban space and the wall line located on the mainland sea-side of the city centre, so that the port was considered the inner side of the Marecchia mouth area.

An updated interpretation of the port of Rimini has been possible thanks to the discussion of these undervalued sources. This new reading of the port remains comes as a result of the geomorphological analysis of the area considering the port remains, and is guided by an archaeological approach, matching the evidence with the records given by the historical documentations. To sum up, the different elements that allow us to posit the presence of well-established port structures may be seen in:

- a series of docks built in the area of the urban wall in the Early Imperial period that were practically buried by the flowing of the Marecchia;

- the port, restored in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, started to be obliterated in the late-3rd century AD, as seen in the chronicles and judging from stratigraphic records;

- once the port, jetty, and warehouses were dismantled, the port was buried in the coastal basin by the flood sediment of the River Marecchia and probably completely buried during the early 15th century.

Some suggestions on the dimensions of the port may be proposed as follows: the area affected by the sedimentation activities, and by the flooding of the Marecchia, covered a portion of the city centre with new layers of sand and clay. Additionally, the port of Rimini perhaps extended in a following curvilinear and crescent shape, following the curve of the coastline. The port was perhaps a pattern considering its hypothetical form and the presence of the mole stretching toward the sea, being one of the oldest in the region, for the successive construction of these structures, along the Northern and Central Adriatic. The observed changes help us ascertain the chronological context of the ancient port, which may have belonged to the Augustan period, but also help us learn more about the topographical situation of the ground plan, its proportions, and relationship to the urban environment. An interesting aspect is that the supposed shape of the artificial basin and the protruding crescent shape with keystone were peculiar in the Imperial period, as is found in Trieste and Ancona. The exploitation of the geomorphological sources, applied to the study of the ancient Adriatic ports, is a point that probably deserves more careful analysis in the coming years.

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PART FOUR

ANCIENT RELIGION

THE BACCHUS TEMPLE AT BAALBEK DEFINING TEMPLE FUNCTION AND THE LANGUAGE OF SYNCRETISM

SAM BAROODY

The Bacchus temple in Baalbek, Lebanon, provides an excellent example of a translation of Roman religion in one of the most religiously diverse regions of the Roman world. The temple is inconclusively associated with Bacchus—the result of one archaeologist’s tenuous interpretation of iconographic features along the temple’s door and adyton. Rather than identify the temple based on traditional religious and architectural systems, this paper interprets the temple based on its function. This paper compares the Phoenician Temple of Astarte in Cyprus and the Biblical description of Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem to the Bacchus temple’s form and function and, to a lesser extent, that of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the main feature of the Baalbek complex. My analysis proposes that the Bacchus temple represents an invaluable example of Roman religious translation, a place which synthesizes and codifies two local religious traditions and presents them under one roof.

Scholars must grapple with the question of how Rome interacted with the local cultures that made up its vast empire.¹ Identifying, commenting on, and critiquing Roman assimilation and multiculturalism has always piqued my interest, especially with regards to the various buildings Rome erected throughout the lands it occupied and colonized. From that perspective, this paper examines the so-called Temple of Bacchus in Baalbek, Lebanon, and investigates the various anomalies and features of this building that

¹ The original version of this paper was read at the Sapiens Ubique Civis Conference held at the University of Szeged in Hungary in August 2013; I am grateful to the University and to the conference committee and organisers for inviting me to participate. I would like to sincerely thank Drs. James Anderson, Erika Hermanowicz, and Naomi Norman from the University of Georgia, all of whom oversaw this project at various points, and without whose comments this final version would not be possible. Finally, I owe a particular thank you to the kindness of the Deveaux family, whose donation to the UGA Classics Department allowed me to make such an amazing journey to Szeged.

make it unique (Figure 1). Previous scholars assume that the building was analogous to a temple in Italy, and have thus focused on conclusively identifying it as a temple to Bacchus.² The structure, however, existed in a region of the empire which was more culturally diverse and physically far-removed from Italy and the centre of the empire, issues which render a focus on the temple's identity largely imprudent. Rather than focus on identifying the temple's deity, scholars should ask "Why does the temple have the architectural vocabulary that it does?" or "What does that vocabulary—as well as the temple's distinct ground plan—tell us about the relationship between the Romans and the city of Baalbek?" This paper uses the Bacchus temple at Baalbek (which is well preserved and well known) as a case study to examine how Roman culture and religion were "translated" in a more remote region of the empire.

Situated in the Beqa'a Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges, ancient Baalbek lies some 86 kilometres northeast of modern Beirut. Excavations have uncovered occupation levels dating back to the Early Bronze Age (2900–2300 B.C.E.). It was the Phoenicians who named the town "*Baalbek*," which means both "god of the Beqa'a Valley," and "god of the town." The Seleucids, who controlled the region from 323 to 64 B.C.E., renamed the town *Heliopolis*, or "City of the Sun." Roman conquest came after 64 B.C.E, and by the 2nd century C.E., their influence in the region was well established.³ It was during this time that the bulk of the extant monumental architecture was completed, including the current complex comprised of the Jupiter temple, the Bacchus temple, the Hexagonal Forecourt, the propylon, and the Temple of Venus (Figure 2). Roman colonization and development continued unabated until the end of the 4th century C.E.

Two Englishmen, James Dawkins and Robert Wood, undertook initial excavations of the site at Baalbek in 1757, with the French carrying out further excavations in 1785, led by Louis François Cassas. At the turn of the 20th century, Kaiser Wilhelm II sponsored Otto Puchstein's excavations, 1900–1904.⁴ The French returned to the site during the 1920s (the Department of Antiquities) and again in 1945, (Direction Générale des Antiquités) to continue restoring and excavating the site. The temple was first linked to Bacchus by Puchstein, who based this identification on the decorations around the main door of the temple and at the entrance of

² In particular WIEGAND (1921–1925), SEYRIG (1929), JIDEJIAN (1980), and RAGETTE (1980), who all conducted wide-scale investigations of the site and its buildings.

³ RAGETTE (1980: 16).

⁴ PUCHSTEIN (1905).

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the inner room, frequently called an adyton (Figures 3 & 4). Though this claim is widely accepted, it is not conclusive; indeed, the fact that no later scholars and archaeologists have introduced any additional evidence to support Puchstein's claims suggests that his assertions are just as incomplete today as they were over 100 years ago.

Other scholars have suggested different identifications, including Venus, Mercury and a combined worship of Mercury-Bacchus, but these proposals, too, are based largely on insufficient evidence.⁵ It is possible that the temple was not dedicated to one particular god at all, but to a cult, as suggested by the purely symbolic decoration throughout the temple, especially above and along the doorway to the cella.⁶ The temple is, it is true, richly adorned, but most of the decoration is generic, including large acanthus leaves, egg and dart and bead and reel patterns, and floral and nymph patterns. Therefore it is unlikely that the decoration itself points to any particular cult or deity. Though many scholars have tried to understand the Bacchus temple, their work has been fuelled by a desire to link the decorations and iconography of the temple to Bacchus and his cult. More intriguing, however, is the fact that there is no altar for the Bacchus temple, although the adjacent Jupiter temple has an enormous one. Therefore can we even be certain the building is a temple? Or has the architectural form traditionally associated with Roman temples been translated into a different kind of building at Baalbek?

The concept of creolization may illuminate this final question. Originally a term which applied to a blending of two languages to form a new, mixed dialect, creolization has more recently been applied to religions and religious architecture. Jane Webster asserts that various artifacts from antiquity that initially seem to be Roman can in fact “negotiate with, resist, or adapt Roman styles to serve indigenous ends.”⁷ Does this explain what is going on at Baalbek? Does creolization lie behind some of the more unusual aspects of the Bacchus temple's unexpected form and layout (Figure 5)? The most noteworthy feature of the temple plan is a large rear room. Raised four meters above the level of the cella floor, it is preceded by a flight of stairs, which was divided into three sections by two balustrades (Figure 6). This feature is not common in Roman architecture, but does have parallels in local pre-Roman architecture from the Eastern Mediterranean. One such example is the Temple of Astarte at the Kathari site of Kition on the island of Cyprus (Figure 7). Kition was continuously occupied from ca. 850–ca. 400

⁵ Most notably, JIDEJIAN (1975: 30–31).

⁶ RAGETTE (1980: 44); JIDEJIAN (1975: 32); SEYRIG (1925: 318).

⁷ WEBSTER (2001: 219).

B.C.E.; its Astarte temple is an excellent example of Phoenician religious architecture. The temple features a semi-roofed courtyard, with flanking porticoes, and an unroofed central aisle. More important for our purposes is the elevated, shallow room at the rear of the temple; this room, often called the holy-of-holies, boasts an entrance marked by two rectangular, freestanding pillars. Both the Bacchus and Astarte temples share a number of architectural similarities. Each building is approached axially, with a grand, front entrance. Pillars or columns define the rear space of each temple, and each temple has a raised rear room. These rooms establish a clear architectural link between the Astarte temple and the much later temple at Baalbek. Kition and Baalbek were originally Phoenician cities and so it is likely that these architectural features belong to the repertoire of Phoenician architecture.

Perhaps the most important temple from the Phoenician homeland is King Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, a building known only from its biblical description in first Kings

The house that King Solomon built for the LORD was sixty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high. The vestibule in front of the nave of the house was twenty cubits wide, across the width of the house. Its depth was ten cubits in front of the house...He also built a structure against the wall of the house, running around the walls of the house, both the nave and the inner sanctuary; and he made side chambers all around.⁸

On the basis of this description, scholars have reconstructed the plan of Solomon's temple with an elevated holy-of-holies at the rear (Figure 8) as in the Temple of Astarte at Kition. Because chambers line the temple's the outer cella wall, some scholars, including G. R. H. Wright, suggest that the building functioned as more than a religious space; indeed, Wright posits, on the basis of these chambers, that the temple was used primarily as a repository for furniture and goods.⁹

There are key similarities between it and the later Bacchus temple. Each building is approached axially and, as was the case with the Astarte temple on Cyprus, both the Bacchus and Solomon temples have raised rear rooms. Though separated by staircases, these rooms were not completely closed off from the temples' cellae, as shown in the reconstruction of the interior of the Bacchus temple which posits a wide entrance into the adyton, and the description of Solomon's temple, which suggests that a curtain separated the holy of holies from the rest of the cella.¹⁰ The doubts

⁸ 1 Kings 6:2–5, cf. MEEKS (1989: 522–523).

⁹ WRIGHT (1992: 257).

¹⁰ 2 Chron. 3:14, cf. MEEKS (1989: 650).

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surrounding the function of Solomon's temple are all the more pertinent given that questions surround the function of the Bacchus temple as well, given its lack of an altar.

What we have then, are two temples from local traditions which provide possible comparanda to the Bacchus temple in both form and function. The Temple of Astarte provides a Phoenician example with a similar layout; and the questions that surround the function of Solomon's temple echo the ones that this paper asks of the Bacchus temple. These similarities establish a link between the architecture of the Bacchus temple and that of the more eastern cultures of Phoenicia and Judea. This eastern connection extends to the larger Jupiter temple as well, in its construction materials and technique. Positioned on a massive podium more than 13 m high, the Jupiter temple towers above the rest of the Baalbek complex (Figure 9). But it is the structure of the podium itself which invites comparisons to local traditions. In his investigation of ancient building in south Syria and Palestine, Wright contends that there are three basic types of Palestinian religious building: domestic, village, and urban.¹¹ Of these, he claims that the urban religious building is defined by the existence of "monumental" temples, indicating a desire to build a sanctuary for a ruling city god "who can be no worse housed than his urban ruler-representative and his worshippers."¹² Wright observes this type of monumental masonry throughout much of the urban and religious construction of the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman east, drawing comparisons between the blocks of the Jupiter temple's podium and those of the fortification walls from the towns of Hebron (Figure 10) and Haram (Figure 11), both from ancient Judea. The Jupiter temple's projection of a local component on its outside complements the nearby Bacchus temple, which expresses its local component in its easternized ground plan.¹³ Both the Jupiter temple and the Bacchus temple intentionally recall local Bronze Age architectural traditions which help to emphasize a distinctly local component within their Roman context. The fact that the local precedents are so much earlier

¹¹ WRIGHT (1985: 246).

¹² WRIGHT (1985: 246).

¹³ Strengthening the relationship between the two buildings is an important step toward understanding how the Bacchus and Jupiter temples might have coexisted. The Jupiter temple, given its central location within the complex, staggering size, and extant altar, was the obvious centre for religious life at Baalbek. This centrality is even more pronounced given the curious location of the Bacchus temple, which is oddly positioned up against the Jupiter temple's massive podium with no direct access route between the two buildings. Identifying that each building projects a local component helps establish a link between the Bacchus and Jupiter temples where before one seemingly did not exist.

than the Roman buildings helps ground the temples and creates a kind of false pedigree for them. Moreover, these archaizing features, in addition to highlighting the Baalbek buildings' link with the pre-Roman eastern cultures of the region, strengthen the architectural link between the two Roman buildings themselves.¹⁴

Once we place the Bacchus temple in a creolizing context, the lingering question is no longer "To whom was this temple dedicated?" but rather "How does the Bacchus temple function," both by itself and when paired with its gigantic neighbour? One possibility is that the Bacchus temple functioned more in the style of today's museums: a place to observe the gods and mythological figures of Roman and Greek traditions, but within an architectural context that paid homage to the local tradition.

The use of creolization and its corresponding language greatly enhances an investigation of the Bacchus temple, allowing scholars to move past simply identifying and labelling it based on traditional religious and architectural systems, and focus instead on how the temple functions, both in relation to the other buildings of the Baalbek complex, as well as in its own right. Additionally, analysing the Bacchus temple with the aid of creolization links it to earlier, local religious architecture, explaining the building's unique layout, and positing a link between it and the nearby Jupiter temple. Finally, this investigation has centred on how the Bacchus temple—and to a lesser extent, the Jupiter temple—"translates" the local architectural procedures of previous civilizations into its own layout and physical composition. Moving beyond the issue of identification, I am positing that the Bacchus temple functioned as a centre for Roman multiculturalism and acculturation, a symbol, both of the power and majesty of Roman religion, and Rome's equally important success at marrying its religious systems with systems from other eastern and local traditions. The examination of the Baalbek site using the language of creolization, coupled with the suggestion that the Bacchus temple is a statement of Roman multiculturalism, suggests that perhaps it was not a "typical" Roman temple. Instead, scholars should view it as a building where a new religious sensibility comes into existence, where abstract ideas like creolization become physical reality. It is important that scholars and archaeologists not be restricted by the desire to so quickly associate a temple with a particular god. Rather they should use the layout and unique architectural elements of the temple to better understand Rome's

¹⁴ According to RAGETTE, "The temples of Baalbek reflect much more strongly the vigorous local tradition of monumental masonry construction, which in its technical excellence and physical magnitude has no equal," RAGETTE (1980: 47).

The Bacchus temple at Baalbek

relationship with the various cultures comprising the Empire and its outer provinces.

Figures



Fig. 1. – Baalbek, the so-called Bacchus temple (photo by the author)

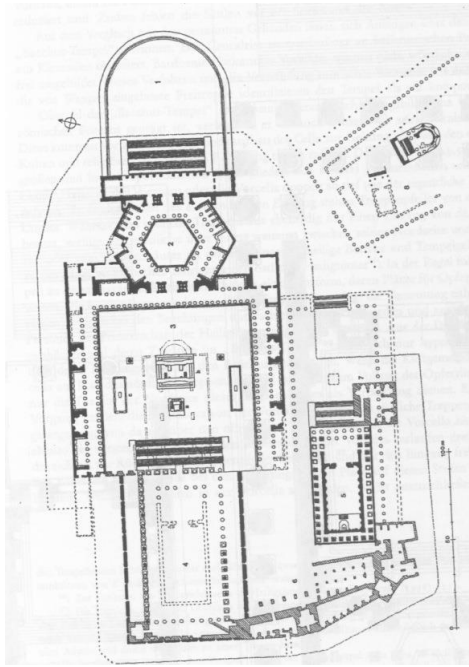


Fig. 2. – Plan of the Baalbek complex with Bacchus temple in lower right corner (after FREYBERGER–DAMITT 2000: fig. 1, p. 98, after VAN ESS 1998: *Heliopolis Baalbek, 1898–1998: Forschen in Ruinen* back cover, after RAGETTE 1980: back end papers).

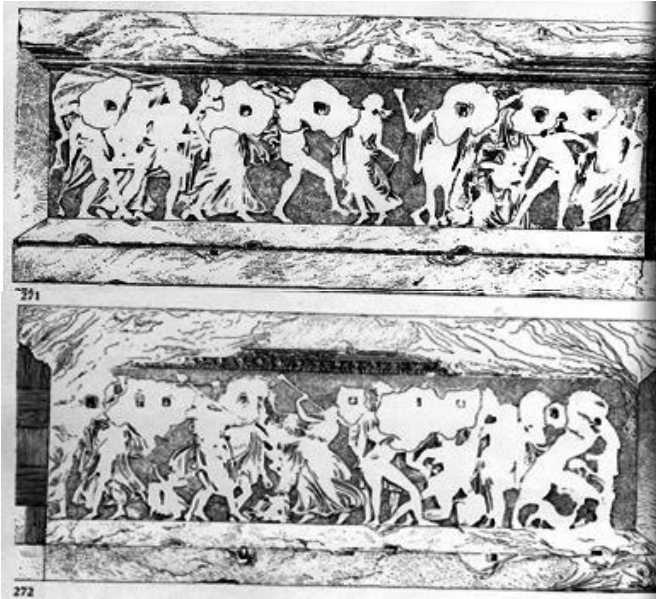


Fig. 3. – Reconstruction of reliefs from adyton of the temple of Bacchus (after WIEGAND 1923: figs. 75 and 77, pp. 36 and 37).

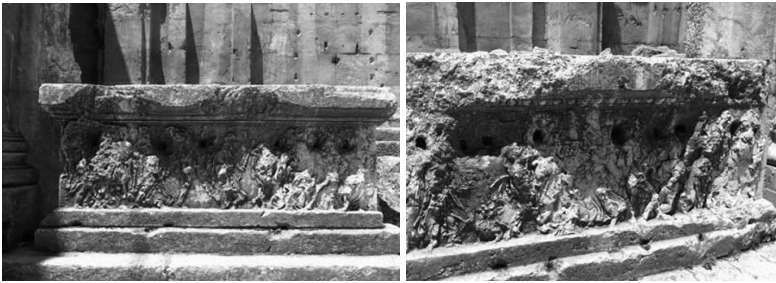


Figure 4 – Reliefs from the adyton of the temple of Bacchus (photos by the author).

The Bacchus temple at Baalbek

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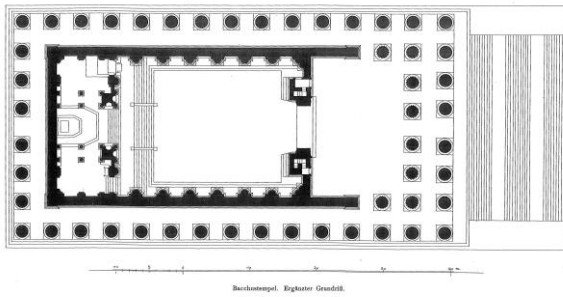


Figure 5 – Ground plan of Bacchus temple, Baalbek (after WIEGAND 1923: plate 4).

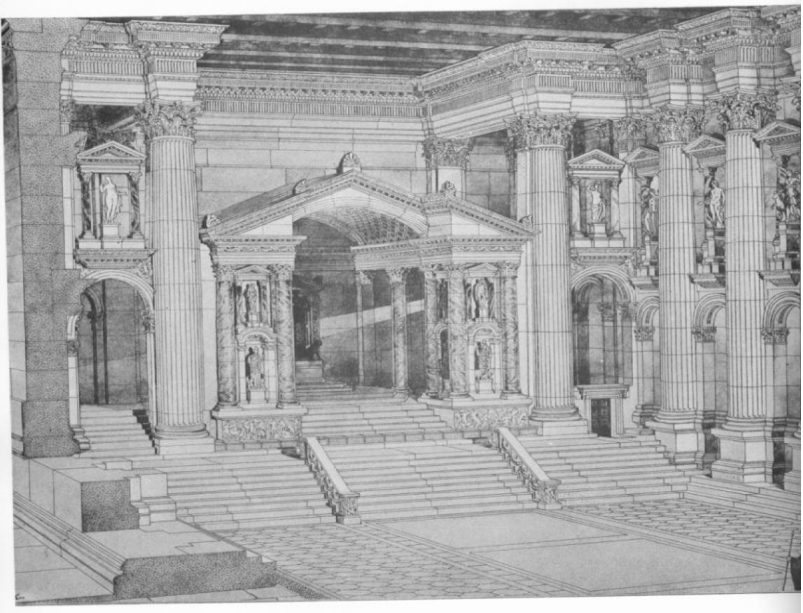


Figure 6 – Hypothetical reconstruction of the adyton of the Bacchus temple (after WIEGAND 1923: plate 17).

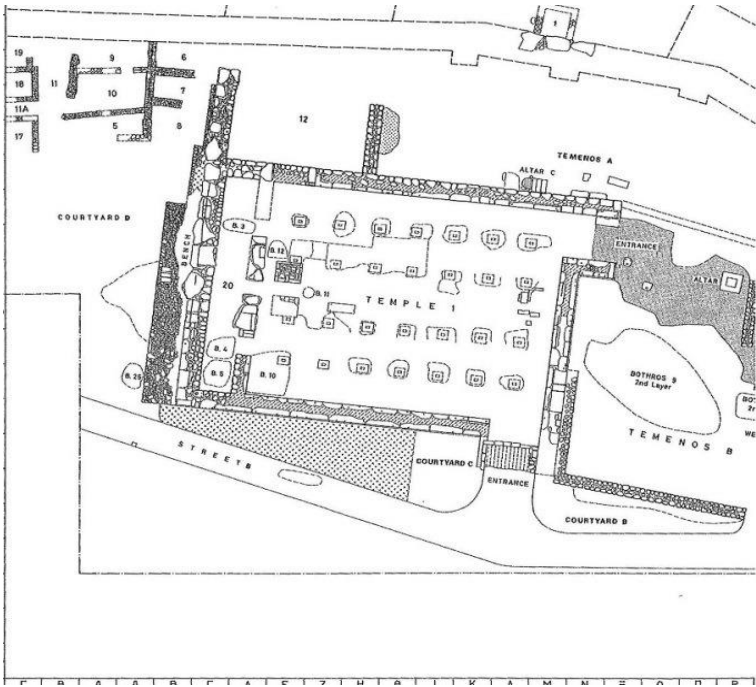


Figure 7 – Ground plan of Astarte Temple, Kition-Kathari site (after KARAGEORGHIS 2004: plan 1).

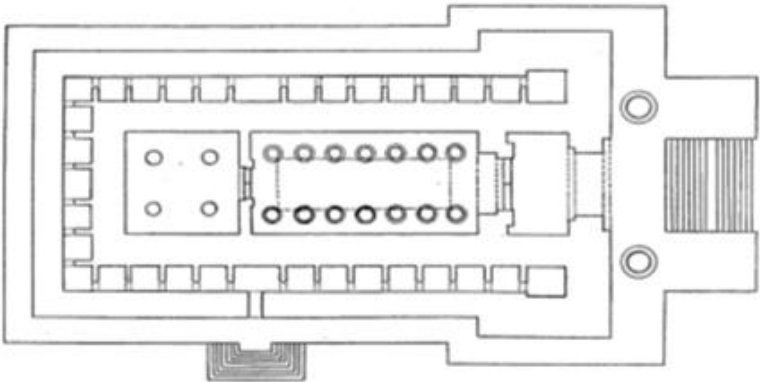


Figure 8 – Ground plan of Solomon's temple, Jerusalem (after OSGOOD 1910: fig. 10, p. 36).

The Bacchus temple at Baalbek



Figure 9 – Baalbek, Jupiter temple podium and extant columns (photo by author).

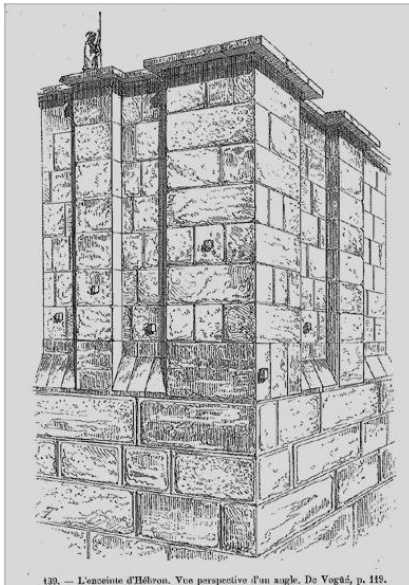


Figure 10 – Hebron, fortification walls with monumental masonry (after PERROT-CHIPIEZ 1887: fig. 139, p. 274).



Figure 11 – Haram, fortification walls with monumental masonry (after PERROT–CHIEPIEZ 1887: fig. 116, p. 187.

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DISCREPANCIES WITHIN A CULT AND A MYTH: SOME ASPECTS OF THE FIGURE OF HERCULES IN THE ROMAN TRADITION

VIKTÓRIA JÁRMI

Several ancient sources discuss the cult of Hercules in Italy, and the deity himself honoured at the *Ara Maxima*. Most of the accounts relate the defeat of Cacus as being the *aition* of the foundation of the cult at the *Ara Maxima* in the area of the future Rome. In Propertius 4,9, however, a different element is added to the basic story: the cult of Bona Dea, the Women's Goddess. The paper examines the feature of the exclusion, which is a part both of the cults and of the legend of the Pinarii and Potitii. The *gens Pinaria* and the *gens Potitia* performed the rites at the *Ara Maxima* until Appius Claudius Caecus corrupted the Potitii in 312 BC in order to have public slaves instructed in the worship of Hercules. Discrepancies within the myth and the cult of Hercules result, in part, from the motif of exclusion.

The cult of Hercules was very popular in ancient Italy, which various temples and sanctuaries attest to.¹ An Italian Hercules was primarily the protector of commerce and trade particularly in relation to cattle markets. In Rome the worship of Hercules dated back to very early times. According to Livy for example, he was among the honoured divinities on the occasion of the *lectisternium*, which was a public ceremonial banquet for the gods in 399 BC.² One of the areas of Rome which had very strong connections to the cult of Hercules was the ancient cattle market, the *Forum Boarium* between the Tiber and the Capitoline, Aventine and Palatine hills.³ Several temples were dedicated to him here, such as the *Aedes Aemiliana Herculis* built by Scipio Aemilianus in 142 BC, or the temple of *Hercules Invictus* at the *Porta Trigemina* restored by Pompey the Great. At the mythological level, the connection between the *Forum Boarium* and the god is apparent in the story of Cacus and Hercules which

¹ WISSOWA (1912: 271–287), LATTE (1960: 213–221) and STEK (2009: 53–78) with further bibliography.

² Liv. 5,13,6. See OGILVIE (1965: 56).

³ LTUR (1995: 295) and COARELLI (1988).

is the *aition* of the foundation of the *Ara Maxima* and the Hercules cult. The story of the stolen cattle and the fight between the monster Cacus and Hercules is well-known, principally from the *Aeneid*, but a number of ancient sources also give an account of it.⁴

In these, Cacus is not always represented as a monster, for example, in Livy, he is a human shepherd.⁵ In the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cacus is a barbarous chieftain conquered by Hercules, who is the greatest commander of his age.⁶ Hercules the general is a civilizer as well: he defeats every despotism and every barbarian horde living in savagery without laws. Instead, he brings about lawful monarchy, well-ordered government and humane and sociable modes of life.⁷ So, the figure and role of Hercules is a constantly changing one on the records and Hercules can in fact be replaced by a local Italian hero as we see in the *Origo gentis Romanae*, where the Hercules-like hero's name is Recaranus.⁸ In this version of the story, Cacus is a servant of Euander, who steals the cattle of the local Italian hero.

There are common elements in the accounts: firstly the combat between Cacus and Hercules provides the *aition* to the foundation of the cult of Hercules at the *Ara Maxima*. Secondly, the setting of the tale is always a pre-urban one. Hercules arrives in the area of the future Rome long before Aeneas and Romulus and Remus and the foundation of the city. He meets the local inhabitant Cacus, who can appear as either a local pastor, or a human robber, or a barbarian chieftain, or an inhuman monster. All of these variants are related to the features of a pre-urban, nomadic pastoral culture.⁹ The figure of the monster Cacus, however, which emerges in the *Aeneid*, the *Fasti* and Propertius 4,9 evokes an image

⁴ Cacus as a monster: Verg. *Aen.* 8,184–275; Ov. *F.* 1,543–582; Prop. 4, 9, 1–20. In other written sources Cacus is a human robber: Dion. Hal. 1, 39 and *OGR* 7, 6–7 (as a servant of Euander). For a full collection of the ancient sources (without interpretation), see WHITAKER (1910).

⁵ Liv. 1,7,3–15.

⁶ Dion. Hal. 1,42,2. Cacus seems to be a barbarian chieftain in the work of Solinus citing Gellius (1,7–10) too, where he is captured by the Etruscan king, Tarchon as the ambassador of the king Marsyas. Later he gets free from imprisonment and launches a campaign in Italy. When he overtakes the lands belonging to the Arcadians by right, he is defeated by Hercules. See also the discussion of COARELLI (1988: 132–139) and SMALL (1982) in general.

⁷ Dion. Hal. 1,41,1.

⁸ *OGR* 7,6,1–2. Servius (*Aen.* 8,203) in his commentary mentions another Hercules-like Italian hero called Garanus. For the interpretation of the figures of Recaranus and Garanus, see SMALL (1982: 26–29).

⁹ BURKERT (1984: 84–85).

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of chaotic power as well. In this regard, the fight between Cacus and Hercules purports to be a fight between chaotic disorder and established order. The defeated chaos, as well as the initiated *Ara Maxima* and the cult itself, belong to the time of a pre-urban, if not proto-Roman period, and from a religious point of view, to a time when the foundations of Roman religion have not yet been laid, at first by Romulus, and then by Numa.

The cult itself was performed *Graeco ritu*, with bared head¹⁰, and according to ancient literary sources, two patrician clans, the *gens Potitia* and the *gens Pinaria* held the priesthood at the *Ara Maxima*.¹¹ The legend relates, that these clans, who were the most distinguished families in the area at that time, were taught by Hercules himself with regard to how he should be worshipped. The Pinarii were late for the sacrificial banquet and did not come until the entrails of the victim were eaten. Hercules became angry at their tardiness, and determined that the Pinarii should be excluded from partaking of the entrails of victims and that they should always take second place to the Potitii in the sacred rites. Then Appius Claudius, during his censorship in 312 BC, transferred the presumably gentile private cult to public slaves. He bribed the members of the *gens Potitia* to instruct public slaves in how to perform the religious duties. The wrathful Hercules blinded Appius Claudius, who became blind (Caecus) by reason of sacrilege, and obliterated the whole *gens*, twelve families and thirty men. In addition, traders dedicated a *decima* to the god at the Forum Boarium, a tithe in thanksgiving for their profits, as elsewhere in Italy.¹²

The connection between commerce and the *decima* will be expanded in the second part of this paper; but for now, I will focus on the theme of exclusion, as it seems to be an elemental factor of the cult at the *Ara Maxima*. The Pinarii were excluded from a part of the cult (because they were not allowed to eat from the entrails), but they were not punished like the extinct *gens Potitia* in the story of Appius Claudius. Women were excluded from the rites also: it was an exclusively male cult.¹³ In elegy 4,9

¹⁰ WISSOWA (1912: 274), OGILVIE (1956: 56–57) and SCHEID (1995). For an interpretation of the practice in connection with Propertius 4,9, see WELCH (2004: 66–67).

¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 8,268–272; Serv. *Aen.* 8,269; Liv. 1,7,12; 9,29,9–11; Dion. Hal. 1,40,4–6; Macr. *Sat.* 3,6,12–14; Val. Max. 1,1,17; Festus 270L; Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 34,2; *OGR* 8; Sol. 1,11–12; Lact. *Inst.* 2,8,15.

¹² WISSOWA (1912: 275–278) and LATTE (1960: 214, note 1).

¹³ Macr. *Sat.* 1,12,18; Gell. 11,6,1–2; Plut. *Mor.* 278E–F; *OGR* 6,7; 8,5; STAPLES (1998: 15–17) inter alia interprets the mutual exclusion and the dichotomy of male and female as the opposition of fire and water. McDONOUGH (1999) discusses other restrictions at the *Ara Maxima* and in a later study he reveals that by the

Propertius gives one of the most elaborate explanations of the banning of women from the cult of Hercules. The elegy consists of seventy-four lines. In the first twenty lines Hercules arrives at the area of the future Rome with the cattle of Geryon whom he has recently killed. Cacus, a three-headed monster here, steals some oxen, therefore Hercules kills him; but the greater part of the elegy (the following fifty lines) narrates another episode. Hercules, after the fight, feels an overwhelming thirst. Wandering about in search of water, he hears the laughter of women, and follows the sound to a grove in which the worship of the Bona Dea is taking place. Arriving on the threshold of the sanctuary, he begs the women for water, but is refused because it is unlawful for a man to taste the water. Hercules gains violent access to the grove, drinks the spring dry, and in order to punish the women for their inhospitable behaviour, excludes them from his newly established rites for all eternity. At the end of the elegy, Propertius prays to Hercules to help him in his poetic work.¹⁴

Accordingly, in this version a further element is added to the basic story with regard to the exclusion of women from the cult of Hercules at the *Ara Maxima*. This element is the cult of the Bona Dea. Nowhere in his elegy does Propertius mention Bona Dea by this name. Instead, he calls her the Women's Goddess, *Feminea Dea* (the place of the Goddess in the cult is characterized as *femineae loca clausa deae*, 25). That the Women's Goddess is surely Bona Dea becomes clear if we read a passage in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1,12,28), which refers to Bona Dea and which contains a myth similar to the one in Propertius, which is made to account for the banning of women from the rites of the *Ara Maxima*.¹⁵

Unde et mulieres in Italia sacro Herculis non licet interesse, quod Herculi, cum boves Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitienti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies nec ex eo apparatu viris gustare fas esset: propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum, et Potitio ac Pinario sacrorum custodibus iussit ne mulierem interesse permitterent.

fourth century A.D. the practice had been changed: women had been admitted into the cult of Hercules: MCDONOUGH (2004).

¹⁴ The interpretation of the last four lines of the elegy is not the subject of the present paper. For the composition of the closing hymn to Hercules, see MCPARLAND (1970), ROBSON (1973) and WARDEN (1982).

¹⁵ CAMPS (1965: 138, note 25) GALINSKY (1972: 153) and HUTCHINSON (2006: 205–206).

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Propertius and Macrobius are presumably referring to the same tradition, derived most likely from Varro.¹⁶ Macrobius just like Propertius also calls the goddess *dea feminarum*. Bona Dea, the Good Goddess, and her festival celebrated in December are mostly known from the famous scandal in 62 BC caused by Publius Clodius Pulcher, who disguised himself as a woman, thereby gaining entry to the rites of the Dea, which were held in the house of the Pontifex Maximus Caesar in order to meet his mistress Pompeia, who was the wife of Caesar at that time.¹⁷ It is not necessary to discuss the December cult and the goddess in every detail here, as from the viewpoint of the present topic only some aspects should be emphasized.

Firstly, Bona Dea was the daughter, or the wife of Faunus, an ambivalent figure in Roman mythology:¹⁸ according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he had been the king of the native inhabitants when Euander arrived in Italy¹⁹, but in Vergil we find Faunus as the father of Latinus and the grandson of Saturnus, and a prophetic deity at the same time.²⁰ Ovid makes him the god of the *Lupercalia* and links him to the mythical past of Latium.²¹ Both Faunus and Bona Dea were ancient deities of fertility, and Faunus was also the god of cattle.²² Like Hercules honoured at the *Ara Maxima*, they are strongly connected to the pre-urban, pastoral period. The setting of the Cacus-Hercules episode is the reign of Euander in most of the sources, but in the elegy of Propertius the Arcadian settlement and Euander are not represented. Here, other „inhabitants” are found in the area of the future Rome: Cacus, an uncivilised three-headed chaotic monster, and a secret female cult hidden in a grove.

That the first one should be defeated is easy to understand within the context of the dual opposites of chaos and order. The other „inhabitants”, however, are the partakers of the exclusively female cult of the Bona Dea,

¹⁶ BROUWER (1989: 237), SCHULTZ (2000: 292–293) and HUTCHINSON (2006: 205).

¹⁷ Cic. *Att.* 1,12 (with a marked political bias); Plut. *Caes.* 9–10; Dio Cass. 37,45; Suet. *Iul.* 6, 2. See BROUWER (1989: 261–266) in the case of Cicero and Bona Dea.

¹⁸ WISSOWA (1912: 208–219) and LATTE (1960: 228–231).

¹⁹ Dion. Hal. 1,31,2.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 7,49 with ROSIVACH (1980: 141).

²¹ *Ov. F.* 2,271–282. Faunus is also represented as a prophetic deity in the *Fasti* (3,290sqq). PARKER (1993) sees a transformation from a humorous Greek minor divinity into a more serious Roman deity in Ovid’s Faunus, cf. GALINSKY (1972: 128–129). CYRINO (1998: 214–221) thinks that in some measure the Omphale-episode is an anti-Augustan gesture on the part of Ovid. About Faunus as the god of the Lupercal, see WISEMAN (1995).

²² Hor. *carm.* 3,18,1. See also HOLLEMAN (1972) about the role of Faunus in the poem and the dangerous side of the deity.

who was – just like Faunus – one of the most ancient divinities.²³ The fact that Hercules, who is not allowed to drink from the sacred water, violently breaks into the place of the female cult, is not narrated by Propertius as a sacrilege or an unlawful threatening deed such as the cattle-stealing appeared to be in the case of Cacus. Hercules has to use violence to break into the cult after all.

At first, however, he pleads for admittance in an ineffectual but peaceful way by an enumeration of his heroic acts (33–44). After that, a lesser heroic case is referred to in his argument: his affair with Omphale, the queen of Lydia (45–50). As was mentioned before, during the depiction of the Lupercalia, Ovid connects Faunus with the festival.²⁴ When Hercules and Omphale exchange their clothes and sleep apart for a night, Faunus tries to seduce Omphale. But, confused by the exchange of dress, he attempts to seduce the female-garbed Hercules instead of Omphale. The theme of the inversion of sexual roles associated here with gender boundaries is highly stressed in Propertius as well.²⁵ Boundary is denoted by the word *limen* in three lines within the Bona Dea episode: the *limen* of the solitary shrine is decorated with purple wreaths (*devia puniceae velabant limina vittae*, 27). Later, when the priestess of the female cult refuses to allow Hercules to enter the sanctuary, she admonishes him to stop violating the gender boundary (54–55):

*parce oculis, hospes, lucoque abscede verendo
cede agedum et tuta limina linque fuga!*

The admonishment is soon stressed again (60–61):

*Di tibi dant alios fontes: haec lympa puellis
avia secreti limitis una fluit.*

The motif of boundary forms another essential dual opposite: the boundary between male and female.²⁶ The logical correlation between *tuta* and *secreti*, the attributes of the *limen*, seems to be noteworthy here. Separation ensues from the protection guaranteed by boundaries, but, in addition, elements have to be separated to ensure order. Separation gives protection against chaos. The boundary cannot be crossed lawfully – or at

²³ According to BROUWER (1989: 260–261) men were excluded from the Goddess's December festival and its particular rites, not from the whole cult.

²⁴ Ov. *F.* 3,305–358. See note 21 for further references.

²⁵ The gender categories in the elegy have been studied by DEBROHUN (1994), CYRINO (1998: 221–226), LINDHEIM (1998) and JANAN (2001).

²⁶ DEBROHUN (2003: 118–115).

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least, as we can see in the case of Faunus, cannot be crossed in a peaceful way. Hercules though, violates the boundaries temporarily before the foundation of his own exclusively male cult.

In Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, Faunus tries to seduce his own daughter, and when she rejects him, in a futile effort to force her to submit, he beats her with branches of myrtle.²⁷ The feature of the beating with the motif of incest can be understood in terms of ritual violence – ritual violence against women in fact.²⁸ One of the earliest legends of Rome is the abduction of the Sabine women shortly after its founding by Romulus.²⁹ Violation is a necessary factor in the myth: Rome seems to be a place lacking women and the Sabines refuse a first peaceful proposal, so initially Romans are not allowed to make a peaceful union with them through marriage. Thus, they have to get their way violently, and they rape the Sabine women. This violent act is followed by union through legitimate marriage between the two nations, which is just the opposite of the incest apparent in the story of Faunus and Bona Dea.³⁰ It seems that Hercules, before the foundation of his cult, has to behave violently: violence is part of the foundation – the foundation of the cult and the city as well.³¹ In other words, there is no peaceful order without chaotic disorder: likewise, to differentiate between male and female, we need the category of gender.³²

As was mentioned before, Hercules is a civilizer: he defeats monsters like Geryon or Cacus and establishes cults like the one at the *Ara Maxima*, but during that time, he must act in an uncivilized way. He can only defeat Cacus with anger (*ira*, 14) – a characteristic attribute of the hero anyway – and the same angry thirst (*iratam ... sitim*, 62) makes him break into the Bona Dea shrine, as neither chaos, represented by the figure of the monster Cacus, nor an exclusively female cult, can belong to the future Rome. The mythical past together with the image of the future Rome, are depicted in the very beginning of the elegy in the picture of the *Velabrum* under water (1–6):

*Amphitryoniades qua tempestate iuvencos
egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis,
venit ad invictos pecorosa Palatia montis,
et statuit fessos fessus et ipse boves,
qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quoque
nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.*

²⁷ Macr. *Sat.* 1,12,24.

²⁸ STAPLES (1998: 27–30).

²⁹ Liv. 1,9.

³⁰ Liv. 1,13.

³¹ Cf. LYNE (1987: 27–35) on *Aeneid* 8.

³² JANAN (1998: 207, note 30).

The *Velabrum* was a valley lying between the Tiber, the *Forum Boarium*, and the Capitoline and Palatine hills. It connected the *Forum Romanum* with the *Forum Boarium*.³³ Thus, before meeting Cacus, Hercules arrives at a place under water and he stops (*statuit*) the cattle there.³⁴ A remarkable dominance of the verb *sto, stare* can be noticed in the opening of the elegy (*stabulis, statuit, stagnabant*). The verb *statuit* ‘to set up’ connotes ‘to establish’ and is often used for describing the establishment of a city and even a cult. Besides, the picture of the *Velabrum* under water invokes an image of primordial chaos well known from cosmological myths, namely the state when there was just water, before the formation of the universe. The primordial state of things – the mythical past – with the images of water and chaos (symbolized by the monster Cacus), already includes the possibility of a well-established order in the future. That’s why the *Velabrum* is the place where sailors set sail upon urban water (*nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas*, 6). The phrase ‘urban waters’ clearly refers to a future Rome as we can see in another passage of the elegy, where Hercules, after the defeat of Cacus, tells to the recovered cattle that (19–20):

*arvaeque mugitu sancite Bovaria longo:
nobile erit Romae pascua vestra Forum.*

With this, Hercules claims that the pre-urban pastoral state of the past will be changed into the noble future of Rome. Before the foundation of the cult itself however, he has to prepare the boundaries of the future city from another aspect as well: and he does it through the ritualized violence against the cult of the Bona Dea. The boundaries between men and women are laid, and this implies the opposition between lawful marriage and unlawful incest also. Only the former belongs to the settled and civilized life. The Italian Hercules, although his rites were performed with bared head at the *Ara Maxima*, seems to be as much Italian as Greek.

Finally, if we consider all these aspects, the semi-mythic *exemplum* about the end of the private cult of Hercules at the *Ara Maxima* can be interpreted as well. The *exemplum* was about two clans, the *gens Pinaria* and the *gens Potitia*, who performed the rites at the *Ara Maxima* until Appius Claudius Caecus corrupted the *gens Potitia* in order to have public slaves instructed in the worship of Hercules. Hercules blinded Appius

³³ LTUR (1999: 101–108). HOLLEMAN (1977) thinks that there was a ‘pre-Romulean’ New Year rite at the *Velabrum* with Hercules and Acca Larentia.

³⁴ The *Velabrum* was under water in the early times (*suo ... flumine*, 5). See, CAMPS (1965: 136) and HUTCHINSON (2006: 208). The same picture is depicted in the elegy of Tibullus (2,5,33–36).

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Claudius and extirpated all members of the *gens Potitia* out of revenge. It was striking that the other *gens*, the Pinarii were excluded from a part of the cult, because of their tardiness. Even so, they did not receive a cruel punishment as did the Potitii.³⁵ The feature of exclusion was part of the cult: at the mythological level, exclusion ensures the boundaries between opposites such as chaos and order, men and women, lawful and unlawful, marriage and incest.

The motif of hospitality fits well into this line of reasoning; it is a constant element in the accounts of the Cacus myth.³⁶ In the elegy of Propertius the motif is also present: Cacus is an unreliable host (*infido... hospite Caco*, 8), but the sanctuary of the Bona Dea is designated as hospitable (*hospita fana*, 34) and Hercules himself is called as a guest by the priestess (*hospes*, 53). The change in the usage of *hospes* in Propertius follows from the double meaning of the word: it means 'guest', 'host' and 'stranger' at the same time. Hercules arrives as a guest to the area of the future Rome long before its foundation. Hospitality is a part of the civilised world, so Cacus cannot be Hercules's host. In the case of the partakers of the Bona Dea cult, a male *hospes* can only be a 'stranger', not a 'guest'. If we consider that Hercules was worshipped by traders and merchants and that the god was honoured with *decima*, a tithe of profits, the motif of hospitality seems to be easier to understand. The myth of Hercules and Cacus provides models of behaviour to be avoided and to be followed. Cacus is punished with death because he robbed a stranger. Although Hercules himself acts violently when he breaks into the place of the female ritual, he also becomes a civilizer, and introduces correct behaviour happening at the first banquet in his newly established cult. The success of the commercial connection depends on the institution of hospitality: foreign merchants have to be accepted with hospitality at the *Forum Boarium*, have to be defended from stealing, and their goods and a

³⁵ The Pinarii survived into classical times and inscriptions are attested that the Potitii may have been an historical family too. See OGILVIE (1965: 61). Scholars tend to accept the name of the *gens* as a formation from the perfect passive participle of the verb *potior*, 'to master, to enslave'. The Potitii would thus be 'the mastered, the enslaved' or, more plainly, 'the slaves'. For this opinion, see VAN BERCHEM (1959–1960: 64) and PALMER (1965). MUELLER (2002) regards both of the clans as historical and suggests that the *exemplum* reflects the extinction of the *gentes*.

³⁶ The relation between Hercules and Euander (or the Arcadians) is characterized with hospitality: Verg. *Aen.* 8,188; Ovid. *F.* 1,545; Dion. Hal. 1,40,3; *OGR* 7,6 (here the Hercules-like hero is Recaranus mentioned above). Cacus is dangerous for the inhabitants and his *hospites* too: Ovid. *F.* 1,552.

decima of their profit has to be offered to the deity in return, who protects both them and their goods.³⁷

Thus, when the *gens Potitia*, who held the priesthood at the *Ara Maxima*, is corrupted by Appius Claudius, that is an offence against a fundamental element of the cult. Offering the *decima* from profit is a correct religious behaviour towards the god, and salutary for the state.

Accepting money is just the very opposite of that: the Potitii net their own profit and, in doing so, they endanger the cult, the success of commercial transactions in the future, and the state.

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LIBERALIA IN OVID

LIBER IN THE ROMAN RELIGION

DÓRA KOVÁCS

Liber is a mysterious figure of the Roman pantheon. His figure can hardly be identified besides the Greek *Dionysus*. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the deities from Eleusis – *Demeter*, *Dionysus* and *Kore* – were honoured in Rome as *Ceres*, *Liber* and *Libera* at the Aventine. His festival, the *Liberalia*, is described in several sources, among which is Ovid's *Fasti*. Ovid's description contains something unique because it seems that he tries to tell something new and different about the god in contrast to the other accounts of the *Liberalia*.

Liber is the most mysterious figure in the Roman pantheon. The figure of this deity is largely influenced by the Greek god, *Dionysus*, as are his interpretation and the stories about him. According to tradition, *Demeter*, *Kore*, and *Dionysus* were brought to Rome during a famine on the advice of the Sibylline Books.¹ The deities from Eleusis were honoured as *Ceres*, *Liber* and *Libera*.² A temple was dedicated at the Aventine, which also functioned as the centre of the plebeians.³ The Bacchanalian Affair, which followed the Second Punic War in 186 BC, did not leave the cult of *Liber* untouched. Our most detailed source of Bacchanalian Affair comes from

¹ Dion. Hal. 6,17,2–4.

² WISSOWA (1912: 297–304); LATTE (1960: 161–162); RADKE (1979: 175–183). There are many examples of foreign deities brought to Rome. Moreover, the Romans had a special ritual – evocation – for such foreign deities. The triad from Eleusis is outstanding because in contrast to the former cases, they did not keep their original name or get a Latin one, but received another. Perhaps this nomenclature indicates that the triad at the Aventine had ancient roots in Rome and in Italy before the deities from Eleusis arrived.

³ The place of the temple also refers to the ideological connection between *Liber* and *Libertas*. Ovid uses this relation in the etymological explanation of the god's name and his festival, the dressing up in the *toga libera*. The fact that the Roman magistrates also took office on the Ides of March – two days before *Liberalia* – until 153 BC, relates to the contact between the god *Liber* and the political idea of *Libertas*. To the political idea of *Libertas*, see WIRSZUBSKI (1950: 5); BEARD–NORTH–PRICE (1999: 64–65).

Livy, an elder contemporary of Ovid.⁴ In Livy's Book 39, the scandal is surrounded by a love story (Aebutius and Hispala).⁵ The exhaustive narration of Livy also proves the significance of the case, which endangered the existence of the Roman state.⁶ The reaction of the Senate followed a powerful speech of the consul, Sp. Postumius Albinus, which, due to the information of the libertine, Hispala, revealed the details of the affair to the Senate.⁷ In addition to the exhaustive narration of Livy, the seriousness of the problem is indicated by the extensive investigation of the consuls, by the numerous denunciations and executions and by the accepted *senatus consultum*.⁸ The "conspiracy" (*coniuratio*) – as Livy has called it – could play a great part in that by the time of the *Fasti*, in the Augustan age, *Liber*, and the members of the triad were not among the

⁴ GRUEN (1990: 34–79); WALSH (1996: 188–203); BEARD-NORTH-PRICE (1999: 91–96); TAKÁCS (2000: 301–310); PAGÁN (2005: 50–67); BRISCOE (2008: 230–290).

⁵ Liv. 39,8–19. Livy's narration can be divided into two sections: the first is the love story of Aebutius and Hispala and the speech of Postumius and the following investigations. In connection with the drama of the first section, see SCAFURO (2009: 321–352). The placing of the description by Livy and the tale about the young Roman boy and the libertine, Hispala hint at one of the characteristics of the story which also determined the conspiracy: the conflict of the private sphere (Aebutius' personal story) getting into the centre of the public life.

⁶ Wiseman has connected the repression of the Bacchanalia to a purging in 213 BC. Foreign cults appeared in Rome because of the ongoing of Second Punic War. As a result of that – at least according to Livy – the women departed from the Roman habits honouring the gods. Liv. 25,1,7: *nec iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nec sacrificantium nec precantium deos patrio more.*

⁷ It is proved by the speech of Postumius that the point in question is more political than religious. The cult became dangerous for the Roman state because it functioned without any supervision by the magistrates. In Postumius' opinion: *et ubicumque multitudo esset, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebant esse debere.* (Liv. 39,15,11). In his speech, the consul mentioned three main characteristics of the cult: nocturnal ceremonies, participants gathering in an undefined mass and the mixed meeting, men, women and servants together. It emerges from the problems illuminated by Postumius – and also from the *senatus consultum* – that the strict reaction of the Senate was due to the organization of the cult, as Postumius also said: *nisi praecautis, Quirites, iam huic diurnae, legitime ab consule uocatae, par nocturna contio esse poterit.* (Liv. 39,16,4) The Bacchanalia functioned as a state within a state. See LINKE (2000: 269–299).

⁸ CIL I² 581; FRAENKEL (1932: 395–396); KEIL (1933: 306–312); KRAUSE (1936: 214–220).

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deities with a significant state cult.⁹ Livy's obscure depiction (though he did not speak about the cult of *Liber*) was suitable for the religious policy of Augustus. After the temple at the Aventine had been destroyed, it lay in ruins under the regime of Augustus.¹⁰ The restoration followed only in 17 AD.¹¹

In connection with the sources about the Bacchanalian Affair, it is noteworthy that neither the *senatus consultum* nor the narration of Livy mentions the name of *Liber*. It seems that both of them try to separate *Liber* from the god who played a great part in the conspiracy and who was called Bacchus. Wiseman makes a compelling conclusion about with the affair, concluding that the redefinition of the figure of *Liber* was needed because the god was compromised by the happenings in 186 BC.¹²

In the light of the facts established by Wiseman, one part of Cicero's *De natura deorum* (2,62) has been set in a new light. In this work, Cicero spoke of three *Libers*: the first the child of *Semele* (*Semele natum*), the second who is honoured with Ceres and *Libera* (*cum Cerere et Libera consecraverunt*) and the last *Liber*, who is known by a mysterious religion (*ex mysteriis intellegi potest.*)¹³ It seems that the different narrations of the

⁹ The loss of importance of the triad can be explained by the shifting of emphasis in the religious policy of Augustus. Nevertheless, it can be stated that the triad disappeared from the mainstream religion because of the relationship between the temple at the Aventine and the plebs. Maybe the domination of *Ceres* in the triad contributed to the fact that *Liber* and *Libera* did not have an independent cult.

¹⁰ Cass. Dio. 50,10,3.

¹¹ Tac. *ann.* 2,49. Antony's own identification with Dionysus: Vell. Pat. 2,82; Plut. *Ant.* 24,3–4; Cass. Dio 50,5,3 could be also a reason for the neglect of the temple of *Ceres*, *Liber* and *Libera*.

¹² WISEMAN (1998: 41). ROUSSELLE also announced a similar opinion in his paper, in which he examined the appearance of *Liber* and *Dionysus* in the early Roman dramas. ROUSSELLE came to the conclusion that the figure of *Liber* /*Dionysus* was identified during the 2nd century BC and the Romans themselves were also afraid of the influence of the foreign, ecstatic cult based on *Liber*. The ecstatic mark of Dionysus remained only in the lines of the Roman drama. However, he points out that the references to *Bacchus*' rituals in the plays did not mirror real events, rather they saw Greek characteristics inserted into the Roman surroundings. ROUSSELLE has drawn attention to the fact that the general opinion about the god – due to the plays – tended toward a negative image. So during the Bacchanalian Affair, fiction and reality met. See, ROUSSELLE (1987: 193–198).

¹³ WISEMAN has concluded in connection with the section of Cicero that there is a change because – in contrast to the former writers – Cicero did not trace *Liber*'s name to word *liber* ("freedom") but from *liberi* ("children"). The god who is mentioned as *pater* became in the approach of Cicero a child. WISEMAN has mentioned another example for the redefinition of *Liber*'s image. Under the regime

*Liberalia*¹⁴ – Virgil, Augustine and Ovid – prove the learned approach of Cicero. However the descriptions of Virgil and Augustine show some similarities – mischievousness and licentiousness, among others – though it seems that Ovid and the others handled three different figures, that is to say, three different *Liberae*.

In the second book of Virgil's *Georgics* is found a narration about a rural, Italian ceremony which was celebrated as honouring *Bacchus*.¹⁵ This section of the work describes a vintage festival in which a goat – the main nemesis of the grapes due to his targeting of vintners' fruit – is sacrificed to Bacchus: *non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris / caeditur* (Verg. *G.* 2,380–381).¹⁶ In the following parts of the festival, there was a theatre performance: *veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi* (381), then jumping on oily goatskins: *mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres* (384). Other parts of the celebration also evoke the theatre. According to Virgil, small masks were hung on pine trees (387–389):

*oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cautatis,
et te, Bacche, uocant per carmina laeta, tibique
oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.*

It seems that the festival described – or imagined¹⁷ – by Virgil reflects huge Greek influence. In Virgil's narration, scenes of the Greek festivals

of Hadrian, Ampelius in his *Liber memorialis* spoke about five *Liberae*. See WISEMAN (1998: 49–50). *Liberi quinque: primus ex Ioue et Proserpina: hic agricola et inuentor uini, cuius soror Ceres; secundus Liber ex Merone et Flora, cuius nomine fluuius est Granicus; tertius de Cabiroy qui regnauit in Asia; quartus ex Saturno et Semela <...> dicunt, quintus Nisi et Hesione filius*. According to Wiseman, the first and third *Liber* are already a redefinition after 186 BC, which also served to separate the Roman *Liber* from the Greek *Dionysus* and *Semele*.

¹⁴ RADKE (1993: 136–140); SCULLARD (1987: 91–92).

¹⁵ MILLER (2002: 199–225). For this section, see ERREN (1985: 474–480).

¹⁶ Varro *Rust.* 1,2,19: *sic factum ut Libero patri, repertori vitis, <h>irci immolarentur, proinde ut capite darent poenas*.

¹⁷ MILLER (2002: 202) has stated that Virgil did not describe – at least in this form – an existing Italian festival, but he mixed the parts of some Greek and vintage festivals. ERREN (1985: 479) also has mentioned Virgil's compilation in the description because the offerings known as *oscilla* were a customary element of the *Compitalia*, the celebration of the *Lares*. *Compita circum* in this section may also refer to this. The night before *Compitalia* in every household these small masks, or *oscilla*, were hung up, one for each member of the household. ERREN's opinion is that due to the fact that the *oscilla* was understood in one case as a face in another as a mask led Virgil to allude the theatre. For the relation between *Liber* and theatre see WISEMAN (2000: 265–299).

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of *Dionysus* – Ur and City Dionysia – appear. Moreover, in this section we find only the Greek name of the god, Bacchus. In contrast to the other narrations of *Liberalia*, only Virgil relates wine and wine culture to *Liber*. Following the approach of Cicero, Virgil's *Liber* could be the child of *Semele*. This can also be explained by the Greek material, which Virgil uses during his narration at every step.

The *Liberalia* narration of Augustine named a certain city, Lavinium.¹⁸ In Lavinium – in contrast to Rome – the *Liberalia* lasted one month: *Lavinio unus Liber totus mensis tribuebatur*. The festival at Lavinium bore some features of a fertility cult:¹⁹ mischievousness, licentiousness (*tanta licentia turpitudinis; omnis verbis flagitiosissimis uterentur*) and the phallus march, something which greatly disgusted Augustine:

*Nam hoc turpe membrum per Liberi dies festos cum honore magno
postellis inpositum prius rure in comptis et usque in urbem postea
vectabatur.*

Augustine counts *Liber* and his female equivalent, *Libera* as fertility gods – one for the male and the other for female fertility. The licentiousness which shocked Augustine so much can be found in the Bacchanalian Affair, too. Cicero, without any appropriate information, dealt with this as a mystery religion.

The atmosphere of Ovid's *Liberalia*²⁰ differs from the rural ones. In the narration of Ovid emerges a new image of *Liber*, one in which another

¹⁸ Aug. Civ. 7,21.

¹⁹ Other part of Augustine's work also refer to this: *ipse sit postremo etiam in illa turba quasi plebeiorum deorum; ipse praesit nomine Liberi virorum seminibus et nomine Liberae feminarum* (Aug. Civ. 4,11). Later: *Liberum a liberamento appellatum volunt, quod mares in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur, hoc idem in feminis agere Liberam (...), quod et ipsam perhibeant semina emittere; et ob haec Libero eandem virilem corporis partem templo poni, feminam Liberae* (Aug. Civ. 6,9).

²⁰ Ov. F. 3,712–790. See BÖMER (1958: 193–198). The god *Liber* appears three times in the *Fasti*. See HARRIES (1992: 180–181). Two of these are in the third book of the *Fasti*. Both of them are erotic stories and both about the god's lovers. Firstly, about the beloved boy, *Ampelos* (3,407–414) the next about the god's wife, *Ariadne* (3,459–516) see BÖMER (1958: 179). Both stories end with catasterism. *Ariadne* and *Dionysus* are in love unhappily, but at the end the disappointed *Ariadne* is transformed into a star (Corona) by *Dionysus*. In these few lines some questions are raised. After *Ariadne* became a star, *Dionysus* said (3,510–512): *tu mihi iuncta toro mihi iuncta vocabula sumes, / nam tibi mutatae Libera nomen erit, / sintque tuae tecum faciam monimenta coronae*. Next *Liber* appears in the sixth book during the *Mater Matuta* festival (6,473–570). In this episode *Bacchus* is the

aspect of the god is evoked. Besides Ovid we have another source regarding this day. Varro, in his work *De lingua Latina* deals with the ritual only briefly:

*Liberalia dicta, quod per totum oppidum eo die sedent sacerdotes Liberi anus hedera coronatae cum libis et foculo pro emptore sacrificantes.*²¹

There are some common features with Ovid: the little honey-cakes (*libum*) sold in the streets and the old granny (*anus*), who is recognized as *Liber's sacerdotes* by Varro. Varro explains the name of the ritual with the *libum*, the honey-cake. Beside this explanation, Ovid gives other solutions to the etymology of the god's name.

At the beginning of the section, Ovid himself asks the god Bacchus for help to introduce his festival. However, Ovid claims that *non est carminis huius opus*, though in the first half of the description (3,715–754) he evokes the Greek mythological material with the repetition of *nec referam* (the birth of *Dionysus*, the death of *Semele*, the triumph in the Orient, the fight against *Pentheus* and *Lycurgus* and the affair with the Tyrrhenian pirates). After this, Ovid draws the attention to the main issue (3,725–726):

*carminis huius opus causas exponere quare vitisator*²² *populos ad sua liba vocet.*

Ovid's intention is not to write the Greek story again, but to explain the origin of the rituals performed on the day of *Liberalia*, the cult of the god honoured together with *Ceres* and *Libera*. Ovid answers the questions "Why are honey-cakes (*libum*) sacrificed to the god?" Why does a woman, an *anus*, sell these?" Finally, "why exactly on this day is the ceremony of

one who explains the sense and the origin of the festival. See also LITTLEWOOD (2006: 145–172).

²¹ Varro. *LL.* 6,14. It seems that a wall-painting from Pompeii depicts this scene written by Varro. See also SIMON (1990: 127).

²² According to another variation instead of *vitisator* stands *vilis anus*. The second variation – *vilis anus* – makes the other parts of the section more sensible (3,765–766): *Cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris? vinosior aetas / haec erat et gravidae munera vitis amat.*

Suddenly a somewhat drunken, wine-loving old granny appears. In the description of Varro, an old granny also sells the honey-cake (*libum*) in the streets of Rome. Maybe it is not an overstatement that this "anus" relates to the one who turns up at the festival of *Anna Perenna* (Ov. *F.* 3,523–596) – just before *Liberalia* – in the narration of Ovid. For this section, see BÖMER (1958: 179–193) and for *Anna Perenna* and Ides of March see NEULANDS (1996: 320–338).

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toga libera held?” While Ovid is searching for the answers, he evokes the past of Rome. In those days, *Liber* had an independent celebration (*Luce sua ludos uvae commentor habebat, / quos cum taedifera*²³ *nunc habet ille dea*, Ov. *F.* 3,785–786)²⁴ for which masses arrived from the countryside in order to celebrate *Liber* in Rome. At the end of the poem, the god is called upon for help again.

Those characteristics of Virgil’s and Augustine’s narration – mischievousness, licentiousness or fertility – also mentioned above are missing in the description of Ovid. At the beginning, Ovid briefly evokes the Greek material with the expression *nec referam*. It is not the task of the *Fasti*, but of the *Metamorphoses* to rewrite this, to which Ovid also refers (3,724). His present task is – in accordance with the intention of Augustan religious policy – to formulate or – if we accept the opinion of Wiseman – to create the Roman figure of *Liber*.

In the light of this, Ovid’s use of the names deserves special attention. The name *Bacchus* occurs five times, but the name *Liber* only three times in the narration of *Liberalia*. In this case not the quantity but the context in which Ovid uses the name *Liber* is more revealing. The rarer application of the name *Liber* draws attention to the intention of Ovid to say something new about the god. The *Liber*-name appears only in those cases when Ovid speaks about “the invention” of the god. The selection of these also states Ovid’s intention: the creation of the Roman *Liber*. None of the stories mentions the invention of wine, which comes to mind first when thinking about *Liber* (*Dionysus*), regarding the plentiful stories also known by Ovid.²⁵ Ovid refers to wine only twice: *vitisator* (3,736), *uvae*

²³ The expression *taedifera* makes a contrast to other name of Liber “*Lucifer*”. These expressions bring us closer to revealing the familiar relationship in the triad, to the connection between *Liber* and *Ceres*. The word “*lucifer*” relates also to another story about *Liber* in which he is compared to *Prometheus*, or in another approach it refers to what Augustine write about *Liber*.

²⁴ These few lines about the past refer to the course of the *Liberalia*. On the one hand it comes out that *Liber* also had an independent cult from *Cerialia* (4,393–620). On the other hand Ovid alludes to a *ludus* held to honour the god *Liber*. WISEMAN is on the opinion that on the former *Liberalia* theatre performances were also enacted. WISEMAN thinks that one example could be Livy’s narrative about the Bacchanalian Affair. In my opinion, in this section the *Silenus* story has also some features which refers to some kind of performance. Ovid and the stage see WISEMAN (2002: 275–300).

²⁵ Moreover in the work of Ovid in connection to the festival of wine *Vinalia* (4,863–900) neither *Liber* nor *Bacchus* is mentioned but *Venus* and *Jupiter*. This fact also points out that the archaic figure of the Italian *Liber* does not relate to the

commentor (3,785). Instead of this, he links inventions with *Liber*, which is unprecedented and occurs only in his writings.

Before we examine the parts of the *Fasti* relating to this problem, it is worth getting more information about the etymology of the god's name, which can explain the role filled in the *Fasti*. According to Michiel de Vaan's Latin etymological dictionary, the name of the god also has the meaning "to grow".²⁶ Features of the god derived from this etymological explanation are reflected in the narration of Ovid. In this section, words and expressions relating to "growing" appear: priority, creation and invention.²⁷ This is stressed by the verb *pario* ("bore"), derived *reperire* ("discover, invent"), and its different versions ("*herba reperta*" 728; "*mella reperta*" 736; "*iure repertori*" 763). In the sections dealing with the inventions of *Liber* appear several expressions which point to priority and creation: *primitias (...)* *tu primus (...)* *dedisti* (730–731); *nomine ab auctoris ducunt* (733); *inventi praemia* (744); *deus (...)* *inducere monstrat* (759).

The first appearance of *Liber*'s name is also significant because it turns up just after the closing of the Greek material. (728) The Roman nomenclature brings us immediately to the centre of the Roman state and religion: Ovid's first "Liber-explanation" relates to *triumphus*. The god returning from his *triumphus* offers the seized booty as a sacrifice to Jupiter (731–732):

*cinnama tu primus captivaque tura dedisti
deque triumphato viscera tosta bove.*

By evoking the *triumphus*, Ovid removes himself from the Greek sphere; instead of Greece, Rome and the Capitol will be the scene.²⁸ A similar principle can be observed in *Liber*'s third appearance (3,777). Ovid mentions the Roman name of the god in connection with the festival of the *toga libera*. On the one hand, the name serves as an etymological

wine and wine culture. *Liber*'s primer field – as we know from Augustine – is fertility.

²⁶ DE VAAN (2008: 338): "The BSl (Balto Slavic) and Gm (Germanic) noun *h₁leud^h- 'people' derives from a verb *h₁leud^h- 'to grow'; the deity *Liber* shows that *h₁leud^h- originally meant 'to grow' in Latin too."

²⁷ The word "priority" occurs also in connection with the month March itself because long ago March was the first month of the Roman year. March is the beginning of the agricultural and martial cycle. Moreover, Ovid also stresses the primary character of March as he tells the story of the foundation of Rome.

²⁸ MILLER (2002: 212).

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explanation of the *toga libera*,²⁹ while on the other hand, the putting on of the toga – such as at the *triumphus* – evokes a typically Roman rite and Roman spot, hence the Latin name *Liber*.

But *Liber*'s appearance in the honey-story (here for the second time) requires more explanation. Ovid tries to connect the god to honey-cakes (*libum*) sacrificed for him: why is *libum* sacrificed to the god? The answer is simple (735–736):

*sucis quia dulcibus idem
gaudet, et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt.*

Ovid inlays the relation of the god and honey in the story of the unlucky *Silenus*. According to the story the god, accompanied by satyrs, is leaving the river *Hebrus* and is heading to the mountain of *Rhodope*. The drumming of the followers lures the bees at this time, named only flying creatures (*volucres*). The god collects and then closes them into a hollow trunk. So according to Ovid: *Liber et inventi praemia mellis habet* (744), meaning that *Liber* deserves honey as its inventor. But Ovid's narration continues. *Silenus* appears and immediately begins searching for the sweet honey. Finally, he finds the bees hidden in the trunk. The elder then stands on the back of his donkey and tries to seize the honey, unhappily achieving his aim, as the bees rise against the intruder and sting the bald head and the nose of *Silenus*. But the misfortune of *Silenus* does not end here, as he subsequently falls down and is kicked by a donkey. At the cries of *Silenus*, the other satyrs arrive, and laugh at their shamed older colleague.

The *Silenus*-narrative also functions as a contrast to the episode with *Liber*. Like the god, the old satyr finds the bees, but because of his imperfection, the bees do not obey, but instead turn against him. Ovid himself also plays with this duality in the line "*melle pater fruitur*" (761). On the first reading, we do not know who the poet means. *Liber* also appears as civilizer in the story of the unlucky *Silenus*. After *Silenus* experienced the bees' real power, *Liber* returns in order to ease his pains. The god also instructs them how to lessen the pain caused by the stings of the bees: the satyr has to smear his face with mud.

So Ovid introduces the god, now *Liber*, as the inventor of honey. Ovid is the only one who puts *Liber* in this role. Tradition relates the discovery

²⁹ In connection with the ceremony, the relation between *Liber* and *Libertas* occurs again as Ovid himself also puts it (3,777–778): *Sive quod es Liber vestis quoque libera per te / sumitur et vitae liberioris iter*. The putting on of the *toga libera* is therefore the first step of the Roman youth toward adulthood and also means the decrease of the power of the *pater familias*. The concept of *libertas* embraces civil rights and a more active attendance in the public life.

of honey to *Aristaeus*.³⁰ Moreover, in the first book of the *Fasti*, Ovid makes the same identification, listing the types of the sacrifices (1,363–380). What is the reason for this – seemingly inconsistent – change?

The answer can be found perhaps in the relationship of *Liber*'s inventions to each other. Ovid mentions the name of *Liber* only twice when dealing with the inventions of the god or with creation. Firstly, Ovid depicts *Liber* as *Prometheus* when he writes (727–730):

*ante tuos ortus area sine honore fuerunt,
Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focus.
te memorant, Gange totoque Oriente subacto,
primitias magno seposuisse Iovi*

So according to Ovid, *Liber* – much like *Prometheus* – was the first to offer a sacrifice (*libamen*). Secondly, *Liber* becomes the inventor of honey: *Liber, et inventi praemia mellis habet* (745).

Ovid compares *Liber* to the culture hero, *Aristaeus*. In both cases he uses the name *Liber* when he speaks about invention and creation. The mention of *Prometheus* and *Aristaeus* points to the act of creation and priority. *Prometheus*, in devising the mode of the sacrifice, separates the human sphere from the world of animals and the gods. A similar aspect appears in the myth of *Aristaeus*. The nymphs brought the bees from the wilderness to *Aristaeus*.³¹ *Aristaeus*, just like *Prometheus*, is the hero of civilisation's development, and he continues the work of *Prometheus* by giving humans "inventions" to mankind that define human life, just as each figure gave the means necessary for the sacrifice.

The story about honey bears another significant feature besides the *Liber-Aristaeus* relation: community and organization. The bees set an example as the perfect society in ancient times.³² In Ovid's narration, it is *Liber* who organises and unifies the bees into a community. This is shown by the words and expressions which Ovid uses for the bees. Firstly, they are called as "*novas volucres*," who are lured to the god by a "*sonitus aera*." Next, they are mentioned as *apes*, the earlier unknown flying creatures. After that the wanderers, "*errantes*" are collected, joined and locked into a trunk. Then they are referred to as a team, "*examines*". This unity will be stressed more when the bees fight together against *Silenus*, who wants to pilfer the honey.

³⁰ Ap. Rhod. 4,1132–1133.

³¹ DETIENNE (1981: 95–111).

³² Hes. *erg.* 233; Cic. *off.* 1,157; Varro *rust.* 3,16,4–7; Plin. *nat.* 11,11; 25; Verg. *G.* 4,148–209.

Liberalia in Ovid – Liber in the Roman religion

The next step after the unity of the bees – as in Ovid's narration – is the state which appears in connection with the other ceremony of the *Liberalia*, the putting on of the *toga libera*.³³ During the ceremony, the Roman youth lay down the symbols of childhood (golden locket *bullae*, and the purple bordered toga, *toga praetexta*) in order to put on the all-white *toga virilise*, an act indicating adulthood. The celebration begins before the familiar *Lararium*, with the participants then marching to the Forum, where they offer sacrifice again.³⁴ The youth are signed up in the *Tabularium*. At the ceremony, the community is also present: *ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia possit* (3,787). Dressing in *toga libera* also happens on behalf of the maintenance and affirmation of the community. Ovid strengthens the typical Roman sphere with the words *senator*, *fascis* and *consul*. With these words, the next grade of the community appears: the city, Rome itself.

To sum up, Ovid intends to create the Roman *Liber* in the narration of the *Liberalia*. In contrast to Virgil and Augustine, he does not use the stories known from the Greek tradition. Though evoking these previous stories, he applies them as a contrast to his own divine figure. Ovid creates the figure of a god who corresponds to the religious conservatism of Augustus: on the one hand, the foreign impact is missing, on the other hand, Ovid describes *Liber* with typically Roman elements. Moreover, he leaves out those features which could banish the god outside the city walls. Consequently, the mischievousness and licentiousness of the rural festivals are missing in the narration of Ovid. He tries to differentiate his own divine figure with the significant use of the name *Liber*. Ovid changes the name only in two cases: when he deals with a typical Roman location or ceremony (*triumphus*, the putting on the *toga libera* and also the *Forum* and *Capitolium*), or when he speaks about the inventions of the god (sacrifice and honey). Ovid enriches the main characteristic of the god (growing) – also included in his name – with a new meaning recalling the figure of Prometheus and *Aristaeus*. He sets *Liber* in the role of civilizer, comparing him to the cultural hero.

³³ MILLER (2002: 219) draws attention to the four variant explanations of the ceremony. The several explanations offered by Ovid are general in the *Fasti*. But in this case, according to MILLER, these show the ceremony from varying aspects: firstly, its meaning in general (3,773–4), the transition from boyhood to adulthood; second, the aspect of the *pater familias* who initiates his son; third, the ceremony itself due to which Roman youth would live a freer life. But Ovid's fourth explanation shifts from the god to his former festivals.

³⁴ Prop. 4,1,131–132; Cic. *Att.* 6,1,12. However the 17th of March was not the only possible day on which this ceremony could be performed.

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SUPERSTITION AND PROPITIATION PLUTARCH AND THE PHRYGIAN-LYDIAN CONFESSION INSCRIPTIONS

GYULA LINDNER

Plutarch, in his early writing about superstition – *De superstitione* – ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ – describes δεισιδαιμονία, i.e. superstition as excessive fear of the divine which humiliates the individual and places him out of the ritual community of the polis. According to Plutarch, the δεισιδαιμών considers disease, discomfort, or difficulty in his life as divine retribution. His religious mentality is akin to the one found on the Phrygian-Lyidian confession inscriptions. These texts originate from the first and second century AD, and reflect an age of anxiety. The emotional religious mentality of this age is described in works by Plutarch and Lucian through their portraits of holy men, jugglers, and pseudo-philosophers, and also through the confession texts which represent a compelling mixture of Greek and oriental religious acts and customs.

Lucian, the satirist of the second century AD and the author of brilliant pseudo-philosopher portraits, writes about the machinations of Alexander of Abonoteichos as follows:

They (viz. Alexander and his associates) readily discerned that human life is swayed by two great tyrants, hope and fear, and that a man who could use both of these to advantage would speedily enrich himself. For they perceived that both to one who fears and to one who hopes, foreknowledge is very essential and very keenly coveted, and that long ago not only Delphi, but Delos and Clarus and Branchidae, had become rich and famous because, thanks to the tyrants just mentioned, hope and fear, men continually visited their sanctuaries and sought to learn the future in advance, and to that end sacrificed hecatombs and dedicated ingots of gold.¹

We see two concepts of ancient Greek religion side by side: fear (φόβος) and hope (ἐλπίς). Where there is fear, there is hope and vice versa. The

¹ Luc. *Alexander or The False Prophet* 8. (transl. by HARMON 1961). Cf. CHANIOTIS (2012: 205).

correlation and mutuality of fear and hope plays a prominent role in one of the earliest works by Plutarch, the *De superstitione* (ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ). According to Plutarch, the ignorance regarding the gods divides into two streams: atheism and superstition. On the one hand, atheism arises from a rational, stubborn mentality and denies the existence of a divine authority. On the other hand, superstition, i.e. δεισιδαιμονία, is defined as a menial disposition towards the gods (164, 165 a–b). The superstitious man—the δεισιδαίμων—dreads the divine sphere, because he conceives of the gods as erratic, ferocious, and mischievous beings (167 d). Furthermore, he cannot enjoy himself on their feasts, as he stands in permanent dread of the smallest mistake during any religious ceremonies (169 d). In several cases, he applies to magicians (sorcerers) who taunt him with their purgative ceremonies and jugglery (168 c–e). He therefore hopes these methods are more efficient than medicine, leaving little wonder why he expels the doctor out of his house (168 c).²

Fear, hope, self-accusation, penance, and religious mentality—the latter of which exceeds the traditional frames of the polis-religion—play a prominent role in a special corpus of Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, namely in the Phrygian-Lyidian confession-inscriptions. These inscriptions are special due to their temporal and spatial position. The inscriptions can be dated between the first and the third century AD, and come from the rural sanctuaries of Phrygia and Lydia without exception—mostly from the Katakekaumene—and from the regions of Philadelphia, Saittai, Kollyda, and Sardis. Their style of language is apparently inelegant, a fact which may be attributed to the social status of the people who erected the steles.³ The structure of the texts is relatively uniform: transgression, punishment, confession, expiation.⁴ The dedicators committed ritual transgressions in most of the cases including perjury, consuming unclean animals, theft from sanctuaries, contempt of the divine power, violation of the ritual prescriptions, and neglect of their cultic duties. These transgressions provoke divine anger which manifests itself as disease, death, or loss of wealth in most of the cases.

In order to demonstrate the similarity of the texts, we briefly cite two inscriptions from the corpus:

² The δεισιδαίμων rejects the rational forms of problem solving, as can be read in Theophrast, as well (*Characters* 16). Plutarch mentions wisdom as a characteristic that dissolves the δεισιδαιμονία. See: Plut. *Cleomenes* 39.

³ CHANIOTIS (1995: 324); GORDON (2004: 177–182).

⁴ SCHNABEL (2003: 160–161).

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To Zeus Peizenos. Diogenes had made a vow for the ox, but he did not fulfil it; for that reason his daughter Tatiane was punished in her eyes. But now they propitiated and made the dedication.⁵

By looking at this document, the following unfolds: Diogenes had vowed that he would sacrifice an ox, but he failed to do so. Because of his failure, the god punished his daughter, after which he erected a stele containing the sin, the punishment, and the act of the expiation, i.e. the confession.

Another inscription gives an account of the case of a certain Theodoros, who commits sexual transgression in sanctuaries three times. This document is perhaps the most suggestive (and most entertaining) of the corpus, thanks in large part to the dialogue-form of the inscription. This text is a ritual conversation between the sinner, the recidivous Theodoros, and the popular oriental god, Men/Mes:

Theod.: For I have been brought by the gods to my senses, by Zeus and the Great Mes Artemidorou.

Mes: I have punished Theodoros on his eyes for his offences.

Theod.: I had sexual intercourse with Trophime, the slave of Haplokomas, the wife of Eutyichis, in the praetorium.

He (i.e. Mes) takes the first sin away with a sheep, a partridge, a mole.
(...)

Theod.: I asked for Zeus's assistance.

Mes: See! I have blinded him for his sins. But, since he has appeased the gods and has erected the stele, he has taken his sins away. Asked by the council [I respond that] I am kindly disposed, if [or when] he sets up my stele, on the day I have ordered. You may open the prison. I set the convict free after one year and ten months.⁶

⁵ TAM 5,1,509 (transl. CHANOTIS 1995: 325): Διεῖ Πειζηνῶ Διογένη[ς] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βοῦς κὲ μὴ ἀποδοῦς ἐκολάσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ θυγάτηρ Τατιανὴ ἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· νῦν οὖν εἰλασάμενοι ἀνέθηκαν.

⁶ SEG 38,1237 = BIWK 5 = HERMANN-MALAY (2007: 75–76, no.51; transl. by CHANOTIS 2009: 132–133): κατὰ τὸ ἐφρευθεις ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κὲ τοῦ Μηνὸς μεγάλου Ἀρτεμιδώρου· ἐκολασόμην τὰ ὄματα τὸν Θεόδωρον κατὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας, ἃς ἐπύησεν· συνεγενόμην τῇ πεδίσχη τοῦ Ἀπλοκόμα· τῇ Τροφίμῃ, τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ Εὐτύχηδος εἰς τὸ πλετώριν· ἀπαίρι τὴν πρώτην ἀμαρτίαν προβάτω, πέρδεικι, ἀσφάλακι· δευτέρα ἀμαρτία· (...) ἔσχα παράκλητον τὸν Δεῖαν· <εἶδαι, κατὰ τὰ πυήματα πεπηρώκιν, νῦν δὲ εἰλαζομένου αὐτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς κὲ στηλογραφουδντος ἀνερύσετον τὰς ἀμαρτίας>· ἠρωτημαίνος ὑπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου· εἰλεος εἶμαι ἀναστανομένης τῆς στήλῃν μου, ἧ ἡμέρα ὠρισα ἀνύξαις τὴν φυλακὴν, ἐξαφίω τὸν κατὰδικον διὰ ἐνιαυτοῦ κὲ μηνῶν ἑ περιπατούντων.

Theodoros recounts his vices and the purgatory acts (how the god has taken his sins away), and claims that he asked Zeus to plead for him before the court (σύγκλητον) of other gods.⁷ The above examples illustrate how sin, punishment, confession, and expiation are related on these inscriptions. The elements of the texts, viz. the name of the god, type of vice and punishment, and method of the expiation recur from time to time. Furthermore, we come across the warning not to despise the divine power and the representation of the diseased member in many cases.⁸ The language of these inscriptions is formal—a relatively uniform terminology (κολάζω, εὐλογέω, ὁμολογέω) is found on almost every inscription.

The correlation of disease and divine retribution is not a thought of recent origin, but a concept which goes back at least to Homer, to the pestilence in Book I of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, the religious mentality is a different matter, because in *Iliad*, or in archaic/classic religion, there is no trace of self-reproach or self-humiliation. When we look at the Greek inscription material, we may find a similar mentality in Asclepius-sanctuaries (Athens, Lebena, Epidaurus), where the diseased individual dedicates the inscription to the god. On a small number of steles in this corpus, we read about the incredulity of the persons, the disdain for the divine power, and the affection which is the result of the vice, just as on the propitiatory inscriptions.⁹

These texts represent a religious mentality that Plutarch would have defined as δεισιδαιμονία.¹⁰ According to Plutarch, the superstitious man sits down and blames the god, feels self-pity, laments, and tears his clothing if the slightest difficulty or grief befalls on him (168 d). Additionally:

in the estimation of the superstitious man, every indisposition of his body, loss of property, deaths of children, or mishaps and failures in public life are classed as “afflictions of God” or “attacks of an evil spirit”.¹¹

⁷ The jural aspect of this inscription was given much attendance by the scholars. Cf. PETZL (1994: 7–11); RICL (1995: 67–73).

⁸ VAN STRATEN (1981: 101–102).

⁹ CHANIOTIS (1995: 326) The relevant inscriptions are LIDONNICI (1995, no. A3, A7, A9, B2, B16, C4); VAN STRATEN (1976: 3–4); KUDLIEN (1978: 5–6).

¹⁰ PETTAZZONI (1954: 60–62); VERSNEL (2009: 34–35).

¹¹ *De sup.* 168 e: τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι καὶ σώματος ἀρρωστία πᾶσα καὶ χρημάτων ἀποβολή καὶ τέκνων θάνατοι καὶ περὶ πολιτικὰς πράξεις δυσημερίαὶ καὶ ἀποτεύξεις πλῆγαι θεοῦ καὶ προσβολαὶ δαίμονος λέγονται. (transl. by BABBITT 1928)

Superstition and Propitiation

The δεισιδαίμων moans as follows: “leave me to pay my penalty, impious wretch that I am, accursed, and hateful to the gods and all the heavenly host.” The individuals who erected these steles have a sense of guilt and feel self-pity, because they had committed a vice which violated the divine order. The superstitious man rejects the doctors (philosophers) who are about to help him, and instead of their cure, relies on the wise-women and their magical practices.¹² A similar frame of mind appears on the propitiatory inscriptions. A certain Prepusa applies for a ritual cure instead of sumptuous doctors who cannot guarantee that her child will heal.¹³

This religious mentality is so strange to the traditional Greek religion that we shall see the effects of the oriental cults on the steles at hand. In oriental religion we find the kind of religious mentality which reflects the ruler-subject relation, and in which the confession and fanatic self-reproach used to be conventional. This mentality is tangibly described by Juvenal or Ovid when they mention the cults of Magna Mater or Isis.¹⁴

Apart from oriental cults, there is no other area where the belief in the almighty gods and their efficient impact on the life of people and on the convalescence of the diseased is so intense. Therefore, it is not astonishing that the divine power is referred to by the words τύραννος and ὑπηρεσία on these inscriptions, and with other formulas which allude to the self-humiliation of the individual.¹⁵ Additionally, these gods are so powerful

¹² ἀλλ' ὠθεῖται μὲν ἔξω νοσοῦντος ὁ ἰατρός (...); viz. 168 d-e: ἂν δ' ἄριστα πράττη καὶ συνῆ πρῶος δεισιδαίμονία, περιθειόμενος οἴκοι κάθηται καὶ περιματτόμενος, αἱ δὲ γρᾶες “καθάπερ πατῆλω,” φησὶν ὁ Βίων, “ὃ τῖ ἂν τύχωσιν αὐτῷ περιάπτουσι φέρουσαι καὶ περιαρτῶσι.”

¹³ SEG 39,1276 = BIWK 62: Μηνὶ Ἀξιοττηνῶ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ· ἐπὶ {ἔπει} Πρέπουσα ἀπελευθέρη τῆς εἰρεΐας εὐξέτο ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ Φιλίμονος, εἰ ἔσται ὀλόκληρος καὶ ἰατροῖς μὴ ποσδαπανήσι, στηλλογραφήσαι, καὶ γενομένης τῆς εὐχῆς οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, νῦν ὁ θεὸς ἀπήτησε τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ ἐκόλασε τὸν πατέρα Φιλίμονα· καὶ ἀποδίδι τὴν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐλογῆ. Cf.: CHANIOTIS (1995: 331).

¹⁴ Juv. 6,511–526; Ovid. *Pont.* 1,1,51–54: „Vidi ego linigeræ numen uiolasse fatentem Isidis Isiacos ante sedere focos. Alter ob huic similem priuatus lumine culpam clamabat media se meruisse uia.” Cf. Apuleius *Met.* 8,28; Ael. *De nat. anim.* 11,17; Ovid. *Met.* 11,129–143.

¹⁵ On the inscriptions of Asia Minor and of Attica we find the divine name Men Tyrannos. See TAM 5,1,536; on confession inscriptions see TAM 5,1,255 = BIWK 53; as attribute of Zeus TAM 5,1,537. The cult of Men Tyrannos was widespread not only in this area, because the same attribute can be found in Sunion (IG II² 1365–1366 = Ditt. Syll.³ 1042 = LGS 42), in Ostia (IG XIV 913), in Rom (CIL VI 499 = ILS 4146), and in Thasos (IG XII 8,587). Cf. STEINLEITNER (1913: 77–80); BÖMER (1961: 195–207); PLEKET (1981: 177). For τύραννος, as attribute of Greek gods see: Apollon, Ares, Eros, Hades, Poseidon, Zeus. Cf. BÖMER (1961: 209–214). For

that they rule verbatim the people and the land and can make impossible things possible, because they dispose of δύναμις, which allows it. In this regard, the menial mentality of these inscriptions is even more conspicuous: the sinner feels himself as subject to the deity.¹⁶

This point of view plays a role in the description of the δεισιδαίμων by Plutarch, as well. He considers the divine power as a tyranny from which he tries to escape, but finds no asylum.¹⁷ The parallelism between these oriental inscriptions and Plutarch is even more compelling when we consider that Plutarch regards the religiousness of other, non-Greek (for example oriental) people as δεισιδαμονία.¹⁸ At the end of his work, Plutarch describes the ecstatic, self-humiliating ceremonies of the superstitious people, which invoke a rabid oriental cult containing emotional words and gestures, frenzied running, and the beating of drums, all acts of dirty sanctifications and barbarous penance.¹⁹

The superstitious man proposes that his wretched condition and his confession come to other people's knowledge, he loses face publicly, and his self-reproachment raises indignation. His behaviour resembles that of Peregrinus, another juggler of the second century AD, whom Lucian displays as follows:

Thereafter he went away a third time, to Egypt, to visit Agathobulus, where he took that wonderful course of training in asceticism, shaving one

ὕπηρεσία see: TAM 5,1,460 = BIWK 57: ἐπὶ Τροφίμῃ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Κικιννᾶδος κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰς ὑπηρεσίας χάριν μὴ βουληθούσα {βουληθεῖσα} ταχέος {ταχέως} προσελθεῖν ἐκολάσεται αὐτὴν καὶ μανῆναι ἐποίησεν·

¹⁶ The relevant inscriptions: TAM 5,1,525 = BIWK 79: Μέγας Μίς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχων καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ (the same formula can be found in BIWK 55); TAM 5,1,526 = BIWK 55: Μῆνι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντι; TAM 5,1,460 = BIWK 57: Μῆνα Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττηνὸν Κορεσα κατέχοντα.; RAMSAY (1897: 153, nr. 53) = BIWK 122: Ἀφιάς Θεοδότου εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῶ ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ πνεῖ {ποιεῖ}. Cf. BÖMER (1961: 199–200). For δύναμις see: HERMANN–MALAY (2007: nr. 71); SEG 35,1158 = BIWK 38; SEG 37,1001 = BIWK 59; SEG 38,1238; SEG 39,1275; TAM 5,1,231 = BIWK 35 etc.

¹⁷ *De sup.* 166 c–d: ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ποῦ μεταστῆ ποῦ φύγη, ποίαν γῆν ἄθεον εὖρη, ποίαν θάλατταν; εἰς τί καταδὺς τοῦ κόσμου μέρος καὶ ἀποκρύψας σεαυτόν, ὃ ταλαίπωρε, πιστεύσεις ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἀποπέφευγας; Cf. HOMMEL 1983.

¹⁸ Jews – 169 c; Syriacs – 170 d; Scythians, Gauls – 171 b.

¹⁹ *De sup.* 171 b: τῆς δεισιδαμονίας ἔργα καὶ πάθη καταγέλαστα, καὶ ῥήματα καὶ κινήματα καὶ γοητεῖα καὶ μαγεῖα καὶ περιδρομαὶ καὶ τυμπανισμοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι μὲν καθαρὸι ῥυπαροὶ δ' ἄγνεῖα, βάρβαροι δὲ καὶ παράνομοι πρὸς ἱεροῖς κολασμοὶ καὶ προπηλακισμοί.

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half of his head, daubing his face with mud, and demonstrating what they call “indifference” by erecting his yard amid a thronging mob of bystanders (...).²⁰

His attitude is akin to that of the δεισιδαίμων who sits outside his house, rolls naked in the mud, and confesses his transgressions, behaviour which arouses the pity of bystanders (168 c). The aim to call attention to the wretched situation plays a dominant role in these texts, as well. These steles are admonitory examples for other people who can see them at the entrance of the sanctuary: παραγγέλλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ. – “The stele announces to everyone not to neglect the god.”²¹ Or in another case: παραγγέλλω μηθένα ἱερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον ἔσθειν ἐπεὶ παθίτε τὰς ἐμὰς κολάσεις. – “I announce, that nobody should eat unsacrificed goat meat, because you will suffer my punishment.”²² This last example can be compared with the Plutarchean δεισιδαιμονία from another point of view. According to him, the superstitious man is in permanent fear that he shall eat or drink something illicit, something which is not permitted by the δαίμονιον, and will thus cause ritual impurity (168 c) and arouse the anger of the deity. This manifests itself as disease, death, or as other afflictions.

Another group of the Greek inscriptions, namely the *lex sacrae*, formulize religious taboos and ritual prescriptions to be performed before the sanctuary is entered, while this confession text (BIWK 123) reports the violation of a ritual instruction.²³ A few examples can be found for such ritual transgressions in this corpus: a certain Meidias loses his ability to speak by committing a similar vice, i.e. for the violation of an eating taboo.²⁴ The neglect of the ritual prescription, which provokes the divine

²⁰ LUC. *The Passing of Peregrinus* 17.

²¹ TAM 5,1,179a = BIWK 9.

²² RAMSAY 1897, 150 nr. 43 = STEINLEITNER (1911: nr. 32) = BIWK 123: [— — —] καθαρμοῖς κὲ θυσίαις εἰλασάμην τὸν Κ[ύριον] ἵνα μὴ {μοι} τὸ ἐμὸν σῶ[μα] σῶ[σ]ι κὲ ἀποκαθέστ[η]σε [τῷ ἐμ]ῷ σώματι διὸ παραγγέλλω μηθένα ἱερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον ἔσθειν ἐπεὶ παθίτε τὰς ἐμὰς {ἐμὰς} κολάσεις. Cf. CHANIOTIS (2009: 142).

²³ PARKER (1983: 357–366). A *lex sacra* from Smyrna announces the same attribute in relation to meat: SEG 14,752 = LSAM 84: “μηδ’ ἄθυτοῖς θυσίαις ἱερῶν ἐπὶ χίρας ἰά[λειν].” Cf. HERMANN–POLATKAN (1969: 61); GORDON (2004: 194).

²⁴ HERMANN–POLATKAN (1969: nr. 15) = BIWK 1: Μείδων Μενάνδρου κρατῆρα ἐπόει ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τρωσίου καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄθυτα ἐφάγασαν καὶ ἀπεμάκκωσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς καὶ παρεστάθη αὐτῷ εἰς τοὺς ὕπνους, ἵνα στήλην στήσας ἐπιγράψῃ ἃ ἐπέοσχεν καὶ ἤρξατο τότε λαλεῖν.

anger and causes retribution, is the *δεισιδαιμονία*: this religious mentality originates from excess and humiliates the individual.

The confession inscriptions are examples of the religiosity of the Phrygian-Lyidian rural popularity, enabling the analysis of this religious mentality which is independent of the religiosity of the political – intellectual elite of the urban centre. According to Plutarch, this religious mentality, self-reproach, and permanent sense of guilt is *δεισιδαιμονία*, which humiliates the individual and places the person out of the ritual community (166 a). The behaviour of the superstitious man is deviant, odd, socially not admissible, and the *δεισιδαίμων* locks himself out of the community, because his behaviour is the very opposite of the extant ritual, cultic prescriptions (*τὰ πατριά*).²⁵ It is no wonder that Plutarch sets the positive religiousness between atheism and superstition, considering the *εὐσεβεία* as moderate piety without excesses (171 f).

But this concept is not valid for the dedicators of these steles, because they represent a socially acceptable religious mentality which has nothing to do with excess, mockery, or disdain. It seems that it was quite widespread in this area, insofar as it is shown by these confession texts. These rural religious communities practice self-reproach, confession of the transgressions as an established custom in order to restore the relationship between god and men. These individuals committed vice in reality, unlike the *δεισιδαίμων*, who believes that he transgressed, but realistically did nothing with which he could have provoked divine anger.

Lucian presents a suggestive example of this ecstatic, superstitious religious mentality in his *Alexander*, where he describes the pathological religiousness of a certain Rutillianus. This Roman magistrate humiliates and prostrates himself in front of the gods and stones, considers everything as divine omen and portent, thus revealing his religious mind as full of excess. No wonder that he trusts himself to Alexander, the most successful juggler of his age.²⁶

During the writing of the *δεισιδαίμων*-portrait, this well-known religious mentality may have been before Plutarch's eyes—his superstitious man shows a similar attitude as the dedicator of the confession stele (or Rutillianus). The fear of the divine retribution vexes

²⁵ Zaidman–Pantel (1992: 13–14); Rüpke (2011: 10). Cf. *πάτριον ἀξίωμα τῆς εὐσεβείας* by Plut. (*De sup.* 166 b).

²⁶ Luc. *Alexander* 30: Ῥουτιλιανός, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τάξεσι Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἐξήτασμένος, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάνυ νοσῶν καὶ ἀλλόκοτα περὶ αὐτῶν πεπιστευκῶς, εἰ μόνον ἀγλημμένον που λίθον ἢ ἐστεφανωμένον θεάσαιτο, προσπίπτων εὐθὺς καὶ προσκυνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρεστῶς καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ τάγαθὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ αἰτῶν.

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not only the δεισιδαίμων, but also the person who feels compelled to appease the god under the watchful eyes of the community. We find both fellows in the same milieu in which everything is appointed, governed, and overseen by the gods and by the crowd of the daimons, and by the ritual instructions concerning their cult (cf. 167 a). Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that due to their religious neurosis and the racking dismay of the divine, both persons react in an excessive way. One of them sits in sackcloth and ashes on the street, loses face publicly, escapes from the gods, practises permanent purgatory rites, observes narrowly to the sacrifice prescriptions, and prays to the gods with quivering hands. The other emphasizes his own vice and guilt, and the power of the divine. They both attest to a close relationship of fear and hope regarding the gods, as mentioned in the introduction.

Despite the distinctions which exist between these two religious historical corpora, we can establish one common thing regarding the Plutarchean δεισιδαίμων and the dedicator of the confession stele: that both originate from the first and second century AD, from an age of anxiety which was not devoid of the amalgamation of the oriental, Greek, and also Christian cults, emotional religiousness and the jugglery of the „holy men” of this period.²⁷

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²⁷ Cf. ANDERSON 1994 and DODDS 1965.

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PART FIVE

LATE ANTIQUITY AND RECEPTION

GREEK AND COPTIC IN THE LATE ANTIQUE CHRISTIAN MAGICAL TRADITION*

ÁGNES MIHÁLYKÓ

This paper explores the formation and characteristics of the Christian magical tradition in late antique – early medieval Egypt based on observations from the texts preserved on papyrus, parchment, paper, and *ostraca*. First, this paper gives some general considerations on the nature of this tradition and its Christian elements. Then, it details the differences between the Greek and Coptic branch. These differences are considerable, the borders are quite neat, and bilingualism in the texts is rare compared to bilingualism in the pagan magical handbooks, liturgy, or everyday life. The reasons for these divergences are not clear. In the final part, some hypotheses concerning the reasons are offered for further consideration.

In late antique Egypt, as elsewhere in the ancient world and during the Middle Ages, there were certain problems—illnesses or love sickness, danger or concurrence—for which sets of solutions were offered in such practices that a modern man would term “magical”.¹ These sets of solutions formed traditions, which varied according to time, place and religion, and prescribed who should invoke which supernatural beings,

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¹ The terms “magical” and “magic” have been a matter of discussion for the past century, a debate which I will not detail here. A convenient summary can be found in TRZIONKA (2007: 5–23). Although the word has been rejected by several researchers, I use the term “magical” for the texts I am dealing with and for the practices they represent. The borders between magical texts and other genres (such as medical or liturgical) are far from clear. In considering a text magical, in the case of the Greek text, I have utilized the identifications as “certain” or “probable” amulets or formularies in the list of DE BRUYN–DIJKSTRA (2011) and for the Coptic ones the identification as “magical” by the editors or the inclusion in the collection by MEYER–SMITH (1994). Papyri published in papyrological series or corpora will be cited according to the Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraka and Tablets as available at http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html (2013. 12. 14).

how, and with which words. This tradition included entire texts or images, but, as the variety of the extant texts indicates, often only elements – names, formulas, instructions – were transmitted and the practitioner made use of them in creating his own mixture depending on the particular situation.² Traces of these practices have reached us in several forms such as gems, *defixiones* and amulets on metal strips or on papyri, inscriptions, hints in literary texts, and more. However, texts preserved on papyri, parchment, paper, and *ostraca* are important sources to these practices, and they provide researchers with a considerable amount of information due to their large number. This study will therefore be limited to their analysis.³

In late antique Egypt, three such traditions played an important role: Greco-Egyptian, Jewish and Christian. Of course, they cannot be distinctly separated. Cross-fertilization and mutual borrowing can be observed in the texts, sometimes to such an extent that certain texts or objects cannot be attributed to one of them with certainty.

Of the three traditions mentioned above, the Christian tradition came last. When Egyptian society gradually became Christian in the 4–5th centuries AD, people demanded Christian solutions to their problems. The Church could not neglect these demands, and its' believers could turn to specialists of other religions if they could not find the desired help in their

² The activity of one such practitioner can be seen in two curse texts: MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 100 and 101 contain the same phrases and motifs, and were written by the same hand, but both were adjusted to the special needs, and maybe means of the customers. This can also be observed in the tradition of the letter of Abgar, king of Edessa to Jesus, and Jesus' reply. Even though they were believed to be originals, and great authority was attributed to them, it did not disturb the users in meddling with the texts, in adding or changing phrases, see the editorial notes to P.Oxy. LXV 4469. Sometimes copying can be proved (for example in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P21 (c.300), judging by its peculiar mistakes, which can be explained only with copying), or compilation was employed (for example MEYER (1996)). However, the magical tradition lacks such texts that appear in different languages and different centuries unchanged, as liturgical texts do, compare for example QUECKE (1970: 221–22).

³ In the framework of the present study I primarily use already edited texts, and my observations are based mainly on the publications, I have not had the possibility to see the originals. For the Greek texts, I use those to be found in the aforementioned list DE BRUYN–DIJKSTRA (2011). For the Coptic ones, I use the collection by MEYER–SMITH (1994), together with other *corpora*: BELTZ (1983; 1984; 1985), STEGEMANN (1934), KROPP (1930–1931), P.Baden V, and some other texts found in sporadic editions. References to the texts have been collected under <http://www.trismegistos.org/magic> 2013. 12. 14. Altogether, I use approximately 130 Greek and 150 Coptic texts, but the actual corpus might be larger in numbers.

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own community. As a response to these demands, the Christian magical tradition was soon formed. However, it was not uniform – two main branches can be identified, which predominantly used different languages: Greek and Coptic. This article investigates the formation of the Christian magic tradition, and explores the difference between its two main branches.

When observing the formation of a magical tradition, two questions can be raised: where did the applied elements originate from, and how were they selected.⁴ The Christian magical tradition obviously continued techniques inherited from its predecessors. From the Greco-Egyptian practice, neutral elements were borrowed such as the list of different fever types in amulets⁵ or *voces magicae*. Additional references to pagan gods survived, either as *voces magicae*,⁶ or even as parts of *historioliae*.⁷ Though Greco-Egyptian elements are far more numerous in Coptic texts than in Greek ones, a thorough evaluation and comparison has not been done yet.

Jewish elements are more difficult to identify. As the main source of Jewish magical tradition, the Old Testament is also a sacred book for Christians, and elements from this part of the Bible could either be independent inventions or borrowings. Only in a few cases can dependence be stated with certainty, for example the Jewish names of God (Ἰαῶ, Σαβαώθ, Ἄδωνάι, Ἐλοί), which are also prominent in the Greco-Egyptian tradition, but have their origins in the Jewish tradition.⁸ The popularity of *Ps* 90 as an apotropaic text⁹ can also be tracked back to its Jewish use.¹⁰ “Gnosticism” is sure to have been a source of inspiration, but

⁴ Unfortunately, another interesting question concerning the diachronic aspects of the formation can hardly be answered, due in large part to the difficulties in dating the texts deriving from the lack of reliable Coptic paleography. However, I included the dates given by the editors in brackets after each text, which can offer a general overview.

⁵ For example *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P5b (5th cent.), for such formulas see DE HARO SANCHEZ (2010).

⁶ For example in *Pap.Graec.Mag* P2 (6th cent.), 3 (4–5th cent.), 6a (5–6th cent.), but they could be found even as late as in the 11th century, see P.Heid.Inv.Kopt. 407 line 12 (inedited, <http://zaw-papy.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de> 2013. 12. 15).

⁷ For example MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 43, 47, 48, 49.

⁸ BOHAK (2008: 196–201).

⁹ See discussion and attestations in KRAUS (2007). Psalms are cited according to the Septuagint numbering.

¹⁰ BOHAK (2008: 309).

a thorough evaluation would face considerable difficulties, and will not be attempted here.¹¹

In spite of the multiple borrowings, the largest part of the Christian tradition was made up of elements belonging to different areas of the Christianity, especially as these elements could mark this tradition as distinct and in line with the religion of the users. These elements could come from the Bible, liturgy, theology, the cult of the saints or the apocryphal tradition. For many elements, more than one source is possible, most notably the attribution of Mary as *Theotokos*,¹² which has its source in theology, but was known to ordinary people predominantly from liturgy. The role of the liturgical language in the formation of the Christian magical tradition cannot be underestimated, as both types of texts had the same goal: communication with the supernatural. Sometimes, it is even difficult to distinguish a magical text from a personal prayer,¹³ and liturgical texts could have had additional use as amulets.¹⁴

Not all elements that came from these Christian sources were accepted as parts of the tradition. It is true that the accidental survival of papyri, and the fact that Greek ones are more thoroughly edited and collected, can affect the statements. Nevertheless, it can be observed even in the surviving and published material that certain elements acquired far greater popularity than others. For example, while among certain and probable Greek Biblical amulets (23 pieces with 50 verses from the Bible), thirteen cite the *Ps* 90, seven the beginning of the Gospel of John (with some of them citing also the other Gospels), and six the Lord's Prayer (which is, however, not so much a Scriptural quotation as the most important Christian prayer), while other Bible verses have a maximum of two attestations.¹⁵ It is therefore safe to claim that Psalm 90 and the beginning of the Gospels, especially that of John, were parts of the Christian magical tradition,¹⁶ while other Biblical texts were used only occasionally, and never became popular.

¹¹ The analysis of KROPP (1930–1931: Vol. III: 19–39) clearly needs revision.

¹² In P.Köln VIII 340 (6–7th cent.), *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P6d (6th cent.), P12 (7th cent.), P15b (5–6th cent.), P18 (5–6th cent.), P23 (7th cent.), P.Bon. I 9 (4–5th cent.).

¹³ Compare DE BRUYN–DIJKSTRA (2011: 151–163).

¹⁴ For example WESSELY (1985²: 435, litany to the Blood of Christ, 5th cent.), P.Ryl. III 465 (anaphora, prayer for the departed, 6th cent.), P.Ryl. III 371 (baptismal formula, 5th cent.).

¹⁵ Compare DE BRUYN–DIJKSTRA (2011: 184–215).

¹⁶ These also have parallels from other magical traditions. The *Ps* 90 was very popular in Eastern Christianity as well (KRAUS (2007: 509)), while the Gospel of John had a prominent role in Western Christian magical tradition (BOZOKY (2003: 338

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The formation of the tradition involved a further process of experimenting and selection. Reasons for this selection are not always clear for the modern observer, and it is especially hard to explain the exclusion of elements that could have made sense. For example, the Greek acclamation *kyrie eleison*, one of the favourites in the Coptic liturgy,¹⁷ figures in only one text,¹⁸ while *Mt* 4:23–24, which summarizes Jesus' healing activity in a comfortable way, is attested only twice.¹⁹ Elements of the texts were selected according to the tradition, and only partially to the personal invention of the practitioners or the needs of the client.

This selection, however, had different patterns in the Greek and Coptic texts. In fact, texts written in these two languages are divergent to such an extent that identifying a Greek and Coptic branch of the Christian magical tradition in Egypt can be justified.

These divergences can be summarized in six main points:

1. The Greek and Coptic texts agree that one should turn to the Father or to Jesus out of necessity, but the forms of invocation were different, even if common ones can be found as well, such as ΑΩ for Jesus.²⁰ In other cases, other patterns emerge. Coptic texts preferred calling God by his Jewish names (Ιαώ, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδοναί, Ἐλοι).²¹ Moreover, Coptic texts knew many secret names for the Father and the Son, and they listed details of God's court or of His deeds²² that neither the Bible nor the extant apocryphal literature recognizes. Most of these details are unique in the texts, with only a few gaining popularity, such as *Orpha*, the name of God's body, or *Orphamiel*, his finger.²³ Greek texts usually do not contain such details or secret names; they are satisfied with God's liturgical or biblical invocations.

63)). In Coptic texts only *Ps* 90 and the beginnings of the four Gospels figure, the Lord's Prayer is dropped.

¹⁷ 41 times in every hour of the divine office: see BURMESTER (1967: 99–106).

¹⁸ *Suppl. Mag.* II 61 (6th cent.), but the usual form is not even here.

¹⁹ *Pap. Graec. Mag.* P4 (6th cent.), BKT 6.7.1 (6–7th cent.).

²⁰ With eight Coptic (MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 61 (6–7th cent.), 64, 89 (c. 7th cent.), 91, BELTZ (1976) No. 2, STEGEMANN (1934) No. xl (11th cent.?), MEYER (1996, 11th cent.), P.Baden V. 132 (10–11th cent.?)), and eight Greek (*Pap. Graec. Mag.* P3 (4–5th cent.), P5a (4th cent.), P11, P15b (5–6th cent.), *Suppl. Mag.* I 22 (4–5th cent.), 27 (5th cent.), MEYER–SMITH (1994) No. 9 (6–7th cent.), P.Oxy. LXV 4496 (5th cent.)) attestations.

²¹ There are 8 attestations from Greek texts compared to the 28 from Coptic ones.

²² The most detailed descriptions are in MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 62 (10th cent.?), 71, 135 (late 10th cent.), and MEYER (1996: sections 14–15, 11th cent.).

²³ Both can be found in MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 62 (10th cent.), 71, 132 (7th cent.), MEYER (1996, 11th cent.), only Orphamiel in MEYER–SMITH (1994) No. 114.

2. The divergence is clearer in the case of the other invoked supernatural beings. While Greek texts give preference to the saints, Coptic texts call upon figures from the Old Testament, apocalyptic beings, and angels. A particular group can be identified among them, which can be described as “numbers and potencies”,²⁴ for example the three young men in the fiery furnace (*Dan.* 3:3), the four beings besides the throne of God (*Ap.* 4:4), the seven archangels, the twenty-four elders (*Ap.* 4:4),²⁵ and the forty martyrs of Sebaste.²⁶ They are often enumerated with their names. Some had fixed numbers and names, particularly those of the Bible, such as the three young men.²⁷ In other cases, especially if the names stemmed from an apocryphal tradition, these lists could vary to a great extent, even within a single text.²⁸ Sometimes even the number attached to the potency is not fixed. In these texts, seven archangels are usually mentioned, but can appear as three, four, eight, nine, or even as many as 21.²⁹ Greek texts, on the other hand, are influenced by the cult of saints, while some texts even express an intimate relationship with them. Ioannina, who suffered from fever, called upon her hometown’s patron saints³⁰; the writer of another amulet named himself as the servant of the saints Cosmas and Damian,

²⁴ Many of these figures, together with the numbers attached to them, are also part of the final blessing of the Coptic divine liturgy (BURMESTER (1967: 322)).

²⁵ They had two sets of names, one beginning with the letters of the Greek alphabet (see discussion and parallels in LAJTAR (2006)), the other usually begins with *Beth Betha*, and is discussed in KROPP (1930–31, Vol. III: 131–132). They were labeled as particularly powerful by MEYER–SMITH (1994): Nos. 69. and 127.

²⁶ See list of attestations in GALLAZZI (1988).

²⁷ The three young men of Babylon had, for example, besides their three Babylonian and Hebrew names from *Dan.* 3, also a set of fixed magical names. They figure in 14 texts: MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 51 (11th cent.), 53 (10th cent.), 63 (8–9th cent.), 64, 91, MEYER (1996: section 18, 11th cent.), STEGEMANN (1934) Nos. xv (10–11th cent.), xxiv (only the Hebrew names, 9–10th cent.), xviii (10–11th cent.), P.HermitageCopt 65, TILL (1942: 101), KROPP (1930–31, Vol. II, No. xvi), an unedited amulet from the Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer of Vienna (P.Rainer Inv. K 5859, 11th cent.), another unedited piece from Heidelberg (P.Heid.Inv.Kopt. 407, 11th cent.). They are also prominent figures of the liturgy, and had a wide-spread and popular cult in Egypt (PAPACONSTANTINOU (2001: 198–200)).

²⁸ Such is the case with the archangels in MEYER (1996) lines 7, 1–2 and 10, 24–25.

²⁹ KROPP (1930–31, Vol. III: 72). The archangels are also present in six Greek texts (besides 23 Coptic ones): *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P5b (5th cent.), P15a (6th cent.), P15b (5–6th cent.), P21 (3–4th cent.), *Suppl. Mag.* I 29 (5–6th cent.), 32 (5–6th cent.), but only three of them invoke them by their names.

³⁰ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P5b, compare PAPACONSTANTINOU (2001: 108–109; 115; 188; 204).

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and asked for medical advice.³¹ But individual saints did not enter the tradition, everyone recurred to local saints. None of them turn up more than twice, except for the Virgin Mary. She is the only saint who is common in the texts of both languages, but even she has a substantially different role. While in the Greek texts she is invoked for intercession or help,³² in the Coptic branch the ritualist identifies himself with her,³³ puts her in *historiolae*³⁴ and knows her secret names.³⁵

3. The Coptic texts generally use more apocryphal elements and recognize more secret names than their Greek counterparts, which usually adhere to the Bible and liturgy. Moreover, it is also remarkable that the Coptic texts often refer to names and facts not known from any other texts, while the Greek texts limit themselves to the Bible and a few known apocryphal traditions, such as the *Testamentum Solomonis*,³⁶ or the aforementioned correspondence of Abgar, king of Edessa, with Jesus. However, it must be noted that the approach of the Coptic Church and the late antique churches in general was different than today; the boundaries between canonical and apocryphal ideas were still in shift. For example, Pope Gelasius deemed invalid the correspondence between Abgar and Jesus in 494, but this act does not seem to have deterred beliefs in its effectiveness.³⁷

4. The use of the Scripture differs considerably in both languages. Compared to the 91 Greek amulets, only 15 Coptic and one bilingual piece survived. These almost exclusively contain the most beloved apotropaic texts: *Ps* 90³⁸ and the first verses of the Gospels.³⁹ Our Father, on the other

³¹ P.Amst. I 22 (6–7th cent.).

³² See discussion of her role in the Greek branch in DE BRUYN (2012).

³³ As in the tradition of the *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos*, a powerful prayer attributed to Mary, when she freed the Apostle Mathias from prison in an apocryphal narrative, used in several different redactions, described in MEYER (1996) and MEYER (2002).

³⁴ In the only Christian *historiola* of love charms of late antique – early medieval Egypt, which employed the Annunciation in this role, as in MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 73 (11th cent.), 78 (6–7th cent.?) and STEGEMANN (1934) No. i (7–8th cent.).

³⁵ In MEYER–SMITH (1994) No. 45 (10th cent.).

³⁶ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 10 (6th cent.) and *Suppl. Mag.* I 24 (5th cent.), for the Testament see JOHNSTON (2002).

³⁷ SULLIVAN–WILFONG (2005: 108).

³⁸ MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 62. (10th cent.?), 134 (together with the beginnings of the four Gospel), DELATTRE (2006, 6–8th cent.), QUECKE (1979), STEGEMANN (1938: 84, 8th cent.).

³⁹ CRUM (1922) No. 4 (7th cent.), BROWNE (1979) No. 12 (7–8th cent.), P.MoscowCopt 36 (7–8th cent.), MEYER–SMITH (1994) Nos. 62 (10th cent.), 134, P.Ryl.Copt. 104.

hand, is missing from the Coptic tradition. However, here it has to be noted that Coptic texts tend to be published less often and have not been collected into a list of certain, possible and probable amulets like Greek texts. It is possible that this affirmation can be questioned by a more thorough collection of sources.

5. A very particular difference can be noted in the use of the biblical-liturgical formula “servant” or “handmaid of God”, almost exclusively in the Greek texts.⁴⁰ It is strange, since the Coptic Church also uses this formula in her liturgy.⁴¹

6. Finally, it is worth highlighting that Coptic texts show a far greater variety of genres than their Greek counterparts. In the Greek texts there are only apotropaic and healing charms and a few prayers for justice. In Coptic however, curses, erotic charms, demonic invocations or charms for a good singing voice were also available.

These differences clearly show that two distinct branches of Christian magical tradition were present in the late antique Egypt. The differences are far more numerous than the similarities. Besides the aforementioned names for the Father and the Son (common to both branches), or the natural application of Amen, only the relative popularity of the story of the healing of Peter’s mother-in-law with fever amulets⁴²—as opposed to other healing stories and occasional citations from liturgy⁴³—can be mentioned. The branches also clearly represent a linguistic dichotomy. Only a few texts in one language (especially Coptic texts) show characteristics of the other branch. Even less, only six are bilingual,⁴⁴ which is remarkable if we take into consideration the bilingual texts of the

⁴⁰ In nine Greek texts: *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P5a (4th cent.), P5b (5th cent.), P5c (5th cent.), P6b (4–5th cent.), P6d (6th cent.), P9 (6th cent.), *Suppl. Mag.* I 24 (5th cent.), 31 (5–6th cent.) and BKT 6.7.1 (6–7th cent.) against three Coptic ones: MEYER–SMITH (1994) No. 134, P.MoscowCopt. 36 (8–9th cent.), P.Baden V 132 (10–11th cent.?).

⁴¹ See in BURMESTER (1967: *passim*).

⁴² In five texts, three Greek: *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P18 (5–6th cent.), *Suppl. Mag.* I 31 (5–6th cent.) and maybe P.Mon.Epiph. 591 (6–7th cent.), and two Coptic: P.MoscowCopt 36 (7–8th cent.) and KROPP (1930–31, Vol. II, No. xv).

⁴³ As of course Amen, or, to a lesser extent the Εἰς Πατῆρ acclamation, the *Sanctus*, the Doxology, the “forever and ever, world without end” ending and the *Trisagion*. However, none of them (except for Amen) entered clearly the tradition; they are rather occasional liturgical interferences, with up to six attestations.

⁴⁴ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P21 (ca. 300), MPER N.S. XVIII 196 (4th cent.), P. Oxy. LXV 4469. (5th cent.), MEYER–SMITH (1994) No. 118 (7th cent.?), STEGEMANN (1934) Nos. xxiv (9–10th cent.), xvi (10–11th cent.).

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Theban magical library,⁴⁵ the bilingualism of everyday society,⁴⁶ and the fact that Egyptian liturgy was bilingual from the beginning⁴⁷ (or at least from an early period), and so it remains up to now.⁴⁸

What is the reason for this dichotomy?⁴⁹ The question cannot be answered with certainty. Since Coptic texts lack precise dating, a hypothesis that they represent a later stage of the same tradition cannot be excluded.⁵⁰ Some other hypotheses can be formed, as well. In some cases, the idea that texts lose their powers through translation⁵¹ resulted in retaining certain texts in their original language. Such is the case of the amulets containing Biblical verses, or of P. Oxy. LXV 4469 (5th cent.), where in the Greek text of Abgar's letter, the client's name and personal request for healing was inserted in Coptic. This idea, and the continuing liturgical use, can also account for Greek texts from as late as the 11th century.⁵² On the other hand, the social context of the texts must also have had its effect on them. The practitioners' role could have been particularly important, as it can be supposed from the fact that in the two languages different genres of texts were written. On the other hand, (Greek) language capacities of the scribes were not decisive, and many texts have poor orthography with clear Copticisms. Another suggestion might be that

⁴⁵ On bilingualism in the Theban magical library, see the excellent analysis of DIELEMAN (2005).

⁴⁶ Bilingualism in Egypt has been the topic of many studies recently, see, for example CLACKSON (2010).

⁴⁷ QUECKE (1970: 131).

⁴⁸ Compare BURMESTER (1967: *passim*).

⁴⁹ This has already been asked by DE BRUYN (2012: 61): "If one accepts that practices are shaped and informed by the social and cultural milieux in which they are enacted, one must ask how the milieux of the Greek we have been considering related to the milieux of these Coptic spells that identify with Mary in the first person. We are confronting "lived religion" filtered through different but related textual and linguistic traditions. What can we infer from these texts about the social and cultural situations of the people who prepared or enacted them, and how can we account for the variations at a given time or over a period of time?"

⁵⁰ It is partly also true, as we have a large number of Coptic texts up to the 11th century, while Greek ones end in the 7–8th cent. However, if we accept that practices form traditions, at least traces of the later developments would be expected in the earlier, in this case the Greek texts, but that does not seem to be the case.

⁵¹ See DIELEMANN (2005: 1–5) for a discussion of views on translating powerful texts in Late Antique Egypt.

⁵² PINTAUDI (2001).

Coptic texts continue mainly Egyptian practices,⁵³ and thus also their primary language, while other texts closer to liturgy, which was predominantly, though not exclusively, Greek in this period,⁵⁴ might employ Greek under its influence. The question as to why the two hypotheses are different remains open, and to prove or falsify these hypotheses would require much work on continuity and change and the social context of Christian magic. This research however, could tell us a lot about people's beliefs and how they "lived religion" in late antique Egypt.

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⁵³ Such as identifying oneself with a divine power in the *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos* tradition, or the enumeration of details of God's court or deeds. Both of these techniques formed part of an Egyptian priest's repertoire of ensuring the power of an invocation, see DIELEMAN (2005: 153–154).

⁵⁴ See the short discussion in BUDDE (2004: 70–71).

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF A LITERARY
(SUB-)GENRE: THE CASE OF THE LATE
ANTIQUÉ *TITULI HISTORiarum* –
WITH A COMMENTARY ON RUSTICUS
HELPIDIUS' *TRISTICHA* V AND VI

FRANCESCO LUBIAN

In this paper I offer a brief presentation of the poetic (sub-)genre of the Late Antique *tituli historiarum* with biblical themes, and provide an operative example of commentary. Without ignoring the testimonies on the interaction between images and texts in the Late Antique “scopic regime”, my analysis aims to investigate how the *tituli* “construct” their pictorial referent, creating the conditions of a cooperative interpretation that leads to visualization. After having presented in some detail Rusticus Helpidius and his *Tristicha*, I provide a brief commentary to the *tituli* V and VI, dedicated respectively to Noah’s ark and Peter’s vision at Joppa. The textual analysis reveals profound ties to classical poetry, as well as to contemporary catechetical works, with particular focus on the theme of the unity of the Church. An iconographic investigation will show punctual parallels with the palaeo-Christian representations of the same episodes, and may suggest further evidence of the Ravennate roots of Helpidius’ work.

1. Towards the end of the 4th century A.D., Western Christian art overcame its symbolic, “signitive” origins and developed—in a manner similar to the Roman artistic tradition¹—a pronounced narrative character. Thus, churches began to be decorated with pictorial cycles dedicated to biblical episodes,² whose association and linear succession provided a visual representation of the development of God’s redemptive activity within human history.

We are certain that, at least in some occasions, written inscriptions, or *tituli*, accompanied such depictions. Paulinus of Nole’s *Carmen* 27 (403 A.D.), attests to this, for instance, where the bishop affirms that the

¹ VON BLANCKENHAGEN (1957); BRILLIANT (1984: 53–165); KESSLER (2007: 114–116).

² MONFRIN (1985); KESSLER (1985); VAN DAEL (1999).

pictorial cycle dedicated to the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua of Cimitile's *basilica noua* (vv. 516–518: *Omnia namque tenet serie pictura fideli, / Quae senior scripsit per quinque uolumina Moyses, / Quae gessit domini signatus nomine Iesus*) was accompanied by *tituli* (584–585: *Quae [scil.: pictura] super exprimitur titulis, ut littera monstret / Quod manus explicuit*). Another fifth-century testimony of the presence of *uersus in parietibus* is that of Augustine's *Sermo* 319 (ca. 425 A.D.). There, the bishop refers to a quatrain composed for the Protomartyr Stephen (7: *Legite quatuor uersus quos in cella scripsimus, legite, tenete, in corde habete*) inscribed in the apsidal conch (*camera*) of the *memoria* dedicated to the Saint. Such quatrain, in my view, could well have accompanied the *dulcissima pictura* of Stephen's martyrdom, attested to in Hippo's cathedral in the same years.³ Sidonius Apollinaris' *Epistula* 2,10 (469–470 A.D.) also states that the nave walls of the church of St. Stephen on the Saône were "illuminated" by the verses composed by Constantius and Secundinus (2,10,4: *Namque ab hexametris eminentium poetarum Constantii et Secundini uicinantia altari basilicae latera clarescunt*), which were likely intended to accompany a fresco cycle. Finally, the epitaph of Ennodius of Pavia († 521) celebrates his edificatory activity and the poetic vein devoted to the decoration of liturgical buildings, ending with the verses: *Templa deo faciens omnis decorauit et auro, / Et paries functi docmata nunc loquitur* (*CIL* V, 2, 6464 = *CLE* 1368, 17–18), attesting that the walls still repeat his teachings.

2. Aside from their monumental-decorative role, pictures were invested with an instructional function,⁴ similar to verbal forms of catechesis.⁵ However, when we consider the role of pictorial narrative in the construction of an "average catechetical horizon" in post-Constantinian basilicas, we must appreciate that the images alone did not achieve their didactic aim. Rather, such cycles were often accompanied by *tituli*, whose purpose was to guide and direct the viewer's (virtually unlimited) freedom of interpretation.⁶ Although neglected by scholars until recently, H. L.

³ Aug. *serm.* 316,5: *Dulcissima pictura est haec, ubi uidetis sanctum Stephanum lapidari, uidetis Saulum lapidantium uestimenta seruantem.*

⁴ On the catechetical function of Christian art, at least since the middle of the 4th c., cf. RICHÉ (1984: 336–338); QUACQUARELLI (1989); MURRAY (1993); CANTINO WATAGHIN (2011: 28–29).

⁵ BAL (1989: 291): "Images are readings, and [...] function in the same way as sermons: not a retelling of the text but a use of it; not an illustration but, ultimately, a new text. The image does not replace a text; it *is* one."

⁶ KESSLER (2009: 39).

The Construction of a Literary (Sub-)Genre

Kessler suggests that the *tituli* should be recognized as an important part of the decorative system of Late Antique buildings of worship.⁷

3. A peculiar category within the broader group of Christian inscriptional *tituli* is the so-called *tituli historiarum*, dedicated to the description of pictured narratives with biblical themes. Considering the Roman West between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 6th centuries, and limiting our analysis to the cycles of manuscript-transmitted *tituli historiarum* with biblical subjects, we possess four works of this kind: Ambrose's *Disticha*, the *Miracula Christi* falsely attributed to Claudian (*carm. min. app.* 21 = A.L. 879 R.²), Prudentius' *Dittochaeon*, and Rusticus Helpidius' *Tristicha*.

It is still debated whether the *tituli historiarum* described already-existing frescoes and mosaics, or if they were, rather, intended for future representations. In the absence of any extra-textual proof, or even testimony regarding their epigraphic nature, I think that these *tituli* may fit J. Hollander's definition of "notional *ékphrasis*."⁸ In other words, leaving aside the question concerning their relationship with "real" iconographies, it is more productive to investigate *how* the *tituli historiarum* "construct"⁹ their pictorial referent. Even if they were not associated with images, the *tituli* themselves, with their stylistic features, propelled the readers to a form of hermeneutic cooperation that led to visualization.¹⁰ In this sense, palaeo-Christian iconography remains a fundamental tool for our research, not as a way to (implausibly) associate every *titulus* to a precise iconographic scheme, but rather as an instrument to reconstruct the visual culture in which the *tituli* were composed and perceived.

4. Rusticus Helpidius' *Tristicha historiarum Testamenti veteris et novi* consist of 24 *tituli* of three hexameters each. Helpidius' main innovation resides in the typological juxtaposition of eight couples of epigrams, dedicated to related episodes that are taken from the Old and New Testaments (I–XVI). The last eight tristichs, instead, are dedicated entirely to Gospel episodes (XVII–XXIV).

The *Tristicha* were first published by G. Fabricius in 1564, together with Helpidius' other poem entitled *Carmen de Christi Iesu beneficiis*. In his commentary, Fabricius asserted that he had used a manuscript of J.

⁷ KESSLER (2009: 25): "The recent preoccupation with art's storytelling capacities, my own included, has tended to ignore the function of captions that almost always accompany pictured narratives and the complex issues those raise for reading history paintings".

⁸ HOLLANDER (1988); COMETA (2012: 48–62).

⁹ ANGEHRN (1995).

¹⁰ ISER (1974); ECO (1995²: 325–328); COMETA (2012: 116–142).

Hartung, sent to him by his publisher J. Oporinus.¹¹ After his edition, however, the manuscript was lost; all subsequent editions, therefore, relied on Fabricius' text.¹² At least one other manuscript contained the *Tristicha*, however: 21 of the 24 *tituli* must have also appeared in the *uenerandus codex Bertinianus*, a 9th century manuscript from the Abbey of St. Bertin (Saint-Omer) containing Alcuin of York's poems. The *Codex Bertinianus* is also now lost, but, thanks to J. Sirmondus, it was used by A. Duchesne (Quercetanus) for the first edition of Alcuin's collected works, which contained the 21 *Tristicha*.¹³ The *tituli* also appeared in F. Forester's two-volume edition of Alcuin's work.¹⁴ In this redaction, the epigrams are arranged in a different order (only three couples are typologically associated),¹⁵ and many readings are evidently unacceptable. According to A. Arnulf, it seems that the copyist has tried to fill the numerous lacunae of a defective antigraph, perhaps a damaged epigraphic sylloge.¹⁶

5. The identification of Rusticus Helpidius is still discussed: the *inscriptio* of the *editio princeps*, evidently based on the manuscript, introduces him as *uir clarissimus et inlustris exquaestor*.¹⁷ In the commentary, Fabricius adds that he was the king's physician at the court of Theodoric and a friend to Symmachus and Boethius.¹⁸ Since the middle of the 19th century, scholars have suggested other possibilities¹⁹ but, in

¹¹ FABRICIUS (1564: 117): *Extant eiusdem tristicha Historiarum testamenti ueteris & noui. Item de Christi Iesu beneficiis carmen elegans, quod uir eruditissimus Ioannes Hartungus, precibus & rogatu Ioannis Oporini, uiri officiosissimi, ad nos misit.*

¹² As I started my work, the existing editions by GROEN (1942) and CORSARO (1955) were, in some passages, not completely satisfactory. Meanwhile, a new edition of Helpidius Rusticus' corpus has been published by the Italian scholar, ANITA DI STEFANO. For the text of the *Tristicha*, one should now therefore refer to DI STEFANO (2013: 88–99).

¹³ DUCHESNE (1617: cols. 1684–1685).

¹⁴ FORSTER (1777: II, 207–208). This edition was reproduced by J.-P. Migne the *Patrologia Latina* (vol. CI, 1863).

¹⁵ In this edition, the *tituli* are also preceded by eight elegiac couplets (*De Christo Salvatore*), and within the cycle one can also read a distich, entitled by Frobenius *De sancto Joanne Baptista*, which – no one has noticed it so far – reproduces the last two lines of an inscription of the church of S. John and Paul in Rome (*ICVR* II, 4147; end of the 5th c.); cf. GÓMEZ PALLARÈS (1993: 215–216).

¹⁶ ARNULF (1997: 119–134).

¹⁷ FABRICIUS (1564: cols. 753–754).

¹⁸ FABRICIUS (1564: 117).

¹⁹ In particular, for BRANDES (1890: 297–302), MANITIUS (1890: 153–156) and GROEN (1942: 1–3), our poet was Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, the Ravennate *subscriber* of two important manuscripts, the *Vat. lat.* 4929 and the 350

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accord with J. R. Martindale²⁰ and C. and L. Pietri,²¹ I prefer to set aside any hypothetical identification and to consider him an author active in Ravenna²² after the middle of the 5th century, as is confirmed by his orthodox Christological beliefs.²³ Hoping to return to this topic at another occasion, I maintain only that some textual hints emerging from the *Tristicha* suggest that a fitting chronological collocation of Helpidius' activity may be the beginning of the 6th century, between the years 507 and 524/526.²⁴

6. Let us now turn to a closer reading of a couple of *tituli*, namely numbers V and VI of the *editio princeps*. The first one is dedicated to Noah's Ark, following *Gen. 7:7–18*.

*Hic uolucres, armenta, uiros, genus omne ferarum,
Ne quid diluuii perdat uiolentia, Noe
Colligit, atque unam, tot condita, condit in arcam.*

Bernensis 366 (cf. BILLANOVICH [1956: 319–324]); following JAHN (1851: 345–347), this poet-*subscriptor* also coincided with Domnulus, a poet cited several times by Sidonius Apollinaris; the identification of the author of the *Tristicha* and the *Carmen de Christi Iesu beneficiis* with this Domnulus, distinct from the *subscriptor*, was defended by CAVALLIN (1955). CORSARO (1955: 9–21), returning to Fabricius' position, argued instead that the author was the same *medicus etiam diaconus* dedicatee of various epistles by Ennodius (*ep.* 7,7; 8,8; 9,14; 9,21), Cassiodorus (*uar.* 4,24), and Avitus of Vienne (*ep.* 38). For this problem one should now refer to DI STEFANO (2013: 17–33), who also admits the possibility (which was already suggested by EBERT [1874: 397–398]) that *Carmen de Christi Iesu beneficiis* and *Tristicha* may have been composed by two different authors (DI STEFANO [2013: 83–85]); see in any case the objections to EBERT's theory by MANITIUS (1890: 153–157).

²⁰ PLRE (1980, 374–375).

²¹ PIC (1999–2000: I, cols. 968–969).

²² Ravenna was the Western capital, where the *exquaestor* carried out his public duties and was probably influenced by the predication of the bishop Peter Chrysologus. PIETRI (1995: 127–129).

²³ FONTAINE (1981: 278); PIETRI (1995: 122–123); SMOLAK (2001: col. 1167); on the *Carmen de beneficiis* see also DI STEFANO (2013: 52–58).

²⁴ The *tristich XVII* (*hist. testam.* 49–51: *Arguit immeritis consortem Martha querelis, / Quod uacet officio: cui uerax arbiter inquit: / Cura Dei melior domus, et magis utilis illi*) seems to reveal Helpidius' knowledge of Avitus of Vienne's *De uirginitate*, posterior to the 507 A.D. (*carm.* 6,636–640: *Quondam succincte quod dictum est ore magistri, / Dum uiget officio famulans sollertia Marthae / Adtentamque tenet uerbi uirtute sorore / Cura cibo melior, pastu quia digna perenni. / Tunc uacuas Domino deponens Martha querellas*). The *terminus ante quem* for Helpidius' activity is identified by most scholars in the conflicts between the Goths (Arrians) and the Latins at the end of Theodoric's reign.

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ne quid diluuii] cunctane diluuium *COD. BERTINIANUS*
tot condita] creaturam *COD. BERTINIANUS*
arcam] arca *COD. BERTINIANUS*

God commanded Noah to retrieve all the animal species into the Ark, in order to save them from the Deluge. Because the Lord did not want to permanently destroy all of His creatures, He spared a pair of every wild beast, every livestock, every crawling creature, and every bird.²⁵

Mainly due to the identity of the protagonist, G. Krüger²⁶ and D. Groen²⁷ argued that Helpidius's model was the third tetrastich of Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* (9–12: *Nuntia diluuii iam decrescentis ad arcam / Ore columba refert ramum uiridantis oliuae. / Coruus enim ingluuie per foeda cadauera captus / Haeserat, illa datae reuehit noua gaudia pacis*). Despite the common focus on Noah, however, the two epigrams seem quite different. As F. Corsaro has rightly pointed out, “a comparison between the *tituli* can only reveal how little Helpidius was able to, or decided to, draw from his predecessor”.²⁸ Indeed, not only do the two poets follow different biblical hypotexts (Prudentius refers to *Gen.* 8:6–11, i.e., the description of the freeing of the raven and the dove after the end of the Flood), they also have different principal thematic focuses. Prudentius' tetrastich is more descriptive; it underlines the peace of the new Alliance—symbolized by an olive branch²⁹—through his contraposition of raven and dove and reveals its parenetic interest by explicitly condemning the vice of gluttony (*ingluuies*). On the other hand, Helpidius' main

²⁵ Cf. *Gen.* 7:7–15, following the *Vulgata*: ⁷*Et ingressus est Noe et filii eius uxor eius et uxores filiorum eius cum eo in arcam propter aquas diluuii* ⁸*De animantibus quoque mundis et immundis et de uolucris et ex omni quod mouetur super terram* ⁹*Duo et duo ingressa sunt ad Noe in arcam masculus et femina sicut praeceperat Deus Noe [...]* ¹³*In articulo diei illius ingressus est Noe et Sem et Ham et Iafeth filii eius uxor illius et tres uxores filiorum eius cum eis in arcam* ¹⁴*Ipsi et omne animal secundum genus suum uniuersaque iumenta in genus suum et omne quod mouetur super terram in genere suo cunctumque uolatile secundum genus suum uniuersae aues omnesque uolucres* ¹⁵*Ingressae sunt ad Noe in arcam bina et bina ex omni carne in qua erat spiritus uitae* (WEBER–GRYSON [2007: 12]).

²⁶ KRÜGER (1920: 391).

²⁷ GROEN (1942: 93).

²⁸ CORSARO (1955: 34): “Il confronto fra Tr. V e Ditt. III può se mai far rilevare quanto poco profitto abbia saputo o voluto trarre il Nostro dal suo predecessore”.

²⁹ Similar in this respect to the tetrastich, the distich dedicated to Noah by Ambrose also refers to *Gen.* 8:11 and mainly focuses on the olive twig and its symbolic meaning. But it tackles this common theme from an explicitly communitarian-ecclesiological perspective (Ambr. *tituli* 37–38: *Arca Noe nostri typus est, et spiritus ales, / Qui pacem populis ramo praetendit oliuae*).

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interest lies in the universality of God's plan of salvation. As we will see, this emphasis is amplified by the juxtaposition with the following tristich, dedicated to *Acts* 10:9–16.

Volucres, armenta, uiros, genus omne ferarum: after the opening demonstrative adverb, *hic*, which covers the typical deictic function of the *tituli historiarum*,³⁰ the first line mentions the different types of animals hosted inside the Ark. The asyndetic series by which the poet epitomises the catalogue of *Gen.* 7:14, even if it does not respect the hypotext's quadripartition in birds, wild beasts, domestic animals, and reptiles (cf. on the contrary *Alc. Avit. carm.* 4,263–265), incisively underlines the universality of God's creation. The name of Noah, who embodies an evident Christological τύπος, is emphasized by a strong *traiectio* in the following line.

As D. Groen³¹ and F. Corsaro³² have already noticed, the first verse reveals a macroscopic intertextual engagement with a famous passage of the fourth book of the *Georgics*, in which Vergil describes the life and habits of bees (*Georg.* 4,221–224):

*Deum namque ire per omnia
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
hinc pecudes armenta uiros genus omne ferarum,
quemque sibi tenuis nascentem accersere uitas.*³³

This glaring reprise offers the chance to further investigate Helpidius' strategy in his reappropriation of Vergil. In the Vergilian model, influenced by the Stoic doctrine—and in the same vein as Pithagorism and Platonism—of the πνεῦμα that pervades every natural manifestation (cf. also *Aen.* 6,726–727),³⁴ all the elements were ruled by a divine influence. This was formally emphasized by the topic tripartition of the universe in earth, sea, and sky, reinforced by the polysyndetic *tricolon*. We must also remember that this passage, already cited (not literally) by Minucius Felix in his *Octavius* (19,2), was fundamental for the Christian assimilation of Vergil. Indeed, in his recapitulation of the pagan anticipations of Christianity at the beginning of the *Diuinae institutiones*, Lactantius cited these very lines to prove that Vergil was the first Latin poet “not far removed from truth” (*Inst.* 1,5,11–12: *Nostrorum primus Maro non longe*

³⁰ CORSARO (1955: 31).

³¹ GROEN (1942: 94).

³² CORSARO (1955: 34).

³³ CONTE (2013: 199).

³⁴ LAPIDGE (1989: 1390–1392).

afuit a ueritate; cf. also the prose transcription of the same passage in Lact. *epit.* 3,4).³⁵

Volucres, a poetic word common in hexametrical poetry because of its metrical convenience (here alliterating with *uiros*), does not derive from the Vergilian intertext. In Vergil, rather, we find *pecudes*, which indicates small sized animals as opposed to the bigger *armenta* (horses and oxen for Serv. *Georg.* 3,49), both alluding to domestic animals in contrast with *ferae*. Helpidius worked, therefore, a personal substitution from the Vergilian model, although the model remains his main source. Further, Vergil only names earth animals; Helpidius, however, needed to mention the birds as well, due to the fundamental role played by the dove and the raven in the Noah story. In my opinion, the poet could have been encouraged to replace *pecudes* with the isoprosodic *uolucres* by the two attestations of the lexeme in the hypotext (*Gen.* 7:8; 7:14), and perhaps also by the co-occurrence of the terms in the poet who inspired Vergil in this passage of the *Georgics*, namely Lucretius. It was the author of the *De rerum natura*, in fact, who inaugurated the clausula *genus omne ferarum* (cf. also 1,4: *genus omne animantum*), which later became largely common in hexametrical poetry. The series composed of human beings, fishes, birds, large and small livestock, and wild beasts is also Lucretian, appearing in the ἁδύνατον of a creation proceeding from a non-atomistic *materies* (Lucr. 1,161–164: *E mare primum homines, e terra posset oriri / Squamigerum genus et uolucres erumpere caelo; / Armenta atque aliae pecudes, genus omne ferarum / Incerto partu culta ac deserta tenerent*)³⁶. The following epigram, containing a Lucretius-like list of living beings that also includes *reptiles* (cf. *infra*), strengthens the hypothesis that a Lucretian patina existed in Helpidius' list. Even if this term, in relation to *Acts* 10, primarily refers to the “reptiles of the earth”, in the Tristich VI it functionally corresponds to the Lucretian designation of fish (*genus squamigerum*), as explained by Ambrose³⁷ and Isidore of Seville.³⁸ It allows us to suppose that Helpidius specifically considered the Lucretian tripartition of living beings into earth animals (both domestic and wild: θῆρες), birds, and fishes. Further, it is interesting to note the same

³⁵ GOULON (1978: 129–132).

³⁶ With regard to this passage and to all its resonances, see CAMARDESE (2010: 125–149).

³⁷ Ambr. *exam.* 5,1,3: *Scimus reptilia dici genera serpentium eo quod super terram repant, sed multo magis omne quod natat reptandi habet uel speciem uel naturam.*

³⁸ Isid. *orig.* 12,6,2: *Reptilia ideo dicuntur haec quae natant, eo quod reptandi habeant speciem et naturam.*

tripartition can be found in the *Carmen de Christi Iesu beneficiis* (vv. 105–106: *feras ... / Alitibus ... piscibus*).

Ne quid ... uiolentia perdat: as A. Arnulf has pointed out, the alternative reading of the *Codex Bertinianus* is here, as in almost all other cases, unacceptable for both linguistic and semantic reasons. Indeed, the clausula may have been influenced by *uiolentia Turni* of Verg. *Aen.* 11,376 = 12,45 (DI STEFANO [2013: 106]).³⁹ The fact that God did not want to destroy everything he had created is a sign of His mercy and of the universality of the Salvation plan, even against the intentions expressed in *Gen.* 6:17. Far from hinting at an optimistic theology of “semi-Pelagian” nature, the same idea is explicitly underlined also by Aug. in *psalm.* 103,3,⁴⁰ and in poetry by Ps. Prosper of Aquitaine’s *Carmen de prouidentia Dei*. There, it is said that God saved Noah and the animals not because it was impossible for Him to proceed to a new creation (v. 341: *Non quia non alius populus Deus edere posset*), but because He wanted the redemption through Christ of the original mankind (342–345).⁴¹

condita, condit: the play on words is remarkable, and represents a notable *lectio difficilior* against the alternative reading of the *Bertinianus*:⁴² this *figura etymologica*, by juxtaposition, also acquires a paronomastic value, since the participle *condita* has to be intended in the sense of “things created”—that is to say, as an affected object (“affiziertes Objekt”). This meaning of the verb—uniquely Christian⁴³ and commonly attested both by the *Vetus Latina* and in the *Vulgata*—is also adopted in Cl. Marius Victor’s *Alethia*. Here again the verb is used in relation to the Deluge (2,548: *eo, quo condidit omnia, nutu*). At the same time, Noah is defined *conditor arcae* by Avitus of Vienne (*carm.* 4,344; 4,391), with a probable allusion to the attribute of God Creator.⁴⁴ As for the second meaning, instead, *condo* may be defined as “the verb of the hidden repositioning”.⁴⁵

³⁹ ARNULF (1997: 121): “*Ne quid diluuii* (Fabr.) ist metrisch und grammatisch korrekt, während *cuncta ne diluuium* (Bert.) in beiderlei Insicht bedenklich ist: *diluuium* als Subjekt fordert *uiolentia* im Abl., was metrisch falsch wäre. Die Alternative, *uiolentia* auf Noe im Gen. zu beziehen, ist inhaltlich kaum überzeugend, besonders da *uiolentia* eine negative Eigenschaft bezeichnet”.

⁴⁰ Cf. note 55.

⁴¹ CUTINO (2011: 225).

⁴² ARNULF (1997: 121): “Für V 3 – *tot condita* gegen *unam creaturam* sprechen der Sinn und die gelungene Paronomasie *condita condit*”.

⁴³ *ThLL* IV, 154, 30–55.

⁴⁴ HECQUET–NOTI (2005: 80–81).

⁴⁵ MANZONI (2004: 101): the construction with *in* + accusative is rarer than the one with the simple ablative (*ThLL*, IV, 149, 27–50).

unam ... in arcam: the thematic predominance of the unique Ark is formally emphasised by its central position in the last verse, the antithesis with *tot*, the bucolic dieresis and the anastrophic hyperbaton. The poet notably insists that Noah's vessel is the only instrument of Salvation, following an ecclesiological typology that identified the Ark as a symbol of the Church. As it is well known, this interpretation dated back to the *Prima Petri* (3:18–21), where the baptism is designed as an ἀντίτυπος of the Deluge.⁴⁶

Helpidius' stress on the uniqueness of the Ark is not without parallels. Among the numerous poetic rewritings of Noah's story,⁴⁷ this aspect was explicitly cited by Ps. Hilarius (*Gen.* 187–190) and by Arator in two *excursus* of his *De actibus Apostolorum* (completed in 544 A.D.). Arator first mentions the idea in the dialogue between Peter and Simon the Sorcerer,⁴⁸ in an extraordinary case of a "cameo" with no relation to the plot and the hypotext.⁴⁹ He again references the theme in the description of Eutychus' Resurrection (*Acts* 20:7–12), when the poet, harkening back to an Origenian doctrine,⁵⁰ compares the three floors of the house to those of the Ark.⁵¹ A specific, explicit emphasis on the theme of uniqueness of the Ark was typical of mainly anti-scismatic and anti-heretical interpretations of Noah's account.⁵² This simple, albeit recognisable, exegetical interest

⁴⁶ LUNDBERG (1942: 73–116); DANÉLOU (1950: 55–94); RAHNER (1964: 137–179); BOBLITZ (1972); DASSMANN (1973: 208–221); FROT (1986); SCHLOSSER (2002).

⁴⁷ Besides GAMBER (1899: 150–158), cf. also ARWEILER (1999: 221–230) and HECQUET–NOTI (2001: 229–235).

⁴⁸ Arator *act.* 1,644–648: *Ecclesiae speciem praestabat machina quondam / Temporibus constructa Noe, quae sola recepit / Omne genus clausisque ferens baptismatis instar / Cum uaga letales pateretur turba procellas, / Ad uitam conuertit aquas.*

⁴⁹ STELLA (2001: 150–151).

⁵⁰ SCHWIND (1995: 125).

⁵¹ Arator *act.* 2,806–809: *quae cuncta per undas / Arca quadrata tulit, uelut in baptisate fontis / Omnibus est nunc una salus, sed moribus unus / Non ualet esse locus;* on these two passages see ANGELUCCI (1990: 301–321).

⁵² This happens for the first time, in polemic with Novatianus' doctrines on the baptism, in Cyprian (*ep.* 69,2,2: *Quod et Petrus ostendens unam ecclesiam esse et solos eos qui in ecclesia sint baptizari posse posuit et dixit: "In arca Noe pauci id est octo animae hominum saluae factae sunt per aquam, quod et uos similiter saluos faciet baptismum"* [I Petr. 3:20–21], *probans et contestans unam arcam Noe typum fuisse unius ecclesiae;* 74,11,3: *Item Petrus ipse quoque demonstrans et uindicans unitatem mandauit et monuit per unum solum baptismum unius ecclesiae saluari nos posse. [...] Nam ut in illo mundi baptismo quo iniquitas antiqua purgata est, qui in arca Noe non fuit non potuit per aquam saluus fieri, ita nec*

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could therefore contribute to a better understanding of the author's beliefs. We might particularly consider that the *Carmen de Christi Iesu beneficiis* represents a profession of faith and a vigorous defence of orthodoxy and of the Trinitarian dogma. Indeed, the *Carmen* places specific, although not overtly polemical, emphasis on the anti-Arian themes of the coeternity⁵³ and consubstantiality⁵⁴ of the Son, as well as on the role of the Trinity.⁵⁵ In Ravenna, it was Peter Chrysologus who often described the Church as the ship of the faithful, steered by Christ,⁵⁶ who recalled this theme, revealing an intense ecclesiological preoccupation (*serm.* 147,4):

*Hinc est quod inueteratam malis terram abluit ulciscente diluuio, et Noe noui saeculi uocat parentem, blando sermone compellat, dat familiarem fiduciam, pie de praesentibus instruit, consolatur per gratiam de futuris, et iam non iussis, sed participato labore una in arca claudit totius saeculi partum, ut societatis amor timorem seruitutis auferret, et seruaretur amore communi, quod fuerat communi labore saluatum.*⁵⁷

Let us now consider the visual depictions of Noah's story:

*nunc potest per baptismum saluatus uideri qui baptizatus in ecclesia non est, quae ad arcae unius sacramentum dominica unitate fundata est; cf. KACZMAREK [1989: 260–263]), then in Augustine's most relevant anti-Manichean writing (c. *Faust.* 12,15–16: *Quod cuncta animalium genera in arcam clauduntur: sicut omnes gentes, quas etiam Petro demonstratus discus ille significat, ecclesia continet. Quod et munda et immunda ibi sunt animalia: sicut in Ecclesiae sacramentis et boni et mali uersantur. [...] Quod arca collecta ad unum cubitum desuper consummatur: sicut Ecclesia corpus Christi in unitatem collecta sublimatur et perficitur*), and again in Fulgentius (*rem. pecc.* 1,20: *In illa igitur arca [...] una eademque praefigurabatur ecclesia*), whose main target was instead the Arian community.*

⁵³ Christ is *proles aeterna Dei* (v. 2), *temporis expers* (14), and the poet affirms that nothing existed before Him (75–76: *Quem nil ante fuit, nec enim exstat origo creati / Principii*).

⁵⁴ Christ is *omnipotens* (v. 1), *regnorum socium* in respect to the Father (v. 12), *nil Patris uirtute minor* (v. 24), *prouidus Auctor* (v. 34), *opifex rerum* (51), *omnipatris ... Verbi* (v. 86); at vv. 15–16 Helpidius asks: *quid enim tibi defuit umquam / Aut Patris plus esse potest?*

⁵⁵ Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are characterized by *una potestas* (v. 19) and one *idemque per omnes / Et communis honos* (v. 20–21); at vv. 76–78 the poet asks: *nasci qui post Deus omnia posset / Quae genuit cum Patre et cum Spiramine magno / Et triplex in laude uiget et semper uigebit?*

⁵⁶ SPINELLI (1982: 550–554).

⁵⁷ OLIVAR (1982: 910–911)

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Fig. 1: Noah in the Ark, Catacombs of Petrus and Marcellinus (Rome)



Fig. 2: Noah Sarcophagus, Rheinisches Landesmuseum (Trier)

Photo: IMAGO (Roman Society Archive Bank)

Our tristich seems to depart from the quite constant palaeo-Christian representations of Noah *orans* in the Ark—the only iconographic scheme evidenced until the beginning of the 4th century, appearing almost exclusively in funerary contexts [Fig. 1].⁵⁸ The allusion to different animal

⁵⁸ VON ERFFA (1989: 442–484); MAZZEI (2000: 231–232). The first depictions of Noah are variously intended as an image of the *iustus* destined to Resurrection, of 358

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species in the tristich allows us to draw a closer parallel to an unusual and later iconographic type, attested to in the front panel of a sarcophagus from the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier (beginning of the 4th c.). There, Noah stands inside the Ark with his whole family, together with birds and other animals [Fig. 2].⁵⁹ This iconography, which poignantly underlines the ecclesiological meaning of the Ark as a figure of the Christian community, was quite similar in approach and meaning to the frescoes of the central nave of the Honorian-Theodosian basilica of St. Paul Outside-the-Walls, where one could find depictions of the different phases of Noah's story. The iconography perhaps also mirrors the decorations of S. Costanza in Rome.⁶⁰

The same content is expressed by another iconographic type—this time of Microasiatic origin—evidenced by a floor mosaic from Misis-Mopsuestia, today Yakapınar (Turkey). Here the Ark is surrounded by birds and animals, and looks exceptionally empty. The boat is nonetheless recognizable thanks to the inscription KIBΩTOCNΩEP (= κιβωτὸς ΝΩΕ ῥύσιος) [Fig. 3].⁶¹ This mosaic does not only confirm the existence of a “Bildtypus” of the Ark without Noah, but also emphasises its ecclesiological symbology, as explained by L. Budde, who was the first to publish the mosaic.⁶²

the preacher, of the baptized Christian, or as a “Bußsymbol”, also in connection with the penitential controversy of the 3rd century; in general terms, we can nonetheless affirm that the depictions of Noah in the catacombs provided a visual representation for early Christian beliefs concerning personal salvation; on this complex theme cf. FINK (1955); STUIBER (1957: 175–178); HOOYMAN (1958: 113–135); FRANKE (1973: 171–182); AVELLIS (2008: 198–212); DRESKEN-WEILAND (2012: 224–228).

⁵⁹ GERKE (1940: 300–306); LAAG (1967: 233–238)

⁶⁰ AVELLIS (2008: 216, note 107)

⁶¹ On this representation, as well as on the pavimental mosaic of the Gerasa Synagogue, also dating to the 5th c., cf. HACHLILI (2009: 65–72)

⁶² BUDDE (1956: 50): “Die literarisch schon immer nachweisbare Gleichsetzung der Arche mit der Kirche ist durch das Mosaik in Mopsuestia zum ersten Mal mit Sicherheit auch für die bildliche Kunst erwiesen. Stärker als auf Noe liegt der Ton auf KIBΩTOC PYCIOC, dem selbständigen Symbol der Kirche, in der für den Gerechten allein Rettung und Heil beschlossen liegen”.



Fig. 3: Noah's Ark, Misis Mosaic Museum (Yakapınar)
Photo: Klaus-Peter Simon

7. As already noted, in the following tristich (VI), Helpidius recalls the vision that St. Peter had at Joppa, following *Acts* 10:9-16:

*Reptilium pecudumque genus cunctasque uolucres
Discus habet, quae cuncta iubet Pater edere Petrum,
Nil commune putans, quod mundum fecerat Auctor.*

genus] *om. COD. BERTINIANUS*

edere] *mandere RIVINUS*

mundum fecerat Auctor] *mundi auctore creatur COD. BERTINIANUS*

The hungry Apostle saw the heavens open and something similar to a great sheet descending, being lowered by its four corners upon the earth; it contained all kinds of animals, reptiles, and birds. Peter did not want to touch anything unclean, but the voice of the Lord admonished him not to call common what God had made clean.⁶³

⁶³ *Act.* 10:9–16, following the *Vulgata*: ⁹*Postera autem die iter illis facientibus et adpropinquantibus ciuitati ascendit Petrus in superiora ut oraret circa horam sextam* ¹⁰*Et cum esuriret uoluit gustare parantibus autem eis cecidit super eum mentis excessus* ¹¹*Et uidet caelum apertum et descendens uas quoddam uelut linteam magnum quattuor initis submitti de caelo in terram* ¹²*In quo erant omnia*
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Reptilium pecudumque genus cunctasque volucres: *pecudumque genus*, which replaces *omnia quadrupedia* of the hypotext, derives from Vergil (*Aen.* 6,728: *Inde hominum pecudumque genus uitaeque uolantum*; 8,27: *Alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat*), as F. Corsaro has already noted.⁶⁴ However, no one has yet pointed out that the clausula *cunctasque uolucres* also is a Vergilian reprise (*uolatilia* in *Acts* 10:12, Gr.: πετεινά)—again from the *Aeneid* (12,251: *Arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque uolucres*). In his metrical rewriting, Helpidius follows the tripartition of animal types of the *Acts*, but, at the same time, borrows two things from Vergil. Thus, the first line could be defined as an almost centonistic assemblage of Vergilian *tesserae*.

On the contrary, the replacing of *serpentia* of *Acts* 10:12 (Gr.: τὰ ἕρπετά) with *reptilia* constitutes an evident infraction of the pervasive Vergilian—not to say Lucretian, as noted above—patina of the first line and of the whole epigram. For a comparison, one should consider the more acceptably “classical” form, *serpentes* (Ps. *Cypr. Gen.* 248), or the periphrastic circumlocution, *quae per tacitos reptant labentia motus*, used by Avitus of Vienne (*carm.* 4,265). This adjectival compound, derived from the frequentative *repto*, is a biblical term—it appears twenty-five times in the *Vulgata*, beginning with the Creation account of *Gen.* 1:20–26. Indeed, it is revealing that, in the Hieronymian translation—the biblical version, which Helpidius presumably adopted—the term is regularly used in Noah’s story, rather than *serpens* of the *Vetus Latina* tradition. Further, as we will see, the term is rarely used in poetry, occurring only four other times, as an attribute (Ps. *Victorin. Christ.* 136; *Ven. Fort. Mart.* 4,286) or, like here, as a substantive (*Prud. perist.* 10,332; *Arator act.* 1,908).

Discus: the *uas quoddam* of *Acts* 10:11 and 11:5 (Gr. σκεῦός τι) is also called *discus* by Prudentius in his *titulus* dedicated to Joppa (*ditt.* 181–184: *Somniat illapsum Petrus alto ex aethere discum / Confertum omnigenis animalibus. Ille recusat / Mandere, sed dominus iubet omnia munda putare. / Surgit et inmundas uocat ad mysteria gentes*). The rarity of this lexical idiosyncrasy was stressed by J.-L. Charlet:⁶⁵ both the *Vetus Latina*

quadrupedia et serpentia terrae et uolatilia caeli ¹³*Et facta est uox ad eum surge Petre et occide et manduca* ¹⁴*Ait autem Petrus absit Domine quia numquam manducaui omne commune et inmundum* ¹⁵*Et uox iterum secundo ad eum quae Deus purificauit ne tu commune dixeris* ¹⁶*Hoc autem factum est per ter et statim receptum est uas in caelum* (WEBER–GRYSON [2007: 1715]); cf. also Peter’s account of *Acts* 11: 5–10.

⁶⁴ CORSARO (1955: 43).

⁶⁵ CHARLET (1983: 39, note 186).

and the *Vulgata*, in fact, agree in the use of *uas*. *Discus* is also rare in the Fathers, and our epigrams represent it only twice in poetry. As opposed to many other cases, in which two *tituli* share only a theme (sometimes in very general terms), here a highly significant literal affinity could confirm F. Corsaro's hypothesis⁶⁶ of a Prudentian influence on Helpidius.

Pater: God's designation is chosen for its assonance with the Apostle's name in the clausula (*Petrum*). The homeoteleuton of *habet* and *iubet* is also relevant, since both terms have the same prosodic consistency and the last syllable in arsis.

ēdere: this form was used as an alternative to the infinitive *esse* with increasing frequency since the beginning of the 3rd c.⁶⁷ It is therefore unnecessary to correct the transmitted text to *mandere*, as suggested by A. Rivinus,⁶⁸ by metrical reasons (the infinitive is regularly a tribrach, but *ēdere* also appears in Drac. *Romul.* 8,413), and by a desire for closer uniformity with *Acts* 10:13 (cf. Prud. *ditt.* 182–183: *ille recusat / Mandere*). The polyptoton involving the adjective (*cunctasque ... / ... cuncta*) emphasizes the all-absorbing extension of Peter's mission.

The liturgical (or literal) exegesis of the vision of Joppa, which interpreted the episode as the mere abolition of the alimentary prescriptions of the Synagogue, found favour with Clement and Cyril of Alexandria, among others. The same exegesis, however, was already contested by Irenaeus of Lyons (*adu. haer.* 3,12,7), Cyril of Jerusalem (*catech.* 17,27), and Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panar.* 28–30). The Origenian influence decisively contributed to the predominance of the ancient allegorical interpretation. Following this exegesis, already clearly outlined in Peter's discourse to Cornelius (*Acts* 10:28), the meaning of the vision resided in the universality of God's plan of salvation, offered to all Gentiles. This interpretation was predominant among the Fathers, particularly in the West:⁶⁹ one calls to mind Hilary of Poitiers (*in Matth.* 33,8), Chromatius (*serm.* 3,4), Maximus of Turin (*serm.* 2,2), John Chrysostom (*Act. hom.* 22,2), as well as Augustine (*in psalm.* 30,2,2,5; *serm.* 266,6).

Nil commune putans: here, the hypotext is perhaps the object of an original *contaminatio* with a famous passage of the *Epistle to the Romans* (14:14: *Scio et confido in Domino Iesu quia nihil commune per ipsum nisi ei qui existimat quid commune esse illi commune est*). The reading of the

⁶⁶ CORSARO (1955: 35–36). This was also PILLINGER's belief (1980: 113: "Rusticus Helpidius lehnt sich sichtlich sehr stark an den prudentianischen Vierzeiler an").

⁶⁷ *ThLL*, V.2, 99, 26–31.

⁶⁸ RIVINUS (1652: 56).

⁶⁹ CANDIARD (2009: 527–545).

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Codex Bertinianus must be rejected, as A. Arnulf has correctly explained.⁷⁰ As with other cases, this error could be the result of an imprudent integration of the copyist, due to the presence of a lacuna in its antigraph.

mundum: the term occurs in the description of the entry of the animals into Noah's ark, found in *Gen. 7:2–3* but found nowhere in the *Acts*, and must be intended as an adjective, antonymous to *commune* and probably—also through the mediation of PRUD. *ditt.* 183—alluding to the famous expression *omnia munda mundis* (*Titus 1:15*). Its meaning was therefore misunderstood by Th. Bögel,⁷¹ who considered the term a substantive and lemmatized the verse, together with Sedul. *op. pasch.* 5,20, among the occurrences of the designations of God as *mundi Auctor*.

Auctor: this title, without any real equivalent in Greek, was common among the Christians to designate God's role in the Creation. This aspect of the divinity was already central in the Stoic thought, and Seneca used the term three times as an attribute of God, even in an absolute form (*nat. quaest.* 1, *prae*f. 3). Further, God was called *Auctor* by Helpidius also in *benef.* 34; 72 and *hist. testam.* 56, and a similar use was frequent in the New Testament (e.g.: *Acts 3:15; 24:5; Hebr. 2:10; 12:2*). The term was used by the Fathers⁷² as well as by Christian poets, often in association with synonyms like *conditor* or *factor*. For all these reasons, Corsaro's parallels with Sedulius⁷³ are in this case unsatisfactory, and the author of the *Paschale Carmen*, quite probably, was not Helpidius' model for the adoption of this appellative.

Even if pictorial narrative cycles dedicated to the Apostle Peter seem to have been quite common in the Late Antique West, starting from the lost fresco cycle of Old St. Peter's in Rome, the depiction of Peter's vision did not belong to the most widespread scenes.⁷⁴ Besides the its unattested but

⁷⁰ ARNULF (1997: 133): “Der Zusammenhang der Geschichte – es geht um riene und unreine Tiere – und vor allem *Act 10, 15* (*quae deus purificauit, ne tu commune dixeris*) erlaubt nur die Version nach Fabr. als ursprünglich anzusehen, die des Bert. geht inhaltlich fehl.”

⁷¹ *ThLL*, II, 1206, 4–5.

⁷² BRAUN (1962: 344–346).

⁷³ CORSARO (1955: 38): Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 3,113; 5,16; 5,151; 5,249; *hymn.* 2,5. From CORSARO's list of *loci similes* one should at least eliminate SEDUL. *carm. pasch.* 5,27 and 5,33, where the *auctor* is Judas, “responsible” of Christ's betrayal; furthermore, only in 5,249 *Auctor* is used without specifications (*Auctoremque sequens per Tartara mundus abiret*).

⁷⁴ BISCONTI (2000: 258–259)

very likely presence on the left nave of the Vatican basilica,⁷⁵ the only doubtful attestation of this scene has been located on the right side of the intrados of an *arcosolium* of the wonderful *cubiculum Leonis* in the catacomb of Commodilla (375–380 A.D.), in an image composed of the vertical superimposition of two fresco panels which surely represents a theophany [Fig. 4].⁷⁶



Fig. 4: Right side of the intrados of an *arcosolium*, *cubiculum Leonis*, catacomb of Commodilla (Rome) – Photo: PCAS Archive

8. At the end of my analysis, I would like to suggest a hypothesis which, I hope, might arouse further investigation of the almost totally neglected theme of the “Fortleben” of the *Tristicha*. This *titulus*, in fact, reveals an impressive resemblance to the rewriting of the same episode of the already mentioned poem *De actibus Apostolorum* by Arator, who also

⁷⁵ A pictorial cycle dedicated to Saint Peter, later covered by a neo-testamentary cycle in the VII century, when another cycle devoted to Peter was depicted in the mosaics of the right transept, might have existed in the left nave (TRONZO [1985]). It might also be that such cycle of the left nave was originally neo-testamentary and already contained episodes from the life of Peter, which were later integrated, and not substituted, by the mosaics of the transept (KESSLER [1999]). In any case, it is highly probable that Peter’s vision was represented in the basilica.

⁷⁶ This was the interpretation of FERRUA (1958: 31) and, among others, of SOTOMAYOR (1962: 160–161); NESTORI (1993²: 142); PILLINGER (1980: 113). RECIO VEGANZONES (1986: 352), instead, saw in this scene Paul’s vision in the Third Heaven; also DECKERS–MIETKE–WEILAND (1994: 98–99) propends for a Pauline interpretation, as well as GUJ (2000: 69) and UTRO (2011: 35–36), who see in the scene Paul’s vision on the way to Damascus; but PROVERBIO (2006: 173) rightly synthesises: “Non si è ancora giunti a escludere alcuna delle interpretazioni proposte nel corso degli anni”.

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lived in Ravenna before 537 A.D., the date of the beginning of his subdeaconate in Rome, under Pope Vigilius. Despite the different length, the conformity is not only thematic (Arator also explicitly embraces the ecclesiological interpretation of Peter's vision, and it has been suggested that his image of the *Ecclesiae ... uiscera* alludes to Noah's Ark)⁷⁷, but in some points even lexical. Indeed, when *Acts 10:12* (*In quo erant omnia quadrupedia et serpentina terrae et uolatilia caeli*) is paraphrased, the very same substitutions of Helpidius are adopted (*quadrupedia* = *pecudes*; *uolatilia* = *uolucres*). If it is true that these two terms, after Lucretius,⁷⁸ became largely common in poetry, the identical replacement of *serpentina* with *reptilia*, a very rare lexeme in poetry, is far more revealing. As we have seen, our two texts represent (together with Prud. *perist.* 10,332), its only attestations as a noun. Arator's insertions, *omne* (referred to *genus*) and *ferarum*, are very common in their verse positions, and, in any case, *genus omne ferarum* appears in the previous tristich, closely interrelated with this one. The convergence is in the use of *Auctor*—without specifications—in the clausula of v. 909 to allude to God in his role of

⁷⁷ DEPROOST (1990: 126–127): “Les «entrailles» ou le «ventre» de l'Église peuvent renvoyer à une typologie ecclésiale et baptismale de l'arche de Noé, considérée, dès la Prima Petri, comme une image de l'Église qui sauve les nations dans les eaux du baptême. Le côté de cette arche, dont Augustin, avant les auteurs médiévaux, a précisément comparé les proportions à celles du corps humain, a souvent été rapproché du *latus Christi*, typologie reprise ailleurs, du reste, par Arator lui-même; d'où, peut-être, l'étonnante précision descriptive de ce «ventre de l'Église», nouvelle arche de salut pour les peuples du monde”.

⁷⁸ MORI (2012: 227) mentions as Arator's possible models Sil. 15,86 (*Cum pecudes uolucrumque genus formasque ferarum*), as well as Stat. *Theb.* 10,141 (*Illius aura solo uolucres pecudesque ferasque*), Ps. Hil. *Gen.* 11 (*Gens hominum pecudesque ferae milleque uolucres*), Drac. *laud. dei* 1,58 (*Cornipes effatur, pecudes uolucresque loquuntur*), and Maxim. *eleg.* 5,111 (*Haec genus humanum, pecudum uolucrumque, ferarum*), and affirms that the parallel with Maximian's elegy, “almost perfect”, is difficult to be correctly evaluated because he and Arator were contemporary. If it is true that all these verses refer to the tri-partite division of living beings in *pecudes*, *ferae*, and *uolucres* (as for Dracontius, in the same passage devoted to ominous signs, the parallel with v. 1,52: *Quid fera, quid pecudes, quid peccauere uolucres?* seems more strikingly), a common topic since Lucr. 1,161–164, Arator does not mention the *genus humanum*: this difference could lead to the exclusion of some of MORI's parallels. Moreover, it could be of some importance to underline that none of Arator's supposed models employs the substantive *reptiles*, adopted exclusively by Helpidius and Arator, as opposed to their common hypotext, too (*Acts 10:12: serpentina*).

Creator,⁷⁹ as well as of the verbs *edere* and *iubere*, which likewise seem significant, albeit less specific (*act.* 1,899–912):

*Clauiger aetherius caelum conspexit apertum
Vsus honore suo; demittitur inde figura
Vasis, ut in terris sit uisio corpore Petri
Omnia posse capi, qui, quicquid sumit edendum
Ecclesiae facit esse cibum. Praefertur imago
Quattuor ordinibus se submittentibus. Vna
Ecclesiae forma est, quae quattuor eminet orbis
Partibus et laxat totidem praeconibus ora
Omne genus retinens uolucrum pecudumque, ferarum
Reptiliumque simul; mortalibus ista cohaerent
Ex meritis uitaeque suis. Patet ergo quod Auctor
Iussit in Ecclesiae transfundi uiscera gentes
“Macta et manduca” dum praecipit, “abstrahe, quod sunt,
Et tibi fac similes!”⁸⁰*

I would add that the hexametrical incipit *omne genus* appears another time in the poem (v. 1,646), to describe the Ark as a prefiguration of the Church (cf. *supra* n. 48), creating an objective connection between the two ecclesiological typologies that were also associated in Helpidius’ text.

9. F. Corsaro’s appraisal of the parallel between the *Tristicha* V and VI should be radically revised. The Italian editor denied that Helpidius had any specific typology in mind when he associated the two episodes, also rejecting the interpretation of the juxtaposition as symbolical.⁸¹ For him, this σύγκρισις represented the exemplary case of Helpidius’ autonomous typological inventiveness, and the connection between the two episodes was only based on the common focus on the animal element.⁸² However, many Fathers explicitly associated the symbols of Noah’s Ark and Peter’s vessel, both considered *euidētissima testimonia* of God’s will to include all Gentiles in the salvation.⁸³ Indeed, we should recall the spiritual exegesis of Origen’s *Homilies on the Genesis* (2,5: *De animalibus uero et bestiis ac pecudibus ceterisque diuersis animantibus* [scil.: contained in the Ark], *quae nobis alia figura seruanda est, nisi quam [...] illa figura,*

⁷⁹ Cf. also the clausula *fecerit Auctor* (Arator *act.* 1,540), considered a possible reminiscence of Helpidius by MORI (2012: 184).

⁸⁰ ORBÁN (2006: 291–292).

⁸¹ CORSARO (2000: 51).

⁸² CORSARO (2000: 53); also EBERT (1874: 398) spoke generically of the animals as the *tertium comparationis*. In her recent edition, DI STEFANO (2013: 105) also speaks of “singolare parallelismo” e “debole filo” for this typological association.

⁸³ Aug. *serm.* 103,3,2.

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quam Petrus iam nunc in ecclesia haberi docet, cum refert se uisionem uidisse, in qua omnia quadrupedia et bestiae terrae ac uolatilia coeli intra unum fidei linteum continebantur quattuor Euangeliorum initiis alligatum?),⁸⁴ as well as the testimonies of Ambrose,⁸⁵ Augustine,⁸⁶ Prosper of Aquitaine,⁸⁷ and Isidore of Seville.⁸⁸

Specifically, it would be no exaggeration to state that this connection was particularly cherished in the context of the Ravennate cultural milieu of the second half of the 5th century. It appears in the predication of Peter Chrysologus, who affirms that every species saved by Noah in the Ark reappeared in the opulent feast prepared for Peter at Joppa (*serm.* 163,3):

Unde si te legalis cibi singularitas et parcitas terret, inuitet et prouocet euangelici conuiuui caelestis effusio, qui in uno ferculo manducatur Petro totius adponit genera creaturae. Nam quicquid Noe, uector noui saeculi, saeculi seruauit ad semen, quicquid in aere uolitat et fertur, quicquid

⁸⁴ LEDEGANG (2001: 569–573).

⁸⁵ Ambr. in *Luc.* 7,44: *Bina missa sunt animalia in arcam, hoc est cum mare femina, inmundata per numerum, sed mundata Ecclesiae sacramento. Quod completum est oraculo, quod Petrus sanctus accepit dicente sibi sancto Spiritu: 'Quod deus mundauit tu commune ne dixeris' (Acts 10:15). Et aduertit dictum esse de gentibus, qui corporeae magis generationis successionem quam spiritalis gratiae sequebantur.*

⁸⁶ Aug. c. *Faust.* 12,15: *Quod cuncta animalium genera in arca clauduntur: sicut omnes gentes, quas etiam Petro demonstratus discus ille significat, Ecclesia continet. Quod et munda et immunda ibi sunt animalia: sicut in Ecclesiae sacramentis et boni et mali uersantur; enarr. in psalm. 103,3,2, where the "wild animals" of Ps. 103:11 (bestiae) represent the Gentiles: Bestias siluae, Gentes intellegimus; et multis hoc locis Scriptura testatur. Sed tamen euentissima duo maxime occurrunt documenta, quod in arca Noe, qua nemo nostrum dubitat Ecclesiam esse praefiguratam, non includerentur omnia genera animalium, nisi in illa unitate compaginis omnes gentes significarentur [...] Cum ergo uenit tempus, ut illud quod in arca erat praefiguratum, iam in Ecclesia completeretur, Petrus apostolus dubitans dare sacramentum euangelicum Gentibus incircumcisis; imo non dubitans, sed omnino dandum esse non putans, quodam die esuriens cum prandere uellet, ascendit ut oraret. Hoc in Actibus Apostolorum omnibus bene legentibus et bene audientibus notum est.*

⁸⁷ Prosp. in *psalm.* 103,11: *Sicut congregatae in arca Noe totius generis bestiae, et discus quattuor lineis in uisione Petri apostoli demissus de caelo, omnium plenus animalium, non aliud declaratur quam uniuersi generis homines in unitate ecclesiae congregandos.*

⁸⁸ Isid. in *Gen.* 7,11–12: *Quod cuncta animalium genera includuntur in arca, significat quia ex omnibus gentibus et nationibus congregatio fit in Ecclesia. Quod etiam Petro demonstratus ille discus significat quod munda et immunda ibi sint animalia, sic in Ecclesia et sacramentis boni et mali uersantur.*

*gignitur et uiuit in terra, quicquid in aquis est, et mouetur, hoc unam Petri
caelitus mactatur, exhibetur ad cenam.*⁸⁹

Again in Ravenna, we find an unparalleled connection⁹⁰ between the two episodes in the decoration of Neon's *Triclinium*—perhaps inspired by the coexistence of the scenes on the fresco cycle of Old Saint Peter's in Rome.⁹¹ The Flood,⁹² or better, “the salvation from the Deluge of man and animals, created by God to nourish mankind”,⁹³ in fact, was depicted on a wall of the *Triclinium*, as attested by Agnellus of Ravenna in his *Liber pontificalis Rauennatis* (18,29: *Historiam Psalmi quam cotidie cantamus, id est “Laudate Dominum de caelis”* [Ps. 148:1], *una cum cataclismo, in pariete, parte ecclesiae, pingere iussit*).

At its side stood a representation of Peter's vision of *Acts* 10:9–16, “the most significant scene in respect of its pastoral symbolism”.⁹⁴ Agnellus recalls the inscription (*uersus metrici*) that accompanied the fresco (18,29, vv. 1–9):

*Accipe, Sancte, libens, paruam ne despice carmen,
Pauca tue laudi nostris dicenda loquelis.
Euge, Simon Petre, et missum tibi suscipe munus,
In quod sumere te uoluit rex magnus ab alto.
Suscipe de caelo pendentia lintea plena,
Missa Petro tibi: haec diuersa animalia portant,
Quae mactare Deus te mox et mandere iussit.
In nullis dubitare licet quae munda creauit
Omnipotens genitor; rerum cui summa potestas.*⁹⁵

⁸⁹ OLIVAR (1982: 1006).

⁹⁰ MONTANARI (2002: 78–79): “La *concordia veteris et novi Testamenti* è perfetta nel *textus* di Elpidio Rustico, quanto nella *imago* del vescovo ravennate”.

⁹¹ WEIS (1966: 300–316).

⁹² GARRUCCI (1880: 509–511); STEINMANN (1892: 47–48); DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT (1973: 263–275); DEICHMANN (1974: 194–197); SCHEMENZ (1990, 159–194); MILLER (2000: 24–26). His opinion differed from that of WICKHOFF (1894: 15–16) and NAUERH (1974: 90–91): to these scholars Agnellus made a mistake in the iconographical deciphering of the image, which represented exclusively *Psalm* 148. But Wickhoff's evidence, which would have proved the existence of independent representations of the *Psalm* alone, that is to say Dionysius of Furna's Ἐρμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων (18th c.), and Didron's description of a painting of the cloister vestibule of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos (founded in 979), seem both too late to constitute an effective iconographic parallel to the *Triclinium*.

⁹³ TESTI RASPONI (1924: 81).

⁹⁴ DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT (1973: 267).

⁹⁵ MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS (2006: 177).

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In this case, it is also possible to recognize a lexical affinity between Rust. *Help. hist. testam.* 18 (*Nil commune putans, quod mundum fecerat Auctor*) and the Neonian inscription (v. 8: *In nullis dubitare licet quae munda creauit*). The thematic consonance between the iconographic program of Neonian *Triclinium* and the *Tristicha* seems nonetheless to be more profound than what these correspondences, however precise, reveal. According to its destination, the Bishop's *Triclinium* was in fact adorned with images connected to the theme of the (terrestrial and spiritual) nourishment: the garden of Eden, *Psalm* 148 and the Deluge, the multiplication of loaves and fish, and Peter's vision at Joppa. The "terrestrial nourishment," as L. Pietri puts it,⁹⁶ is also a relevant thematic path of the *Tristicha*, as it is confirmed by the description of the Garden of Eden, the episodes of the manna and the quails, and the multiplication of loaves and fish. This affinity, together with other more objective elements, supports the hypothesis of the Ravennate roots of Helpidius' poetry.

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⁹⁶ PIETRI (1995: 129).

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HADES AS THE RULER OF THE DAMNED IN THE MOSAIC COMPLEX ON THE WEST WALL OF BASILICA SANTA MARIA ASSUNTA IN TORCELLO, ITALY

ALEKSANDRA KRAUZE-KOŁODZIEJ

The aim of this article is to show the figure of the ancient god Hades as an important part of Byzantine symbolic representations of the Last Judgement, using the example of the mosaic from the west wall of Basilica Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello, Italy. The article is divided into three main parts. The first part briefly introduces the mosaic complex from Torcello, providing a description of the place, the Basilica, and the mosaic. In the second part, the author focuses on the fragment of the mosaic presenting the figure of Hades in hell. In an effort to show the iconographical and cultural continuity between ancient and early medieval representations, the author compares this figure to its ancient prototype. The last part of the article portrays the development of the motif of the Last Judgment by looking at other chosen representations. In conclusion, the author proposes a possible meaning of the presence of Hades in the mosaic of Torcello.

Introduction

“There [in Hades] also among the dead, so men tell, another Zeus [Haidēs] holds a last judgment upon misdeeds” (Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 230).¹ Thus, the Greek tragedian describes one of the most mysterious and terrifying gods in the ancient world: Hades, the god of death. Although this mighty divinity already ruled the ancient Greek Underworld in the time of Homer (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 9,457; Hes. *Theog.* 455), he did not receive the power to judge the dead until the post-Homeric period (e.g. Aeschyl. *Eum.* 273sq).² But why does the figure of this tremendous god appear so many centuries later, in Christian iconography? Was the impact of the idea of an

¹ Quotation after SMITH (1926).

² BREMMER (2004: 1076).

inevitable and powerful death so strong on the minds of the people that it survived despite the fall of antiquity?

This short article aims to present the figure of Hades (Pluto), a Hellenic-Roman god of the dead and ruler of the Underworld, as an important element of Byzantine symbolic representations of the Last Judgement.³ The author would like to show this problem using the example of the early medieval representation of the Last Judgement on the west wall of Basilica Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello. The iconographic analysis and interpretation of this marvellous work of art will be the subject of the author's doctoral dissertation.

Studying the mosaic and the literature of the subject, the author got interested in the figure of Hades who is shown in the lower part of the mosaic as the ruler of the Underworld. The figure seems to play a significant role in the Christian representation of the Last Judgement and, in the author's opinion, has an important impact on the interpretation of the whole mosaic. However, despite extensive literature dedicated to the history of the Basilica and to the mosaic complex on its west wall,⁴ the interpretation of the figure of a pagan god seems to be frequently omitted by the researchers interested in the representation from the Basilica in Torcello.⁵

Beyond all doubt, the author is aware of the complex character of this problem. The article is a part of a wider study of the conception of Damnation presented in the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica in Torcello. The first attempt to interpret this elaborate subject matter has recently been published and is devoted to the representation of the bodies of the Damned in hell shown in the mosaic.⁶ The author would now like to

³ About Hades as a part of medieval and Byzantine iconography – see, e.g. LUCCHESI-PALLI (1970: 205–206); WESSEL (1971: 946–950); MIHÁLYI (1991: 145–148); SKRZYNIARZ (2002).

⁴ See, e.g. NIERO (s.d.), LORENZETTI (1939), DEMUS (1943), DEMUS (1944a), DEMUS (1944b), POLACCO (1984), FIOCCO (1965), ANDREESCU (1972), ANDREESCU (1976), VECCHI (1977), ANDREESCU-TARANTOLA (1984), POLACCO (1984), POLACCO (1999), CROUZET-PAVAN (2001), AGAZZI (2009), RIZZARDI (2009).

⁵ Most researchers, especially in older publications, interpret this figure as Lucifer or Devil (among others: LORENZETTI (1939: 56), LORENZETTI (1956: 810), POLACCO (1984: 50, 67)). Some newer researchers see this figure as Hades (e.g. SKRZYNIARZ [2002: 167–168]). About the problem of misinterpretation of the figure of Hades in Byzantine and medieval iconography – see SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 8–9).

⁶ Cf. KRAUZE-KOŁODZIEJ (2013).

focus on another part of this complex problem—the figure of the pagan god shown as the ruler of the Underworld.⁷

This article is divided into three main parts. The first part briefly introduces the mosaic complex from Torcello, providing a short description of the history of the place, the Basilica, and the mosaic. In the second part, the author focuses on the fragment of the mosaic that presents the figure of Hades in hell. In order to show the iconographical and cultural continuity between ancient and early medieval representations, the author compares this figure to its ancient prototype. The last part of the article is dedicated to the “Christianized” Hades in other selected representations of the Last Judgement.

Torcello and the mosaic complex from the west wall of the Basilica: A short description

The scene presenting the figure of Hades is a part of an enormous representation of the Last Judgement that is situated on the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello, on one of the islands in the region of the Venetian lagoon.

Currently, on the island of Torcello there is only a small country town with about eighteen inhabitants and several buildings: some houses, Santa Fosca Church, the remains of the baptistery of San Giovanni, the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, and two small fourteenth-century palaces containing the museum and the municipal archive. In the past, however, this island was an extremely important centre, influenced by, among others, the cultures of Rome, Byzantium, Ravenna, and Venice.⁸

Already in the period of the Roman Empire, according to archaeological excavations,⁹ the island was inhabited by important dignitaries. Later on, in the 5th–6th century AD, settlers from the mainland and from the Venetian lagoon arrived at the island escaping from the invasion of the barbarian tribes. In the next century, Torcello became the seat of the bishop and a part of the exarchate of Ravenna.¹⁰ From this

⁷ Some aspects of this problem have been presented on different occasions, e.g., at the International Conference in Athens “Wokół *Minosa* i *Meneksenosa* Platona (konteksty)” (21st–27th April 2013).

⁸ About the history of Torcello – see, e.g. BATTAGLINI (1871), LORENZETTI (1939: 5–24), CROUZET-PAVAN (2001), ORTALLI (2009).

⁹ About the excavations of the Roman remains – see, e.g. LECIEJEWICZ–TABACZYŃSKA–TABACZYŃSKI (1977).

¹⁰ It is confirmed by the foundation inscription from Torcello – see note 11. About the inscription – see LAZZARINI (1969: 123–132); PERTUSI (1963–1964: 317–339).

period onward, the importance of Torcello grew dramatically. This growth was caused not only by intensive development of trade with Byzantium and other Adriatic Sea regions (especially from the 10th century) or the production of salt and wool, but also by the political independence of Torcello from nearby Venice. Unfortunately, when the lagoon gradually dried up, the island became an inaccessible swamp. Later, a malaria epidemic would come and bring the splendour of Torcello to an end. Most inhabitants moved to the nearby islands of Rialto, Burano, and Murano. The seat of the bishopric, moreover, was transferred to Murano island.

One of the buildings that can still be admired on the island of Torcello is Basilica Santa Maria Assunta (Basilica of the Assumption of Mary). According to the remains of the foundation inscription, its construction, founded by Isaac, the exarch of Ravenna, began in 639 AD under the emperor Heraclius.¹¹ Although the church has been rebuilt many times,¹² one can still see the outline of its original layout as a Roman basilica—a three-aisled building, without a transept, divided with columns, and having apses at the end of the nave and aisles.¹³ The decoration of the interior of the church consists mainly of decorative sculptural elements and mosaics, which appeared in their final shape in the 11th and 12th century.¹⁴ The mosaic decorations of the Basilica include: the representation of Theotokos with twelve Apostles in the main apse; the scene of the Annunciation on the triumphal arch; and angels that support the Lamb of God together with Christ between archangels and saints in the right apse.

The most extended mosaic that occupies almost the whole west wall of the Basilica is the scene described commonly as the representation of the

¹¹ The foundation inscription (today situated on the left side of the altar in the Basilica):

*‘[In nomine domi]NI DeI Nostri IHV XP. IMPerante DomiNo Nostro HERAclio
[perpetuo] AVGVSto Anno XXVIII INDIctione XIII FACTA
... SancTe MARIE DeI GENETricis EX IVSSione PIO ET...
DomiNo Nostro ISAACIO EXCELLentissimo ExarCho PATRICIO ET DeO
VOLente
... OEYSMER... ET... VS EXERC. HEC FABRIca Est...
...M ÷ MA /.../ B....\ GLORIOSVM MAGISTRO MILitum
AR.....RES.....EI...EM IN HVNC LOCVM SVVM
SIE..... SVIVS ECCLesiae.’*

(quotation after: LAZZARINI (1969: 124).

¹² About alterations of the Basilica – see among others: VECCHI (1977), ANDREESCU–TARANTOLA (1984), VECCHI (1985), POLACCO (1999).

¹³ Cf. e.g. POLACCO (1984: 12–13).

¹⁴ About sculptural decoration – see, e.g. POLACCO (1976), POLACCO (1984: 27–37). About mosaic decoration – see, e.g. POLACCO (1984: 47–104).

Hades as the ruler of the Damned

Last Judgement (Fig. 1). The date of erection of this mosaic complex provoked many discussions among different scholars.¹⁵ According to the most recent research, the mosaic was built most likely as a result of the reconstruction of the Basilica, which occurred at the beginning of the 11th century, during the reign of the family Orseolo in Torcello.¹⁶ From this period comes the larger part the mosaic (the lower part in the middle in the stripe with representation of the *Anastasis*, *Deesis* scene together with the young men in the background and the lower part of the representation with the Apostles sitting on the left side, the other lower parts of the complex mosaic with the exception of the fragment above the main entrance to the Basilica and the scene of the Resurrection of the dead from the seas on the right side of the fourth stripe).¹⁷ The rest of the mosaic complex comes from the period of its first restoration, which was prompted by damages caused by the earthquake that affected the Lagoon in 1117.¹⁸ To the half of the 12th century dates the fragment with the scene of *Psychostasis* and the representation of Mary-the-Orant above the main entrance to the Basilica, together with the fragment of the scene showing the Resurrection of the dead on the right side of the fourth stripe.¹⁹

¹⁵ Scholars provide various dates for the mosaic depending on different criteria. Most of them gave the date of the erection of the mosaic decoration basing on stylistic and iconographic comparisons. The literature of the subject, especially older publications, give various dates. For instance, Venturi dates the whole composition to the 9th century (VENTURI [1902: 492]), Conton introduces the division of the composition into two parts (four lower stripes dating to the 2nd half of the 9th century and two higher stripes dating to the beginning of the 11th century) (CONTON [1927: 6–7]), Lorenzetti dates the entire mosaic to the 12th–13th century (LORENZETTI (1956: 809)) and according to Musolino four lower stripes come from the 12th/13th century and the rest of the complex comes from the 13th century (MUSOLINO [1964: 17]).

¹⁶ Cf. ANDREESCU (1976: 260sqq).

¹⁷ RIZZARDI (2009: 62sqq).

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. POLACCO (1984: 26); ANDREESCU (1976).

¹⁹ ANDREESCU (1976: 250–252, fig. 8); RIZZARDI (2009: 67).



Fig. 1. The mosaic complex from the west wall of Basilica Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello. CHRISTE (2000: fig. 11)

Although the representation has deteriorated over time and has been the subject of several restoration and conservation processes,²⁰ its iconographic programme probably remained unchanged. The composition is divided into six stripes presenting different scenes. Overlooking the whole mosaic, in the centre there is the Crucifixion of Christ with Mary and Saint John on either side. The scene dominates the entire mosaic. Under this representation there is the scene of *Anastasis* (the Resurrection of Christ), between two archangels, Michael and Gabriel. The stripe below shows, in the centre, Christ in the oval frame with Mary and Saint John the Baptist. They are surrounded by twelve Apostles and saints (the scene of *Deesis*). Below, in the centre of the following stripe, there is *Etimasia* (the preparation of the Throne for Christ for the Last Judgement), with angels blowing the trumpet and the Resurrection of the dead from lands and seas on either side. Below, under the Throne, there is *Psychostasis* (the archangel Michael and the Devil weighing human souls). On Michael's

²⁰ On the restoration of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica of Torcello – see, e.g. POLACCO (1984: 105–119).

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side there is the representation of the Blessed in Paradise. The scene of the Damned is depicted on the other side, cracked down by two angels to hell. In the centre of the lowest stripe that surrounds the door, Mary is shown in the pose of Orant. The following figures appear on the left, beneath the Blessed: Abraham accepting souls, Mary, the Good Scoundrel, the Gates of Paradise, and Saint Peter. On the right, meanwhile, there is the scene showing six different parts of hell with disarticulated corpses of the Condemned suffering for their sins.

Hades on the throne: A brief study of the motif

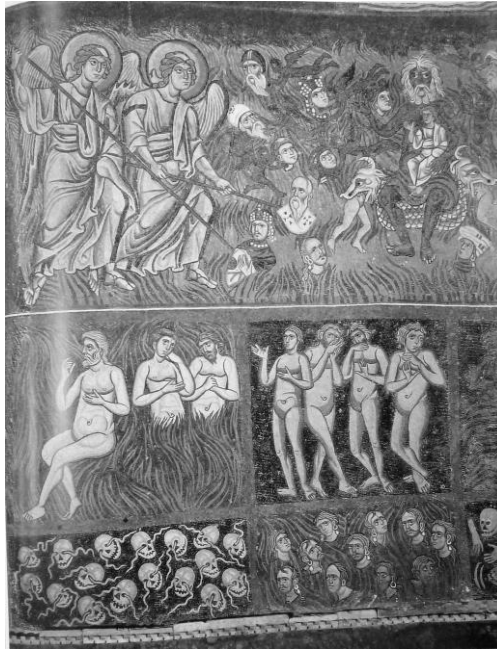


Fig. 2. The representation of hell from the mosaic complex in Torcello.
BASCHET (1996: 353)

This article focuses on the scene on the right in the penultimate stripe from below, depicting the first part of hell, in which two angels whip the Condemned to flames (Fig. 2).²¹ These flames come from the oval frame of Christ, shown in the scene above. The Christian Underworld is shown

²¹ The scene below showing other parts of hell and its interpretation has been analysed on another occasion – see KRAUZE-KOŁODZIEJ (2013).

here as a place filled with tongues of fire between which there are heads of rich sinners—kings (crowns and jewellery), popes (*pallium*), Eastern dignitaries (turbans), monks (hood), etc.—and flying, winged, blue-skinned demons. The whole right part of the scene is occupied by the figure of Hades sitting *en trois quarts* on the throne. He is shown in the iconographical type of an old man with long, white hair, white beard, and moustache. His body, covered with dark blue, inhuman skin, has distinctly outlined strong muscles. He is nude, wearing just a brown loincloth. His sitting position emphasizes the roundness of his stomach. He has long, pointed, white nails on both his hands and his feet. His facial expression is stern, underlined by prominent cheekbones, a long slender nose, and ominous eyes looking in both sides and with which he can see everything and everyone.

Hades here is shown as the ruler of the Underworld who sits on the throne made of two antithetical goat heads swallowing bodies of the Damned. The goat heads serve as armrests and are joined by the trunk of a snake or dragon, which forms the throne's seat.

Hades holds on his lap a young, barefooted man wearing a long tunic and *pallium*. Some researchers interpret the figure as the Antichrist,²² while others see a wealthy man from the evangelical parables about Saint Lazarus (Lc 16,19–31).²³ Both characters make the same ominous gesture: raising their right hands high towards the Condemned. This redoubling emphasizes the strong meaning of the gesture and makes it even more significant.

Some researchers, especially in older publications, describe the figure on the throne as Lucifer or the Devil. Most of the newest research, however, recognizes the figure as Hades, albeit without providing a wider interpretation.²⁴ The strongest argument for this identification is the comparison with ancient Greco-Roman culture and the manner in which Hades was represented in it.

In antiquity, Hades (Ἅιδης Ἄδης, Αἰδης Αἰδωνεύς)²⁵ was the King of the Underworld, the god of death and the dead, described variously as “Zeus of the nether world” (Hom. *Il.* 9,457),²⁶ “Haides, pitiless in heart, who dwells under the earth” (Hes. *Theog.* 455),²⁷ “Lord of the dead”

²² Cf. e.g. POLACCO (1984: 50, 67).

²³ Cf. e.g. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 174).

²⁴ Cf. note 5.

²⁵ Cf. BREMMER (2004: 1076). Etymology of the name of Hades and further bibliography – see SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 15–16).

²⁶ Translation after MURRAY (1924).

²⁷ Translation after EVELYN-WHITE (1914).

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(Aeschyl. *Pers.* 629),²⁸ or “the god below” (Soph. *Aj.* 571).²⁹ He was featured in many Greek myths, including the fight with Cronus and the abduction of Persephone, to name a few examples.³⁰

His function as the ruler of the dead was mentioned by many ancient Greek and Roman authors: Hesiod (*Theog.* 850: “Hades trembled where he rules over the dead below”),³¹ Aeschylus (*Eu.* 273sq: “For Haides is mighty in holding mortals to account under the earth, and he observes all things and within his mind inscribes them”)³² and Seneca (*Her. F.* 707sq: “What of him who holds sway over the dark realm? Where sits he, governing his flitting tribes? (...) A plain lies round about this where sits the god [Haides], where with haughty mien his awful majesty asserts the new-arriving souls. Lowering is his brow, yet such as wears the aspect of his brothers and his high race; his countenance is that of Jove, but Jove the thunderer; chief part of that realm’s grimness is its own lord, whose aspect whate’er is dreaded dreads”).³³

Although Hades was honoured during funeral ceremonies, few actual temples or shrines were dedicated to him in the ancient world.³⁴ This is perhaps due to the great fear that this god—who was also associated with his Kingdom and with the horrible fate of the dead—evoked in Greeks and Romans alike.³⁵

In ancient iconography, Hades was represented as a mature, or even old, man with a long beard and moustache, standing or sitting on a throne

²⁸ Translation after SMITH (1926).

²⁹ Translation after JEBB (1893).

³⁰ Cf. detailed description SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 16–31).

³¹ Translation after EVELYN-WHITE (1914).

³² Translation after SMITH (1926).

³³ Translation after MILLER (1917).

³⁴ Pausanias writes about the temple dedicated to Hades in Eleusis: Paus. 6, 25, 2: “The sacred enclosure of Hades and its temple (for the Eleans have these among their possessions) are opened once every year, but not even on this occasion is anybody permitted to enter except the priest. The following is the reason why the Eleans worship Hades; they are the only men we know of so to do. It is said that, when Heracles was leading an expedition against Pylus in Elis, Athena was one of his allies. Now among those who came to fight on the side of the Pylians was Hades, who was the foe of Heracles but was worshipped at Pylus” – translation after JONES–ORMEROD 1918.

³⁵ Cf. Str. 8, 3, 14. BREMMER claims that Hades had almost no cult because he was a divinity that was difficult to understand and took on many functions – cf. BREMMER (2004: 1076).

(Fig. 3–4). Frequently, he was shown in different mythological scenes connected with this character, e.g., the abduction of Persephone.³⁶



Fig. 3. Hades on the throne, volute krater, ca 330–310 BC, Antikensammlungen, Munich. (<http://www.theoi.com/Gallery/K14.1C.html>)

³⁶ For a discussion of the ancient iconography of Hades – see, e.g., SOPHULIS (1884); ARIAS (1960: 1081–1082); SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 31–34).

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Fig. 4. Hades on the throne with Cerberus, statue, Hellenistic period, Archaeological Museum, Pammukale. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: fig.

Iconographical comparisons

Hades (Pluto), the Hellenic-Roman god of the dead and ruler of the Underworld, like many other motifs (e.g., Good Shepherd, Orant), was brought from the ancient world to the Christian world. These examples show the iconographical and cultural continuity between ancient and early Christian tradition, illustrating the connection between pagan spirituality and the new era, influenced by Christian religion, that wanted to take advantage of well-known ancient motifs.³⁷

Thus, Hades is present in early medieval art. This figure appears firstly in the representations of the Harrowing to Hell (*Anastasis*) and then in the scenes of the Last Judgement. Sławomir Skrzyński analysed more than 100 examples of these motifs in his important monograph. Indeed, Skrzyński “offers a characterisation of the various types of the image,

³⁷ Basic bibliography, apart from publications devoted to separate motifs, dedicated to this phenomenon – see SKRZYŃSKI (2002: 7, note 1).

traces their origins, and attempts a chronological reconstruction of the image's reception and its changing functions in Byzantine art."³⁸

In this short article, the author presents the scene of Hades as the ruler of the Condemned in hell shown on the west wall of Basilica in Torcello. The correct recognition and the interpretation of the figure, based on its ancient prototype, seems extremely significant for the understanding of the whole mosaic. Even though the scene from Torcello is in every respect unique—due to its theological and iconographical programme expanding upon the complex meaning of Hades—it is just one example of the presence of this figure in early medieval art. Indeed, other works of art, although less complex, depict a similar motif.

Likely the earliest known example of the Scene of the Last Judgement with Hades on the throne shown as the ruler of the Condemned comes from the middle of the 10th century (Fig. 5).³⁹ It is an ivory plaquette from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The scene presenting Hades is nearly identical to the later motif from Torcello. They differ in two details, however. The young man on the lap of the pagan god here is nude, and the throne appears to be composed of four dragon heads swallowing different parts of the bodies of the Damned. The similarity of the two representations is so apparent that researchers believe that the authors of the Torcello mosaic were familiar with its plaquette prototype.⁴⁰

³⁸ SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 232).

³⁹ Cf. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 167).

⁴⁰ SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 168).

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Fig. 5. Fragment of the ivory relief presenting the Last Judgement, mid-10th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: fig. 81 - fragment)

Another example of the same scene comes from an 11th century manuscript, now kept in National Library in Paris (Ms. Grec. 74 fol. 51^v) (Fig. 6).⁴¹ This time, however, the representations are not so alike—Hades does not make any gesture, he sits on the throne made of a one-headed dragon (?) with the tail of a fish, and the young man on his lap is sitting centrally.

⁴¹ SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 168).



Fig. 6. Fragment of the miniature presenting the Last Judgement, Graec. 74, fol. 51v, 11th century, Paris. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: fig. 82 – fragment)

Finally, the author would like to discuss the image of Hades depicted on one of two icons with the scene of the Last Judgement from Saint Catherine's monastery (Sinai), dated to the second half of the 12th century (Fig. 7).⁴² Due to the poor state of preservation, the scene is quite difficult to describe and interpret. What one can recognize for certain is that the figure of Hades was present in the upper part of the representation of hell, similar to the other works of art, mentioned above. This time again, as on the manuscript kept in Paris, the pagan god of the dead is shown sitting on a one-headed dragon with his skin covered with scales. Hades does not

⁴² PACE (2006: 58).
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make any gesture. He holds the figure of a young man (just two legs of the figure are visible) on his lap.

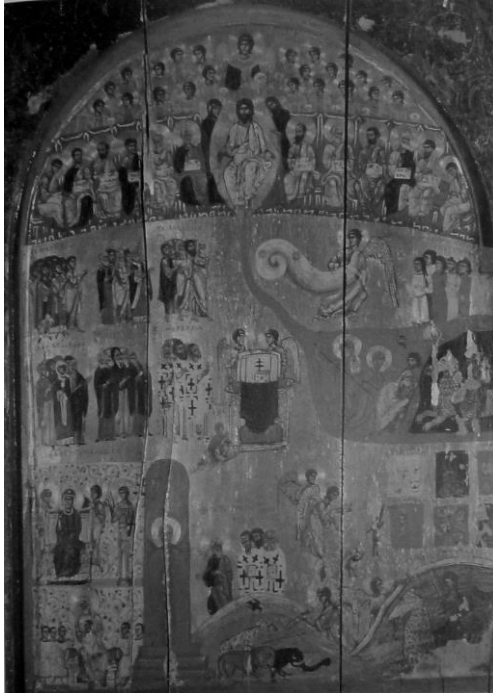


Fig. 7. Icon with the scene of the Last Judgement, St. Catherine monastery (Sinai), 2nd half of the 12th century. PACE (2006: 59)

Other examples of the described motif that come from the same period are very similar to the works of art mentioned above.⁴³ It seems clear, however, that the figure of Hades in the Torcello mosaic is more complex than the other examples. The iconography of the pagan god in the Basilica Santa Maria Assunta is not only the most developed and clearly comparable to the ancient prototype of the motif (iconographic type of an old man sitting on the throne), but it has also become an essential element of the whole programme of the mosaic. It is perhaps true that the presence of Hades as the ruler of hell might be explained by the need to fill the throne of the “ruler of the Christian Underworld.” In this way, Hades’ presence is due to a simple transfer of the ancient motif with an obvious change of meaning. Nevertheless, the fact that the same figure of Hades

⁴³ Cf. SKRZYNIARZ (2002: 168–169).

was repeated one more time in the scene of *Anastasis*, above, substantially expands its new Christian significance presented in Torcello (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Fragment of the mosaic complex from Torcello showing Hades defeated under the feet of Christ in the scene of *Anastasis*. POLACCO (1984: 84)

The same figure of the pagan god, shown as an old man with long white hair, a white beard, and a moustache, with his body covered with dark blue, inhumane skin, appears in the representation of *Anastasis* where he lies under the feet of Christ who defeats him, treading on him and hurling him to hell. In the perspective of this scene, the representation of Hades as the ruler of the Dead in hell below acquires a much stronger significance. The pagan god appears here as a completely defeated ruler of the Damned, symbolizing the final failure of Evil and, as Skrzyński says, “becoming [himself] identified with the eschatological hell.”⁴⁴

Conclusion

In this article, the author presented the figure of Hades as a motif that has been transferred from ancient to early medieval iconography. It played an especially significant role in the representation of the Last Judgement. One of the most extended examples of this theme is the scene showing Hades as a ruler of the Damned in the mosaic complex from the west wall of the

⁴⁴ SKRZYŃSKI (2002: 234).
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Basilica in Torcello. This figure of the pagan god was presented—without doubt intentionally—on the right side of the lower part of the mosaic, in the place that was clearly visible to the faithful every time they exited the Basilica. Even though the full analysis of this complex problem requires further, more detailed research, one can suppose that the presence of Hades sitting on his throne in hell emphasizes, in the author's opinion, the real subject of the enormous mosaic on the west wall. The mosaic portrays the idea of the final overcoming of Death, Sin, and Evil, thanks to God's love and the greatest sacrifice that He could have given to His people—the death and Resurrection of His Son.

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“*NOBIS ID MAXIME STUDENDUM,
UT OBSEQUI STUDEAMUS*”*

ERIKA JUHÁSZ

The *editio princeps* of the Chronicon Paschale was edited by the Jesuit Matthäus Rader in 1615. He also added the Latin translation of the chronicle on the opposite sides of the pages containing the Greek text. We can also gain valuable information regarding the circumstances of the edition from his Latin correspondence with remarkable statesmen and scholars. From the letters, we can learn which Latin works and translations Rader used to amend the, at times, corrupt Greek text. In our presentation, we intend to present an overview of our observations regarding the Latin language of Rader’s correspondence and the introduction and translation of the Chronicon Paschale.

The Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius of Loyola, spread particularly quickly in the German territories. The Jesuits believed that the inadequate qualification of the clergy was the primary ground for the Reformation. Thus, they founded grammar schools wherever they settled. Grammar-school education began in 1555 in Ingolstadt and in 1559 in Munich. Later, they settled in even more cities. In the German areas, the Bavarian House of Wittelsbach first realized their significance and invited the Jesuits to gain support against the Reformation in reinforcing the Catholic Church. The Bavarian Dukes, Albert V, William V, and Maximilian I (the latter was Elector of Bavaria from 1623), supported the Jesuit order with extraordinary energy. Maximilian, who conducted conscious cultural policy in addition to his profound reforms, particularly stands out among them.

It was at Maximilian’s request that Matthäus Rader, the teacher of rhetoric at the Jesuit College of St. Salvator in Augsburg, was reassigned to Munich. Rader became the teacher of the humanities and rhetoric in the Jesuit College of St. Michael in 1612 and served also as rector in 1614, 1624, and in 1631. Indeed, after attending Jesuit grammar school in Munich, Rader completed his university studies in Innsbruck and, at the

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age of 20, on 12 September 1581, joined the Jesuit order.¹ He taught rhetoric in the Jesuit College of St. Salvator in Augsburg from 1591.

Matthäus Rader was an excellent teacher, but he also pursued academic activity in the fields of historiography, hagiography, and particularly philology. His fame derives primarily from his work as a historiographer. At the request of Maximilian I, Rader contributed to a new work discussing the history of Bavaria. From then onwards, Maximilian's historiographers were selected from the Jesuits—though the leaders of the Jesuit order did not accept this assignment warmly. Indeed, although Rader prepared an outline of Bavarian history from the appearance of the House of Wittelsbach in 1180 to the beginning of his own age, the three-volume manuscript was never published in print. The leaders of the Jesuit order did not permit the printing of the original manuscript for fear that certain chapters might offend the imperial court in Vienna or the Roman Curia. Thus, the *Bavaria sancta et pia*—rather than the *Historia Bavarica*—became Rader's masterpiece.² The work was also commissioned by Maximilian I, and it was published in a particularly decorative edition at the expense of the court. He won this commission thanks to his *Viridarium Sanctorum*, a three-volume work presenting the most important saints of the Catholic Church, published in Augsburg between 1604 and 1612.³ Maximilian was impressed by this work and asked Rader to write about the lives of the Bavarian saints in the same way. The *Bavaria sancta et pia*—similarly in three volumes—was published in an extraordinarily decorated edition because Maximilian intended to stress the leading role of the House of Wittelsbach in converting the German people to the Catholic faith through the biographies and depictions of the Bavarian saints.⁴

In accordance with the tradition of the Jesuit school dramas, Rader also wrote plays. Although during his philological activity he also became famous as a scholar of Classical Greek, he was rather acknowledged due

¹ SCHMID-ZÄH-STRODEL (1995: XXIII–LI), with further literature on Rader's life and time.

² *Bavaria sancta et pia*. I–IV. München 1615–1627 (Dillingen 1704²).

³ *Viridarium sanctorum ex Menaeis Graecorum lectum, translatum et annotationibus similibusque passim, historiis Latinis, Graecis; editis, ineditis illustratum a Matthaeo Radero e Societate Iesu etc.* Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg) 1604; *Viridarium sanctorum pars altera de simplici obedientia, et contemptu sui, cum auctario de quorundam simplicium dictis et factis, ex Latinis, Italicis, Graecis delibata et conscripta et recognita a Matthaeo Rader de Societate Iesu.* Augustae Vindelicorum 1610; *Viridarium sanctorum pars tertia continet illustria sanctorum exempla, ex Graecis et Latinis scriptoribus deprompta a Matthaeo Rader de Societate Iesu.* Augustae Vindelicorum 1612 (München 1614² I–III).

⁴ WILD-SCHWARZ-OSWALD (*et alii*) (1991: 192–194).

to his Latin text editions. The school editions of Martial's epigrams⁵ and Curtius Rufus' work, together with commentaries, were published several times;⁶ he even prepared commentaries to Seneca.⁷

In 1604, Rader edited Greek and Latin versions of Petrus Siceliotus' historical work about the Manicheans (*Historia Manichaeorum*)⁸ and the acts of the 8th Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.⁹ Later, he also published John Climacus' work with a detailed introduction.¹⁰ In 1615, in Munich, he published the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*,¹¹ which is one of the definitive works of the Christian chronography and Byzantine history. In the modern specialized literature, following Du Cange, this work is quoted as the *Paschal Chronicle* or *Chronicon Paschale*. Rader, however, did not use this title; rather, he called the work the *Alexandrian Chronicle* (*Chronicon Alexandrinum*).

Although Rader finished the edition of the Paschal Chronicle before his arrival in Munich—at least according to our sources, he did not work on the manuscript after 1611—, the chronicle was not published in print

⁵ M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri XII, xeniorum liber, apophoretorum liber. Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt) 1599; M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri omnes, novis commentariis, multa cura, studioque confectis, explicati, illustrati. Rerumque et verborum lemmatum item et communium locorum variis et copiosis iudicibus aucti a Mattheo Radero de Societate Iesu. Ingolstadii 1602. As Rader intended his Martialis-editions for school-textbooks (*ad usum Delphini*), he was compelled to omit certain epigrams. On his method and the possibilities of the edition see: RÖMMELT (2010: 309–326).

⁶ Q. Curtii Rufi de rebus ab Alexandro Magno gestis libri octo, in capita distincti, et synopsis argumentisque illustrati; accessere vita Curtii, et elogia, breviarium vitae Alexandrae Magni per annos et olympiadas digestae; Alexander ab antiquis et variis scriptoribus, cum imperatoribus, regibus, ducibus compositus. Monachii 1615.

⁷ Matthaei Raderi e Societate Iesu ad Senecae Medeam commentarii. Monachii 1631.

⁸ Petri Siculi Historia ex manuscripto codice bibliothecae Vaticanae Graece cum Latina versione edita per Matthaenum Raderum e Societate Iesu. Ingolstadii 1604.

⁹ Acta sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilii octavi, Constantinopolitani quarti. Ingolstadii 1604.

¹⁰ Sancti Ioannis Climaci liber ad religiosum pastorem, qui est de officio coenobiarchae, ex tribus manuscriptis codicibus Graecis illust. bibliothecae Reipublicae Augustanae erutus, tralatus, et observationibus illustratus, recognitusque. Monachii 1614.

¹¹ Chronicon Alexandrinum idemque astronomicum et ecclesiasticum, (vulgo Siculum seu fasti Siculi) ab Sigonio, Panvinio, aliisque passim laudatum partimque Graece editum; nunc integrum Graece cum Latina interpretatione vulgatum opera et studio Matthei Raderi de Societate Iesu. Monachii 1615.

until 1615. We can gain valuable information about the birth of the edition primarily from Rader's correspondence. Rader's life and works have been insufficiently researched thus far, and the study of his rich correspondence is, therefore, particularly important.¹² The existence of the lengthy material is not only due to Rader's personality; it is partly rooted in the structure of the Jesuit order. In contrast to other religious orders that pursued their activities in isolation, members of the Jesuit order were in close contact. The members did not settle in certain places for good. Rather, they were sent to various monasteries as the occasion required. Further, it was characteristic for the Jesuits to be in touch through written correspondence. The Jesuits had more widespread correspondence than the members of other religious orders in the 16th and 17th centuries. They did not only exceed their contemporaries regarding the number of letters written; the letters were written in a literary language that reflected the high qualification of the Jesuits.¹³

Rader's correspondence has a prominent place in the Jesuit material kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, but the codices of the Jesuit Archive of the Upper German Province contain a correspondence of similar length. In the 18th century, the court librarian in Munich, Andreas Felix von Oefele, copied several letters from Rader's correspondence, including letters that are now lost. The letters end several years before Rader's death, which also suggests that the extant material is not complete.¹⁴

The letters are challenging for the modern reader. Not only must we face the difficulties of deciphering the various handwritings of the correspondents, we also must struggle to understand the numerous abbreviations used in the letters.

The letters are written in Jesuit Latin, the understanding of which requires a thorough knowledge of the Latin language. Furthermore, Greek and Hebrew expressions and quotations often appear in the Latin text. Although the Jesuits regarded Classical Latin as their ideal, its vocabulary was not always adequate for the expression of the correspondents'

¹² The Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften) plans to edit Rader's correspondence in three volumes. The first two volumes (the letters in Latin with notes) have already been published. For the data of the first volume see above; the data of the second volume are: SCHMID-HAUB-RÖMMELT-LUKAS (2009). In the third volume in progress the editors plan to present the correspondents. Hereafter I will quote the letters with reference to the number of the letters published in the first two volumes. For the Rader-correspondence also see: SCHMID (2005: 61–78).

¹³ SCHMID-ZÄH-STRODEL (1995: XXIX–XXXIII).

¹⁴ In addition to the foreword to the second volume of the Rader-correspondence also see: SCHMID (2010: 420–442).

thoughts. Thus, they had to build new words and, if they could not find neologisms, they inserted expressions from modern foreign languages into the Latin text. In their correspondence with their superiors and former teachers, they paid particular attention to the use of artistic expressions. We constantly find references to antique antecedents, which are also difficult to interpret, even when we manage to recognize them.

Rader started the preparatory works for the edition of the *Chronicon Paschale* in 1603. Several times he asked for the opinions of other renowned (primarily Jesuit) scholars regarding dubious passages in the chronicle. Conversely, many of his correspondents sought data based on the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* for their own works-in-progress.

Rader had been working on the edition for three years when, at the beginning of 1607, Welser wrote to him with some unpleasant news: in 1606, Joseph Justus Scaliger had published the *Thesaurus temporum*, in which he published passages from the *Paschal Chronicle* among the Greek testimonia used to reconstruct Eusebius of Caesarea's lost chronographical work.¹⁵ Rader could not access the *Thesaurus temporum* immediately and, on the basis of its title, believed that Scaliger's work mirrored his own work—the edition of which was then almost ready for publication.¹⁶ Rader felt relieved when he at last reviewed Scaliger's book. He wrote to Welser that Scaliger had not edited the whole of the chronicle and that work could therefore continue on his own edition.¹⁷

The Jesuits found the work of the Protestant Scaliger offensive. In a letter written on 29 January 1607, Ferdinand Crenel—relating a message from Jacob Gretser—urged Rader to collect those passages in the Paschal Chronicle that had been consciously altered by the swaggering Thrasos, particularly by Scaliger. Gretser had already collected these falsifications from the text, and he expected a similar collection from Rader in the edition so that he could occasionally exploit them against Scaliger.¹⁸ The nickname Thraso was used repeatedly by Crenel: it is a reference to a character in Terence's play *Eunuchus* who represented the swaggering soldier.

Crenel repeated his request also in the postscript of his letter written on 26 March.¹⁹ One and a half years later, when Rader sent the manuscript of the edition to Ingolstadt for censorship, Crenel again returned to the question and—delivering Gretser's message—wrote that he hoped Rader

¹⁵ *Ep.* II: 539.

¹⁶ *Ep.* II: 540.

¹⁷ *Ep.* II: 541.

¹⁸ *Ep.* I: 193.

¹⁹ *Ep.* I: 195.

had marked those passages that the Mule had left out or altered.²⁰ The name *Mule* (*Burdo* in Latin) again refers to Scaliger: Crendel played with Scaliger's original family name *Bordone*.

From his correspondence, we can learn that, at the end of 1607, Rader stopped working on the chronicle for a short time due to his other tasks, but that he finished the work by June 1608 at the latest. On 25 October 1608, Gretser (through Crendel) informed Rader that the manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle (mentioned as *Chronicon Siculum* or *Alexandrinum* in the letter) had arrived at Ingolstadt for the censorship.²¹

No concise work is now available regarding Jesuit censorship.²² However, primarily thanks to Rader's letters, we can reconstruct to some extent how this preliminary judgement took place among the Jesuits. The censorship in Augsburg commissioned the Society of Jesus to check the works prior to publication by the members of the order. This preliminary review could take place on several levels: apart from the college, province, and Roman superiors, even the Curia could intervene in the publication of debated works. It could happen that the publication of a work was prohibited already at lower levels in order to avoid possible debates later. Since the Jesuits paid attention to the elaborateness of the language of their publications, the censorship also comprised a review of the language. During this process, the text was thoroughly cleared of orthographical and stylistic errors. The censors who were then commissioned were often members of the Jesuit order selected by the superiors of the order.

However, the publication of the Paschal Chronicle was hung up. The final touches on the manuscript were delayed by the fact that even the Jesuit censors failed to find agreement regarding certain passages.²³

Rader also prepared notes to the Chronicle and planned to assemble a lengthy appendix.²⁴ In the work's introduction, entitled *Animadversiones ad Chronicum Alexandrinum*, Rader added shorter or longer notes to 21 loci after his discussion of the author, the work, and the Augsburg manuscript.

In some of these notes, Rader discusses how the Greek text of the Paschal Chronicle could be emended in some passages, in his opinion. The readings suggested in the *Animadversiones* were not added to the Greek main text of the edition, but they do appear in brackets in the parallel Latin translation. Rader could not consult the oldest and best Vatican manuscript of the Chronicle from the 10th century. Despite this fact, he managed to

²⁰ *Ep.* I: 217.

²¹ *Ep.* I: 217.

²² RÖMMELT (2010: 309–326).

²³ *Ep.* II: 570.

²⁴ *Ep.* II: 575.

Nobis id maxime studendum, ut obsequi studeamus

reconstruct a Greek text—although not written coherently—which was exploited by later editors and which—with minor corrections—can be built in the text of the new critical edition. With his research on the sources of the chronicle, Rader offers valuable data also for the *apparatus fontium* in progress.

For the Latin translation, Rader used the sources available in Latin that deal with the eras discussed. However, he did not quote the texts of his sources word by word; rather, he rendered the vocabulary and the grammatical structures of the Greek text into Latin in an original way. For an illustration, consider the following paragraph:

RADER ed. (1615: 654):

ἸΝΔ. ιδ', ζ' ὑπ. Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ β' καὶ Λικινίου. Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς τε, καὶ τὰ πάντα σωφρονεστάτου, παιδὸς Κωνσταντίου, πρὸς τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν πεποιθήσιν ἐσχηκότος καὶ κινήσαντος κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων Μαξιμίου Γαλερίου καὶ Μαξεντίου, ὧφθη αὐτῷ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπερχομένῳ πολεμῆσαι φωτοειδῶς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ, μέσον καὶ ὑποκάτω δια (sic) φωτοειδῶν γραμμάτων ταῦτα, ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΝΙΚΑ, καὶ φανερότατα πίπτει μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Μαξέντιος πνιγείς εἰς τὸν τίβεριν (sic) ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν γέφυραν μουλουβίου (sic), βασιλεύσας (sic) ἔτη ζ', Γαλέριος δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἠττηθείς (sic) ὑπὸ Λικινίου ἐν Κιλικίᾳ φυγὰς ὄλετο, βασιλεύσας ἔτη θ', πολὺν στρατὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλώσας, οἷα τύραννός τις ὦν καὶ ἀγεννής.

RADER ed. (1615: 655):

IND. XIV. Cons. VI. Constantino Aug. II. et Licinio Coss.
Constantinus Imperator, pius, caeteraque omnia moderatissimus Constantii filius, a supremo omnium Imperatore Deo, Deique nato unico, Domino nostro Iesu Christo fidem edoctus, tyrannorum, ut qui maxime impiorum, Maximini Galerii et Maxentii victor, cum in eos exercitum duceret, e caelo signum Crucis illustre spectavit, in quo radiantibus ab imo ad medium literis (legebat) IN HOC VINCE. Cadit ergo apertissime Maxentius, Romae haustus Tiberi flumine, ad pontem Mulvium, cum annos sex regnasset. Galerius Maximinus a Licinio fusus in Cilicia cum ingenti exercitu, uti tyrannus profugus et inglorius cum novennium imperasset, deletus est.

In the second line of the quotation, the expression ἐκ βασιλέων is missing between the words Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως and εὐσεβοῦς, although it appears in the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* (in the codex unicus). In this passage, the text was copied correctly by Andreas Darmarios in the *Codex Monacensis Graecus 557*, on which Rader's edition was based. However, Rader left this out of the text—we do not know why. The same

happened to the passage διὰ φωτισειδῶν γραμμάτων ῥωμαϊκῶν ταῦτα, EN ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΝΙΚΑ, from which the word ῥωμαϊκῶν is missing in Rader's edition, although it is present in the manuscripts.

In Rader's Latin translation, in the Greek text the verb ὄφθη is the predicate next to the subject τὸ σημεῖον, and the temporal subordination is substituted with *Genitivus absolutus* and *Participium coniunctum*. In contrast, Rader makes Constantinus the subject, which is connected to the conjugated form of the verb *specto* I (*spectavit*); the word *signum* is here *Singularis Accusativus*.

He translates the *participium coniunctum* καὶ κινήσαντος κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων Μαξιμίνου Γαλερίου καὶ Μαξεντίου with a temporal subordinate clause (*cum in eos exercitum duceret*) the implicit subject of which is Constantinus. While in the Greek text the words δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων Μαξιμίνου Γαλερίου καὶ Μαξεντίου are in genitive due to the preposition κατὰ, in Rader's translation the word *victor*, an apposition to Constantinus required *Genitivus obiectivus*. For Rader, the verb was missing before the "celestial inscription", thus he supplemented the text with the conjugated form of the verb *lego* (*legebat*) the subject of which would be again Constantinus. The original Greek sentence is comprehensible also without a new verb: the verb ὄφθη can also refer to ταῦτα.

In the summer of 1610, then in January 1611, the rector in Olmütz, Decker, through his intermediaries, wrote to Rader that he would like to have a look at the bilingual edition preferably before its publication. From Rader's answer we can learn that he was ready to send the manuscripts to Olmütz, but he awaited the decision of his superiors as to whether he could do so. Finally, he could not finish the notes and expressed his concerns about the safe arrival of the manuscripts to Olmütz.

Unfortunately, we do not know why the publication of the Paschal Chronicle was delayed in the next four years, between 1611 and 1615. No doubt he gained from the Jesuits his linguistic skills, academic knowledge, his position, and the opportunity to participate in and form the intellectual life of Bavaria. However, the order also put obstacles in the path of his career. The printing of his *Historia Bavarica* was prohibited; and, in the case of the Paschal Chronicle, we begin to see the role his superiors and fellow members of the order had in the birth of the work. Beside the remarks from his colleagues eager to help, it is also apparent that the *editio princeps* of the Paschal Chronicle—which counted as a milestone in the history of the neglected chronicle—could not be realized in accordance with Rader's original plans. At the beginning of the work, in the dedication to Chancellor Herwart, Rader remarks: "*Notas coepi potius, quam perfecí, quod, uti nosti, me alia atque alia negotia a destinato labore, avocarent, nec spes ulla appareret ad illas redeundi*".²⁵ The last

²⁵ RADER ed. (1615: 6).

paragraph of the chapter *Animadversiones* also seems to confirm this: “*Has ego Animadversiones ad finem usque pertexuissem, nisi maiorum auctoritas opera mea aliis in negotiis usa esset, utereturque hodie. Hic est status et conditio Sociorum, ut et inchoare, et inchoata relinquere pro usu et necessitudine rerum cogamur, ostendamusque ex omni genere studiorum, nobis id maxime studendum, ut obsequi studeamus.*”²⁶

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²⁶ RADER ed. (1615: 37).

BIRTH AND DEATH IN MICHAEL VERANCIUS' POEMS WRITTEN TO THE SZAPOLYAI FAMILY IN 1540*

GYÖRGY PALOTÁS

Michael Verancius (Mihovil Vrančić, 1514?–1571), the Croatian (and Hungarian) humanist, wrote two poems about the considerable events of the Szapolyai family's life in 1540. John Sigismund, son of King John I (John Szapolyai, 1487–1540), was born in Buda on 7 July 1540. Verancius composed a greeting poem entitled *Nativitas primogeniti filii Ioannis Hungariae regis* for this occasion. However, the Hungarian king died directly after his son's birth in Szászsebes on 21 July 1540. Verancius wrote also a funeral poem entitled *In obitum Ioannis Hungariae regis: Lacrimae* at the moment of mourning. This paper examines these occasional poems of Verancius as well as their generic traits. Numerous valuable literary works can be hidden in connection with the humanists of South-Slav origin and their research is timely and necessary. The main aim of my paper is to publish the texts of these manuscripts, which are not widely known.

Introduction

The scientific investigation of the humanist circle, which was organised around King John Szapolyai (1487–1540) and, after his death, around Isabella Jagiełło (1519–1559), is often neglected in Hungarian and international studies as a result of both the lack of relevant sources and their inaccessible condition. The deficiency of a safe and constant royal centre had great influence on literary development in Hungary in the sixteenth century. The court of John I was one of many aristocratic centres. In fact, the literary significance of the Szapolyai circle lags far behind other noblemen. First of all, the examination of Stephanus Brodericus' (Stjepan Brodarić) and Antonius Verancius' (Antun Vrančić)

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literary activities took priority. I would like to present Michael Wrantius/Verancius' (1514?–1571) two lesser-known poems from 1540, which are also published at the end of the paper.

Historical background

On 29 August 1526, the Hungarian army was seriously defeated at Mohács. The battle was over within two hours, and the Hungarian armed forces were annihilated. At least ten thousand foot soldiers, many barons (28), almost all of the bishops (7), and the commander-in-chief, Pál Tomori, were killed. From a political point of view, the greatest loss was the death of King Louis II, who fell from his horse and was drowned in the Csele stream.¹ The Hungarian state apparatus was paralysed. There was neither joint action nor resistance in the country. The subsequent decades were characterized by political chaos. After the defeat at Mohács, the divided Hungarian estates elected two kings simultaneously, and the internal consolidation of the country therefore became very difficult. The majority of the nobles elected John Szapolyai, the voivod (Hungarian *vajda*) of Transylvania on 11 November 1526, while a small group of magnates recognized the Habsburg archduke and the Bohemian king, Ferdinand I's claims for the throne on 16 December 1526.² The armed conflicts between the new rival monarchs further weakened the country from inside. After the Sack of Rome, Ferdinand was able to send armies into Hungary. The well-trained German mercenaries had no difficulties in defeating Szapolyai's ragtag armies. As a result of the defeat, he was forced to flee to Poland in 1528. In his hopeless situation, King John I established contact with the Sublime Porte. Suleiman recognized Szapolyai as the legitimate king of Hungary at the beginning of 1528 and, in the Treaty of Istanbul, promised him military assistance. The Ottoman armies reappeared in Hungary in the summer of 1529 and had little difficulty in pushing Ferdinand's troops into western Hungary. A substantial part of the country was under control of Szapolyai again with Turkish assistance by 1530. However, neither of the opponents was able to acquire the entire royal power permanently. The unsuccessful and senseless fight led to reconciliation. After lengthy preparations, the Treaty

¹ PERJÉS (1979: 413–441), SZAKÁLY (1981: 22–36), SUGAR–HANÁK–FRANK (1990: 80–83).

² For the events after the defeat of Mohács and the period of the double election for the royal throne of Hungary, see, for example: JÁSZAY (1846), SZALAY (1861), BARTA (1977: 1–31), BARTA (1981: 152–205), KUNT–WOODHEAD (1995: 192–234), VÁRKONYI (1999: 13–46), PÁLFFY (2010: 50–76).

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of Várad was concluded on 24 February 1538.³ Ferdinand or his successors were to inherit Szapolyai's realm, but he was obliged to defend the country with imperial forces against the probable Ottoman attack. King John I renounced the Hungarian throne on his heirs behalf. The Treaty of Várad did not assure the reunification of the two non-Ottoman parts of the country. King John married Isabella Jagiełło on 2 March 1539. Isabella gave birth to a son before King John's death in 1540. Meanwhile Ferdinand I unexpectedly betrayed the Treaty of Várad to the sultan, hoping the Turks were going to recognize him as the king of Hungary. When Szapolyai died in July, his almighty treasurer George Martinuzzi, bishop of Várad and Bálint Török de Enying, not only refused to surrender the country to Ferdinand, but also had the infant elected to be King John II and the election was confirmed by Istanbul.

The authorship of the poems

According to the title of the volume manuscript—*Praeludia Michaelis Verantii*—the poems examined in this paper were written by a certain Michael Verancius (Dalmata). He can be identified as the Šibenik-born, Croatian humanist Michael Verancius of Bosnian origin⁴ (Mihovil Vrančić, Mihály Verancsics, 1514?–1571)⁵ who was also an active humanist in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶ He was related to Iohannes Statilius (Ivan Statilić, ?–1542) who was a famous diplomat of King John I as well as the bishop of Transylvania from 1528.⁷ Michael's brother, Antonius Verancius (Antun Vrančić, 1504–1573), was an outstanding humanist of the sixteenth century who was a Latin writer, a diplomat, the Archbishop of Esztergom, as well as the governor of Hungary. After his short studies he arrived at the court of Szapolyai. After King John had

³ VÁRKONYI (1999: 40–43), SUGAR–HANÁK–FRANK (1990: 85), PÁLFFY (2010: 66)

⁴ His father, Frane Vrančić came from a Bosnian family and his mother, Margareta Statilić was of Dalmatian ancestry. The surname first appeared in the Dalmatian documents in the thirteenth century, see BIRNBAUM (1986: 213).

⁵ Cf. CYTOWSKA (1967–1968: 171–179), JURIC (1971), CYTOWSKA (1975: 164–173), BIRNBAUM (1986: 213–240), URBAN (1987: 157–165), FALIŠEVAC–NOVAKOVIĆ (2000: 780–781), BESSENYEI (2011: 401–402). The first work, which reviews the biography of Verancius in detail, is the university thesis (entitled *De vita et operibus Michaelis Verantii*) of Elemér Málusz. Unfortunately this work got lost, see SOÓS (1999: 188).

⁶ I did not aim for completeness in the course of presenting the author's biography. I review the life of Michael Verancius until the death of his most considerable supporter, John Szapolyai.

⁷ For details about his life, see SÖRÖS (1916: 1–56).

escaped abroad, the young Michael went to Cracow where he entered the service of the bishop Petrus Tomicki (1464–1535).⁸ It is widely known that when he was fifteen years old, he was a student of Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579).⁹ Undoubtedly, all the members of the Statilius and the Verancius families were loyal intellectuals of King John. This is manifest in several works of Michael Verancius, including the two reviewed poems in this paper, the two elegies concerning the *querela Hungariae*-topos in 1528, and the wedding poem (*epithalamion*) written for John Szapolyai and Isabella Jagiełło's wedding in 1539. After King John's death, Michael Verancius was in Queen Isabella's service where he was also one of the courtmen. Finally, he went home to Dalmatia in 1544.

Greeting poems to the John Sigismund's birth

On the occasion John Sigismund's birth, the Verancius brothers wrote glorifying elegies. The two brothers' literary activities, especially their historical works, seem to be interwoven on the basis of current research.¹⁰ The comparison of the similar topics and the style of the poems may shed light on the siblings' literary techniques, as well as their literary contact with each other. Fortunately, Queen Isabella gave birth to a male heir in Buda on 7 July 1540.¹¹ Michael Verancius wrote a glorifying poem entitled *Nativitas primogeniti filii Ioannis Hungariae regis* for John Sigismund's birth which remained in manuscript and now it is located in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.¹² This theme must have been highly popular: Venceslaus Schamotuliensis (Wacław Szamotulski) also

⁸ CYTOWSKA (1967–1968: 171), URBAN (1987: 158), BESENYEI (2011: 401).

⁹ He matriculated at the Academy of Cracow (most often referred to as Jagiellonian University) in August 1527, see CHMIEL (1892: 238).

¹⁰ Michael Verancius played a great part in the completion of Antonius Verancius' planned historical work. Michael has compiled his work which presents the events in Hungary in 1536 (entitled *Liber de rebus Hungaricis 1536*) on behalf of his brother's commission. While this historical work was checked by Antonius who also added a few comments into the marginal. Cf. ACSÁDY (1894: 21–22).

¹¹ BETHLEN (1782: 321): *In hac itaque infirmitate constitutus dum ibi commoraretur, adfertur ei nuntium (quod Sigismundo quoque Poloniae regi renuntiatum erat) reginam Isabellam Budae die 7. Julii filium esse feliciter enixam.* Nicolas ISTHVANFI also confirms this date of birth. – ISTHVANFI (1622: 225): *Isabella, Vaivoda coniunx filiolum masculum enixa est anno 1540. 7. Iulii.* Antonius Verancius only mentions in the *Memoria rerum* that “Iszabella királyné asszon szöle egy gyermeket Budában szent Lőrinc napja előtt.” – VERANCICS (1857: 44).

¹² National Széchényi Library (hereafter OSZK), *sign.* Quart. Lat. 776. fol. 7r–7v.

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wrote a poem, now lost, entitled *In nativitate Sigismundi filii regis Ioannis et Isabellae*. According to Endre Veress, this work appeared at the Hieronym Viator's press in Cracow in 1540.¹³ We cannot compare the work of Verancius with this lost poem. However his brother, Antonius Verancius, also wrote a poem entitled *De felici nativitate Ioannis II, Serenissimi Ioannis regis filii* for this occasion.

Michael Verancius' *Nativitas primogeniti filii Ioannis Hungariae regis*

The dominant aesthetic category is glorification (*laudatio*) in the salutatory poems of both Michael and Antonius. The classical rhetorical works already offered the elements of formal as well as content elements to occasional poets.¹⁴ This tradition was well known for the Verancius brothers of the faction of Szapolyai who had classical education. Features of laudation are noticeable everywhere in Verancius' poem. The content of his poem is the following: finally the crown prince who was so desired by everyone so long was born. The new king (*princeps*) means the sole salvation and hope for the wars exhausted by Pannonia. The glorification of the noble child (*generosa propago*) starts with the description of his physical appearance and his personality.¹⁵ Brightness (*candor*) appears on his young face: his appearance is very similar to his father, he inherited the charm of the virginal Queen Isabella and he has got all of the favourable

¹³ V. Schamotuliensis: *In nativitate illustrissimi domini Ioannis Sigismundi, principis Hungariae et Transylvaniae, Marchionis quoque Moraviae ac Lusatae et ducis utriusque Silesiae, filii serenissimorum principum domini Ioanni et dominae Isabellae reginae Hungariae, poema gratulatorium, Cracoviae excudebat Hieronymus Viator IIII kalendas Augusti, anno a natali Dominico MDXL, 4^o – ESTREICHER t. XXX. p. 202, VERESS (1901: 86).*

¹⁴ The recommendations for *laudatio* from Cicero, Quintilian, and the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* withstand comparison. Each treatise favours particular organizational principles. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* claims that praise can be of *rerum exterarum, corporis, animi* (3,10). These categories may trace the subject's career, from birth, to education, to achievements and character (3,13–14). Cicero distinguishes between *optanda* and *laudanda* (Cic. *De Or.* 2,342), including birth, good looks, and wealth among the former, and virtues among the latter. Quintilian recommended structure is to praise the subject either in chronological sequence, from the time before their birth onwards (Quint. *Inst.* 3,7,10–18).

¹⁵ M. VERANCIUS: *Nativitas primogeniti filii Ioannis Hungariae regis, 5–8: Omnia persimilis patri, nisi matris in illo, / virgineus grato candor in ore foret. / Non nihil est etiam, quod avum quasi tangat utrumque, / sic in se magnae semina gentis habet.*

qualities of both the Szapolyai and the Jagiełło families. After that, the narrator of the poem turns to the infant. The narrator wishes him a long and glorious reign, since the people, the royal court (*aula*), and the Hungarian aristocrats (*proceres*) would stand up uniformly for their legitimate ruler (*cui populi et passim regna subesse velint*). The former glory of Hungary—probably the period of Louis the Great (1326–1382)—is recalled with the mention of the re-linking of the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea.¹⁶

Verancius is thought to have emphasized these elements in his poem, as opposed to Ferdinand's legitimate claim for the Hungarian throne since 1538. The exulted personification of Pannonia also greets the beauty (*delicias*) of everyone. In the second half of the elegy (lines 17–28), the homeland, Pannonia, speaks to his enemies and to John's child in the form of a prophecy. His son is named for King John's lawful successor in spite of the 1538 Treaty of Várada. It is declared proudly to his enemies with the anaphora editing (*opponam [...] opponam*):

*Atque ait: Infensi toto hostes orbe venite,
opponam vobis principis ora novi.
Opponam regem metuendaque sceptrā. Cubantem
cernite, et in cunis multa minantis habet.*¹⁷

The continuity of the Szapolyai family is provided by the child's birth.¹⁸ Pannonia directly turns to the young John Sigismund in the second part of his speech. Now his most important task is to grow up quickly.¹⁹ He is going to become the safe support of his father and his homeland (*et patris et patriae dulce iuvamen*) in this chaotic age. If he follows King John I's advice, Fortuna will provide him not condemnable victories.²⁰

¹⁶ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 11–12: *Tu semel Euxinos iterum coniungere fluctus / Adriaco poteris Dalmaticoque mari.*

¹⁷ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 17–20.

¹⁸ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 21–22: *Nam pater in nato, natusque in patre renatus, / vivet, et hinc generis ordo perennis erit.*

¹⁹ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 23–24: *At tu cresce, puer, iuvenesque velociter annos. / Ingrederē, atque aevi robora firma tui.* Cf. *Ov. Met.* 2,642–645: *adspicit infantem 'toto' que 'salutifer orbi / cresce, puer!' dixit; 'tibi se mortalia saepe / corpora debebunt, animas tibi reddere ademptas / fas erit,* and cf. *Verg. ecl.* 4,37.

²⁰ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 27–28: *Splendida nec parvos spondet fortuna triumphos, / consiliis usus si genitoris eris.*

Antonius Verancius' elegies to the birth

Antonius Verancius wrote two poems to the child's birth. A shorter poem, *Fragmentum de filio Ioannis Regis* precedes the elegy of Antonius Verancius in the volume of his selected work.²¹ It was probably written before the child's birth, as Verancius just incites the little boy to be born.²² He requires long life for the child, for the certain hope of the homeland (*spes nostras firma*) surpassed by Nestor's age, and he expresses the hope that further kings will derive from his family.

The longer poem by Antonius Verancius entitled *De felici nativitate Ioannis II, Serenissimi Ioannis Regis filii*²³ starts with the same basic scenario as his sibling's poem: the precious child came into existence (*Nascitur [...] soboles generosa*), and his face beams with strength and vigour such as Hector's (*Hectoreus [...] vigor*). King John has got the purple that is the symbol of royal power and it is also going to be dominated, as well as the country, by the newborn successor. The narrator entrusts the exploration of the child's future to the wool spinning sisters (*lanificae [...] sorores*). The desire for the restoration of the glorious past, the happy golden ages (*aurea [...] saecula reddet*),²⁴ and the former greatness of the country appear here. The restoration of war damages (*reparabit damna*) and of legal status (*restituēt leges, iustitiamque*), as well as the consolidation of the situation of the country (*firmabit Regnum*), belong to these wishes. It is necessary to restore the country in the present after the devastation of the war in order that the glorious past can be returned. The *laudatio* also appears emphatically in the poems of Antonius. The political interests and goals of the faction of Szapolyai can be discovered in this work. The author's most important intention was to reinforce John Sigismund's legitimacy and his right to inherit. Therefore the day of the boy's birth is brighter than the era of the mighty King Matthias I (*Matthiae tempore magni / illuxit melior*). He will protect the Danube, he will liberate the Szava from its handcuffs and he will set free the Drava. Antonius Verancius has confidence that the Hungarian nobility will stand up uniformly (*spem concepimus omnes*) for the "national king,"

²¹ To the manuscript of this elegy, see OSZK, *sign.* Fol. Lat. 2380/II, fol. 99r. Cf. VERANCICS (1875: 11).

²² ANTONIUS VERANCIUS: *Fragmentum de filio Ioannis Regis*, 1–3: [...] *Spes nostras firma, nascere magne puer, / Nascere, terque senis superes o Nestoris annos, / Et nobis Regum semina certa feras.*

²³ OSZK, *sign.* Fol. Lat. 2380/II, fol. 99r–100r. Cf. VERANCICS (1875: 11–12).

²⁴ See this motif in the ecloga of Vergil: *Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo*, – Verg. *ecl.* 4,8–9.

as he will be able to bring peace for everybody and to unite the noblemen in the interest of the country.²⁵ The birth of John's child should be a happy feast for all inhabitants of the country and, in a narrow sense, for the Hungarian people (*Hunniacum quicumque genus*). Highlighting the word *dies* six times emphasizes the exceptional significance of this event. At the same time this day is joyful (*laeta*) and festive (*festus*). In the second half of the elegy, the unrestrained happiness, pleasure, and the pictures of the feast appear at the royal court. All of them are free from suffering, trouble, and grief. Antonius asks for the celestial gods' help in order to protect John Sigismund from any danger at the end of the glorifying poem. Similarly to Michael Verancius' elegy, King John draws up the survival of his family and the constant reign of Hungarian nobles of origin in the closing lines, as it were, he breaks the claim of the Habsburg for the throne in the Treaty of Várad.

The genre of the funeral song and Michael Verancius' *In obitum Ioannis Hungariae regis. Lacrimae*

Consolation literature as a distinct literary type, the *paramythikos logos* or *consolatio* and the *epicedium* in verse form (or *epicede*, funeral ode),²⁶ began in the classical period and flourished throughout the Hellenic and Roman periods. A song of mourning for the praise of the dead was sung in the presence of the corpse and was distinguished from *threnos*, a dirge, which was limited neither by time or place. The difference between an *epicede* and an *epitaph* is (as Servius states) that the *epicedium* is proper to the body while it is unburied and the *epitaph* appears in another way.²⁷ In Roman funeral processions, the *nenia*, a song of praise for the departed, was chanted; occasionally professional wailing women (*praeficae*) were hired for the task. The *laudatio*, *comploratio*, and *consolatio* were mixed with each other in this genre.²⁸ The *epicede* became very popular in the Hellenistic period and was also widely imitated in Latin literature. It was written originally in a variety of metres, for example in distichon. The

²⁵ A. VERANCIUS: *De felici nativitate Ioannis II, Serenissimi Ioannis Regis filii*, 21–23: *Haec est nostra fides, hanc spem concepimus omnes, / Amissae pacis pandet et iste viam. / Et quos disiungit proceres furibundus Enyo...*

²⁶ MCFARLANE (1986: 33).

²⁷ SCALIGER (1594: 385).

²⁸ The custom of a funeral oration had Greek precedents, for example Pericles' famous speech for the Athenian dead in Thucydides (2,35–46), but *laudatio* became a distinctive component of Roman funeral rituals (Cic. *Brut.* 61; Sen. *Suas.* 6,21 etc).

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basic requirement of the genre of an *epicede* or a *threnos* is that the poet can lament only for an outstanding individuality. In his third book, Scaliger asserts that making a group of themes is needed in this genre. First of all, the poet has to begin with the praise of the dead person. Then, he should give the full details of losses with their importance as well. Thereafter the description of the misery and the consolation follow. Finally the summary, including the moral of the story, closes the poem:

*Est igitur epitaphium, aut recens, aut anniversarium. In recenti partes hae: laudes, laturae demonstratio, luctus, consolatio, exhortatio.*²⁹

John Szapolyai, the last Hungarian national king, died a natural death most likely on 21 July 1540.³⁰ Michael Verancius created his funeral poem (*epicedium*) entitled *Divi regis Hungariae Ioannis I epicedion* at the moment of mourning which was printed in Hieronymus Vietor's press in Cracow in 1540.³¹ According to Endre Veress, Sebastianus Marschevius (Sebastian Marszewski) and Michael Verancius also wrote funeral poems

²⁹ SCALIGER (1594: 386).

³⁰ According to the letters of Petrovics and Martinuzzi, which are preserved by Wolfgang de Bethlen, King John died on 21 July. – BETHLEN (1782: 323): *et mox sequenti die circa horam matutinam septimam et vivendi simul anno salutos 1540. die 21. Julii finem fecit*. Nicolas ISTHVANFI also affirms it in his work. – ISTHVANFI (1622: 225): *Postero die, qui XXI. Quintilis mensis dies fuit, (...) a familiarium intimis in cubiculum deductus fuit, in quo eadem nocte e vivis excessit, quum annum aetatis quinquagesimum tertium absolvisset*. However, the newest scientific literature puts the king's death onto the previous days of 18 July, without quoting of the sources. Cf. VÁRKONYI (1999: 44); SUGAR–HANÁK–FRANK (1990: 85) and PÁLFFY (2010: 66) refer only to July. Antonius Verancius puts this day to the previous day of Saint Lawrence (10 August): "János király meghala Szászsebesen szent Lerinc nap előtt" – VERANCSICS (1857: 44). According to György Szerémi, the king's funeral was on the day of Saint Lawrence. – SZERÉMI (1857: 354): *Et Regina vidit quasi semidolore, sicut Georgius heremita; et sepultus est in mense Augusti Laurentii martiris anno 1540*. Besides this, the totally unreliable Szerémi claimed even the poisoning of the king. – SZERÉMI (1857: 353): *De Italo fisico accipiens demum potum ad purgandum stomachum, quod gustasset, mox ad terram casum dederat, et ait pauper rex: Capiatis me et teneatis, quia haec est ultima manducacio mea et potus*.

³¹ JURIC nr. 3886, ESTREICHER t. XXXIII. p. 352. The classification number of the lost printed paper in Warszawa, according to CYTOWSKA (1967–1968: 176) was: Biblioteka Narodowa *sign.* Lat. Qu. 128. KORZENIOWSKI also refers to a manuscript work of Verancius. – KORZENIOWSKI (1910: 161–162). This manuscript was brought back into Poland in 1928. – SUCHODOLSKI (1928: 6). Later this variation of the text was also presumably destroyed during World War II.

for the Hungarian king's death.³² The work of Marschevius appeared in Victor's press in Cracow in September 1540.³³ Endre Veress believed that the poem of Verancius had been lost.³⁴ However, this funeral poem can be found in a manuscript in the National Széchényi Library. Latin verses, which are ascribed to Michael Verancius, include a poem entitled *In obitum Ioannis Hungariae regis. Lacrimae*.³⁵ Additionally, numerous letters of Antonius Verancius regarding the same event can be found in the episcopal library in Pécs (Klimo Library).³⁶

Michael Verancius deploys all formal elements—especially the *laudatio*, the *comploratio*, and the *consolation*—of a funeral song in the spirit of the available literary tradition. His poem decorously raised a monument to the memory of his most significant supporter, King John. At the beginning of his *epicedium*, “the object” of the poem, the royal dead body (*regale cadaver*), appears immediately. Connecting with *laus*, the glorification of John Szapolyai is closely associated with the genre of *laudatio* (lines 1–7).³⁷ The sky is shocked by his greatness. The vital soul (*mens vivida*) gets out from the dead body, since mortal beings can do nothing against female personifications of destiny's (*Parcae*) order and against unmerciful death.³⁸ Only death could take the royal crown from King John I, the eternal winner (*invicto capiti*).³⁹ It was only death that was able to destroy everything. Frequent elements of the genre of *epicedium* were the mourning and the lamenting for the dead. In terms of *comploratio*, twelve embittered questions sound towards the cruel and unfair death of all times. Why is death, that is the iron-willed law (*ferrea lex*), pleased to desolate the rising soul (*mens ardua*)? Who can avail

³² VERESS (1901: 88).

³³ S. MARSCHEVIUS: *In serenissimi Hungariae regis Ioannis I. obitum*. – ESTREICHER t. XXII, p. 191.

³⁴ VERESS (1901: 88).

³⁵ OSZK, *sign.* Quart. Lat. 776, fol. 8r–10r.

³⁶ *Epistolae Antonii Verantii ... de obitu Ioannis regis Ungariae...*, anno 1540. – Klimo Library, *sign.* Ms. 71, fol. 76–99. ESTREICHER (t. XXX, p. 353) cites a consolatory letter of Antonius Verancius to the Queen Isabella: *Poprzedza Epistola consolatoria ad Isabellam, Hungariae reginam, Antonii Wrandtii*.

³⁷ M. VERANCIUS: *In obitum Ioannis Hungariae regis, 1–7: Actum est, heu nulli vis eluctata potentem / stravit Ioannem, iacet en regale cadaver. / O superi, interiit quem fulgens utraque Phoebi / admirata domus stupuit, quem Theutonis ardor, / quem ferus excesor regnorum Turca piorum / invitus regnare tulit, quorumque nocere / alter non potuit, cum posset nesciit alter*.

³⁸ SCALIGER (1594: 386): *Laudes non solum mortui, sed etiam mortis*.

³⁹ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 13–15: *Mors sola coronam / invicto capiti detraxit, sola triumphum / abstulit, et tristi victrix in funere gaudet*.

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himself of his life if death has already ruled over it? All worldly glory vanishes at the moment of death. Where did the memory of the great rulers and the military leaders of the past centuries disappear to after their death? The cult of King Matthias was considerable at the Szapolyai court at this time.⁴⁰ Michael Verancius mentions the great ruler in his work: where is the mighty Matthias, where is his father (John Hunyadi) who is famous for his victories? The rulers of the recent past cannot be absent from the enumeration. The fame and glory of Vladislaus II (*vel Ladislavus*) and his son, Louis II (*huius soboles Ludovicus*), dwindled away.⁴¹ And where is King John now (*Nunc ubi Ianus*)? Verancius points out directly the corpse lying on the bier in his funeral poem for the second time. In terms of *lacturae demonstratio*, he expresses that the king's death is a huge loss for the country, and probably the sadness will never terminate completely.⁴² Divine and natural signs accompanied the noble king's death similarly to the Roman emperors' deification (*apotheosis*). The Christian God, the land, and the rivers all provided their signs. In Buda, there was strong gust of wind (*valido ventorum turbine*) at that time. The people who were at the court of Buda at the time of the king's death observed a shining star (*astra petens*), much like "the apotheosis of Caesar."⁴³ This star was trying to ascend higher and higher into the celestial spheres.⁴⁴ The king's death and the subsequent mourning touched not only his dependents, but also touched nature itself. The personified sun (*ipse Phoebus*), knowing the events in advance, did not emit its vital sunshine to the earth in order to scorch the fields angrily with its fire after King John's death. Fish perished in the dried up rivers; neither the grass nor the seeds could spring on the lands, which once were fertile. Even animals fell into deep mourning (*maeret pecus omne*) all over the fields. According to Wolfgang de Bethlen, a big earthquake preceded the death of the king in the environs of

⁴⁰ Cf. other elegies of Michael Verancius in 1528. – M. VERANCIUS: *Alia querela Hungariae contra Austriam*, 115–119: *Quaerere non opus est longe. Rex ipse Ioannes, / quem vos deseritis, credite, talis erit. / Cui si depones nomen venerabile Iani, / Matthias proles ipse erit Uniadis, / Et bene si memini, talis fortuna secuta est / Illum, ut post magnum referat imperium.*

⁴¹ To the fame and glory in Renaissance literature, cf. MCFARLANE (1986: 26–27).

⁴² M. VERANCIUS: *In obitum...*, 29–31: *Nec non labor ille / exhaustus nunquam? Mors, o mors omnia sola / delet, et in cineres cum vult inimica resolvit.*

⁴³ Cf. *Ov. Met.* 15,799sqq.

⁴⁴ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 36–40: *Quae celsior ibat / astra petens reliquis, quam maerens regia vidit / illisam terrae, quasi tum cervice revulsa / praecelsae turris, monstrarent fata cadentis / heu Domini capitis, veluti praeludia quaedam.*

Kolozsvár (Romanian *Cluj-Napoca*).⁴⁵ Verancius may have inserted this event into his own elegy. The sorrowful Transylvania (*Dacia tristis*) had a presentiment of King John's death, as even the land trembled (*contremuit tellus*) inside.⁴⁶ At that time, Szapolyai's soul rose into the heavens: the powerful spirit (*spiritus ingens*) dispersed reluctantly from the opened holy heart (*sacra [...] pectora*) in the air.

Then the *comploratio* was transferred to the young wife and the newborn baby. The speaker was asking for tears and sighs from Queen Isabella onto her husband's new sepulchre, as the better part of their marriage was lost then. Not only the queen, but the whole court as well as all the people put on their mourning dresses (*pullatas [...] vestes*) and even the baby (*infantemque*) was covered with black clothes.⁴⁷ At the end of the poem there is a comforting *consolatio* for the unfortunate John Sigismund. During that time the child was smiling because he was not able to realize his loss yet. He could not have known his father, but the reputation of King John and the fame of his huge kingdom would remain eternal in the spirit of *exhortatio*.⁴⁸ Queen Isabella will send her pain sighing and crying to her young son. It is only her son who can signify the sole consolation for her in the time of lamenting. Sweet songs (*dulcia carmina*) are not allowed to be sung by the nurse to the baby, since his father's death will always be a sobbing funeral lament (*naeniae*) at the whole royal court. In the last lines, the mourning poem is closed with the great cruelty of fate (*tanta inclementia*):

⁴⁵ BETHLEN (1782: 323–324): *Mortem eius magnus terrae motus circa Claudiopolim praecessit; de quo Brutus: Erat, ait, Ioannes Rex illustri per omnes Maiores prosapia oriundus, sed virtutis et ingenii laudibus omni nobilitate clarior; tanta enim in illo a primis adolescentiae annis indoles enituit, ut et in recte sentiendo prudentia, et in faciendo animi celsitudo semper perluxerit, adeo ut tam in secundis qua min adversis rebus semper praesenti fortuna maior fuerit habitus, semperque paratus, tam adversae fortunae grassantis in se cuius excipere, quam secundae fallacia gaudia contemnere.*

⁴⁶ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 50–53: *Dacia tristis idem sensit, cum sedibus imis / territa contremuit tellus, dum spiritus ingens / ire parat, dum membra quatit, dum sacra recludit / pectora, et invitus vacuas discedit in auras.*

⁴⁷ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 60 – 62: *Accipe pullatas insignia tristia vestes. / Accipiat maestos infelix aula colores. / Accipiat populus quicquid fit luctibus aptum.*

⁴⁸ Cf. SCALIGER (1594: 386): *Claudendum Poema exhortationibus: tantum abesse, ut illi sint lugendi, ut eorum praesens felicitas, quae superstitionibus obtingit non contemnenda: illorum virtus, animus, exitus sit exoptandus.*

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*Heu misero patri, cui Parcae sorte nefanda,
et regnum, et natum dulcem, vitamque momento
abstrexere simul. Tanta inclementia fati est.*⁴⁹

The sequence is remarkable. Michael Verancius is expressively putting the plunder of King John's kingdom (his homeland) to the first place of his losses, and only after that it can be followed by the loss of his sweet son and finally by his life itself.

Conclusion

This important period of Hungarian history (1526–1541) has been studied only from one point of view by Hungarian scholars, especially by the historians up to the present. In my opinion, the research of the historical fight's "loser," John Szapolyai, the publication of the documents and sources concerning him, as well as the research of the humanists of Southern-Slav origin and their work are timely and necessary.

The reviewed poems fit into the basic lyrical genres of the occasional poetry: the glorifying song (*panegyric*), the wedding poem (*epithalamium*), the funeral ode (*epicedium*), the epitaph (*epitaphium*), and the most popular genre of the humanist literature, the epigram. Both Antonius and Michael Verancius adopted the typical characters of the genre—glorification (*laudatio*), mourning (*luctus*), and consolation (*consolatio*)—from the existing traditions in their poems. They did not strive to overstep these genre models, and in reality their poems became typical pieces of occasional poetry. I think this is one of the reasons that neither content nor formal contact can be discovered in the poems of the two brothers written to the same topics. Their poems cannot have influenced each other's writings. Michael Verancius' works are outstanding in this regard that they could express clearly John Szapolyai's historical merits in spite of powerful propaganda from Ferdinand's faction. For that very reason, his poems are of great importance to the more accurate research of this determinative era of the Hungarian history.

⁴⁹ M. VERANCIUS: *op. cit.*, 78–80.

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admirata domus stupuit, quem Theutonius ardor, quem ferus excesor regnorum Turca piorum invitus regnare tulit, quorumque nocere alter non potuit, cum posset nesciit alter.	5
Pro fatum inclemens et pro male ducta sororum stamina, quae semper properant evertere magna. Extinctus venis calor est, et spiritus ore diriguit medio, nec dulci blanda monetur lingua sono, cessit mens vivida, et omnibus istis imposuit natura modum. Mors sola coronam invicto capiti detraxit, sola triumphum abstulit, et tristi victrix in funere gaudet.	10 15
Tamne cito haec fieri voluit mens ardua. Rex nunc qui fuerat non sit? Sic vitam invertere solo ictu oculi placuit tam vari principis? Aut si ferrea lex fati est, quare non computet annos purpureis, serosque trahat sub marmora reges?	20
Quis iam quis vitae est usus, si morte regatur, si licet arbitrio dominae crudelis iniquevae? Infelix studium cui semper sternere quicquid excelsi est usquam. Dic, ne peregrina revolvam, ille ubi Matthias magnus, clarusve trophaeis Hunniades huius genitor, vel Ladislavus, aut huius soboles Ludovicus? Nunc ubi Ianus? Ecce ubi nunc Ianus iacet hic. Quid profuit, eheu illa tua in patriam pietas, nec non labor ille exhaustus nunquam? Mors, o mors omnia sola delet, et in cineres cum vult inimica resolvit.	25 30
Ipse pater rerum caelo manifesta ruinae signa dabat, dabat et tellus, dant flumina tanti argumenta mali. Nonne haec sensisse putamus aethera, cum valido ventorum turbine sphaera aurea deiecta est Budae? Quae celsior ibat astra petens reliquis, quam maerens regia vidit illisam terrae, quasi tum cervice revulsa praecelsae turris, monstrarent fata cadentis heu domini capitis, veluti praeludia quaedam.	35 40
Ipse etiam Phoebus sensit, luctusque futuri ut potuit miseros monuit. Nam veste lugubri tristior obtexit vultus, et luce carentes ostendit terris radios, quos ille deinde edidit ardores? Et terras igne perussit saevus, et in sicco sitibundos flumine pisces deseruit. Non herba viret, non semina sponsa nutrit humus sterilis, maeret pecus omne per agros, fecundos agros olim camposque beatos.	45
Dacia tristis idem sensit, cum sedibus imis	50

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territa contremuit tellus, dum spiritus ingens
ire parat, dum membra quatit, dum sacra recludit
pectora, et invitus vacuas discedit in auras.

At tu, quae exultas thalamo partuque recenti,
da lacrimas gemitusque novis, Isabella, mariti 55
funeribus. Rupta est taedae concordia concors,
parsque tori melior cecidit. Profunde dolores

et lacrimis, quos corde geris, restingue hymenaeos,
in luctusque tuos flendo converte calores.
Accipe pullatas insignia tristia vestes. 60
Accipiat maestos infelix aula colores.
Accipiat populus quicquid fit luctibus aptum.

Infantemque nigris albenti veste remota
involves miseranda tuum. Tuus est tuus inquam
solius, totum pater hunc tibi liquit habendum. 65

Forsitan ille monet risus quandoque malorum
inscius, et felix hoc solo, quod sua nescit
ipse mala. At mater lactanti prima misello
nuntia erit lapsi generis regnique potentis.

Et puero numquam dulcis, sed lacteus humor 70
cum lacrimis permixtus erit, dabit oscula nato
cum gemitu fletuque simul. Nec dulcia nutrix
carmina perquiret, dum somnia poscit alumno,
sed genitoris erit mors flenti naeniae semper.

Ille, nec amplexus teneros, in colla parentis
ablati, dabit infelix, nec dulcia iunget 75
oscula, quae patri regnis potiora fuissent.

Heu misero patri, cui Parcae sorte nefanda,
et regnum et natum dulcem vitamque momento
abstraxere simul. Tanta inclementia fati est. 80

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