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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KIDNEYS IN ANCIENT EGYPT
WITH THEIR POSSIBLE ROLE IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD

By

OLIVERA KRGOVIĆ

ABSTRACT: The fact that the ancient Egyptian embalmers left the kidneys *in situ* indicates their certain importance for the deceased in the afterlife. Kidneys were also given special importance in other ancient cultures, and being associated with the most secret and hidden emotions they were used as organs of testing.

The ancient Egyptians removed all of the internal organs during the embalming process except for the kidneys and the heart. The importance of the heart in Egypt is unquestionable, as it was the most important organ in the Judgment of the Dead. However, excavations indicate that, apart from the heart, the kidneys were also left in the mummies. This was mainly considered to be the case due to their retroperitoneal position¹, which, together with the surrounding fat tissue, made them very difficult to cut up, or simply because the ancient Egyptians were not even aware of their existence². Nevertheless, the purpose of this work is to show that the ancient Egyptians were actually aware of the kidneys, and that it was indeed the embalmers' intention to leave them *in situ*; to point out some of the possible reasons for this practice; as well as to demonstrate a similar significance of kidneys in other cultures.

When searching for possible explanations of why the ancient Egyptians left the kidneys *in situ* during the embalming process it would be relevant to look at other ancient cultures, as that might throw some light upon the physiological significance assigned to this viscus in antiquity. For instance, the Babylonians performed hepatoscopy and extended entrails prophecy to kidney divination, while the Assyrians regarded the kidneys as the seat of strength³. However, it is

¹ Aufderheide 2003: 236; Ikram, Dodson 1996: 7; Ghaliounghui 1973: 162.

² Andrews 1998: 20.

³ Park 1994: 126.

within the context of the phrase “heart and reins”, which appears most frequently in the sacred literature of the Hebrews, that one is able to find out more about the notions that were meant to be conveyed in the references to these viscera.

In his account on Egyptian funerary practices Diodorus⁴ states that during the process of embalming the Egyptians removed all of the internal organs except for *the kidneys and the heart*, which was confirmed by various mummy examinations⁵. In addition, Porphyry and Plutarch describe the treatment of organs after their extraction from the body and cleansing. Porphyry says:

There is one point which must not be passed over, namely, that when they embalm the dead of the wealthy class, among other observances paid to the corpse, they privately remove the intestines and place them in a chest, which they make fast and present before the Sun, while one of those occupied in embalming the body recites the prayer. And this prayer, which Ekphantos translated from his native language, is to the following effect:

“O Lord Sun and all you gods who give life to man, receive me favourably and commit me to abide with the everlasting gods. For as long as I continued in that life, I have steadfastly revered the gods whom my parents instructed me to worship, and I have ever honoured those who brought my body into the world; while, as concerns my fellow-men, I have done no murder, nor betrayed a trust, nor committed any other deadly sin. But if, during my life, I have sinned in eating or drinking what was unlawful, the fault was not mine, but of this” (showing the chest in which was the stomach)⁶.

Smith suggests that, according to this quoted passage from Porphyry, “the internal parts are regarded as the seat of evil emotions, just as the heart and the kidneys which were *not* excised from the body, were looked upon as the seat of the mind and of good emotions”⁷. Smith further notes that Plutarch has two references to the viscera, which are of similar support:

Who [*scil.* the Egyptians], cutting open the corpse, displayed it to the Sun, and then cast those parts (the intestines) into the river, and then turned their attention to the rest of the body, which had now become purified.

And again:

In the case of well-to-do, they imitate the Egyptians, who open their dead and extract the intestines, which they cast out before the Sun, as chargeable with all the sins the man has committed⁸.

⁴ Pettigrew 1834: 48 f. (quoting Diod. I 91).

⁵ G.E. Smith 1911: 41–48; G.E. Smith 1912: 113; Iskander 1980: 18 f.; Ruffer 1921: 81 f.; Wells, Maxwell 1962: 679; Granville 1825: 294.

⁶ G.E. Smith, Dawson 1924: 66 f. (quoting Porph. *De abst.* IV 10, trans. by E.E. Trotman).

⁷ G.E. Smith, Dawson 1924: 67.

⁸ G.E. Smith, Dawson 1924: 67, quoting Plut. *Mor.* 159 B (*VII sap. conv.* 16), 996 E (*De carn. esu or. post.* 1), trans. by E.E. Trotman.

The same notion of sin in eating and drinking can be found in the Bible (*Prov.* 23, 20). As far as the process of mummification is concerned, it is also important to point out some parallels regarding the ceremony of “Opening of the Mouth”, which takes place before the funeral of each mummy. As Urrutia points out, there are particular points in *Psalms* 51 which are present in the Egyptian ceremony and in the same order:

Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. [...] Behold, thou desirest the truth in the inward parts: and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom. Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Make me to hear joy and gladness; that the bones that thou hast broken may rejoice. [...] Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. [...] O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise (Authorized Version)⁹.

Washing and cleansing are mentioned in the same order, “inward parts”, the healing of broken bones and the opening of the mouth. According to Urrutia, this is undoubtedly a case of cultural diffusion¹⁰. By looking at the concept of the hidden part, it can be assumed that it meant the kidneys. In order to prove this hypothesis, one can look at the story of Abraham, in which it is said that, as he had neither a father nor a teacher to teach him the Torah, God gave him two kidneys that poured out knowledge and wisdom upon him by night¹¹. As in *Psalms* 51 God was asked to provide wisdom into the hidden part, a parallel can thus be made with the story of Abraham, and it is possible to claim that this “hidden part” stands for the kidneys. Heart and kidneys are here clearly mentioned as symbols of individual’s morality and righteousness, and special importance given to these viscera in the Bible will be discussed further in this text.

In the book of *Genesis* 50, 1–4 we read that the body of Jacob was embalmed by the physicians, according to Joseph’s commands: “And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father. So the physicians embalmed Israel. Forty days were required for him, for such are the days required for those who are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days”. And in *Genesis* 50, 26 it is said that Joseph was also embalmed and was put in a coffin in Egypt. When it comes to the process of mummification in Ancient Egypt, the corpse was left to dehydrate for about forty days after the organs were excised. It is interesting to point out that in present-day Egypt a funerary ceremony is also carried out forty days after one’s death.

In order to show that the ancient Egyptians were actually aware of the kidneys it is important to point out that both in Ancient Egypt and in other archaic

⁹ Urrutia 1982: 222 f.

¹⁰ Urrutia 1982: 222.

¹¹ Kellerman 1995: 180.

civilizations the source of anatomical knowledge was primarily kitchen and cult. Thus, Sigerist states that “the cook who prepared an animal for the table knew well enough that the gall bladder had to be removed carefully because its content was bitter, and the kidneys had to be washed thoroughly lest they have unpleasant taste of urine. The priest who sacrificed an animal to the gods knew where the blood came from and which parts were edible and which not”¹².

The kidneys of animals were esteemed as food from as early as the second dynasty, as can be seen from the menu placed in the tomb of a minor noblewoman at Saqqara (Nr. 3477, Fig. 1). With few exceptions, Lucas was able to identify with certainty the character of each dish and the ‘menu’ contained two cooked kidneys¹³.

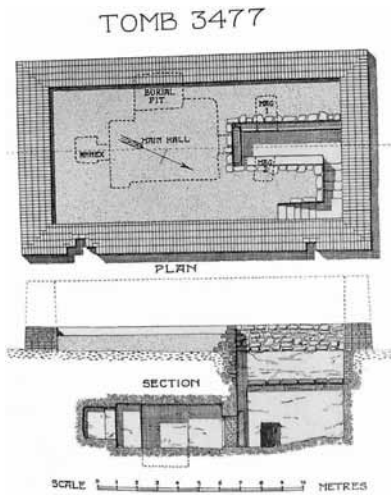


Fig. 1. Tomb 3477 at Saqqara.

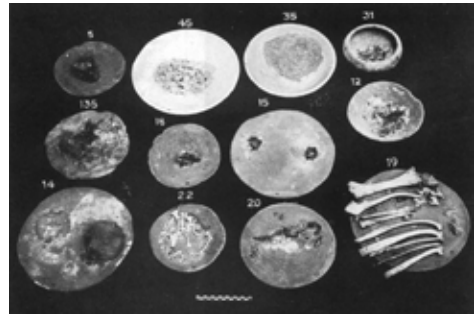


Fig. 2. Portion of the funerary repast as reassembled by Emery, two cooked kidneys served on a pottery dish (15).

From this example it is evident that the ancient Egyptians were aware of the existence of kidneys in animals and thus, most certainly, in humans as well.

The kidneys themselves seem to be relatively ignored in the medical papyri, which is one of the reasons that some Egyptologists argue that these organs and their functions were unknown¹⁴. However, *P. Ebers* shows that they recognized urinary bladder and ureters¹⁵. Thus in *Ebers* 864 (106, 11) it is stated that bladder

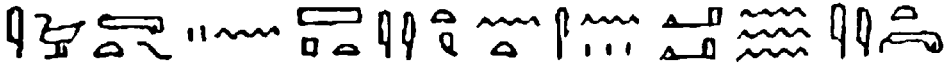
¹² Sigerist 1951: 353.

¹³ Emery 1962: 6.

¹⁴ Ghaliounghui 1973: 121, 162; Andrews 1998: 20; Halioua, Ziskind 2005: 77.

¹⁵ Ghaliounghui 1973: 121; Kamal 1967: 64.

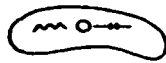
šptyt is located in the anterior and lower part of the abdomen, and in *Ebers* 854n (100, 11) two vessels are said to go to the bladder secreting urine:

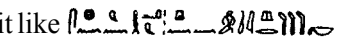



There are two vessels to the *šptyt*. It is they which give urine¹⁶.

Furthermore, Salem and Eknayan note that “urine was thought to be formed in the region of the bladder, by a process considered akin to purification”¹⁷. The fact that the Egyptian physicians knew that the ureter conveys urine to the bladder makes it logical to assume that they would also know the source of that urine and its location as well.

Dawson¹⁸ suggests that the absence of the kidneys from the offering and other lists of body-parts may be accounted for by looking at the customs of the Egyptian butchers, who used to cut out the kidneys-suet in one piece with the kidneys being still inside it, although the kidneys are such large and evident organs when removed from their enveloping suet. Furthermore, he argued that instead of listing kidneys, ancient Egyptians named the mass of fat in which the kidneys were enveloped, and that the pictorial representation from the offering list illustrated in Kahun (below) is relatively accurate for the whole group, the suet and the kidneys within¹⁹.



Dawson also points out that in passage from *P. Ebers* 105, 2 quoted by Gardiner: “If you examine a swelling of fat in the throat, and find it like  a gathering of flesh, soft under your fingers...”²⁰ interpretation of *shn* as kidney-suet quite well suits the sense of this passage. Gardiner agrees with these interpretations as one meaning of the stem *zhn*, *shn* is ‘to envelop’ cf. determinative .²¹ This sign determinates several words, among which are the verbs *shn* ‘to embrace’, *inq* ‘to gather together’, *s3q* ‘to hold together’, *pg3* ‘to unfold’, ‘to reveal’, and the nouns *hpt* ‘armful (armsful)’, and *qni* ‘bosom’²². When it comes to the sacrificial rituals,

¹⁶ Weeks 1970: 74.

¹⁷ Salem, Eknayan 1999: 140.

¹⁸ Gardiner 1947: 254*.

¹⁹ Gardiner 1947: 253*.

²⁰ Gardiner 1947: 254*.

²¹ Gardiner 1947: 253* f.

²² Walker 1996: 204.

however, one can find a clear existing parallel between Egypt and the Old Testament, as in both cases the kidneys were extracted together with the fat²³.

The terminology of the word used to denote the kidneys in Ancient Egypt is very problematic. The word *dpt*, the ancestor of Coptic ⲧⲡⲉ, ⲧⲡⲓ ‘groin’, used in the Coptic version of the Old Testament in order to render Greek ὀσφύς, ‘hip’ and Hebrew ׀•צלה (dual) ‘two loins’, ‘two hips’ appears to have been used to mark kidneys²⁴. Dawson suggests that this word evidently had a more general sense and that perhaps ‘joint’ would be its best rendering²⁵. According to Gardiner, in the *Golénischeff Glossary* 7, 10 (continuation of *P. Hood*) “and in some other passages, as well as in Coptic, *dpt* designates a fairly well defined portion in the lower part of the back”²⁶. It is of particular interest to note that “*dpt* of his back” is also identified with the two goddesses Satis and Anukis, which will be dealt with later in the text. Another word that was found appearing on the amuletic papyri of the Late New Kingdom is *grt*, a prototype of Coptic σλωτ²⁷. In one of the papyri in the British Museum (*BM* 10321) the word appears in its plural form but in *P. Berlin* 10462 (Dyn. XXI, a fragment akin to *P. Boulaq* XX) the word is dual²⁸. The word *ggt* also appears to be used in the suggestion of reins, although it has been translated as “ein doppelter innerer Körperteil” in *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (*Wb* V 208, 7)²⁹.

Regarding the process of mummification itself, it is important to note that the kidneys seem to be left in the body since its initial stages. Thus, Aufderheide states that during the Old Kingdom commonly, but not regularly “the retroperitoneal structures of the urinary bladder, both kidneys and the prostate were left in the body”³⁰. As far as the treatment of the kidneys during the Middle Kingdom period is concerned, Ikram and Dodson suggest that they were primarily left undisturbed. Various examinations of mummies from the New Kingdom onwards also show that all of the viscera were usually removed, with the exception of the heart and the kidneys³¹.

²³ This can be shown by quoting *Ex.* 29, 13; 29, 22; *Lev.* 3, 4; 3, 10; 3, 15; 4, 9; 7, 4; 8, 16; 8, 25; 9, 10; 9, 19; *Isa.* 34, 6. “Then he took all the fat that was on the entrails, the fatty lobe attached to the liver, and the two kidneys with their fat, and Moses burned them on the altar” (*Lev.* 8, 16).

²⁴ Dévaud 1923: 18–20; Breasted 1930: 399.

²⁵ Gardiner 1947: 243*.

²⁶ Gardiner 1947: 243*.

²⁷ Gardiner 1947: 244*, n. 1.

²⁸ Gardiner 1947: 244*, n. 1.

²⁹ Assmann 1972 a: 60; Faulkner 1962: 292; Gardiner 1957: 526 (suggested by Dawson); Gardiner 1935: 64 (*P. Chester Beatty* VII, iv 5); Gardiner 1947: 246*; Erman, Grapow 1967: 208 (7).

³⁰ Aufderheide 2003: 225.

³¹ G.E. Smith, Dawson 1924: 129, 67; Sandison 1975: 612; Sethe 1934: 235; Dawson, Gray 1968: X; A. Cockburn, E. Cockburn 1998: 21; D’Auria 1988: 15; Taylor 2001: 54, 64; Drenkhahn, Germer 1991: 30; Andrews 1998: 20; Hamilton-Peterson, Andrews 1979: 46;

For the course of discussion it is also relevant to note that when the excised organs started being associated with one of the children of Horus, the same was not the case with kidneys. Smith claims that the argument of kidneys not being associated with any of the four guardian deities can be supported by the fact that they were occasionally found in the parcels of viscera associated with one or other of the deities, more often apart from the ones that contained the children of Horus, or were not recognizable at all³². In the case of mummy of Tausert, for instance, the right kidney was wrapped in the same piece of cloth as a piece of intestine³³. Ruffer points out a case of a mummy where he had found both kidneys wrapped up in the same parcel with the stomach³⁴. Additionally, in the case of the mummy of Zadptahefônkhôu, the kidneys were found wrapped in the umbilical region without a funerary genius³⁵.

These examples illustrate that in the instances when the kidneys were accidentally extracted from the body, they were occasionally found in parcels under protection of one of the four guardian deities and not placed into a certain, specifically designated one, which further supports the argument that these organs were not associated with Sons of Horus as there were no appointed rules for their placement.

Thus, considering the fact that the kidneys were not associated with any of the four funerary genii, it would be reasonable to conclude that it was a conscious intention of the embalmers to leave the kidneys, like the heart, *in situ*, and that special significance was attached to these two organs which dictated for them not to be removed from the body with the other viscera. The fact that the kidneys were often removed from the bodies of the deceased, however, was most likely due to carelessness of the embalmers, which was also occasionally the case with the heart³⁶.

The importance the kidneys were given by the ancient Egyptians can also be seen in the example of the Leeds Mummy, examined by Osburn³⁷. Four separately wrapped organs were placed in the left side of the chest of this mummy, two of which are clearly the kidneys, with the other two being the heart and the liver³⁸. Therefore, this mummy evidently shows that special treatment was given to the heart and kidneys, as well as to the liver, which was put under protection of the first of the four “children of Horus”, the human-headed Amset³⁹.

Rowling 1967: 534; Salem, Eknayan 1999: 144; Lucas, Harris 1962: 300; Halioua, Ziskind 2005: 77.

³² G.E. Smith, Dawson 1924: 146.

³³ Leca 1981: 150.

³⁴ Ruffer 1921: 81.

³⁵ G.E. Smith 1912: 113.

³⁶ G.E. Smith 1912: 146 f.

³⁷ Osburn 1828: 1–51.

³⁸ Osburn 1828: 8; G.E. Smith 1911: 47.

³⁹ G.E. Smith 1911: 47.

An important point, brought up by Ruffer⁴⁰, is that although both kidneys were occasionally left *in situ*, it was possible for them to remain unnoticed until the entire mummy was softened. Moreover, being left *in situ*, mainly unwrapped, the soft tissue of the kidneys often decomposed to a great extent, causing them to easily escape notice upon examination. Nevertheless, Smith argues that the kidneys were intentionally meant to be left *in situ* in the mummy of Pet-maut-iahmes, studied by Pettigrew⁴¹. In this mummy, “the portion of bandage in which Kebhnsnof was found contained the liver and gall bladder; that with Smof, the lungs and heart; that with Hapée held the small intestines; and that with Amset the stomach and large intestines. The kidneys with their ureters entire, were loose among the wood dust, and had no bandage whatever”⁴². This last statement, according to Smith, is “important as evidence of the special treatment of the kidneys, since they were not wrapped up like the other viscera, because it was intended to leave them *in situ* inside the body”⁴³. Furthermore, as far as the heart is concerned, in most of the mummies where it was left *in situ* it was not wrapped up, except in the cases where the embalmers accidentally damaged the heart and consequently returned it wrapped up or even misplaced it.

Regarding the symbolism of kidneys it is important to mention the inscription from the sarcophagus of Merenptah, as it is, except for the *P. Turin* 125, 8, the only instance where the kidneys are mentioned in association with gods. Assmann has indicated that the inward parts (*Eingeweide*) were associated with the Sons of Horus, and the kidneys with two sister goddesses⁴⁴. The fact that the kidneys were thus not associated with the children of Horus, together with Smith’s claims concerning their differential treatment, can be regarded in favour of the view that only the excised organs were associated with the four funerary genii, and that the kidneys were supposed to be left undisturbed inside the body instead.

P. Turin 125, 8 states that “*dpt* of his back” are Satis and Anukis. These two goddesses were female counterparts of Chnum, with whom they created triad from Elephantine. The name of Satis appears to be associated with root *st*, ‘to shoot’, ‘to eject’, ‘to throw’, ‘to pour out water’ while the name of Anukis is derived from the root *inq*, ‘to surround’, ‘to embrace’⁴⁵. Park states that at some later stage, through the star Sothis, goddess Satis was connected with Isis, establishing her atavistic standing as a Libra goddess⁴⁶. Zodiac in Dendera shows that

⁴⁰ Ruffer 1921: 82.

⁴¹ Pettigrew 1838: 262–273.

⁴² Pettigrew 1838: 271.

⁴³ G.E. Smith 1911: 46.

⁴⁴ Assmann 1972 b: 120.

⁴⁵ Budge 1969: 55.

⁴⁶ Park 1994: 128.

Isis-Sothis is by plays on words identified with a number of gods and goddesses among whom are Satis and Anukis. Furthermore, Neugebauer and Parker argue that Satis and Anukis are hardly to be taken as a separate constellation, but rather as an associate of Sothis⁴⁷.

Latin text *Liber Hermetis*, written in the 5th century and derived from a much earlier Greek version, contains a partial description of the suffering of the first decan of the zodiacal sign Libra. The Balance reads as follows: “...causes pain in the reins’ and further descriptive symbolism ‘...there are regal things on their heads’ and ends with this decan ‘rules the climate of Egypt’ ”⁴⁸. Each decan is derived through a division of a circle of the ecliptic into 36 sections, with 3 sections/decan (30°) making up one sign of the zodiac. The decan system first appears on Middle Kingdom coffins⁴⁹.

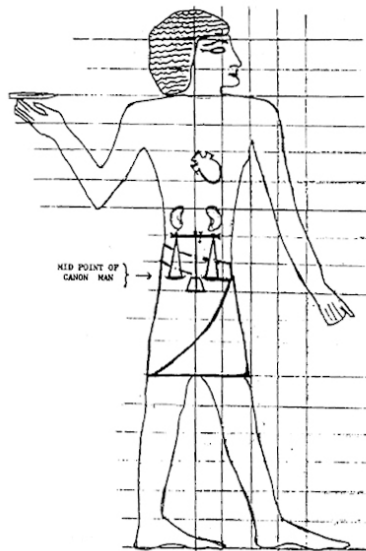


Fig. 3. Canon Man on the Old Kingdom Grid System.

As Park points out, the heart always stands for kingship, it is ruled by the sun, and it is classified in the fixed quadruplicity, Fire triplicity in the sign of Leo. The kidneys, on the other hand, “represent *homoeostasis* and are ruled by Venus in the Cardinal quadruplicity, Air triplicity of the sign Libra. [...] The principle of Love is jointly shared by the Sun and Venus in a means and end interconnected

⁴⁷ Neugebauer, Parker 1969: 201.

⁴⁸ Park 1994: 126.

⁴⁹ Park 1994: 126.

relationship, e.g. the Sun, a force of creation, loves its begotten children; while Venus in passive sexual mode loves to beget children⁵⁰. By overlapping the zodiacal and anatomical man Park has constructed a diagram for the Canon Man on the Old Kingdom Grid System (Fig. 3), which successfully relates the heart and the kidneys as the most vital esoteric organs necessary for the afterlife.

As she also points out, at the purely functional level, the kidneys and the heart are the most important organs for the deceased in terms of providing fresh nourishment via circulating blood and the elimination of subsequent fluid waste⁵¹.

In regards to the symbolic purpose of the kidneys, Durant explains their function as being two-fold: they eliminate from body the fluids not required by it, and which, if accumulated, might be fatal; they keep in the blood stream the things that are needed by the body, not allowing them to escape in the urine. Thus, kidneys evidently have a remarkable function in determining what elements to keep inside the body and what elements to get rid of. In any case, the symbolic use of ‘reins’ indicates that these organs have the ability to distinguish what is good from what is evil, keep in the former and eliminate the latter⁵².

Chapter 30 of the *Book of the Dead* shows that the Egyptians were concerned for the well-being not only of his *ib* or *ḥ3ty* (heart), but also of his *bskw*. The deceased says:

Homage to thee, O thou heart (*ib*) of Osiris Khent Amentet.
Homage to you, O my *bskw*!

Hogg argued that the combination of “heart and *bskw*” in chap. 30 is the only passage in the *Book of the Dead* where it occurs exactly as “heart and kidneys” does in Hebrew⁵³. Brugsch thought that ‘liver’ or ‘kidney’ would be more suitable in the *Book of the Dead* passages. However, simultaneous occurrence of *bskw* with heart is against a general interpretation like ‘inwards’, while its plural form is against the meaning ‘liver’⁵⁴. The word has been translated as ‘reins’ also by Budge⁵⁵.

Regardless of the exact meaning of the word *bsk*, it might denote the abdominal viscera, as the heart represents the thoracic ones. The first passage in which both the *bsk* and the heart are used several lines apart from each other (chap. 17) uses *ḥ3ty*, whereas the second passage (chap. 30), where they occur in parallelism (like the Hebrew or Assyrian phrases), uses the more accurate term *ib*. Gardiner,

⁵⁰ Park 1994: 127.

⁵¹ Park 1994: 128.

⁵² Durant 1971: 17.

⁵³ Hogg 1911: 82, n. 4.

⁵⁴ Hogg 1911: 82 f. (cf. Brugsch 1882: 421); Erman in chap. 125 renders *bskw* as Eingeweide (cf. Erman 1905: 120).

⁵⁵ Budge 1967: 146.

nonetheless, points out that *bsk* is not opposed to *ib* as abdominal to thoracic organ, but parallel like *ḥ3ty* and *ib*⁵⁶.

More recently, however, Weeks argued that although *bsk* is generally read as viscera it seems that it is a rather more specific term, and thus perhaps best translated as ‘viscera of the abdomen’⁵⁷. That the *bskw* in chap. 30 has been used in order to denote kidneys is suggested also by Rowling and Salem and Eknayan⁵⁸.

As far as other ancient cultures are concerned, Kellerman points out that in Mesopotamia the word *kalītu*, which stood for kidney, was found to have indicated both human and animal organ from the Old Babylonian period on. Great importance was attached to kidneys due to the fact that they saw omens in their outward appearance⁵⁹. If we look at the astrology of Mesopotamia, it is evident that Mars ‘governed’ the kidneys: “if the man’s kidney hurts him, (the disease comes from god) Nergal, as they say: ‘The Kidney-star is Mars’”⁶⁰. Stars are messengers who are to take the prayer to the deity. Reiner describes an apotropaic ritual where there is an appeal, first, to the ‘gods of the night’, and then to Venus, and at the end to Pleiades and to the Kidney-star, who are adjured to be at the supplicant’s right and left, respectively.

Stand by me, O gods of the night!
Heed my words, O gods of destinies,
Anu, Enil, Ea, and all the great gods!
I call to you, Delebat (i.e. Venus), Lady of battles
(variant has: Lady of the silence [of the night]),
I call to you, O Night, bride (veiled by?) Anu.
Pleiades, stand on my right, Kidney-star, stand on my left!⁶¹

They also used the word *kaīitu* (e.g. *kalit^dEa*) to mark ‘waxing (kidney-shaped) moon’⁶². The distinction between left and right kidney had also been made. However, it cannot be argued with confidence that the role of kidneys and kidney fat in Babylonia was similar to their role in the Old Testament ritual⁶³. A parallel between Mesopotamia and the OT can also be found in the metaphorical use of kidneys, “your thorns have pierced my kidneys” (i.e. have hurt my feelings)⁶⁴,

⁵⁶ Hogg 1911: 85.

⁵⁷ Weeks 1970: 71.

⁵⁸ Rowling 1967: 534; Salem, Eknayan 1999: 144.

⁵⁹ Kellerman 1995: 178.

⁶⁰ Reiner 1995: 60.

⁶¹ Reiner 1995: 16.

⁶² Kellerman 1995: 178.

⁶³ Kellerman 1995: 178.

⁶⁴ Reiner 1971: 75.

whereas in the OT “the kidneys are looked upon as the seat of emotions from joy to deepest agony”⁶⁵ as will be shown later in more detail.

The combination of heart and kidneys was also not unknown in Babylonia, although many of the interesting documents concerning this subject have been damaged. Hogg has shown that in Babylonian texts “‘assuaging the kidney’ occurs exactly as ‘assuaging the liver’ or ‘assuaging the heart’”⁶⁶. Heart and kidneys were used separately metaphorically, but he was unable to find the combination of these organs in literary texts. Thus, it seems that they were mentioned together only in medical and magical texts. For instance, in exorcism texts of the Maqlū Series of exorcism texts, heart and kidneys are the only organs mentioned in the instructions for finding the source of the trouble. One of the passages reads as follows:

Exorcism: Now then I my witch, my bewitcher,
Thy limits are all lands;
Thou makest incursions into all mountains;
I have knowledge, I have complete confidence;
In my court there is a watch,
At my gate I station me attendants;
At the right of my door and at the left of my door
I have posted me Lugal-girra and Allamu,
The Watch-gods, the tearer (s) out of the heart, and the ...er (s)
of the kidneys,
May they slay the witch and may I recover⁶⁷.

Tearing out the heart and also affecting the kidneys in a particular manner in this text is a description applied to the powers that are to slay the witch, so that the patient may recover. The expression used here, ‘to tear out’, is a term for freeing the ill one from disease and the demon that causes it. The Maqlū texts, where the heart and kidneys are mentioned together, although known as yet only in Semitic Babylonian, probably rest on Sumerian originals⁶⁸.

The Assyrians regarded heart as a seat of intelligence, while kidneys were seen as the centre of strength. Similar was the case with Ugarit, where the same combination of internal organs has been found in mythological texts, where the heart of the deity, together with the kidneys is defined as the seat of feelings and emotions⁶⁹.

In the Old Testament, kidneys are mentioned 31 times, each time in the plural form *kēlāyōt*. The word refers to human organs 13 times (5 times in *Psalms*, 4 in *Jeremiah*, 2 in *Job*, and once in *Prov.* 23, 16 and *Lam.* 3, 13), for the organs

⁶⁵ Kellerman 1995: 179.

⁶⁶ Hogg 1911: 70.

⁶⁷ Hogg 1911: 67 f.

⁶⁸ Hogg 1911: 72.

⁶⁹ Fabry 1995: 405.

of sacrificial animals it appears 16 times (*Lev.* 3–9, and *Ex.* 29), and they are also figuratively mentioned in *Isa.* 34, 6 and *Dt.* 32, 14⁷⁰. Robinson states that all the physical references to human kidneys have an emotional connotation, while in 3 cases they are clearly a life-centre (*Lam.* 3, 13, *Job* 16, 13, and *Ps.* 139, 13)⁷¹. Maio, in addition, argues that the metaphorical use of the kidney is not only restricted to emotions, but that they were considered to be the seat of the most secret and hidden portions of the human soul. In *Ps.* 139, 13 the kidneys are described as being created by God, and in relation to God's testing, they are perceived as the organs associated with the pangs of conscience (cf. *I. En.* 68, 3: "Whose heart would not be affected thereat, and whose reins would not be agitated at this word of the judgment that is gone forth against them?")⁷².

In *Jer.* 20, 12 ("But, O Lord of hosts, that triest the righteous, and seest the reins and the heart"), and similarly in *Ps.* 26, 2 ("Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try my reins and my heart") the kidneys and the heart are clearly identified as the objects of assessment. They are also identified as the organs which are able to discern between good and evil, and which give inclinations to right actions. This becomes even more evident in *Ps.* 16, 7 ("my reins also instruct me in the night seasons"). Additionally, in *Prov.* 23, 15 f., for instance, the father is speaking to his son: "My son, if your heart is wise, my heart too will be glad. My kidneys will rejoice when your lips speak what is right"⁷³. Appropriate control of the passions could, therefore, bring rejoicing (*Prov.* 23, 16), while venting the kidneys would result in misery (*2 Esd.* 5, 34) or anger (*I Macc.* 2, 24). In *Ps.* 16, 7, the kidneys are described as being able to instruct the mind, in *Ps.* 73, 21 to challenge motivation, while in *Jer.* 12, 2 it is stated that God is far from the reins of sinners⁷⁴.

Hence, one can conclude that the kidneys were not only regarded as the seat of emotions in the ancient world, but also as a symbol of moral discernment and stimulation. Some of the possible reasons for such importance given to kidneys can be found in their sacrificial usage and in their hidden location and function in the body.

Considering the information given above regarding heart and kidneys in different cultures, one can see the parallels in their symbolic meaning as the seat of the most secret thoughts of the individual, and conscience in general. As Canney suggests, the possible reason for the combinations of heart and kidneys might be found in the notion of kidneys as the seat of feelings, instructing one's heart and, thus, one's conscience. Also, as there are two of them, they were regarded as organs of sensation that informed the heart of two kinds of feelings.

⁷⁰ Kellerman 1995: 177.

⁷¹ Hogg 1911: 56.

⁷² Kellerman 1995: 180.

⁷³ Maio 1999: 104

⁷⁴ Harrison 1979: 13.

While one kidney informs the heart of pleasant and honest emotions (*Prov.* 23, 16), the second one informs it of the painful and false ones (*Ps.* 73, 21). Since the entire conscience is thus seated within heart and reins, Yahweh sounds the heart and test the kidneys to see whether they have reported to the heart the right sensations (*Jer.* 17, 10)⁷⁵.

This link has also been established by the Syrian Father Ephraem who states that kidneys are centres of reasoning and discernment. According to him, it is also the kidneys that distinguish the truth from the falsehood, and judge what is right and noble⁷⁶. This same property of kidneys is also emphasized at numerous places in the Talmud, where they are portrayed as counsellors of the heart. One passage that indicates this most successfully is that from *Berakhoth* 61a, in which the kidneys are described as counselling and the heart as understanding. Another interesting note can be found on the same page of the Talmud, where it is clearly stated that one kidney gives impulse for good actions, and the other for the evil ones. Hence, it is clear that, in the Talmud also, the kidneys are associated with the seat of reason, emotions, and good or evil impulses in man. In another instance (*Midrash, Leviticus Rabba* IV 5) the kidneys devise, and the heart completes⁷⁷.

All these indications of the kidneys being the seat of emotions and reason bring one to the metaphor of the kidney as the seat of life as well. Thus, as Maio points out, the kidneys were used as metaphors for the core of a human being, consisting of both the emotional area but also of the more vulnerable area of reason, the location of the most inner stirrings⁷⁸. And it is the God who is the “witness of the kidneys, a true observer of the heart, and hearer of the tongue”⁷⁹.

The importance of the kidneys can also be seen in *Job* 16, 13, where to “cleave the reins asunder” is to bring about the total destruction of the individual⁸⁰, and in *Lam.* 3, 13, where the suffering that God sent him appears like arrows being shot into his kidneys with a deadly outcome. This particular case can be related to Mesopotamia, where it is said that pain in kidneys comes from God, thus, God punishes a man in both cases by causing pain in his kidneys.

Thus, by looking at the reins and the heart of every human being, God is able to gain complete knowledge of their nature (*Ps.* 7, 9; 26, 2; *Jer.* 11, 20; 17, 10; 20, 12; *Rev.* 2, 23). “I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings”

⁷⁴ Canney 1911: 93 f.

⁷⁵ Hogg 1911: 62 f., n. 6.

⁷⁶ Hogg 1911: 63, n. 6

⁷⁷ Maio 1999: 104 f.

⁷⁸ Kellerman 1995: 181.

⁷⁹ Harrison 1979: 13.

(*Jer.* 17, 10). This, consequently, may be another explanation for the placement of heart and kidneys together, as it might have indicated the total depiction of an individual, since both the emotional and the rational aspects of life were represented. This wholeness, while being possibly interpreted as a reference to a whole personality, can also be interpreted as a reference to the physical wholeness of the body, as the heart is a representative of the upper, and the kidneys of the lower body cavity⁸¹.

The examination of the sacrificial rituals, on the other hand, shows that the fat of the omentum with the kidneys and the lobe of the liver⁸², which the Hebrews were forbidden to eat, belonged to Yahweh, and were burned upon the altar as *š^elamim* sacrifice. The importance of kidneys in the sacrificial rituals is owed to the fact that they are embedded in the fat of such purity that in literary use they became synonymous with excellence, prosperity and the like (*Job* 15, 27; *Isa.* 25, 6; *Ezk.* 34, 3). Accordingly, the kidneys with the fat were burned in every sacrifice in which the entire animal was not consumed, whether in peace (*Lev.* 3, 4; 3, 10; 3, 15; 9, 19), sin (*Ex.* 29, 13; *Lev.* 4, 9; 8, 16; 9, 10), or guilt (*Lev.* 7, 4) offerings. In *Isaiah* 34, 6, “fat of the kidneys of rams” is that important in sacrificial system as the “blood of lambs and goats”⁸³. The sacrificial knife of Yahweh was gorged with the fat of the animals, especially the kidney fat of rams⁸⁴. Rost has shown that “the directive to burn the appendage to the liver as a part of the sacrifice was added after the Israelites came into contact with Mesopotamian hepatoscopy”⁸⁵. Thus, the sacrifices which were originally burned on the altar as the Lord’s portion consisted only of the two kidneys, the kidney fat and net, which shows the special importance of the kidneys in the Old Testament⁸⁶.

Regarding the Judgment of the Dead, on the other hand, it is important to mark some parallels between *The Teaching of Amenemope* and the Bible. For instance, in chap. 16 of the teaching it is stated that weights and measures belong to Thoth. Parallels to this can be found several times in *Proverbs* (11, 1; 16, 11; 20, 10; 20, 23).

Do not lean on the scales nor falsify the weights,
Nor damage the fractions of the measure.
[*Prov.* 20, 23: Divers weights are an abomination unto the Lord; and a false balance
is not good.]

.....

⁸⁰ Maio 1999: 104.

⁸¹ W.R. Smith 2002: 380.

⁸² Harrison 1979: 13.

⁸³ Kellerman 1995: 178 f.

⁸⁴ Kellerman 1995: 178.

⁸⁵ Maio 1999: 103.

The ape sits beside the balance,
 And his heart is the plummet.
 Which god is great as Thoth,
 He that discovered these things to make them?
 Make not for thyself weights which are deficient;
 They abound in grief through the will of god..
 [Prov. 16, 11: a just weight and balance are the Lord's: all the weights of the bag
 are his work]⁸⁷.

Apart from stating that the measures belong to God, it is also pointed out in the Bible that God tests and weighs hearts (*Prov.* 21, 2; 24, 12; cf. 16, 2; 17, 3), i.e. he is capable of judging man. This is important in showing that the process of testing the righteousness is similar in Egypt and the Bible and it is based on weighing the heart.

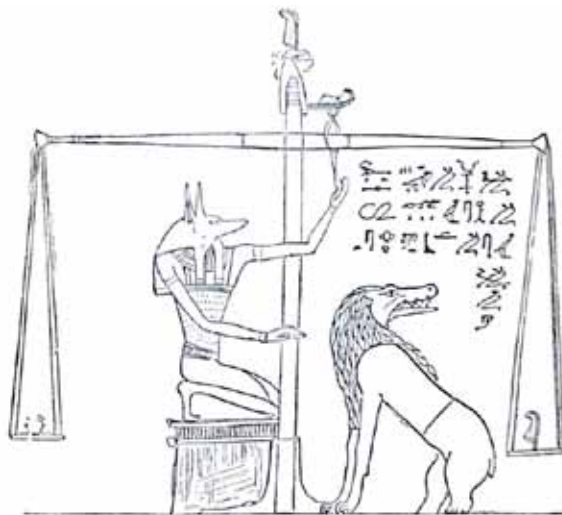


Fig. 4. The weighing of the heart scene, with Anubis adjusting the scales and the monster Ammut, crouching beneath the balance. Papyrus of Hunefer, early XIX Dynasty.

Hamilton-Peterson and Andrews also demonstrate some similarities between the Judgment of the Dead and the Bible by quoting an interesting passage from the Balhazar's feast in *Daniel* 4, 47: "Thou art weighed in the balances and thou found wanting"⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ Prichard 1954: 423.

⁸⁷ Shupak 1993: 310.



Fig. 5. Weighing of the heart. Papyrus of Sutimes, XIX Dynasty.

Heart and kidneys are mentioned only once in the New Testament where, in His message to Thyatira, Christ affirms Himself as the One who will search the reins and the hearts and give to each one according to one's deeds. That message can also be found in the Byzantine icon of Archangel Michael for instance (Fig. 6), where Christ is represented in the centre of the scale, which closely parallels the placement of the goddess of justice Maat in the ancient Egyptian representations of the Judgment of the Dead.



Fig. 6. Archangel Michael weighing the souls, 14th century, Byzantium.

As a result, it is evident that both the heart and the kidneys have special significance in many of the ancient cultures, and thus, for this and other reasons already discussed in this work, I believe that the kidneys had similar importance for the ancient Egyptians, and were for that reason not extracted during mummification.

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FIGURES IN THE TEXT

- Fig. 1. Tomb 3477 at Saqqara; Emery 1962: Pl. 4. © Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
- Fig. 2. Portion of the funerary repast as reassembled by Emery, two cooked kidneys served on a pottery dish (15); Leonard 2001: 179. © Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
- Fig. 3. Canon Man on the Old Kingdom Grid System; Park 1994: 129 (fig. 1). © Oxbow Books Ltd, Oxford.
- Fig. 4. The weighing of the heart scene, with Anubis adjusting the scales and the monster Ammut, crouching beneath the balance. Papyrus of Hunefer, early XIX Dynasty; Budge 1909: 31. London.
- Fig. 5. Weighing of the heart. Papyrus of Sutimes, XIX Dynasty; Naville 1971: Pl. XLIII P.d. (spell 30 B). Graz (1st Ed. Berlin, 1886).
- Fig. 6. Archangel Michael weighing the souls, 14th century, Byzantium; Gligorić 1978: 192 il. 1. © Prosveta, Beograd.

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THE PROSODY OF βορέης IN *ILIAD* IX 5.
INTERPRETATION OF THE HOMERIC HEXAMETER

By

KAROL ZIELIŃSKI

ABSTRACT: In *Iliad* IX 5 we can find a very troublesome verse in metrical reading. An anapaest is undesirable and has been replaced with spondaic forms in both ancient and modern times. For linguists it is a kind of metrical lengthening but not recorded. This metric license is very ambiguous, therefore this notion needs defining in particular cases. The phenomenon of βορέης might have sprung from two sources: the origin of the verse and the practice of the performer. If we accept the hypothesis that the hexameter is derived from the lyric metres, we can expect that the irregular prosody in the *Anlaut* of these verses reveals connection with prosodic freedom of aeolic base. However, the author of this article abandons this explanation. Citing M. Parry's and A. Lord's writings, he demonstrates a close affinity between the Greek and Yugoslavian oral traditions. This affinity is evident also in the departures from the metric scheme at the beginning of verse, and the position of caesura. From the perspective of the performer in oral poetry, deviations from the metric rules do not occur. After analysing the modality of formulae which contain the word "Boreas", we can deduce that the author (or authors) of the *Iliad* adapted new forms to different versification requirements, but without considering the metric rules because he (or they) often allows for hiatus. In order to place the anapaestic word βορέης at the beginning of the verse, one should precede it with a one-syllable conjunction. The deletion of this conjunction makes the verse στίχος ἀκέφαλος. The presence of prosodic errors in the graphic record of the Greek epic indicates the tradition of the recording of hexameters which developed over a long period of time. Homer's verses were written according to oral form, but they may contain mistakes according to later understanding of the hexameter's rhythm. In the rhapsodic performance, the syllables were lengthened when they were falling outside the accepted regularity. Significantly, the recording of text was adapted to this rhapsodic performance.

In *Iliad* IX 5 there is a verse occasioning metric problems:

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῶ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον
The winds Boreas and Zephyros, the two which blow from Thrace.

Βορέης (G Mor. Barocc. βορέας) is a manuscript reading. The same form appears also in Strabo I 1, 20 (who quotes this line). According to the metric scheme of the hexameter the first word must be read as a spondee. The first syllable should be long and the second should undergo synizesis. That is why many editors correct this word and give it as an Aeolic form βορρηῆς or βορρηᾶς.

The former one appears also in the latest critical edition by M.L. West¹ (but the form βορρᾶς appears in Allen in group “e” MSS. Chantraine describes it as an Atticism). The question is, whether it was also scanned spondaically and whether these corrections are acceptable or at least justified.

Such changes follow the recommendation made by P. Chantraine and earlier by J. Wackernagel and W. Schultze². Chantraine views the forms of metrical lengthening of various verses starting with a short syllable instead of a long one – called στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι by ancient metrists – as a metric licence. He thinks this poeticism is conditioned by two considerations: (1) the rhythmic structure of the word is more important than its place in the verse; (2) usually such a lengthening is not recorded. Therefore he claims that these words were scanned in the hexametric metre but it did not translate into a graphic representation. If so, why are some lengthenings recorded, e.g. οὔρεα from ὄρος, εἰανού ‘garments’ *Il.* XVI 9 from ὁ ἑάνος, σπεῖο *Il.* X 285 as an extension of σπέο? Chantraine, like other grammarians, sees the short initial syllable in a verse in terms of licence enabling the adaptation of words to the requirements of metre, e.g. the alternate use of forms μαχόμεθα vs μαχόμεσθα, οἱ ἄεθλον, ἄεθλα vs ἀέθλιον, ἀέθλια, οἱ πατρός vs πατέρος, etc. If we do not accept Chantraine’s assumption about unrecorded lengthenings, we face a totally different situation. Namely, for some reason the poet does not care about the proper scansion of the verse. It might be considered as a departure from the rules of verse-building.

This prosodic inconsistency of Homer can be variously estimated.

Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος seems to be a modifiable epic formula. An identical first colon, from the beginning of the verse to penthemimeral caesura, fills the formula in dative Βορέη καὶ Ζεφύρω *Il.* XXIII 195.

The fact that the hexameter does not start with a long syllable is not a solitary case³. Neither is it very rare⁴.

Il. XVI 228: τό ρά τότ’ ἐκ χηλοῖο λαβῶν ἐκάθηρε θεεῖω⁵

XII 236: ὃς ἔτλης ἐμεῦ εἴνεκ’, ἐπεὶ ἴδες ὀφθαλμοῖσι

XXIV 154: ὃς ἄξει, εἴως κεν ἄγων Ἀχιλῆϊ πελάσση⁶

XXI 352: τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα ἄλις ποταμοῖο πεφύκει

¹ West 1998, but not in van Thiel 1996.

² Chantraine 1942: 103; Wackernagel 1916: 151; Schulze 1892: 8, 374 ff., 430, 462.

³ Meister 1921: 42–44, indicates that the manuscript tradition and ancient philological criticism confirm the authenticity of these forms transgressing the metric scheme of the hexameter.

⁴ Also beyond Homer, e.g. Hes. *Erg.* 436.

⁵ Apollonius of Rhodes uses τόρρα (I 769, III 37 with scholia); Aristarchus refrains from making this step (Did/AT). Papyri offer still another way out: τὸν ρά (*Od.* XXII 327: κείμενον, ὃ ρ’ Ἀγέλαος ἀποπροέηκε χαμᾶζε) in another place.

⁶ There have been attempts to read it as ὃς φ’ ἄξει *coni.* Brandreth; Richardson 1993 rightly considers this conjecture as unnecessary.

- XXII 379: ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν
 XXIII 2: ἐπεὶ δὴ νηᾶς τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἴκοντο
Od. IV 13: ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἐγένετο παῖδ' ἐρατεινῆν
 VIII 452: ἐπεὶ δὴ λίπε δῶμα Καλυψοῦς ἠκούμοιο
 XXI 25: ἐπεὶ δὴ Διὸς υἱὸν ἀφίκετο καρτερόθυμον
 XXIV 482: ἐπεὶ δὴ μνηστῆρας ἐτίσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Il. III 357 (= VII 251): διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαινής ὄβριμον ἔγχος
 IV 135: διὰ μὲν ἄρ ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο δαιδαλέοιο
 (in the case of διὰ μὲν the singer cannot use the particle which due to the succession of two consonants would allow him to close the syllable, e.g. as in the parallel verse
 IV 134: ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς διστός [hiatus in caesura])
 I 36: Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠύκομος τέκε Λητῶ
 (although the long scansion of the initial α can also be found in other formulae, and in other places in the metre, e.g. after the bucolic diaeresis I 14: Ἀπόλλωνος, I 21: Ἀπόλλωνα)
Od. XII 423: ἐπίτονος βέβλητο, βοὸς ῥινοῖο τετευχῶς
 VII 119: ζεφυρή πνεύουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει
 V 266: τὸν ἕτερον, ἕτερον δ' ὕδατος μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἦα
 XVII 519: αἰεὶ δὲ δεδαῶς ἐπε' ἡμερόεντα βροτοῖσι
Il. XI 497: δαΐζων ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας· οὐδέ πω Ἔκτωρ
 IV 155: φίλε κασίγνητε θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκι' ἔταμνον
 II 440: ἴομεν ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἄρηα.

In the third volume of the Cambridge commentary to the *Iliad* Bryan Hainsworth – justifiably, I believe – refrains from correcting the text:⁷ “If the lengthening of the first syllable is not a metrical licence it is hard to say what articulation the epic orthography may present, since -ρε->-ρρ- is unknown in Ionic, and a consonantalized ε (if such were possible) would not make position any more than the well attested consonantalized ι”⁸.

The -ρε- > -ρρ- transition is unknown also in Aeolic; the only noticeable transition is -ρι- > -(ε)ρρ-, as e.g. in Hom. Πρίαμος and Alc. Πέρραμος.

The consonantalization of ι and υ occasionally appears also in Homer, especially in the context of proper names, e.g. *Il.* II 749: Αἰνιῆνες, IX 382: Αἰγυπτίας, Tyr. 23, 6: Μεσσηνίων, Hes. *Sc.* 3: Ἡλεκτρύωνος, Aesch. *Pers.* 559: κυανοπίδων, Soph. *OT* 640: δυοῖν (in some dialects υ is recorded as ϕ)⁹.

However, the consonantalization of ε remains, I believe, an unsolvable phonetic riddle. Linguistic considerations cannot be of much help in the evaluation of this passage.

Classical metrics confines itself to the description of such instances, labelling them as a departure from the rule or metrical lengthening. (A broad notion, prob-

⁷ Hainsworth 1993.

⁸ Hainsworth continues: “σुकέα (*Od.* 7. 116) is a phonetic, not a metrical parallel”. In ἡ σукέα the first vowel is simply long; in the second syllable there is synizesis.

⁹ See West 1982.

ably combining various occurrences.) Oral poetry remains the only source where we can seek the origins of this phenomenon.

Kirk in his commentary to the *Iliad* (*ad* IV 155)¹⁰ states that the treatment of the short initial syllable in the so-called στίχος ἀκέφαλος is a special licence; perhaps it reflects musical accompaniment and adds emphasis. However, the explanation of metrical phenomena by intonation and emphasis is hardly a convincing argument. The hypothesis basing on the assumption that the singer stressed this place more than another is fragile and unverifiable. Especially so if the stress is understood as the use of a short instead of a long syllable. The connection with the oral performance seems correct, but its dependence on instrumental accompaniment is doubtful¹¹. There are too few instances of a short initial vowel to suggest the change of melody. And the relevant verses do not carry any special meaning.

The expression ἐπεὶ δὴ is regular, but it probably results from the moving of the second colon (after the caesura) to the place of the first one (before the caesura). Wyatt's¹² explanation, that the lengthening of ε is here analogous to other optional conjunctions ὅπη: ὅπη, ὅπως: ὅπως κτλ. is not convincing because it assumes the existence of an unconfirmed form *ἐππεί. Rightly did Stephanie West¹³ express her disbelief in this hypothesis¹⁴.

The prosody of some words is ambivalent. Most often the preposition διὰ has a pyrrhic construction (⊔ ⊔), but as we have seen in *Il.* III 357 (= VII 251) and IV 135 at verse-beginning its pronunciation must be trochaic (– ⊔). Such an ambivalence can also be found in epithets which appear in the noun+epithet formulae. Compound epithets, derived from one word, may take on a different prosody of the common element, depending on the epithet, i.e. on the formula. Let us consider for example the compounds with δι- i διο-. In both cases the vowels are naturally short, yet in some compounds one of them is prolonged. This prosodic licence can be found in the related διππετής (with an irrationally long first

¹⁰ Kirk 1985.

¹¹ Connecting the prosodic form of verse with the performance of epic as a song can be confirmed – but not necessarily in Kirk's reasoning – by Athenaeus XIV 632d–e: “And that the men of old were disposed to treat music with the greatest familiarity (οἰκειότατα) is clear also from Homer; why, in setting all his poetry to music (διὰ τὸ μελοποιηκέναι πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ποιήσιν) he often, without thought (ἄφροντιστί), composed verses which are ‘acephalous’, or ‘slack’, or even ‘taper off at the end’. But Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides, also the Corinthian elegiac Periander and other poets who do not add melodies to their poetry, finish off their verses in respect of the counting and the arrangement of the metrical feet, and see to it that not one of them is either acephalous or slack or tapering” (transl. by C.B. Gulick). Probably Athenaeus was mistaken in his claims about elegy but he is right that forms of epic verses depend on a melody, i.e. on a performance of song.

¹² Wyatt 1969: 219–222.

¹³ West 1988: *ad Od.* IV 13.

¹⁴ However, Hainsworth (in Heubeck, West, Hainsworth 1988) accepts this explanation.

syllable) and δίφιλος (with an irrationally long second syllable)¹⁵. The epithet διοτρεφός, διοτρεφών etc. always appears in the position opening the second colon after 3 tr, that is with a short first syllable. But in context the rhythmical structure of the related compound διογενής, διογενές is always – ∪ ∪ –, i.e. with a long first syllable. The epithet always appears at the beginning of a verse or after the first metre (exception: *Il.* IX 106, where after the second metre it breaks the rhythm; instead of caesura B in the verse there is only hephthemimeres). The probable order of formula formation is here, I believe, different than usually: from vocative to nominative. This epithet is much more frequent in vocative, and when in vocative, it always initiates a verse which consists of a verse-long formula addressed to Odysseus. Hence the popularity of the irrationally long first syllable:

διογενές Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ (22 times).

However, the transformation of formulae and their improper usage do not apply here because the formula Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος is testified only in the first colon and there is no analogy which would help elucidate the reasons for metric dissimilarity.

This phenomenon might have sprung from two sources: the origin of the verse and the practice of the performer.

1) Certain carelessness of the singer might have been a relic of the original construction of the hexameter. Gregory Nagy traces back the origins of the hexameter to certain lyric poems, pherecrateans internally expanded with a dactylic sequence. The lyric origins of epic versification were pointed out earlier by numerous scholars, e.g. Gentili. This approach follows the traditions of the German school: Ahrens, Wilamowitz etc. Nagy, however, significantly modifies earlier hypotheses, basing on the Sanskrit versification in Vedic hymns and pointing out common features of Indo-European metrical system.

In Homer there are verses starting with an iambic metre ∪ – , e.g. ἐπεὶ δῆ, there are also trochaic ones – ∪ , e.g. *Il.* XXIII 493: Αἶαν Ἴδομενεῦ τε. This ambivalence recalls the Aeolic base.

Very close to the hexameter is e.g. the Lesbian verse in Alkaios fr. 386 (ph^{3d}):

κέλομαί τινα τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα κάλεσσαί,
αἰ χρῆ συμποσίας ἐπόνασιν ἔμοιγε γένεσθαι

In the second verse two first syllables are long and the verse equals the hexameter because the isosyllabic Aeolic verse retains the varied prosody of the Aeolic base.

¹⁵ The first part of this compound is in a way represented by the form of dat. Δίι which ambivalently takes on the prosody ∪ ∪ or ∪ –. In iambic prosody historical conditioning of the long ending can sometimes be detected when we accept the hypothetical original *Δίφει.

In my opinion, it seems unjustified to explain away the incorrect prosody of the first syllable in the metre with the traces of the original verse structure. It is almost improbable for such relics to have survived in so irregular formulae, modal and devoid of epithets.

2) In his work on the epic of South Slavs A. Lord demonstrated that there were two crucial places for the singer: the beginning of a verse and the position of caesura. This is where the formula begins and, as Parry pointed out, where the singer had to decide upon the choice of the right one. According to Lord, the prosody of the initial syllable takes on a fluid form¹⁶. Serbo-Croatian displays a striking similarity to ancient Greek due to its musical accent and the presence of long and short vowels. Also its verse scheme is based on the identical principle of an ordered alternation of long and short syllables. In his analysis of the performance of the decasyllable used in the epic of South Slavs Lord notices that “the first and the fifth syllables tend to be of the same intensity because they are the initial beat in the line and the first after the break; but when a proclitic stands in these positions, as is very common at the beginning of the line and not unusual in the fifth syllable, the first and the third feet are sometimes iambs rather than trochees, and the melody follows this rhythm. Occasionally the first foot, sometimes even the second or third foot, is a dactyl in the regular practice of some singers; and they have sets of formulas adjusted to this rhythm”¹⁷. It results in the irregularity of the verse, which sometimes departs from the decasyllable. Lord maintains that, while such irregularities are due to the errors unavoidable during rapid composition of verses, they may affect formulae construction¹⁸.

Here enters an element of improvisation. On the one hand, the singer can use a slightly inadequate formula (Parry pointed it out, quoting cases of hiatus and *brevis in longo* in caesura), on the other he often adapts his formulae to the meaning he wants to convey. They are called innovations in the epic style. It is

¹⁶ On the one hand, Lord 1960: 32 presents a young singer who is trying to add words to the melody he is playing, although he is not skilled enough to match the formula to the rhythm and metrical restrictions. On the other, Lord sees it as something quite ordinary in the professional performance.

¹⁷ Lord 1960: 38. Lord notices prosodic fluidity in the initial positions of cola. Apart from the 1st *longum* (στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι), prosodic deviations in the hexameter (*brevis in longo*) are recorded in the 1st and 4th *biceps* (στίχοι λαγαροί, e.g. Hom. *Il.* XXIII 493: Αἴαν Ἴδομενεῦ τε, XXIV 755: πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν, XXI 755: πολλὰ λίσσόμενος, II 731: Ἀσκληπιοῦ (Ἀσκληπιόσ?) δύο παῖδε, or a verse of unknown origin quoted by Athenaeus XIV 632e: αἴψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνεῖαν φίλον υἱὸν Ἀγχίσαιο) and in the 6th *longum* (στίχοι μείουροι, e.g. Hom. *Il.* XII 208: αἰόλον ὄφιν, or a verse ending with a dactyl instead of a trochee or spondee Hom. *Od.* IX 212: ἐν δὲ καὶ ἦϊα).

¹⁸ Unfortunately in his attempts to find direct parallels to archaic Greek epic, Lord concentrates on the potential of the trochaic rhythm to transform into dactylic rhythm (Lord 1960: 38 and 282 f., n. 8).

claimed that in Homer's formular language these innovations come up to 30 or even 40 per cent¹⁹.

Not only formulae but also word forms depend on the performance, e.g. metrical lengthening means the – usually regulated – prolonged articulation of the syllable, necessary for the melody and rhythm. The metric scheme of the verse was not a normative factor either. As Parry correctly noticed, in creating his hexameter Homer did not follow any set of rules. It was only later poets of the individual style, e.g. Alexandrine poets, who followed rules. The linguistic regularity of the oral poet results from his practice as a performer²⁰ and therefore by extension from certain subordination to the melody, although not as mathematically calculated and balanced as Late Antiquity would want us to believe. It follows that both hiatus and the instability of the prosody of initial syllables cannot be seen as instances of the violation of rules. The formula Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος might have retained the original prosodic flexibility.

Apart from these two places the word “Boreas” appears ten times in the *Iliad* and 13 times in the *Odyssey*. On these examples one can trace the process of formulae transformation²¹ and draw significant conclusions.

The grammatically early form of gen. Βορέαο appears as a regular formula:

Il. XV 171: ψυχρὴ ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο (typical formula)

Il. XIX 358: ψυχραὶ ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο

The reversion of the formula to allow a grammatical case change to nominative can be found in:

Od. V 296: καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων

Βορέαο may remain in the same place in the metre, but its epithet may be substituted by another phrase:

Il. V 697: αὖτις δ' ἐμπνύθη, περὶ δὲ πνοιῆ Βορέαο

Βορέαο – in none of the following examples a noun+epithet formula – is a metrical element easy to shift within one verse:

Od. X 508: ἦσθαι· τὴν δὲ κέ τοι πνοιῆ Βορέαο φέρησι

Il. V 534: ἀτρέμας, ὄφρ' εὔδησι μένος Βορέαο καὶ ἄλλων

¹⁹ Finkelberg 1989: 179–187; Sale 1989: 341–410. Cf. also Russo 1997: 257; Edwards 1997: 269–272.

²⁰ Parry 1987: 191–196 (originally M. Parry, *Homeric Formulae and Homeric Metre*, pp. 1–9).

²¹ Circumstances and methods of formulae modifications are discussed in Hainsworth 1968, and Hoekstra 1965.

Od. XIV 475: κείμεθα, νύξ δ' ἄρ' ἐπήλθε κακὴ Βορέας πεσόντος
Il. XIII 110: αἶ μὲν πρὸς Βορέας καταίβεται ἀνθρώποισιν

The principle of formula modality is subjected to the grammatical case change; older formulae, just like old grammatical forms, are replaced by newer ones, easily modified and suited to different versification requirements. Newly born formulae in time also undergo modifications.

Nominative and accusative close the first colon (up to penthemimeres), retaining the correct scansion:

Il. XXIII 208: ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεὺς Βορέην ἠδὲ Ζέφυρον κελαδεινόν
Il. XX 223: τάων καὶ Βορέης ἠράσσατο βοσκομενάων
Od. XIX 200: εἶλει γὰρ Βορέης ἄνεμος μέγας οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ

In dative, however, the form placed in the same metrical position seems to show a fixed relationship to the formula in the second colon, which is a qualifier to the noun Βορέη:

Od. XIV 253: ἐπλέομεν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῶ
Od. XIV 299: ἦ δ' ἔθειεν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῶ
Il. XV 26: τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ πεπιθοῦσα θυέλλας

What we have here is a worked-out formula of a whole verse, in which verse-beginning and verse-end show modality. It is worth noticing that these regular forms contain an error, that is hiatus in the caesura between Βορέῃ and ἀνέμῳ. (Similarly there is hiatus between ἀνέμῳ and ἀκραεῖ καλῶ.)

These forms also occur in the second colon after the caesura:

Od. V 331: ἄλλοτε μὲν τε Νότος Βορέῃ προβάλεσκε φέρεσθαι
Il. XXI 346: ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὄπωρινός Βορέης νεοαρδέ' ἄλωγῃν
Od. IX 67: νηυσὶ δ' ἐπῶρσ' ἄνεμον Βορέην νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς
Il. XXIII 692: ὡς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ φρικὸς Βορέω ἀναπάλλεται ἰχθύς (hiatus)
Od. V 328: ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὄπωρινός Βορέης φορέησιν ἀκάνθας
Od. V 385: ὥρσε δ' ἐπὶ κραιπνὸν Βορέην, πρὸ δὲ κύματ' ἔαξεν

and in other places:

Il. XIV 395: ποντόθεν ὀρνύμενον πνοιῇ Βορέω ἀλεγεινῇ (hiatus)
Od. XIV 533: πέτρῃ ὑπο γλαφυρῇ εὐδον, Βορέω ὑπ' ἰωγῇ (hiatus)
Od. IX 81: καὶ Βορέης ἀπέωσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ Κυθήρων

All forms of βορέας are “correctly” placed, while other oblique forms (including new types of genetives) usually occur in “wrong” places in the text – in 6 out of 10 cases they are in hiatus. It may mean that the singer did not worry too much about this breach and in next configurations adapted the 3-syllable name of

the wind to the metre. However, in contrast to the 4-syllable form, the 3-syllable one can be modified to a greater extent and can be used more variously by the oral poet who has to transform the content of a song into a fixed form of the hexameter. Hiatuses prove there was a search for new formulae for the widely used idea of the north wind. Hence, significantly, Βορέας was replaced by a new genitive Βορέω in verses *Il.* XIV 395; XXIII 692; *Od.* XIV 533, although the introduction of these forms entails the use of hiatus. Let us notice that in two recently quoted verses

Od. IX 81: καὶ Βορέης ἀπέωσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ Κυθήρων
Od. V 296: καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων

the word Βορέης at verse-beginning is preceded by the conjunction καί. The deletion of this conjunction makes the verse στίχος ἀκέφαλος, because – as the last example indicates – only a reversed formula, which must be preceded by a one-syllable element, can appear in the first colon. Lord demonstrates that when the verb in the formula is too short by one syllable the singer places a conjunction in front of it²². The addition of a conjunction can also sometimes result in an excessive lengthening of a verse. The formula in *Il.* IX 5 is simply devoid of this element.

In all its varieties, the word “Boreas” has anapaestic construction. It is adapted to versification and always appears in the same metrical form, even where it follows a hiatus, but an epic correction never happens. Basing on these premises, one can assume that – similarly to ἐπεὶ which even at the verse-beginning retains, incorrectly, iambic prosody – βορέης and βορέη should also retain anapaestic prosody. Even without synizesis, because for the singer this word appeared only in this metrical form²³. The singer used formulae extra-consciously, like we use words in everyday speech²⁴.

Metrical irregularities of the Homeric hexameter can be explained by the practice of the performance. At first sight it seems that the record of the Homeric hexameter is amazingly close to oral performance. It seems incredible because it

²² Lord 1960: 34, after the verse *Govorio Kraljeviču Marko* ‘Prince Marko said’ there is a formula preceded by a conjunction *Pa zasede svojega dorata* ‘and mounted his sorrel’. Similarly, although in different circumstances, *Pa on govorio* ‘And he said’ or *Pa odgovorio* ‘And he replied’. Likewise in prepositional phrases, beside *Na bijeloj kuli* ‘In a white tower’ or *Na bijeloj od kamena kuli* ‘In a white stone tower’ a shortened form preceded by a conjunction may appear *A na kuli* ‘And in the tower’. Analogically, there are forms: *A u dvoru* ‘And in a castle’, *A u kući* ‘And at home’ etc.

²³ That is why we cannot accept the hypothetical prolonged articulation of a liquid consonant, which would result in the closing of the preceding syllable. Because the scansion of Greek poems involves the syllabification, one could accept such a pronunciation of sonants which closes the preceding syllable in the 1st and 4th *biceps* (στίχοι λαγαροί, e.g. *Hom. Il.* XXIII 493: Αἶαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε aj-a(n)-nī-do-me-neu, XXIV 755: πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν pol-la(r)-rhys-tas-des-ke-n, XXI 755: πολλὰ λίσσόμενος pol-la(l)-lis-so-me-nos), but not in XII 208: αἰόλον ὄφιν.

²⁴ Lord 1960: 36; Bakker 1997: 284–304.

would have registered even errors of oral performance. Unbelievable that such a faithful recording was possible. But it is an incorrect approach. Let us consider any verse of South Slavic poetry:

Tevabije brže u podrume

The graphic record presented by Lord does not reflect the rhythm of the words. It is consistent with spelling in other Bosnian texts, that is with the orthography of that language that can be found in books, newspapers, letters etc. For the purpose of conveying the rhythm of the verse this notation is, however, inadequate. In the case of Greek poetry – and what is especially important, in Homeric epic – these two kinds of notation are combined. On the one hand, the notation defines the phonetic and semantic aspect, on the other, it indicates the scansion rhythm. This combination is beneficial because it makes it possible to imagine more or less the rhythm of the Greek verse. However, good as it is, the notation is not perfect. Lord notices that in *deseterac* the lengths of particular *longa* and *brevia* differ. No wonder, since this kind of poetry was designed to be sung²⁵. When it comes to Greek hexametric poetry there is only one short remark by Dionysios of Halikarnassos who said that long syllables made by the contraction of *bicipitia* were longer than *longa* in places which West calls *loci principes*²⁶. The stressing of the differences in the length of *longa* and *brevia* incurred the criticism by Sicking²⁷, who claimed that West had upset the scientifically accepted binarity of Greek metrics. However, West's approach, based on the information passed by Dionysios, is basically sound. The metrics of the ancient Greek verse should not be considered as constant and unchangeable. A hexameter was different, I believe, when recited by a rhapsode and when sung by an aoidos. The sung one must have been parallel to the decasyllable of South Slavs, i.e. with irregular length of syllables in particular positions. The replacement of aoidoi by rhapsodes, who no longer sang with instrumental accompaniment but only used a staff (maybe to beat time, like early conductors), must have meant the change in scansion of the hexameter aimed at the balancing of the length of syllables in particular positions. This balancing of scansion is noticeable in the graphic record of the verse. One of the devices is the doubling of consonants or vowels in writing. This is something absent in the graphic records of Serbo-Croatian epic because they do not spring from metric requirements. The only available text of the Homeric hexameter is a result of a fixed custom of writing it – with long, perhaps centuries-long tradition – and not a “stenographic” record. The “matching” of writing to scansion has never reached perfection. The initial *o*, lengthened in scansion, was later pronounced as

²⁵ It comes out clearly in recordings.

²⁶ West 1982.

²⁷ Sicking 1993.

\bar{i} and graphically recorded as ου, like in οὔρεα, while ε was put down as ει, as in εἶανοῦ or in εἴνεκα, because it is how Attic writing system used to record long contracted \bar{e} (i.e. as in the contraction ε + ε). That is why I believe that the tendency to prolong the scansion of the initial short syllable was relatively late and might not have affected the spelling of some words, like e.g. in ἐπέι. The form βορρᾶς – not without reason appearing in the Attic and not Ionic form βορρῆς – bears testimony to the Attic rhapsodic tradition which, having an established text, and probably its record in writing, aimed at balancing the rhythm of the hexameter.

I think that the written version of verses which reflected their oral performance might have been seen as erroneous in the later understanding of the hexametric rhythm. In rhapsodic performance syllables escaping the accepted regularity might have been lengthened and graphic representation of the text was adapted to performance. If so, there is no reason to assume either an original geminate *ε(π)πει in the *Anlaut* of verses, or *(π)φιν, at verse-end as in the case of so-called “mouse verse” (στίχος μείουρος), *Il.* XII 208: αἰόλον ὄφιν²⁸

The application of the formula Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος in the first colon is a striking mistake from the point of view of the rhapsodic tradition, but from the point of view of the oral poet, that is the aoidos-Homer, it is an acceptable and typical defect which does not spoil the song. In fact, it is not even a mistake because for the singer metre was not an aim in itself but only an aid in telling a story²⁹. The syllable-length unification in the scansion of the hexameter may prove that in learning epic texts by rote rhapsodes were guided by their graphic record. This is compatible with Lord’s opinion that the singer starts opposing the tradition when he treats the song as a finally established – most often in writing – integral whole (p. 122).

For the chance of tracing these typical of the oral technique deviations from the metric scheme we are indebted to certain conservatism of the tradition of the graphic representation of Homeric texts, although – as we have seen – the tendency to modernizing the text by Atticising it is also present³⁰. These deviations

²⁸ Heliodorus (ap. schol. B Hephaest. P. 171) try to explain this unusual end of verse suggesting that lengthening of ο in ὄφιν is influenced by the aspirate: ἐνταῦθα ὁ ποιητῆς ἤσθετο τῆς τοῦ δασέος ἐκφωνήσεως, πλέον, τι ἔχούσης διὰ τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ πνεύματος. This opinion seems to be accepted by Christ 1874: 208: “...für die Verlängerung des ο in ὄφιν hat sich [...] der alte Metriker Heliodor auf die grössere Kraft der Aspirata berufen”. In my opinion it is only a fancy theory of an ancient author.

²⁹ Lord 1960: 68: “Formulas and groups of formulas, both large and small, serve only one purpose. They provide a means for telling a story in song and verse. The tale’s the thing”.

³⁰ The form Οὐλύμπιοι, as opposed to the regular Ὀλυμπος, is an Attic contraction of a lengthened articulation of a short ο. Such a lengthening of a vowel is an effect of the oral performance – singing, the performer accommodates the length of the vowel to the melody. For example the oral poet used to sing oo-lum-poj-o (e.g. in Hom. *Il.* IV 74: βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμπιοι). The lengthening of the sound does not, however, mean two syllables but one. Sometimes Attic contraction ruins the rhythm of a hexameter, as in the endings gen. sg. XXII 6: Ἰλίου προπάροιθε (instead of Ἰλίοῖ).

show that the Homeric hexameter is not basically different from the Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian decasyllable. Metre is equally “observed” and “infringed”. That means that there is strong and unambiguous relation to oral performance. Parallel to what Egbert Bakker found out in his research, that the Homeric epic had been shaped by adding style as much as the epic of South Slavs, it turns out that the rhythmic structure of the verse is as much instable as in the poems of Avdo Mededović or Salih Ugljanin.

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TANTALID HISTORY AND EURIPIDES' *ORESTES**

By

JOANNA KOMOROWSKA

ABSTRACT: The focus of the article is the presentation of the Tantalid history as it appears in the *Orestes*: the gradual development of the narrative seems particularly adequate in context of the dramatic plot: such interest in the concept of history would bring Euripides in a close relation to Thucydides, while simultaneously throwing some light on the possible meaning of Apollo's epiphany.

Considering the lively interest attracted by the Euripidean *Orestes*, many features of which were repeatedly scrutinized or highlighted, it may seem surprising how little attention was paid to the potentially interesting portrayal of the Pelopid history as the latter emerges in the play¹. Strikingly enough, it is not that singular events went unnoticed, or that the modern scholarship ignored the possible meaning of either Tantalus' transgression or Atreus' crime²: it is rather that scholars tend to gloss over the very meandering of the story, which seems to be only gradually revealed in the play, resulting in somewhat distorted

* The present essay is a by-product of a larger scale inquiry into the composition and the poetics of the Euripidean *Orestes*, which accounts for some aspects of the play being addressed only in passing. The reading proposed here is certainly on a highly abstract level, yet it gains considerable support from the text itself – and while I will prefer not to enter into the debate concerning the sophistic influence on Euripides, my argument rests upon the fundamental assumption that the poet displayed a lively interest in contemporary intellectual debates, which, combined with a imaginative and discerning mind, could have prompted some doubts on the epistemological aspects of history.

¹ It is hardly the place to mention all the studies devoted to the exegesis of the *Orestes* in the history of the modern scholarship: the play provokes various, often conflicting attitudes ranging from the straight condemnation of both the play and its hero (thus e.g. Kitto 1961: 346–351), through the verdicts of overall nihilism and *Sinneskrise* possibly related to the political reality of the time (Schein 1975; Parry 1969, and, significantly, Vellacott 1975: 53–81) or a manifestation of a deep crisis within the tragic genre itself (e.g. Burkert 1974; Dunn 1989), to the assumption of highly intertextual character of the play seen as endowed with strictly comical overtones (Zeitlin 1980; Dunn 1996: 158–179; Burnett 1998: 247–272).

² Possibilities raised by the opening reference to Tantalus were investigated by O'Brien 1988, while the probable parallels between Menelaus and Pelops received due attention in the contribution of Kyriakou 1998.

picture of the past³. In the present essay I intend to focus on the flow of historical narration in the *Orestes*, highlighting the connection between the actual dramatic developments and the nature of the events narrated, on the circumstances that bring about certain disclosures concerning the past deeds of the house.

I. THE PROLOGUE

The first name to be mentioned in the play is that of the protagonist's great forefather, Tantalus, the son of Zeus. Excessively lucky, he was deemed worthy of participating in the Olympians' banquets, yet by his own will and fault he fell from grace: floating above the ground, in eternal fear of a rock that threatens to fall upon him, the king pays for the guilt incurred because of *glossa akolastos*, uninhibited speech, a fact that provoked much scholarly discussion and inspired Dunn's reading of the whole play, with its focus on the gradual passage from unbridled speech to uninhibited behaviour⁴. The 'blessed' Tantalus gave life to Pelops (11), whom Electra mentions in passing only, immediately proceeding to the tale of Atreus and Thyestes (11–18), and then, to the account of the marriages contracted by the two Atridae (19–23), the betrayal and death of Agamemnon (24–27), and the divinely ordained matricide (28–32). Considerable part of the prologue is then devoted to the present state of affairs, with the description of Orestes' malady (34–45), and the threat of judgement and death that looms over the two siblings (46–51). Now, it seems symptomatic that starting with Tantalus' privileged position that was lost to his unruly tongue, Electra's tale proceeds through the fates of the family to the description of its present plight: descendants of the ruler of the world the Tantalidae may well be, but their *genos* stands on the verge of extinction, the last of its male descendants being bound to stand trial by Argive citizens. It is a striking progression in itself – from the enjoyment of divine company to being shunned by the lowly masses or, indeed, to be judged by mortals. It seems enough to think of the exalted lot of the family's forefather when we contemplate Electra's description of the present:

... κυρία δ' ἦδ' ἡμέρα,
 ἐν ἣ διοίσει ψῆφον Ἀργείων πόλις,
 εἰ χρὴ θανεῖν νόῳ λευσίμῳ πετρώματι (48–50).

³ As far the inconsistencies of argument/character are concerned, the focus of the scholarly debate is on Orestes himself, while the evaluation of his arguments is closely linked to questions such as the hero's sanity, his moral backbone etc. (on this cf. e.g. Collard 1975; Biehl 1968; Zürcher 1947: 151–155, 159–160, 186–190 and, for an exhaustive treatment, O'Brien 1987).

⁴ Cf. Dunn 1989 and 1996: 161–172 (even more expressly).

Judgement is no longer, one may think, a matter of divine intervention: patently, the principal danger to the siblings (at least in Electra's perception) comes from equally mortal (inferior) people. Thus, the family history manifests itself as the transition from the realm of the divine to that of the human jurisdiction (it will become even more striking once one reflects on the nature of human justice as portrayed in the *rhesis*)⁵ and it will be well to keep in mind the direction so manifestly displayed here: after all, the issue of justice and jurisdiction may be considered to play the crucial part in the development of the tragedy's plot, which seems to invert the Aeschylean pattern, thus calling into question the very tradition it invokes⁶. It seems significant, though, that the appearance of human judges may be conceived as much more than a simple challenge to the Aeschylean model⁷: while the latter reference is certainly present, with Euripides' all too human judges placed where his poetic predecessor put his divinely sanctioned Areopagus, the remodelling is probably to be considered against the whole history of Tantalus' family, the stoning being possibly introduced as a purposeful remnant of the punishment suffered by Zeus' son himself⁸. Therefore, the resulting picture would be of people throwing stones onto the murderous pair, instead of the hypothetical image of gods positioning a stone in such a manner as to threaten continuously the one who transgressed. To this, one may add yet another mention of stoning: according to Electra, Helen stands considerable risk of stoning should she venture farther from the palace (59). Even if one hesitates to embrace O'Brien's hypothesis, it is nevertheless certain that the threat of stones lacerating human flesh results quite prominently from the text: indeed, yet another reminder of this punishment may be found in the short, almost negligible mention of Palamedes, emerging in lines 432 f. The death of this particular hero, brought about by the treachery of Odysseus, occurred by stoning: the mention of his demise when considered in the wider context of the *Orestes* may be seen as

⁵ It seems interesting that the scholars stressing the aristocratic danger as impersonated by Orestes, Electra and Pylades do not pay closer attention to this passage – cf. Schein 1975; Rawson 1972; Euben 1986.

⁶ On the justice problem cf. Eucken 1986.

⁷ The complex nature of Euripides' attitude toward his great predecessor is discussed comprehensively in Aélión's massive book (Aélión 1983); several interesting remarks on the character of Euripides' creative activity in relation to those of his predecessors or contemporaries can also be found in Michelini 1998, particularly pp. 52–128; additional data may be drawn from the number of minor contributions such as e.g. Raeburn 2000.

⁸ The issue of stoning and its importance in the *Orestes* is given much attention in O'Brien 1988, though this scholar tends to highlight the basic similarity of the position without giving much attention to the deeper modifications in the substance of the plot it may emphasize. On the other hand, one may note that the substitution of the standard assembly for the divinely ordained members of the Areopagus may reflect far more general tendency manifested in the play, i.e. the tendency to adopt the stand traditionally held by the divine agencies (compare Orestes' use of Apolline argumentation in lines 544 f. or his final appearance at the *theologeion* in 1567).

aiming at highlighting both the notion of familial obligation (to be rejected by Menelaus) and the importance of the manner of death that is to befall the hero.

Apart from the steady deterioration of the Tantalid condition, there are several other interesting features to this prologue: the first is the ‘uninhibited speech’ that resulted in Tantalus’ fall from the divine favour – while there are traces of certain diversity in this particular story, the central crime varying between the cannibalistic meal served to the divine guests, the stealth of ambrosia, and too much gossip⁹, the version Euripides refers to remains certainly unorthodox one – as such, it would certainly attract audience’s attention, and certainly could influence the perception of events portrayed in the play. Indeed, what needs to be noted, the progression described in the prologue reflects a symptomatic change: it is not only fall from grace, from being considered worthy of attending the Olympian banquet to playing victim to chthonic divinities, but also a notable passage from excesses of speech to extreme isolation: in his sickness Orestes is utterly alone, cut off from the human company except for that of his sister and accomplice¹⁰. At this point it seems important to notice yet another aspect of Orestes’ plight, an aspect that relies on the well known attitude the Greeks displayed with reference to murderers before these latter could be purified: the siblings are banned from the company of other people, indeed, excluded from the speaking community. Yet, one may note, Electra’s words seem to refer this particular situation to the actual will of the Argives, as if a different perspective were possible:

ἔδοξε δ’ Ἀργεῖ τῶδε μὴδ’ ἡμᾶς στέγαις,
μὴ πυρὶ δέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα
μητροκτονούντας (46–48).

As a result, their world would dramatically narrow, leaving them alone in the most complete sense of the word¹¹. This aspect of Orestes’ and Electra’s isolation seems particularly striking given the nature of their ancestor’s crime: speech is denied to those whose ancestor enjoyed too much of this particular luxury.

⁹ The various versions of the story were criticized by Pindar *Ol.* 1, 83–85. Concerning the Euripidean attitude to myth one may also refer to Scullion 2000.

¹⁰ Now, it needs to be understood that what I am referring to at the moment is the progression reflected in Electra’s words rather than the later development of dramatic action – indeed, this latter remains open to the reading proposed by Dunn, who suggests what may be viewed as openly contrary direction within the plot development: for him, Electra and Orestes pass from silence to uncontrollable action via uninhibited speech (Dunn 1996: 161 ff.).

¹¹ One may recall the isolation of Heracles after slaughtering his own children in Euripides’ *Hercules Furens*. It is to be remembered, however, that this isolation would be very much in tune with the actual reality of Greece, as the ritual and religious policy effectively excluded those tainted with blood from the public life (on this cf. e.g. Mikalson 1983: 50–52).

Moreover, as it was stressed above, the prologue presents also a progression from the divine retribution that fell onto Tantalus to human justice about to descend onto his unlucky descendants: it is between these two extremes that Atreus story stands in a ghastly contrast to the blessed banquets attended by Zeus' son: eating and food is in fact yet another important element of this account, for it passes from the ambrosian, through the cannibalistic, to the utter refusal of food and drink as displayed by Orestes¹². Viewed against such a background, Euripides' choice of this particular version of Tantalus' myth appears all the more significant: in refusing to follow the tradition of Pelops being served as a dish to his father's divine guests the poet obtains a clear downward regress. Moreover, he avoids what could be seen as a repetition of crime, a pattern within the family, which would otherwise easily be conceived as feeding upon itself. Instead, there is only one cannibalistic act – the Thyestean banquet, the horrid scene where children's flesh is served to their father: ἔδαισε δ' οὖν νιν τέκνα ἀποκτείνας Ἄτρεός (15).

Next, the relatively long account of Tantalus' story (1–10) contrasts with brief mention of his son, whose sole achievement seems to have been the fathering of Atreus and Thyestes, destined by gods to quarrel with one another. Thus, the responsibility for the quarrel is manifestly laid on the gods, which may anticipate the similar transferral of responsibility in the case of matricide. It was because of divine will that the bloody quarrel came about – and no explanation is given for this apparent whim whatsoever. Clearly, this is not to say that Euripides' public would be unaware of the somewhat complex circumstances of this divine causation; similarly, it is not that the public would be inclined to acquit either Atreus or Thyestes from their respective responsibility¹³ – it is rather that by presenting the story as it appears at this point, and by making Electra his mouthpiece Euripides may have aimed at giving us some insight into the development of the plot, into the motivations of the protagonists etc. Thus, I imply that by emphasizing Electra's reluctance to speak the poet would draw attention to the untold elements of the story: thus I would claim that it is these untold parts (and the fact that they remain untold for the time being) that are at the very least as essential to the understanding of the plot as is Electra's observance of the social norms of proper behaviour (proper speech)¹⁴. Two purposes may

¹² Indeed, this aspect of the prologue may be of particular interest for any interpreter of anthropological inclinations: the tale passes through all possible kinds of transgression – from partaking in what is usually denied to humans (divine ambrosia), through partaking of a forbidden feast (human flesh), to end with the account of extreme, self induced fast. One may note that deviations from the usual feeding patterns are given some attention in C.P. Segal's discussion of the *Hippolytus* (Segal 1965 and 1970).

¹³ For a rudimentary analysis of the concept of causality as employed by Euripides one may compare the elucidating comments of Allan 2000 a: 233–266.

¹⁴ Cf. Dunn 1996: 161 ff.

be achieved by Euripides by making his heroine silent: first, as it was remarked above, his account of the Tantalid history is given a clear downward direction. Second, one obtains a first glimpse into the nature of historical narration as the latter is portrayed in the play: fragmentary, biased, incomplete. Indeed, it is the very incompleteness of the account that is of crucial importance here, for we hear, in all the explicitness, that the story delivered was for some reasons censored, some of its parts having been purposefully and consciously removed.

Certainly, modern scholarship devoted considerable attention to Electra's reluctance to speak of the reasons motivating the conflict of Atreus and Thyestes and to the fact that the reasons given for this reticence in the prologue depend on social conventions and may be regarded the civilization of speech, cutting one's words to fit the social status or social expectations (in short, behaving in a manner actively rejected by Tantalus). Yet, there may be much more to this reticence – the guilt of Aerope is at least implied, even if conventions of speech are observed, by the repeated protestations of the speaker's reticence connected with explicit mention of Agamemnon's and Menelaus' parentage (... Ἀγαμέμνων ἔφν / Μενέλεός τε Κρήσσης μητρὸς Ἀερόπης ἄπο, 17 f.) and there would probably be none in the audience who would not observe the procession of unfaithful females that haunt the royal abode¹⁵. Thus, if Electra may be seen as glossing over the apparent causes of the conflict (Aerope's betrayal of her husband), and chooses to invoke the divine causation instead, this may also be regarded symptomatic of the play's opening in quite a different sense than establishing the pattern of broken conventions or broken social norms. The brothers are destined to feud as Orestes was ordered to murder his mother, this latter deed resulting from Apollo's command: yet, the likeness of the two notwithstanding, an interesting difference seems to emerge. Thus, one may compare the meaning of the two respective passages:

... Ἄτρεϊδς ἔφν ᾧ στέμματα ξήνασ' ἐπέκλωσεν θεὰ ἔριν, Θυέστη πόλεμον ὄντι συγγόνῳ θέσθαι... (11–14)	πείθει δ' Ὀρέστην μητέρ' ἢ σφ' ἐγείνατο κτεῖναι (29 f.)
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Strikingly, the fatal feud is regarded as being woven into the fabric of the universe, as stemming from the decree of Moirae. By contrast, Orestes *was persuaded / ordered* to murder his mother (and thus, to avenge his father), a fact that may potentially highlight the active part the protagonist took in the decisive process, even as Electra hastens to emphasize that the final deed was

¹⁵ One may note that the gravity of Thyestes' offence is borne out by the passage from Hesiod's *Works and Days* 327–329, where an affair with brother's wife ranks on par with harming a suppliant. Concerning the legal sanctions on marital infidelity in general cf. e.g. Carey 1995.

effectively a proof of his obedience to the divine will (οὐκ ἀπειθήσας θεῶ, 31)¹⁶. Apparently, his own will, the active act of choice, is implied at the moment, which would clearly distance his deed from those preordained for Thyestes and Atreus: as a result, the complexity of possible causation stands out relatively clearly even in spite of Electra's manifest wish to exonerate her brother. For now, however, it seems enough to mark this particular difference for later use, and emphasize that regardless of the above, the two descriptions may in fact reveal an interesting pattern in Electra's storytelling, namely the tendency to invoke the divine explanation with the possible effect of emulating the closeness with the divine that was enjoyed by Tantalus. Yet, to wholly appreciate the scheme possibly underlying the portrayal of Tantalid history as painted in the prologue, one needs to look further, to the evolution of the story in the later accounts.

2. THE CHORAL ODE (807–844)

The ode, full of paradoxes and adorned by several oxymora, provides the second account of the family history – delivered after Orestes and Pylades have departed for the assembly meeting, it looks back onto the past, centring on two events: the feud of Pelops' sons and main hero's matricide (in 1:2 proportion)¹⁷. The choice is interesting in itself, for the song juxtaposes the two most ghastly transgressions against *genos*: the killing of children seems to be bound with the killing of parents, and the ode turns into a portrayal of the family consuming itself in a series of internecine acts of violence.

The picture emerging from the song is as striking as was the one deduced from the prologue, as the ode effectively juxtaposes two grossest transgressions against the social norms: the fratricidal hatred and the vengeance that calls for maternal blood. Additionally, as if in search for an acceptable explanation of the unacceptable deed, the events surrounding the fraternal feud are identified as the source of all calamities. While it may appear to concur with the version given by Electra, a significant change seems to have occurred: while Electra invokes the

¹⁶ This emphasis on Orestes' obedience may allude to the Aeschylean portrayal of the matricide in the *Choephorae*, with its characteristic notion of divine order (cf. *Choe.* 899–902).

¹⁷ The choice of the first subject is sometimes taken to constitute a proof of the chorus' basic sympathy for the protagonist's plight and its condemnation of Menelaus' treachery: in this latter, Agamemnon's son proves to be a true descendant of his family, his desertion equal to the crime of his forefathers, his mind tempted by the glamour of the Argive throne, as minds of both Thyestes and Atreus were seduced by the splendour of the golden lamb (thus e.g. Kyriakou 1998). Yet, regardless of its particular relation to the recent developments of the plot, it is as an account of the past that the ode needs to occupy us at the moment, hence the chorus' potential sympathies will be of importance only as far as they may reflect on the organization and impact of the narrative contained in the song.

divine will that prompted intrafamilial murder, the chorus regards the very crime as the origin of present misfortunes:

... παλαιᾶς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δόμων,
 ὁπότε χρυσεΐας ἔρις ἄρνός
 ἦλυθε Τανταλίδαις,
 οἰκτρότατα θοινάματα καὶ
 σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων·
 ὅθεν φόνος φόνος ἐξαμεί-
 βων δι' αἵματος οὐ προλεί-
 πει δισσοῖσι Ἀτρείδαις (811–818)

Thus, it is from that very moment that the house is racked by reciprocal acts of bloodshed (indeed, an unnerving thought, it is very much present calamities that the chorus invokes – after all, it is the Atridae who are mentioned in line 818). True enough, the chorus does mention – for the first time in the play – the part played in the development of the fatal conflict by the golden lamb, yet it may well seem significant that nothing is said concerning the origins of the animal: the lamb, source of quarrel, appears to have come out of nowhere, a thing of beauty whose appearance set in motion a chain of dire, ugly events culminating in the matricide. Thus, the paradoxes of the antistrophe, the *paranoia* of the mother-murder, are in a manner anticipated by the very paradoxical character of the golden lamb viewed both as a mark of dominion and as the catalyst of gruesome intrafamilial conflict. Thus, it may well be significant that the antistrophe opens with the famous phrase τὸ καλὸν οὐ καλόν (819) – as there were hitherto no references to Orestes' actual plight, the phrase could have been referred to the central theme of the strophe, which would potentially accentuate the possible connection between the story connoted by the lamb and that of the matricide.

Yet another question needs to be asked: is it important that the account is provided by the chorus? Indeed, I would argue it does make a difference: even if the chorus of the *Orestes* is devoid of the dignity and authority of some others (e.g. the chorus of the *Phoenissae*)¹⁸, it nevertheless stands apart from the family troubles, which may (though not necessarily so) endow it with some impartiality where the storytelling is concerned. Furthermore, there is the apparent randomness of the divine intervention that may be of importance at this point: as we remember, Electra claimed that the feud was ordained by the Moirae – the chorus supplements her story by revealing the means that intervention

¹⁸ Apolline prophetic gift was claimed for the *Phoenissae* chorus by Mueller-Goldingen (1984: 204 f.). The theory is convincingly rejected by Hose (1991: 135–137), yet it seems symptomatic that a possibility has been raised. The most comprehensive account of the choral activity in the play is nevertheless that of Arthur 1977. For the more general rules concerning the character and behaviour of the Greek choruses cf. Gould 1996 and, for a different view, Goldhill 1996.

took, and, furthermore, seems to draw yet further parallel between the events of the past and those happening now: the will of gods comes double-edged and incomprehensible, their commands bringing discord and pain.

3. THE MONODY (960–1012)

When indulging a lament for herself and her hapless brother, Electra gives what may be termed the second outline of family history: yet, this time it is not Tantalus who dominates the account. In his place – Tantalus being only briefly mentioned together with his eternal torment – stands his son, Pelops, the triumphant winner of the Pisidian race and, which we learn for the first time, the cause of family misfortunes.

... Μυρτίλου φόνον
δικῶν ἐς οἶδμα πόντου,
λευκοκύμοσιν
πρὸς Γεραιστίαῖς
ποντίων σάλων
ἦόσιν ἀρματεύσας.
ὄθεν δόμοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἦλθ' ἀρὰ πολύστονος
λόχευμα ποιμνίοισι Μαιάδος τόκου,
τὸ χρυσόμαλλον ἄρνός... (990–997).

It seems important to note that by the time this monody is recited a notable change has occurred in the situation of the protagonists: their plea for help effectively rejected by Menelaus (711–715, paraphrased in *Orestes*' much discussed *eulabeito*, 748), they face sure death according to the verdict of the Argives (857 f.). It is precisely after learning of the details of the assembly meeting that Electra breaks into the monody acknowledging the events that preceded the infamous feud between Pelops' two sons. Now, there are several issues at stake here. First (and possibly also most importantly): why Pelops appears as the *Ursache* of later misfortunes only at this precise point, when the fortunes of his descendants appear to have reached their nadir? And what prompts Electra's modification (or possibly elucidation) of the earlier story? Next, there are the details to be considered: the Myrtilus story involves the divine retribution falling not on Pelops himself but on his offspring instead – the *alastor* will be expressly mentioned only later, but there is a taste of his work in the account, with the vengeance falling on the perpetrator's descendants.

Now, the mention of Pelops and his betrayal can understandably be construed as referring to (indeed, anticipating) the later development of the dramatic action – the respective parallels between Menelaus and his glorious ancestor

were convincingly discussed by Kyriakou, who highlighted the importance of betrayal in the past and actual reality of the *genos*: in her interpretation the divine retribution that falls on Pelops' family foreshadows the threat of doom to endanger Menelaus' household¹⁹. Yet, notwithstanding the possible advantages of the interpretation, this seems to be an *a posteriori* reading: one is still left wondering what would be the *ad hoc* effect of this belated revelation: would it be conceived, as implied by Dunn's reading, as a proof of Electra's gradual loss of her hold on both speech and behaviour²⁰, or would it bring to the attention the possible biases on the stories told, thus bringing into perspective any narrative appearing within the play? After all, the lament is preceded by two agones, the first of them played in full view of the audience, the other put into perspective by the mediating messenger's speech: the agones highlighted the differing views of the matricide (indeed, differing narratives of the latter) – now, a historical narrative provided in the prologue is being supplanted with another, its focus suddenly switching from the blessed Tantalus to the latter's treacherous son, the crime of language put into shadow by the temporally posterior act of murder.

At this point it may be useful to look back to another instance where the crime of Atreus is introduced only late in a play – it is in the *Agamemnon*, in the celebrated vision of the doomed captive, Cassandra²¹. Characteristically, a Trojan go-between will be used in this play as well, and he will serve – in much similar way – to disclose the events within the palace walls: the barbarian eunuch, half crazed with fear, and yet speaking in obscure, ornate words of blood being shed in the palace²². It seems symptomatic that his words, drawing a close parallel between Orestes' invasion of the palace and the assault on the city of Troy may be read as casting considerable doubt upon the heroic dimension of the Trojan narrative: in linking so closely the two events, the Phrygian implicitly belittles the Homeric tale, comparing the glorious achievement of the Greek military to merciless slaughter of clearly panicked servants and women. On the other hand, it is the tale that may be of interest here, as it turns what many of present-day scholars view as ghastly atrocity²³ into a deed worthy of poetic adornments:

¹⁹ Cf. Kyriakou 1998. In her interpretation, the postponed mention of the betrayal is linked to the recent development of the plot and provides a historical background against which Menelaus' act is to be considered, an interesting possibility not to be lightly rejected. Still, one may think that there is an additional dimension to this modification should we consider the story against the more general features of historical narrative that this latter emerges from the tragedy.

²⁰ Cf. Dunn 1996: 161–169.

²¹ *Ag.* 1090 f. and 1219 f.; on the scene cf. e.g. Ferrari 1997.

²² Cf. *Or.* 1369 ff.

²³ The assault on Helen is unequivocally criticized by Smith 1967; Burkert 1974; Schein 1975; Euben 1986, and others, with particularly virulent comments on the character of the protagonists coming from Vellacott 1975: 53–81. Much different attitude is manifested by Porter (1994: 86 ff.).

viewed from such a standpoint, the song this unusual messenger sings fulfils at least a twofold purpose. First, he encourages a reflection on the famous war of Troy, but second, and possibly more interestingly, he provides a glimpse into a narrative being written, into a historical report being composed, thus standing in what we may regard as a counterbalance to the far 'clearer' account of the assembly meeting²⁴. The two are thus inextricably linked, the apparent purity of the assembly report possibly nasconding the specific biases of Agamemnon's old retainer sent to break the evil tidings to his mistress²⁵, while the poetic form of the assault narrative, though far from the epic beauty of the heroic hexameters, provides an account whose lyrical form seems to belie a tale of considerable violence, a tale modified and shaped by fear-infused mind. Which is more reliable, one may rightly ask: is it the lucid account for which we have no counterbalance or the hysterical narrative of an obscurity that foretells the wonders to come, partially vindicated by the 'absurdity' of the final prophecy.

Yet, to return to the issue at hand, at the discussed moment Electra chooses to disclose the events which were hitherto absent from her account: the betrayal and the quarrel it brought about by the will of gods. It seems symptomatic that in her present tale the two are irrevocably connected, Myrtilus' murder providing the reason for the fatal gift duly brought by Hermes. It is only now that the crime of Pelops is explicitly mentioned, the murder of Myrtilus being invoked as the source of all later calamities including implicitly the present plight of the two siblings. At the nadir of Argive fortunes, Electra speaks the betrayal committed by her ancestor: one may wonder whether this mention is motivated only by the fact that the present situation arose from the behaviour of Menelaus²⁶. There is possibly a deeper end to this sudden disclosure: neither nobility of birth (*eugeneia*), nor Apollo-like arguments saved Orestes at the assembly meeting, no divinity appeared to defend him from the wrath of the citizens: the downfall of the royal line seems complete – it is no wonder that the *Ursache* invoked proves to be a transgression of major proportions, the famous betrayal of a friend, of a person bound to the heroic Pelops by reciprocity of *charis*, and, hence, a shedding of blood likely to invoke the divine wrath upon the head of both perpetrator and his descendants.

There is, however, more to be noticed in this monody: indeed, in her anguish, Electra turns to invoke the very man she has mentioned in the prologue, the 'old

²⁴ This is hardly the point for an extended comparison between the two, yet even the first-glance differences may result striking: one messenger is identified as male and Greek, the other as an Eastern eunuch; one speaks in stately trochaic meter, where the other sings in frantic dochmiacs; one follows the diachronic arrangement typical of historical account speaking with utmost clearness and providing what appears to be an accurate rendering of the past action, the other is almost incomprehensible in his elaborate ornaments and shifting perspectives that positively disable any chronological sequence.

²⁵ For the bias of the messenger report cf. e.g. Schein 1975: 61.

²⁶ Thus e.g. Kyriakou 1998.

Tantalus': she calls upon him to witness the utter destruction visited onto his descendants due to the crimes of his son. Well may we ask for the reasons that prompt his mention at this precise point, immediately preceding the long-awaited (and still incomplete) account of Pelops' contribution to the family fortunes. Interestingly, he appears as a true forefather, the predecessor of the very founder of the *genos*, Pelops – thus, Electra invokes the last to taste the true happiness, and significantly, no mention of his own transgression appears in this particular context.

Then, a possibly insignificant point, there is the matter of the epithet employed to describe Hermes' gift: the lamb is *polystonos*, very much like Helen in the prologue (56). Both have brought infinite sorrow to those apparently blessed with their presence and both are credited with something like the divine origin: certainly, the analogy would not be manifest on superficial reception, but it might be symptomatic that Euripides chose precisely the same descriptive to put it in Electra's mouth on two quite different occasions. If noticed, the repetition would probably highlight the basic similarity between the woman and the other gift, both infinitely beautiful, both highly desired, both bringing forth pain and bloodshed – this similarity would be likely to problematize the very presence of Helen, drawing attention to her peculiar status in the world of the drama and possibly preparing the grand entry of Pythian Apollo, with the newly divinized daughter of Tyndareus.

4. THE CHORAL ACCOUNT (1537–1549)

Two accounts of the past history were given by a member of Tantalid family: the final one, brief yet noteworthy, is once again provided by the chorus. The verses in question, marked with crux and riddled with textual difficulties, run as follows:

δι' ἀλαστόρων
ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε μέλαθρα τάδε δι' αἰμάτων
διὰ Μυρτίλου πέσημ' ἐκ δίφρου (1547–1549)

Significantly, this is not the first time when the *alastōr* is invoked in the play – it is however interesting to note that this is the first instance where the feud and the downfall of the Tantalid house is explicitly blamed on the baneful spirits of curse: hitherto, it was only Clytemnestra's blood that drew the ghastly avenger to Orestes (337), while the overall calamity was linked to the crime of Pelops without any specific mention of the curse-spirit. As a result, it is only at this particular point that the fall of Myrtilus is connected not only with the beginning of all troubles (as it was in Electra's account) but rather with the

appearance of the bane of the Atridae, of the angry spirit of curse haunting the house of Pelops. Thus, the historic betrayal acquires clear religious connotations that make it parallel to matricide (after all, this latter provided a context in which the name of the *alastor* appeared at the beginning of the play). The missing datum is supplied by the chorus – while Electra gave the outline of the story, with Pelops throwing the carcass into the sea, the Argive women provide the detail of possibly fundamental importance: from that moment onwards, the family was victim to a curse.

Now, the above may well seem far-fetched, yet, even if one rejects the possibility, we are left with a significant point: at the highly emotional moment of the play, a curse-spirit is invoked as providing an explanation of all calamities that befall the house in its entirety. The chorus who refers to this explanation is often described as being half crazed with anxiety, almost hysterical in its powerlessness: yet, from the depth of this turmoil, it reaches out to give a possible explanation, to provide a conceptual frame which, given the benefit of the doubt, may retrieve something of the universal order, mythical that it may be. Significantly, both the killing of Helen and the danger that overtook Hermione involve Menelaus' family: thus, the bane that loomed over the children of Agamemnon seems to have transferred itself: at present it is Menelaus' family that stands on the verge of utter destruction: in this context, one may feel well justified in maintaining, together with Biehl, that the term *alastores* denotes in fact the twin instruments of the curse-spirit, Orestes and Pylades²⁷. If the chorus chooses this precise moment to remind the spectator that it is the Pelopids who are tainted by divine wrath, the fact needs not to be accidental: as others before him, the Spartan king belongs to a line haunted by evil deeds of the past. Let us, however, pay some attention to the personage and family of Menelaus.

Agamemnon's brother was greeted as the descendant of Tantalus, his luck having been praised and extolled by the chorus, his arrival eagerly awaited by his niece as that of a saviour. Indeed, for Electra, Menelaus seems to fulfil the role Apollo has, for all that appears to her, rejected – thus, Helen's husband, married to Zeus' daughter, is counted quasi on par with gods – and any mention of his consanguinity with the treacherous Pelops is absent from the play. It is only with reference to the plight of Orestes (Electra) that this latter will be mentioned²⁸. If Menelaus seems to have been kept far from the hereditary bloodlust of the Pelopidae, it seems all the more surprising that here, at the very critical moment of the play, the catastrophe seems to envelop all the house, inclusive of both Agamemnon and Menelaus. Certainly, there is a notable difference between his

²⁷ Cf. Biehl 1965: 167.

²⁸ The characteristic exception is the mention of *dissois Atridais* in the already discussed song of the chorus (318), although even there it is not in connection with Pelops but rather with the golden lamb that the brothers are mentioned.

appearance in the opening *epeisodion* and the manner in which he enters at now: in both cases, his arrival is eagerly awaited, yet several shifts seem to have occurred – the eagerness seems to be more that of the chorus, while Menelaus himself shall at best be a very reluctant saviour (if saviour at all). Even more importantly, it is no longer the elegant, suave descendant of Tantalus who enters – he rushes in frantic search for his family – in fact, owing to the harsh measures adopted by his nephew, the word around him all of the sudden collapses into that of Thyestes, as if by the very fact of occupying the family house he has plunged into the abyss of hereditary curse. Indeed, it may well be significant that the chorus speaks of the house that is being torn down by the *alastores* – its proximity seems to have an unwanted effect on the members of Pelopid family, the danger culminating in Orestes' command to set the palace on fire. This seemingly silent building may be seen as dominating the imagination of all present, indeed, as dominating the dramatic plot, although all the accounts seem to dwell on the members of the family instead of the building itself²⁹. Yet, one needs to remember that a profound link would be perceived as existing between community, the royal family, and their house – not for nothing Dionysus shakes the royal palace of Thebes in the *Bacchae*, not for nothing Oedipus lives behind the shuttered doors of the family house in the *Phoenissae*.

To emphasize, there is an aspect to the curse story that deserves to be highlighted here: in invoking the angry spirit of family bane, the chorus clearly seeks to introduce some order into the world apparently ruled by chaos. In a way, the presence of *alastores* seems to be regarded as explanatory of the disorder resulting from the past history of the Tantalids, of Menelaus' questionable loyalty, or of the very actions of Orestes; moreover, such an explanation proves preferable to the alternative, as this latter involves accepting the disorder at face value, while making allowance for the import of human will. Should we however accept the reading proposed by Biehl, the resulting picture is of humans propelled by malicious, divine agency toward an end that is not exactly their own: and certainly, the ruin that threatens to overwhelm the world of the *Orestes* is easier to accept when it stems from the workings of the baneful, evil yet potent *daimon*. Thus, the chorus, much in the manner of Electra in the prologue or in the lament, appears to seek the explanatory rule which would account for the present state of the family affairs: as a result, it provides what is in fact a historical explanation – looking back, it locates the *origo malorum* in an act of betrayal and murder, but also in a curse uttered by the murdered man, thus invoking the

²⁹ It may be significant that the last account, that provided by the chorus, furnishes the link that was hitherto missing: finally, the bane is connected physically to the royal abode (which seems to fit with the traditional understanding of the Atreid house, as attested in Ferrari 1997, and by the large majority of the commentaries on Euripides' *Electra*), turning this latter in a ghastly source of pollution and wrath.

supernatural, vindictive agency as an ultimate explanation of the present, and partially shifting the responsibility for the crisis from the protagonists onto their invisible tormentor³⁰.

5. APOLLO'S PROPHECY (1625–1665)

Having investigated the pictures of the past as these emerge in the *Orestes*, it is time to mention yet another account, covering both past and future, the account provided (for once in the play) by a divinity. It seems important to consider the source together with the contents: after all, hitherto we dealt with views of the past presented by either *dramatis personae* (or rather one *persona*) or the chorus: now, at the end of the dramatic action, in a moment of utmost tension and dramatic standoff, we are faced with the final explanation, provided by an omniscient, prophetic divinity, the very divinity whose authority was so confidently claimed for the highly problematic act of matricide³¹.

The interesting point is that Apollo does introduce himself: while easily disregarded as a by-product of the exigencies of the present situation, where no *Vorankündigung* is provided for his entrance, or emphasized as the final, true epiphany anticipated in the silencing of Pylades³², the self-introduction is particularly striking should we recall that the god went almost forgotten during the intrigue-part of the play. Thus, one may wonder whether his (re)appearance, additionally stressed by the fact that the deity who bears (as it were) some responsibility for the central act of matricide must reintroduce himself, should not be regarded as indicative of some major ideological design.

Now, the contents of Apollo's final prophecy are often taken as indicative of either Euripides' distrust of the traditional religion, or his profound dissatisfaction with the limitation of the tragic genre³³. The god solves the crisis by simply ordering Menelaus to desist from the assault on the palace, insisting that Orestes' frees Hermione (only to marry her afterwards), and throwing in a few hints concerning the origin of the present situation. Symptomatically, he is accompanied by the now divine daughter of Tyndareus, who as a child of Zeus takes her place among the gods rather than humans, which provides an interesting commentary on both

³⁰ Parallel shifts in the acknowledged responsibility for acts performed by humans are visible in the views on the matricide expressed by Orestes and Electra: they seem continuously to hesitate between acknowledgement of the sole responsibility of the murder and the transferral of the moral 'blame' onto Apollo's oracle (or, for that matter, onto Apollo himself).

³¹ Apollo's part in the play is particularly problematic once one realizes that Electra views her and Orestes as his 'sacrificial victims' – on this cf. Gibert 2003.

³² Thus respectively Biehl (1965: 178), and Nisetich (1986).

³³ One may mention Burnett 1998; Dunn 1996 (most prominently, 170–173); or Parry 1969 with his insistence on the 'norm' of myth. Cf. also Cilliers 1985.

Orestes' attempt on the woman's life and the history of the Trojan war. And finally, he returns the plot to its expected (though seemingly abandoned) track, providing thereby a glimpse of the future destiny of Orestes and his sister. As a result of its apparent brusqueness, the intervention was often regarded as offhand or even clumsy, the psychological inadequacies of the ending being emphasized in order to highlight Euripides' alleged dramatic failure (or, for the matter, his ultimate atheism)³⁴. One may wonder, though, whether the authoritative command of Apolline command is not to be taken as mirroring his part in the resolution of the prior conflict: after all, the matricide resulted, a fact alleged in the prologue, from the divine command very much as the present resolution does. Not to obey is a course unthinkable to both Orestes and Menelaus: both of them bow to the divine will, accepting the path shown to them. Should we consider the intervention of Apollo as a twin one to that resulting in Orestes' vengeance, the divine would appear as the only agency capable of solving man-caused, deadlocked conflict of obligations. The divine, one may say, proves necessary, its existence and importance vindicated by the human inability to deal with man-caused events.

The feature that may be regarded as particularly interesting in the context of the Tantalid story is the apotheosis of Helen – the woman who appeared in Electra's words as a paragon of female flightiness and treachery, who was regarded by Orestes and his friend Pylades as the incarnation of all evil that befell Greece³⁵, is raised above the human status owing to her divine paternity³⁶. This is indeed interesting, given that another child of Zeus mentioned in this play was condemned to endless punishment: he was Tantalus and, possibly significantly, he is portrayed as floating midair in eternal fear – by contrast, Helen, also raised above the ground, also midair, is to become an instrument of rescue, giving hope to the storm-afflicted sailors on par with her divinized brothers. The interesting thing, however, is that Helen seems to transcend the human limits in more ways than this: according to Apollo, the part she played in the Argive/Greek history resulted from Zeus' plan:

ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθονὸς
ὑβρισμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος (1641 f.)

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Will 1961. One may also mention the 'cracked replica' metaphor of Parry (1969: 339), or the criticism heaped onto the scene by Schein 1975.

³⁵ Cf., respectively, *Or.* 126–131, 1134 ff. It seems particularly striking in a drama of the *Orestes'* proportions that Helen is being repeatedly blamed for both the misery of Tantalidae and the ruin of all Greece (thus e.g. by Electra, 128ff.). Her denouncement by both Orestes and Electra gives us a glimpse of yet another portrayal of history, where a full accountability of human agents is assumed – ironically, by blaming Helen as the two siblings do, they undermine their own position, for the full accountability of Tyndareus' daughter implicitly question the part of Apollo in the matricidal act of Orestes.

³⁶ It seems striking that paternity is the only reason given for the sudden elevation of Helen (1365).

This, one may reflect, is in some respects reminiscent of the tale of the golden lamb, another divine gift that poisoned human minds, bringing about utter catastrophe and destruction³⁷. It is probably because of this peculiar status of Helen that Menelaus is told to remarry – in this remarriage, he will be leaving the realm of myth, thus making his return from Troy complete.

On the other hand, Menelaus' remarriage may be regarded as a dramatic device of a nature similar to that of Orestes' promising to marry Hermione: the divinity has spoken, confirming the protagonist's claim on the Argive throne, and, moreover, confirming his claim on Hermione's very person. On this order, the world seems to be returning to its proper *kosmos* – but it is not that the god is authoritative; rather, humans are allowed to live only when their experience is ordered by actual superimposition of divine command. In a way, one could say that by influencing (or even modifying) their perception of actual events, the god allows the humans to survive where this survival is endangered. The road to relative happiness seems thus to pass through the acknowledgement of human limitations, including the necessary fragmentariness (or incompleteness) of our knowledge: it is striking indeed that when revealed, the divine perception of history remains foreign (and yet acceptable) to all concerned. In recognizing the validity of Apollo's command, stemming as the latter is from the superior understanding of events, both Menelaus and Orestes change the present crisis into the past history – indeed, into a chapter of the *genos* history they will be able to narrate, probably in partial and fragmentary manner, afterwards. The crisis of the play is thus relegated into a mere element of a catena of past events, and may henceforth be included in the narrative of Tantalid history.

Characteristically, the tale of earth suffering from overpopulation is all too often interpreted as a proof of Euripides' nihilistic tendencies, of his profound doubt concerning the divine³⁸, or as a logical continuation of the story that problematizes all there is in the Argive myth³⁹: yet, one may wonder, the close parallel between the part played by Helen and the part played by the lamb (the latter, let us remember, brought to Argos by the divine messenger, Hermes) may be regarded as reflecting something of the author's latent intent. Indeed, it may well seem that both wonders of beauty are sent down to facilitate punishment, to act as a catalyst in the process aimed at returning the lost balance of the universe: this is why they are both sent down by the will of Zeus and this is why they remain, to a large extent, foreign in the world of mortal men. Helen cannot die, for she is Zeus' daughter, yet being Zeus' daughter she is particularly equipped to

³⁷ One may remember the bitter commentary of Schein, who considers this particular explanation a striking absurd, which certainly confirms his view of the play as nihilistic (Schein 1975: 64 f.).

³⁸ Cf. e.g. Dunn 1996: 173–179; Burkert 1974; Parry 1969.

³⁹ Thus e.g. Burnett 1998: 247–272.

fulfil a role that was assigned to her by the ruler of the world⁴⁰: it may well seem surprising that the unabashed queen of the opening, fearful of her status or, for the matter, for her looks, proves to be a goddess in disguise – yet, it is her beauty that makes her a close correspondent of the lamb: like the latter, she is followed by a trail of destruction, the effects of her presence contrasting sharply with the graciousness of her aspect. In this, she is illustrative of the paradox so glaringly described by the chorus; moreover, to invoke the formulations employed by Electra, both Helen and the lamb are *polystonoi*, ‘abounding in misfortune’.

Apart from the very paradoxicality of Helen’s nature, there is yet point that should claim our attention: the war was intended to bring back the balance of the universe – this is particularly interesting when we consider the fact that the Argive myth is particularly rich in references to the divine attempts at restoring the established order. Even when we forgo the element of the Atreus/Thyestes tale which does not emerge in the play (the direction of the solar path reversed due to Thyestes’ treachery)⁴¹, the punishment of Tantalus and the fatal appearance of the lamb are enough to remind us of the existence of universal justice in a sense of some superior order or fundamental balance upon which the existence of the world is dependent. Thus, Helen, much in the manner of her precedent, becomes a manifestation of divine wrath, the bloodshed she brings about amounting to the necessary retribution for endangering the universal harmony. Symptomatically, on such a reading, the apparent arbitrariness of divine decrees becomes increasingly problematic – indeed, any doubt concerning the divine may be regarded as a by-product of the fragmentariness of our cognition or of the subjectivity of perception.

6. ORESTES

As we come closer to the conclusion of the present discussion, it seems reasonable to take a look into the perception of reality as presented by the very protagonist of the drama: affected by physical as well as psychical sickness, Orestes may be viewed as providing yet another manifestation of the human tendency to modify the narrative of the past. Indeed, in his case an additional factor is at work: the protagonist himself defines his memory as failing (215 f.), simultaneously confessing a preference for the dream world, for the death-like

⁴⁰ Symptomatically, she will perform yet another role in her divinized form – this time, however, in exact opposition to the time of her mortal existence, her beauty assumes the salutary character: nevertheless, she will still be an instrument of her father’s will (which in turn emphasizes the basic opposition between her and Tantalus, whose eternal life is irrevocably linked to suffering and fear). Concerning the truth of this particular aitiology, compare Scullion 2000.

⁴¹ On this cf. the study of Rosivach (1978)

state, where he can escape the confines of reality, indeed, escape the dire effects of memory itself (211–214). Indeed, he invokes Forgetfulness (*Lethe*, 213) as his refuge and saviour, thus distancing himself from the intrinsically human tendency to keep track of events, to preserve their memory⁴². In fact, immersed in his calamity he recognizes the ability to annul, to eliminate the perception of misfortune as a unique, yet specific gift of forgetting. It is interesting to note that in this drama, filled with references to the past, and full of remembrances and attempts at providing an explanation of the present through the past events, the protagonist begins by speaking of the blessings stemming from the erasure of memory, thus, from the denial of one's own humanity⁴³.

Characteristically, the shifts in Orestes' approach to the murder he committed received due attention in the modern scholarship, yet the attention was paid primarily to the question of Orestes' sanity⁴⁴ – meanwhile, the shifting perspective taken by the protagonist seems to correspond with the much wider tendency as exemplified by Electra, the chorus, or even the assembly. Orestes modifies his story (as he does the notion of his own responsibility for the fatal deed), yet his modifications are no different than those furnished by other *personae* – indeed, some of his much criticized arguments invoke the divine responsibility for the murder, which in fact may be regarded an echo of Helen's attitude toward her own behaviour (in lines 78 f.), while the others refer to the mythical/tragic tradition already existent in the times of Euripides: that the hero seems to waver in his own estimation of murder is to some extent explicable by the very nature of the deed which simply cannot be fitted into what we may consider 'normal' course of events. Orestes' mind is failing because of the Erinyes, yes, but it is also failing because of the fundamental difficulty in weaving the matricidal act into the overall narrative fabric, a difficulty that manifests itself in the paradoxical oxymora of the above discussed *stasimon* (807–843). Others experience considerable problems when referring to the violent past of the house – is it such a wonder that the view

⁴² On this, cf. e.g. Vidal-Naquet 1980 (chapter I 2). One may recall that memory is defined as a basis of learning (and thus as a trait intrinsic in humans) in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (980a30–980b2).

⁴³ This becomes particularly striking once we realize that in the course of action considerable doubts are raised with respect to *dikaion*, yet another instance of a common denominator of Greek social life being thrown aside – on this particular issue and its possible Gorgianic inspiration cf. O'Brien 1987: 191.

⁴⁴ Thus e.g. Smith 1967; Vellacott 1975: 53–71; or Dunn 1989. One may also mention the interesting study of O'Brien 1987, who instead of the sanity issue chooses to emphasize the basic similarity of the attitudes displayed by Orestes, Menelaus and Tyndareus, thus highlighting the importance of value/emphasis shifts for the understanding of the ideological aspect of the drama. To quote his conclusions: "The pointed repetition of themes treated in sharply contrasting ways by the same speaker [...], far from breaking the continuity of the such dramatic persons, is actually a way of calling attention to it" (1987: 199).

of the matricide remains a shifting one? Gods are invoked as ultimate explanation of the Thyestean banquet by the chorus (or, for that effect, by Helen as she refers to the issue of her escape), which seems to provide a pattern into which Orestes wants to weave his own deed. Still, at the same moment he continues to blame both his aunt and his mother for infidelity that engaged Greece in a long war with an even bloodier aftermath, leading to his present dilemma (248, 585–588 *et al.*). In a manner, the hero dramatizes the process of the present as it becomes (or, rather, is made into) a historical narrative, his choices of explanation throwing into light the less obvious mechanisms governing the accounts of the past as they were provided by the chorus or by the *dramatis personae*. It seems significant that he is vindicated by no less of a divinity than Apollo, the godly diviner, the one who through his shrine in Delphi provides explanations to all calamities and misfortunes befalling the Greek world: and yet, at the same moment, it is also symptomatic that his actions (stemming as they are from his attempts to introduce some order into the world broken by treason and matricide) lead to a bloody impasse, to an escalation of violence that threatens the existence of the Pelopid line itself. After all, notwithstanding all the efforts, he proves unable to vindicate his actions or to impress his vision of events upon others: indeed, on his own he lacks the authority and consistency that would vindicate him and his accomplices.

CONCLUSIONS

It is time to summarize the results of the above inquiry: it seems highly likely that the gradual disclosure of the past, through both Electra and the chorus, was aimed at attracting the audience's attention: if the crime of Pelops is left out in the original account, where the emphasis lies first with Tantalus as the quasi-divine founder of the dynasty, and the sad fate of Agamemnon, his existence would nevertheless be remembered by the larger part of original public – yet, one may well wonder how exactly he would be remembered – as the triumphant vanquisher of Oenomaos, as the treacherous murderer of Myrtilus, or as the lover of Chrysippus? Now, I do not maintain that this point would be foremost on the mind of Euripides' audience: instead, I would wish to stress that the express mention of his contribution to the family misfortune would be all the more noticed owing to the delay of the disclosure. By postponing the mention of Pelops and of the sad results of his treachery until (as one may think) the final calamity has befallen his descendants, Euripides may wish to stress the importance of his betrayal and the family discord that was its price, the evil harvest his betrayal reaped in the blood of Pelops' descendants. Still, his aim may be more sophisticated: the mention of the intrafamilial conflict that followed the treachery precedes the emergence of the vengeance plan, and thus may be taken to foreshadow the rise of intrafamilial hatred that endangers, for yet another time,

the very survival of the Tantalidae. Moreover, the history of the *genos*, presented in the fragmented, broken narration so unlike the clear, diachronic exposition of the *Phoenissae*, may be regarded as counterbalancing the hectic, changing plot, oscillating as this latter is between vengeance, despair, comedy, and rescue⁴⁵. The fragmentation of history corresponds to the fragmentation in the individual world-perception – the *prosopa* of this particular play are all characterized by very biased, hence incomplete perception of the surrounding world and its events. At the same time one may justifiably wonder at the notable change occurring in Electra's accounts of the Tantalid past: beginning with a relatively straightforward enumeration of calamities that had brought about the decline of this once magnificent *genos*, the heroine seems to enter a totally different mode of storytelling in her monody – here, the account is of explanatory, causal nature, as if the author were trying to impose order on the chaos that surrounds her.

Additionally, the fragmented narratives that are produced by different personages within the play culminate in the account of Apollo: sketchy as this latter is, it reveals something of the underlying pattern, providing a glimpse of possible rationality and a chance at returning to some kind of orderliness. At the same moment, Apollo's arrival highlights the incompleteness and imperfections of the human cognition, the basic inability to construct the true historical narrative. Cognition of history being necessarily impaired among the humans, the divine offers yet another unclear and, one may say, insufficient explanation of the events. And this leaves us in an untenable position of choice: we may either choose doubt and rejection of an inconceivable supernatural order, or display compliance and resignation in the face of our incapability to comprehend what is beyond our cognition. Thus, on the proposed reading, the epiphany and, subsequently, the speech delivered by Apollo become necessary supplement of the historical narration as presented in the play, a device aimed – among many other things – to emphasize what we may term an epistemological crisis within the drama. *In summa*, the *Orestes* may be regarded as questioning and problematizing much more than the norm of myth – what it problematizes is history itself. The narrative of the past, as it appears in the drama, is a matter of human interpretation. The divine purpose (if there is such a thing) seems elusive and distanced by the weakness of our perception. This is a brilliant drama: indeed, it may be read as a work of outstanding depth of nearly philosophical dimensions, a drama which seems to play (but what a dangerous play it is) with the Protagorean notion of subjectivity or with the newfangled intellectual notions⁴⁶. In a way, the attempts

⁴⁵ On this generic variation within the tragic genre as manifested by the *Orestes* compare Zeitlin 1980; Dunn 1989; Burnett 1998: 248–266. For the wider perspective compare Goff 2000.

⁴⁶ Concerning the level of the sophistic influence on Euripides I share the careful attitude of D.J. Conacher (as presented in Conacher 1998), yet I do recognize the legitimacy of M. Wright's

to locate this play with respect to the Thucydidean reflections on war⁴⁷, though heading toward another interpretation, may also prove illuminating – it is, after all, a human crisis that is portrayed onstage, a crisis resulting from the human weakness and the human biases, which among many other things prompt us to search for the reasons for present misfortunes somewhere else, in a source different from us ourselves. Yet, in a way, it may also be seen as a play about history itself, about the human inability to see through its mechanism, and, by contrast, about human ability to fit the historical narrative to very particular needs of the moment. Indeed, it may be viewed as an answer to the sentiments akin to those expressed by the Athenian historian in the proud claim: καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομεν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα (Thuc. II 40, 2). What Euripides may be doing here is to ask, whether, being what we are, we can actually evaluate the events that we see happening around us and to us. As a result, the bleakness of the *Orestes* reaches much deeper than possible description of the actual collapse of contemporary society or inquiry into the darker aspects of human strivings – in a manner, the drama is not only “the dark night of the Greek soul”⁴⁸, but also the dark night of the intellect itself.

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claim concerning the poet’s interest in Gorgias’ (or Gorgianic) reflection on the nature of both the language and human knowledge (cf. Wright 2005). In general, one may be inclined to share the careful attitude displayed by Allan 2000 b.

⁴⁷ For the historical actuality of the play compare e.g. Euben 1986; Schein 1975; Manuwald 1994/1995.

⁴⁸ Parry’s description of the play, stemming from his 1969 article, where he suggested that the *Orestes* manifests the rift in actual experience and human perception of this experience, that the dissonances of the play are in fact a representation of madness.

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TRANSFORMING THE TRIAL INTO A BATTLE: MILITARY LANGUAGE IN THE *EXORDIUM* OF CICERO'S *PRO MILONE*

By

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS

ABSTRACT: In the *exordium* of his *Pro Milone* Cicero employs military language and a number of *topoi* found in *cohortationes*, in order to portray Clodius and his followers as enemies of the *res publica*. By lending a military tone to the judicial confrontation, Cicero underlines the gravity of the particular case and its impact on the salvation of the state, reinforces Milo's favourable portrayal and denigrates that of Clodius. Furthermore, in this way he suggests that since Clodius acted like an enemy of the state, his murder involves no greater ethical conflict than the killing of an enemy of the state. Consequently, Milo's action should be judged according to the unwritten and natural law which justifies homicide when someone has to encounter the violence and weapons of the enemies.

It is a known fact that one of the main characteristics of Cicero's rhetorical speeches is his attempt to universalize the individual case and to place it in a more general framework, in order to emphasize its deeper meaning for the Roman audience as a whole¹. His famous *Pro Milone* is not an exception, where the great importance of the case at stake is a central topic of the *exordium*². Here, as Michael von Albrecht (2003: 184) underlines, the orator attempts to show "that not only Milo's life is at stake but the very life of the Republic itself".

Cicero tries to intimate this sense in a number of ways. In this paper I argue that one aspect of this pursuit, which to my knowledge has not yet been analyzed by the scholars, is the implicit assimilation of the case under trial with a military confrontation of crucial importance to the state. More particularly, in the *exordium* of the speech Cicero seems to equate the litigants with opposing armies and implicitly compares Clodius' supporters with the enemy and the rest of the Roman people with an army, rallied round Milo, that is called upon to avert the conquest of the city. The general parallelization of battle in the forum and battle on the field facilitates this transformation: the *adversarius* can be paralleled to

¹ See von Albrecht 1997: 541.

² See von Albrecht 2003: 183.

the enemy, the defendant, his advocate and his supporters to the defence forces, the arguments to the weapons, the favourable outcome of the case to the victory and the negative one to the defeat.

Such transformations are not alien to Cicero's oratorical techniques. A similar case in the *exordium* of the *Pro Milone* is that of the metaphor from the gladiatorial combats, which has been analyzed by Axer (1989 a and 1989 b: 308–311), who *inter alia* notes (1989 b: 310):

At times, then, the tribunal is a stage, at other times an arena. What other transformations could occur? [...] Until we have analyzed thoroughly the entire corpus of Cicero's legal oratory, we cannot know which of the possible transformations Cicero actually used in practice. Thus, we await a full understanding of the variety and importance of these "manipulations of the communication situations".

In the light of his analysis, the transformation of the trial into a battle could be another possible one that allows the orator multiple allusions. Although in Cicero's *post reditum* rhetoric Clodius is frequently depicted as a *hostis* of the *res publica* (cf. e.g. Dyck 2004), here the military metaphor seems to move beyond the usual language of the political invective and to become a rhetorical strategy that is exploited to Milo's advantage. By approaching the particular matter in this way, the orator adroitly presents the case under trial as one of historical significance, highlights its gravity, and implies that the decision of the judges will determine the fate of Rome. At the same time he underlines Milo's patriotism, hints at Clodius' antinational action, and rallies the audience against the former's adversaries. However, the advantages of this transformation go even further, as by means of this metaphor the advocate reinforces his argumentation by suggesting that the murder of Clodius does not differ from the murder of a national enemy on the battlefield and thus it should be judged accordingly.

At the beginning of the speech Cicero demonstrates the peculiar nature of this particular trial (1: "novi iudici nova forma")³ due to the presence of Pompey's army in the forum. By exploiting the military atmosphere created by the soldiers, the orator skilfully hones the ground for his metaphorical equation, which is further reinforced by the military overtone of many phrases, as, for example, "corona⁴ consessus vester cinctus est"⁵ (1), "stipati sumus" (1), "praesidia [...] contra vim conlocata sunt" (2), "praesidiis salutaribus et necessariis saepti sumus" (2), "opposita" (2), "inter tantam vim armorum" (2), "telis militum dedere" (2), "armare" (2). Another remarkable example is that of the passage "quam ob rem illa

³ All citations from the *Pro Milone* follow the edition of Clark 1918.

⁴ It should not be forgotten that the word *corona* is also a military technical term; see *OLD* s.v., 4 b; Lewis, Short 1879 s.v., II. A. 2.

⁵ This verb is frequently found in military language; see *OLD* s.v., 2 b and 4; Lewis, Short 1879 s.v., I. B. 4.

arma, centuriones, cohortes non periculum nobis, sed praesidium denuntiant, neque solum ut quieto, sed etiam ut magno animo simus hortantur, nec auxilium modo defensionis meae verum etiam silentium pollicentur” (3), where Cicero, despite all he is trying to imply⁶, claims that Pompey’s army is acting as a supporting force in his *defensio*. The choice of the term *defensio* is especially apt, as it constitutes a technical term for defence both in judicial as well as in military vocabulary⁷.

According to Cicero, apart from Pompey’s army, the defence is also reinforced by the citizens: “reliqua vero multitudo, quae quidem est civium, tota nostra est” (3). Thus, the defending side, which is led by Milo and his advocate, comes across as multitudinous and supported by many allies and thus able to ward off the hostile threat. This threat comes from Clodius’ mob, the hostility of which is revealed by the statement: “unum genus est *adversum infestumque nobis* eorum quos P. Clodi furor rapinis et incendiis et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit” (3). This metaphorical comparison between the litigants and opposing armies is further reinforced by thoughts, motifs, and images that bring to mind battle harangues (*cohortationes*), since they constitute common *cohortatio-topoi*⁸. Besides, the presence of the word *hortantur* in the phrase “sed etiam ut magno animo simus hortantur” (3) could be considered to be an intentional marker⁹ for the possibility of reading the text with the military atmosphere of a *cohortatio* in mind.

As a rule, the salvation of the citizens and the state constitutes a primary aim of a combatant army, especially a defending one; thus, this theme, which underlines the crucial nature of the battle, is often found in *cohortationes*¹⁰. From the very first paragraph of the speech, Cicero quite effectively emphasizes the

⁶ More generally for Cicero’s possible criticism of Pompey in the extant version of the speech, see Stone 1980: esp. 98–111; Berry 1993; Steel 2005: 123–131.

⁷ Cf. e.g. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 34: “quid est in hac causa quod defensionis indigeat?” and Caes. *B. Civ.* II 7, 4: “Massilienses tamen nihilo setius ad defensionem urbis reliqua apparare coeperunt” respectively. For the metaphorical use of *defendere* in the *Pro Milone*, cf. MacKendrick 1995: 370 f., 394.

⁸ As Goebel 1981: 80 notes, “the genre of the *cohortatio* or formal before-the-battle speech is a popular one in historical writing from the time of Thucydides, and it creates a body of recognizable *cohortatio-topoi*,” citing (n. 7) mainly Albertus 1908 as well as Burgess 1902: 209–214 and Highet 1972: 82–86. On the particular genre, see also recently Tzounakas 2005 (with further bibliography at 397 f., n. 9), as well as Keitel 1986/1987 and 1987; Navarro Antolín 2000; Touhari 2004 and 2005.

⁹ Cf. e.g. the occurrence of the particular verb in the *exordium* of Catiline’s *cohortatio* in Sall. *Cat.* 58, 2: “quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hortere”.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Thuc. VII 61, 1: ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὁ μέλλων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἔσται περὶ τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἐκάστοις οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις; Xen. *An.* III 2, 15: νῦν δ’ ὀπίοτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺ δὴπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι; Liv. XXI 41, 13: “atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen”; XXVII 45, 7: “in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse”.

matter of the state's salvation, which in his opinion is threatened in the particular trial: "cum T. Annius ipse magis *de rei publicae salute* quam de sua perturbetur". In fact this theme enjoys a central position in the *exordium*¹¹, where the idea of the *salus rei publicae* recurs with noteworthy frequency: "quamquam praesidiis *salutaribus* et necessariis saepti sumus" (2); "qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresque maximos *prae vestra salute* neglexit" (3); "T. Anni tribunatu rebusque omnibus *pro salute rei publicae* gestis ad huius criminis defensionem non abutemur" (6); "quia mors P. Clodi *salus vestra* fuerit" (6).

Without doubt, the primary purpose of a *cohortatio* is to inspire the soldiers and to try to disperse any fear. Consequently, the appeal for courage and bravery is common in such cases¹². Such an appeal is also evident in Cicero's words: "quam ob rem adeste animis, iudices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite" (4); cf. also "ut magno animo simus hortantur" (3). In addition, from the very beginning of the speech (1) he underlines Milo's fearlessness, whose valiant stance is portrayed as even more striking and impressive when compared to the orator's declaration that he himself is afraid¹³ (1–2). In this way, in parallel with his other expediences¹⁴, Cicero serves as a foil for the brave Milo (see Dyck 1998: 228, 240) and highlights his client's courage and *magnitudo animi*.

The reference to the *hodiernus dies* is a familiar and conventional *cohortatio-topos* that underlines the significance of the particular day which will determine

¹¹ For Cicero's emphasis on the *salus rei publicae* in the *exordium* of the speech, cf. Cerutti 1996: esp. 120–128.

¹² Cf. Highet 1972: 85, who notes that in a *cohortatio* "[t]he proposal is clear: fight bravely!"

¹³ According to Cerutti 1996: 112, Cicero's fear here is a rhetorical device. More generally for the *locus a timore* in the *exordium* of the *Pro Milone*, see Loutsch 1994: 510–512 and 1996: 6–9. For a recent analysis of Cicero's fear here, see Fotheringham 2006.

¹⁴ Cicero's statement concerning his fear aims at supporting his attempt to secure the jurors' good will (*captatio benevolentiae*), since in this manner the orator presents himself as an ordinary person with whom the jurors might identify; see Prill 1986: 107; Cerutti 1996: 113–116; Dyck 1998: 228. Furthermore, by exposing his fear, he indirectly asks the judges to be understanding concerning any weaknesses found in his speech, as these are due not to his own inadequacy, but to the atmosphere of terror within the law court. In other words, Cicero is implying that were the circumstances ordinary, he could deliver a speech of even superior quality. The fact that even Cicero, a man of courtroom experience, is afraid demonstrates the peculiar nature of the particular trial (1: "novi iudici nova forma"). That Cicero's fear originates from choices and actions of Pompey allows the orator to make remarks of political significance. Cicero's reference to the judges' fear could also be interpreted in a number of ways: the implication that even the judges are afraid highlights the reign of terror and the significance of the moment; furthermore, it lays psychological pressure on the judges to acquit Milo, letting it be implied that if they fail to do so, this should not be because they were not convinced that he should be acquitted, but because they gave in to their fear and failed to express their true thoughts with their vote; cf. von Albrecht 2003: 183. Thus, Cicero indirectly justifies the initial failure of his speech by attributing it not to his own inability to defend Milo efficiently, but to the irregular conditions prevalent during the course of the trial and especially to the actions of Pompey and the Clodians.

crucial matters¹⁵. For example, the leader of the army could promise the soldiers that the particular day will see an end to their tribulations, or that it will determine whether or not they remain free. By emphasizing the significance of the *hodiernus dies*, the general asks the combatants to show their ultimate prowess in battle, as required by the gravity of the moment. This *topos* is also found in Cicero's words, especially in the passage: "quisquam [...] de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat" (3), where he highlights the crucial matters under threat *hodierno die* and, by consequence, the gravity of the particular trial for the state. It could also be considered that, though less obviously, the same *topos* reappears in the passage: "*hoc profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis ut statuatis utrum nos qui semper vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus semper miseri lugeamus an diu vexati a perditissimis civibus aliquando per vos ac per vestram fidem, virtutem sapientiamque recreemur*" (4). Cicero's statement that both his own and Milo's future depend on the decision of the judges at that particular moment in time is reminiscent of similar statements made by generals in *cohortationes*, i.e. that the fate of the soldiers, their families, and their country lie in their own hands etc. In fact, even the use of a dilemma constitutes a common stylistic preference in battle harangues¹⁶.

The reference to the *hodiernus dies* is combined in paragraph 3 with another conventional *cohortatio-topos*, the statement which refers to the need of a defending army to defend all that is held sacred and dear¹⁷. Indeed, the similarity with a characteristic example of this *topos*, the well known Aeschylus' *Persae* 402–405: ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε, / ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ / παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶων ἔδη, / θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών, is worth noting, since νῦν corresponds to *hodierno die*, παῖδας to *de liberis suis*, πατρίδ' to *de patria*, ὑπὲρ πάντων to *de fortunis*¹⁸, and finally ἀγών to *decertari*. According to Cicero, all the *cives*

¹⁵ On this *topos*, see Albertus 1908: 62–65; Goebel 1981: 81–83; Tzounakas 2005: 398.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Liv. XXI 41, 6–7: "experiri iuvat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit an iidem sint qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus"; Tac. *Agr.* 32, 5: "hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est" and see further the examples cited by Albertus 1908: 62 f. under the section "Die Entscheidung des heutigen Tages ist für euer Wohl oder Wehe ausschlaggebend".

¹⁷ This points to the famous "pro aris atque focis" *topos*, for which see Albertus 1908: 65–67; Goebel 1981: 83; Tzounakas 2005: 398–400.

¹⁸ Cf. Reid 1894: 71, where it is noted that this word does not give an 'anti-climax' after *patria*, since "in Cic. *fortuna* often has a wider sense than that of mere 'possessions'; it may well mean 'all that is precious to a man,' and may here sum up *se, liberis, patria*". For this meaning, Reid cites Cic. *Planc.* 79: "agitur Cn. Planci salus patria fortunae". Cf. also Poynton 1902: 5.

believe that in the trial in question themselves, their children, their country, and their fortunes are all imperilled. Without doubt, such a statement comes across as an exaggeration in the case of a trial and would be more suitable in the case of a military confrontation. Its attribution, however, to the citizens who are anxious about the court's decision shows the orator's intention to highlight the gravity of the case, making it a matter crucial for the very existence of the state, and renders it easier for the defence to handle a case that had been declared by the Senate as *contra rem publicam*¹⁹.

At this point it is worth noting that even Cicero's use of the term *decertari* appears to be in accordance with his intention to transform the trial into a metaphorical battle, since the verb is frequently used in the military sphere²⁰. However, even the use of the word beyond the military sphere with the broader meaning 'to contend (in a competition, or sports)'²¹ seems to be in line with a motif of battle exhortation, where frequently, in order to reduce the sense of fear brought on by the impending conflict and rouse the soldiers' competitive spirit, the general compares the military confrontation with an athletic contest and all that is at stake with the prizes that await the victorious athletes²². Thus, the orator's choice of the particular term could reasonably be considered to be facilitating his overall attempt to depict the trial as a confrontation which bears the characteristics of a military conflict.

Cicero's attempt to highlight all that is imperilled continues and is further clarified in his reference to the hostile behaviour of the opponents in paragraph 3. This "genus [...] adversum infestumque nobis" feeds on pillaging, arson, and all sorts of public destruction and consequently it is precisely this sort of behaviour that they would exhibit should they predominate. Thus the orator evokes the sense that private and public properties are endangered and stresses the necessity to avert such a development. The images Cicero chooses bring to mind scenes from the fall of a city and point towards a motif commonly found in the epic, rhetoric, and historiography, that of *urbs capta*²³. This motif is also frequently found in *cohortationes*, where the general may mention scenes from the fall of a city in order to provoke the *indignatio* of the soldiers and fire them with martial spirit against their enemies so that they fight with all their might and save their homeland from such a danger²⁴. By employing such scenes in his speech, Cicero once again compares Milo's opponents with external enemies, stresses the gravity of the case under trial, and evokes a sense of the danger that threatens the

¹⁹ For the murder on the Appian Road as a *vis contra rem publicam*, see e.g. 13 and 14.

²⁰ See Lewis, Short 1879 s.v., I; cf. Cerutti 1996: 120.

²¹ See *OLD* s.v., 2 b.

²² Cf. Goebel 1981: 84; Tzounakas 2005: 408 f.

²³ On the motif, see especially Paul 1982.

²⁴ Cf. Goebel 1981: 91–94; Tzounakas 2005: 403 f.

city should Milo be convicted. Thus, Cicero cleverly attempts to connect Milo implicitly with the welfare of the Roman people²⁵.

At the same time, the mention on the one hand of Milo's dedication to the state's salvation (1) as well as of the citizens who are concerned "de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis" (3) and on the other hand the reminder concerning the Clodians' acts of violence and their likely behaviour should they predominate (3) shed light on the incentives of both sides. This also brings battle harangues to mind, where the general, especially of a defending army, refers to the *causae belli* and, by extension, to the different motives that boost the fighting spirit of the opposing armies. By highlighting the superior ideals his army is fighting for (e.g., country, freedom, family) and juxtaposing them with those of the enemy, he is implying that the war being fought is *bellum iustum* and should thus be expected to have a positive outcome²⁶. In the case in question the motive of those siding with Milo is the need to defend themselves, their children, their country, and their fortunes, whereas the motive of the Clodians is presented as their furious passion for pillaging, arson, and all sorts of public destruction.

One of the most common *cohortatio-topoi* is the *comparatio virium*. The general attempts to extol the military abilities of his army and undervalue those of his opponents²⁷. By doing so he aims to inspire courage in his soldiers by forecasting the favourable outcome of the impending battle. Naturally, in the *exordium* of a judicial speech the orator as a rule tries to present a flattering image of his client and/or denigrate that of his opponent²⁸. In the *exordium* of the *Pro Milone*, however, there are a number of points which could be considered to reflect the comparison of forces in a manner of a battle harangue. To begin with, the numerical superiority of the home forces, when that is indeed the case, is a point to which the general will give special emphasis. Cicero also gives great emphasis to this matter, as he presents Milo's side to include both Pompey's

²⁵ This connection is also suggested in the statement of paragraph 6: "nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio esse factas, nec deprecaturi sumus ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa praeclara in rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi ut, quia mors P. Clodi salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati adsignetis", where the judges are reminded of Milo's benefactions to the state and the *virtus Milonis* is connected both with the *salus* of the judges as well as with the *populi Romani felicitas*. On Milo's fate as linked to the welfare of the common *civis* and the relationship between the *virtus Milonis* and the *populi Romani felicitas* in the *exordium* of the speech, see also Cerutti 1996: 119 and 126 f. For another characteristic example of Cicero's attempt to connect Milo with the state, cf. 30: "nihil sane id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est ut ne se quidem servare potuerit quin una rem publicam vosque servaret".

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Tzounakas 2005: 399 f.

²⁷ On this *topos* and some of its variations, see Albertus 1908: 79–86; Goebel 1981: 86–89; Tzounakas 2005: 401–403.

²⁸ Cf. esp. Cic. *De Orat.* II 321 and see e.g. von Albrecht 2003: 185–187; Loutsch 1994: esp. 35–39, 524–529.

army as well as the rest of the citizens, whereas the side of the opposition is presented as consisting only of Clodius' gang.

The reference to the numerical superiority of the home forces is accompanied by comments concerning a superiority of quality. Milo is supported by citizens (*cives*), while the Clodians are slaves²⁹. The mention of the presence of slaves in the opposing army constitutes a frequent and old *cohortatio-topos*, often expressed by the motif of *locus de barbaris* and aiming at denigrating the military force of the opponents³⁰. In this framework, one of the elements highlighted is the cries of the barbarians which in some cases are presented as an empty show and an indication of disloyalty or are associated with degeneracy and brutish behaviour³¹. In the *exordium* of his speech, Cicero gives great emphasis to the *clamor* of the Clodians³², thus trying to associate them with barbaric and bestial behaviour. His intentions are further reinforced by his attempt to dehumanize his adversaries by the use of both *pavit* and *furor* in the statement “unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis eorum quos P. Clodi furor rapinis et incendiis et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit” (3). Through *pavit* Cicero equates the Clodians with beasts³³, while with the phrase *P. Clodi furor* Clodius is regarded as a mental disease and an ulcer on Roman society³⁴. The difference in quality in the ethos of the two sides is highlighted in many other passages of the *exordium*³⁵ and the orator wants to draw a separating line between the

²⁹ As Berry 2000: 260 notes, since the citizens are on the side of Milo, “Cicero pretends that all the Clodians are slaves”; cf. also Colson 1893: 48; Clark 1895: 3; Cerutti 1996: 120; Boulanger, Robert 1999: 5: “L’opposition *cives* contre clodiens prépare ainsi la description qu’il fera de ces derniers, en 26, où il les traitera d’esclaves et de barbares”.

³⁰ See Goebel 1981: 87 f.; Tzounakas 2005: 402 f.

³¹ Cf. Goebel 1981: 87 f., who comments upon the *locus de barbaris* in Caesar’s *cohortatio* before the battle of Pharsalus (Luc. VII 250–329), where there is a mention to the barbarian *clamor* (VII 272–274: “aut mixtae *dissona* turbae / barbaries, non illa tubas, non agmine moto / *clamorem* latura suum”), and cites Liv. XXXVIII 17, 5: “Romanis Gallici *tumultus* adsueti, etiam vanitates notae sunt”; Thuc. IV 126, 5: καὶ γὰρ πλήθει ὄψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι, ἢ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὀπλων ἔχει τινὰ δῆλωσιν ἀπειλῆς; App. *B. Civ.* II 11, 74: ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, κὰν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι.

³² 3: “qui hesterna etiam contione incitati sunt ut vobis *voce* praeirent quid iudicaretis. Quorum *clamor* si qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debbit ut eum civem retineatis qui semper genus illud hominum *clamosque maximos* prae vestra salute neglexit”.

³³ Cf. Clark 1895: 3 and Fedeli 1992: 155, n. 5. This equation is further revealed in the rest of the speech, where Clodius is explicitly depicted as *belua* (32; 40; 85). On this depiction, see Clark, Ruebel 1985: esp. 61–64, who examine the Stoic influence on the equation *tyrannus* = *belua* and note (63) that the bestial images stress Clodius’ “wildness and animal-like behavior in sharp contrast to civilized men”. For Clodius as *nefaria belua*, cf. also Fedeli 1992: 29–35.

³⁴ See von Albrecht 2003: 186. It is worth noting that Cicero frequently uses medical metaphors to present Clodius as a disease. The use of *pestis* in 40, 68 and 88 (cf. also 33) is a characteristic example.

³⁵ Cf. e.g. the reference to *virtus Milonis* (3 and 6) in the case of Milo and the phrase *a perditissimis civibus* (4) in the case of the Clodians. The characters of the two adversaries are

boni and the *improbi*³⁶. Furthermore, according to the orator, both the citizens and Milo and Cicero are law-abiding³⁷, whereas Clodius' supporters are violent people who do not respect the court³⁸. Thus, the former are associated with legality, the latter with illegality. The moral denigration of the adversary, which naturally constitutes a common practice in judicial speeches, is also a common practice in *cohortationes*, where the general as a rule attempts to associate the home forces with *iustum* and the adversaries with *iniustum*. This attempt reflects the conviction that virtue and righteousness are rewarded, implying that, since justice is associated with victory, it is for this very reason that the outcome of the battle should be favourable³⁹.

Another *cohortatio-topos* often employed by the general in order to assure his army that the outcome of the impending battle will be favourable is to remind them of earlier victories, especially against the same adversary⁴⁰. By doing so, the general appeases the fear instilled by the enemy and forecasts a repeat of past glories. A similar train of thought underlies Cicero's words who suggestively reminds the audience that in the past Milo successfully confronted his adversaries and saved the state⁴¹. In the case in question, the presence of the particular judges seems to lend further assurance of Milo's predominance⁴².

Within this framework, it is no coincidence that two of the expressions used by Cicero to describe Milo not only in the *exordium* but in the entire speech are

also revealed in 36–43 and especially in the famous *ethica digressio* (72–91), for which see May 1978/1979.

³⁶ Cf. 5: “semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat”. For Cicero's technique to isolate the *improbi*, see von Albrecht 2003: 183 and 186 f., n. 40, who cites Achard 1981: 110–142; cf. also Cerutti 1996: 120.

³⁷ For Milo's dedication to legality, cf., e.g., 4: “nos qui semper vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus”; 5: “equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat”.

³⁸ Cf. e.g. 3: “unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis eorum quos P. Clodi furor rapinis et incendiis et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit; qui hesterna etiam contione incitati sunt ut vobis voce praeirent quid iudicaretis”.

³⁹ Cf. Albertus 1908: 58–61; Goebel 1981: 89; Tzounakas 2005: 400.

⁴⁰ On this *topos*, see Albertus 1908: 55–58 and esp. 78 f.; Goebel 1981: 88.

⁴¹ Cf. 3: “quorum clamor si qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debet ut eum civem retineatis qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresque maximos prae vestra salute neglexit”; 6: “quamquam in hac causa, iudices, T. Anni tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicae gestis ad huius criminis defensionem non abutemur”.

⁴² 5: “equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat, in iudicio vero et in eo consilio in quo ex coniunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri iudicarent numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad eius non modo salutem exstinguendam sed etiam gloriam per talis viros infringendam”.

of someone who is *fortissimus vir* and possesses *magnitudo animi*⁴³. Aside from any other purpose they may serve⁴⁴, these characterizations, which prove to be programmatic⁴⁵, present Milo as prepared for war and able to ward off the attacks of his adversaries. This image also brings *cohortatio* to mind, where another *topos* is to give emphasis to the person of the general, usually as juxtaposed with that of the leader of the rival side⁴⁶.

According to Highet⁴⁷, in a *cohortatio* “most of the regular arguments may be employed: *utile* (you are defending hearth and home; retreat means certain death); *iustum* (our cause is righteous, the enemy are evildoers); *facile* (the foe are weak, we are strong and resolute); and of course *honestum* (death rather than dishonour)”. In the particular *exordium* one can find all of them. Cicero employs the argument of *utile* with the implicit plea to the judges to protect the citizens who are anxious “de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis” (3); furthermore, pointing towards the same argument is the thought that to submit to the pressure of Clodius’ supporters will mean plunder, arson, and all sorts of public destruction (4). The argument of *iustum* is evident both in the portrayal of Milo’s image, as well as in the mention of the actions of Clodius’ supporters, who are presented as evildoers. The argument of *facile* is suggested by the reference to the numerical and moral superiority of Milo’s supporters which heralds their final predominance, while it is further implied by the allusions to Milo’s earlier victorious confrontations for the salvation of the state. Finally, the argument of *honestum* is latent in the plea to the judges to show *fides*, *virtus* and *sapientia*, so that they can save Milo from misery and lamentation⁴⁸, which

⁴³ 1: “Etsi vereor, iudices, ne turpe sit pro *fortissimo viro* dicere incipientem timere minimeque deceat, cum T. Annius ipse magis de rei publicae salute quam de sua perturbetur, me ad eius causam parem *animi magnitudinem* adferre non posse, tamen...”.

⁴⁴ For the first characterization, see e.g. von Albrecht 2003: 186, who notes that, by emphasis on Milo’s courage and not on his cleverness, Cicero “prepares his line of defence from the very beginning: a *brave* man is more readily believed to have acted spontaneously in self-defence than to have cunningly plotted a murder”. For the second, see e.g. Dyck 1998: esp. 227–233, who remarks (228) that “[t]he attribution to Milo of not merely physical courage but of *magnitudo animi* is a first move in the strategy to endow him in this speech with an *ethos* of lofty indifference” and notes that in this way Cicero presents traits of Milo’s character that are consistent with Stoic principles. For Stoic influence on the image of Milo and the way it facilitates Cicero’s line of defence, see also Clark, Ruebel 1985; von Albrecht 2003: 186 with n. 39.

⁴⁵ For Milo as *fortissimus* / *fortis vir*, cf. also 25; 63; 64; 69; 81; 84; 89; 92; 104; for his *magnitudo animi*, cf. also 61; 69; 81.

⁴⁶ On this *topos*, see Albertus 1908: 69–75.

⁴⁷ Highet 1972: 85; cf. also Keitel 1986/1987: esp. 154–160; Navarro Antolín 2000: esp. 90 f.

⁴⁸ 4: “hoc profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis ut statuatis utrum nos qui semper vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus *semper miseri lugeamus* an diu vexati a perditissimis civibus aliquando per vos ac per vestram fidem, virtutem sapientiamque recreemur”.

point to dishonourable behaviour, and not become mere instruments of the Clodians⁴⁹; furthermore, it is also implied in the conclusion of the *exordium*, where Cicero pleads with the judges to allow the defendant a morally right stance, i.e. the right to defend his life against the audacity and weapons of his adversaries⁵⁰. Meanwhile, the advocate's intention to focus neither on Milo's earlier benefactions nor on the argument that Clodius' death was of benefit to the state, but to rely mainly on the argument that Milo committed murder while in defence (6) moves in the same direction.

As is natural, Cicero's attempt to lend a military tone to the confrontation between Milo and Clodius continues in the rest of the speech. Let us examine some examples. The *exempla* of Roman precedents that Cicero cites in 7–9 in order to demonstrate that in certain cases homicide is justifiable present these heroic figures as Milo's supporters. This notion is reminiscent of a general's tendency in the *cohortatio* to remind his audience of past figures that in his opinion support his army⁵¹. In paragraphs 10–11, an attempt is made to interpret Milo's action as the right to defend oneself against robbers or enemies⁵². The description of the conflict between the two adversaries in the "battle of Bovillae"⁵³ (29) is strongly reminiscent of battle scenes and is of a historiographical style. Similarly, Clodius' hostility and his intentions to bring about changes to the established order are highlighted in many other cases⁵⁴, with the explicit characterization of Clodius as *hostis* in paragraph 78⁵⁵ being the most characteristic example. Furthermore,

⁴⁹ 5: "numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad eius non modo salutem exstinguendam sed etiam gloriam *per talis viros* infringendam".

⁵⁰ 6: "Sin illius insidiae clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, iudices, si cetera amisimus, hoc nobis saltem ut relinquatur, *vitam ab inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere*".

⁵¹ Cf. Tzounakas 2005: 407 f.

⁵² Cf. esp. 10: "si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si *in vim et in tela* aut latronum aut *inimicorum* incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis".

⁵³ This term is rightly used by Lintott 1974: 62, 71, 75 and Dyck 1998: 222–227. Besides, it is worth noting that, in order to describe the conflict between the two adversaries on the Appian Road, Cicero uses the words *pugnari* (29) and *pugnam* (53 and 54).

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. 74: "qui non calumnia litium, non iniustus vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat"; 87: "Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat, magistratum privatorumque caedis effecerat, domum mei fratris incenderat, vastarat Etruriam, multos sedibus ac fortunis eiecerat; instabat, urgebat; capere eius amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant; incidebantur iam domi leges quae nos servis nostris addicerent"; 89: "oppressisset omnia, possideret, teneret; lege nova, quae est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos nostros libertos suos effecisset; postremo, nisi eum di immortales in eam mentem impulissent ut homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rem publicam nullam haberetis".

⁵⁵ 78: "etenim si praecipuum esse debebat, tamen ita communis erat omnium ille [*scil.* Clodius] *hostis* ut in communi odio paene aequaliter versaretur odium meum"; cf. also 39: "Cn. Pompeius, auctor et dux mei reditus, illius *hostis*, cuius sententiam senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam et

in the *peroratio* of the speech Cicero praises Milo by calling him *civis invictus* (101). The fact that the implicit comparison of the litigants with opposing armies is already evident in the *exordium* suggests the crucial position of this notion in Cicero's argumentation and makes it easier to interpret his client's unarguably difficult case more favourably.

Of special interest, however, is the connection of this imagery with Milo's intention, especially in the *peroratio* of the speech, to sacrifice himself for the salvation of the state⁵⁶. As Andrew Dyck (2004) has recently demonstrated⁵⁷, in his speeches delivered within one month of his return from exile (*Red. pop.* and *Dom.*), Cicero adapts the imagery of *devotio* to himself; thus he implicitly takes "the rôle of the military commander who sacrifices himself, with the Roman populace as the army to be preserved. Within the terms of this metaphor the threatening enemy can only be P. Clodius and his followers"⁵⁸. He also notes⁵⁹ that later on Cicero abandoned the imagery of *devotio* and, "while keeping the idea of his suffering in place of the whole community, he found other ways to express it. The exile, then, though marked by great mental anguish, was also a crucible from which a new Ciceronian rhetoric would emerge". The general idea of someone suffering in place of the whole community and a similar approach to that of the *post reditum* speeches could also apply to the *Pro Milone*, published a few years later, where Clodius and his followers are also constructed as enemies. Accordingly, the military imagery and the *cohortatio-topoi* in the *exordium* of the speech allow in the *peroratio* for an implicit likening of Milo with a Roman general excluding himself from the community in order to save the state. Thus, by reinforcing by means of this imagery the idea that Milo prefers to suffer personally rather than for the community to do so, Cicero facilitates his intentions to highlight Milo's self-sacrifice and his patriotic stance and, by implication, to present him as a hero and a victim deserving to be an *exemplum virtutis*.

The *Pro Milone* is a masterpiece and it is worth noting that it is called *pulcherrima* by Quintilian⁶⁰, who often cites passages from the particular oration⁶¹.

ornatissimam secutus est, qui populum Romanum est cohortatus" and 56: "adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum Martemque communem, qui saepe spoliantem iam et exultantem evertit et perculit ab abiecto; adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis qui, cum a tergo *hostem* interclusum reliquisset, nihil de eius extremis comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos ira vitamque domini desperantis cum incidisset, haesit in eis poenis quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetiverunt".

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. 104: "o di immortales! fortem et a vobis, iudices, conservandum virum! 'minime, minime'; inquit 'immo vero poenas ille debitas luerit: nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas'. hicine vir patriae natus usquam nisi in patria morietur, aut, si forte, pro patria?"

⁵⁷ Cf. also May 1988: 97 f.

⁵⁸ Dyck 2004: 311.

⁵⁹ Dyck 2004: 312–314.

⁶⁰ Quint. *Inst.* IV 2, 25: "M. Tullius in oratione pulcherrima quam pro Milone scriptam reliquit".

⁶¹ Cf. Nisbet 1964: 69 f.; May 2001.

The orator, at least in the revised version of his speech, has taken care of a number of details and has thus reinforced the persuasiveness of his argumentation in the best possible way. By including elements of a *cohortatio* in the *exordium* of the speech and creating a military atmosphere, Cicero reinforces his chosen line of defence in a number of ways. The expediencies and benefits, however, of such a move must not be restricted to his general tendency to elevate any case under trial to a matter crucial to the state and to his intention to imply that in this trial it is not only Milo's survival that is at stake, but also that of the state. By lending a military tone to the judicial confrontation, Cicero wants to create the impression that Clodius' murder, for which Milo is accused, was committed in defence during the course of a military conflict, a situation in which such an act is justified. In this way he suggests that since Clodius acted like an enemy of the state, he had cut himself off from Roman society; thus his murder should not be judged according to the legal system of Rome which is for the protection of the Roman citizen and he must be treated as an enemy on the battlefield⁶². The same purpose is served by the bestial imagery. As Clark and Ruebel (1985: 62–64) note when referring to the role of the depiction of Clodius as *belua*, “Clodius has disrupted the normal *societas* of Rome by his wanton recourse to *vis*, and has intimidated good and decent citizens, robbing them of their natural and civil rights”; thus, “his murder involves no greater ethical conflict than the killing of any other beast”. Correspondingly, to adapt their words, his murder involves no greater ethical conflict than the killing of an enemy of the state. Besides, as Cicero explicitly states in paragraph 10, the unwritten and natural law justifies homicide when someone has to encounter the violence and weapons of the enemies⁶³. Therefore, Milo's action should be judged accordingly.

Cicero does not deny Milo's responsibility for the death of Clodius but relies on the stasis of legality or definition (*constitutio legitima* or *definitiva*); thus, in

⁶² It is worth noting that a similar practice is observed in the *First Catilinarian* with the portrayal of Catiline as *hostis* (5; 13; 27; 33; cf. also 3), since in this way Cicero aims at depriving Catiline of the legal protection that accompanied his Roman citizenship and therefore at protecting himself against the accusation that he led Roman citizens to their death; cf. Vasaly 1993: 51 f.; Tzouanakas 2006.

⁶³ 10: “est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa adripiimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus, ut, si *vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis*”; cf. also 11: “*silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari iubent, cum ei qui exspectare velit ante iniusta poena luenda sit quam iusta repetenda. Etsi persapienter et quodam modo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat, ut, cum causa, non telum quaereretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causa habuisse telum iudicaretur. Quapropter hoc maneat in causa, iudices; non enim dubito quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id meminertis quod oblivisci non potestis insidiatorem interfici iure posse*”.

order to show that Milo acted under circumstances which make his action ‘legal’, the advocate poses the pivotal question *uter utri insidias fecerit* (23; 31) and attempts to demonstrate that it was Clodius who laid the plot against Milo and not Milo against Clodius⁶⁴. In this framework, by employing *cohortatio-topoi* in the *exordium* of the speech Cicero prepares the defence of his client in a very suggestive and effective manner. The fact that Clodius is portrayed as an enemy of the state, while Milo is presented as a patriot defender, reinforces all three lines of defence that the orator mentioned in paragraph 6. Thus, Milo’s benefactions to the state are exalted, the argument that Clodius’ death was in the interest of the state is highlighted, and, very importantly, Cicero’s primary aim to ensure Milo’s acquittal by presenting it in the cases of “lawful murder” is facilitated.

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⁶⁴ See May 1978/1979: 241 and 1988: 131.

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LE METAMORFOSI DI MEDEA IN OVIDIO, *METAMORPHOSES* VII,
E DRACONZIO, *ROMULEA* X¹

Di

ANNA MARIA WASYL

ABSTRACT: This paper juxtaposes two poetic portraits of Medea by Ovid (*Met.* VII 7–424) and Dracontius (*Rom.* X). Unlike other works dedicated to this particular mythic figure, the two treatments do not focus on one individual episode of Medea's life, being it either *Medea amans* in Colchis or *Medea furens* in Greece, but tell the story in a linear narrative. Therefore, what is emphasized in both texts is the complex, metamorphic nature of the protagonist.

Si propone, con quest'articolo, una lettura comparata di due trattazioni poetiche in latino della figura di Medea, una protagonista – sarebbe tutt'altro che necessario ricordarlo – non meno terrificante che affascinante per gli autori, classici e moderni, che si ispirarono al mito antico². Il primo dei testi in questione è un episodio del VII libro delle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane (vv. 7–424), il secondo – il decimo dei cosiddetti *carmina profana* (i *Romulea*) di Blossio Emilio Draconzio, uno dei poeti latinofoni di maggior rilievo dell'ultimo ventennio del V secolo, attivo a Cartagine dominata dai Vandali.

I due epilli che saranno analizzati qui (naturalmente, la parola 'epillio', termine tecnico nel caso del carne draconziano, se riferita anche ad una singola

¹ Il titolo dell'articolo intende richiamarsi al titolo del saggio di Newlands 1997: 178. Anche Newlands nella sua analisi sottolinea la disparatezza delle due immagini di Medea nelle *Metamorfosi*: la Medea giovane in Colchide e la Medea maga in Grecia. La studiosa propone una lettura dell'episodio in prospettiva intratestuale, insieme ad altri racconti delle *Metamorfosi* dedicati alle protagoniste femminili, Procne (VI 424–676), Scylla (VIII 1–151) e Procris (VII 694–865). Il mio invece è un approccio intertestuale; mi concentro sul motivo della metamorfosi di Medea come tale e la sua realizzazione in due diversi carmi epici.

² Al problema delle interpretazioni e reinterpretazioni del mito di Medea nella letteratura e nell'arte antica e moderna sono stati dedicati parecchi studi monografici; per menzionare le tre collane pubblicate nell'ultimo decennio dagli studiosi spagnoli, italiani ed americani, rispettivamente: López, Pociña 2002; Gentili, Perusino 2000; Clauss, Johnston 1997. Un articolo sull'epillio draconziano si può trovare solo nella pubblicazione spagnola: López, Pociña 2002: 697–718, si tratta del saggio di Diaz de Bustamante ristampato da: Diaz de Bustamante 1978: 223–242.

narrazione che fa parte della macrostruttura delle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane va usata solo nel senso traslato, in quanto sinonimo della voce ‘episodio’) presentano una somiglianza rilevante. A differenza degli altri autori, sia Ovidio nelle *Metamorfosi* che Draconzio nel *Romuleon X* si propongono di riunire in un unico racconto le due fasi del mito tradizionalmente distinte³: (1) gli avvenimenti in Colchide la cui protagonista è la Medea giovane, una figura femminile, per così dire, quasi romanzesca, che, innamoratasi di Giasone, lo aiuta a recuperare il vello d’oro per lasciarsi poi rapire dal ‘brigante straniero’⁴ – i motivi sfruttati nelle produzioni epiche dedicate al tema degli *argonautikà* (Apollonio Rodio, Valerio Flacco), e (2) la *persona* della Medea furente, l’infanticida, richiamata dai tragediografi (per menzionare solo Euripide e Seneca).

Quest’analogia compositiva ci induce a rileggere i due testi insieme, non tanto perché ci siano degli echi letterari molto evidenti (non sembra che Draconzio richiamasse l’episodio ovidiano in modo diretto)⁵, ma piuttosto per indagare come i nostri autori realizzino questa loro idea comune di raccontare la vicenda di Medea nella sua totalità, ‘dall’inizio alla fine’; come riprendano, anzi, come si impadroniscano di un tema, e di una protagonista, così particolare.

Pare idonea la domanda ‘come si impadroniscono’, dato che un personaggio-combinazione di due immagini tanto disparate quanto, infatti, lo erano la *Medea amans* e la *Medea furens* non potrebbe risultare che eterogeneo, proteiforme, proprio ‘metamorfico’, come si è già suggerito nel titolo del presente articolo. Sembra però che ambedue i poeti ne fossero ben consapevoli e non intendessero affatto ridurla ad un’eroina ‘*simplex et una*’. Al contrario, è proprio la metamorfosi di Medea, la capacità di trasformarsi codificata in questa figura mitologica, a costituire il motivo-chiave delle loro impostazioni della storia. Nel contempo, sono due versioni del tutto autonome ed originali. Ciò che attira l’attenzione del lettore è la disinvoltura con cui entrambi gli autori trattano il tema, accentuando, amplificando o, all’opposto, marginalizzando, a volte anche tacendo certi particolari del mito, a seconda delle proprie preferenze compositive ed estetiche. È forse la più comune caratteristica dei due testi. In ognuno di essi il mito in quanto materia rivela pienamente la sua plasmabilità.

³ Sulla pluridimensionalità del mito di Medea Graf 1997: 21–43. In margine, vale la pena accennare ad un’interpretazione contemporanea che si rifà al mito di Medea nel suo complesso – il film di Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Medea*, del 1969.

⁴ Per usare l’espressione delle *Heroides* 12: «virginitas facta est peregrini praeda latronis» (v. 111).

⁵ Sulle imitazioni ovidiane in Draconzio Bouquet 1982, secondo il quale Draconzio, quantunque legga attentamente le *Metamorfosi* trattandole come un serbatoio di temi mitologici, si ispira soprattutto alla poesia dell’esilio. Imprigionato lui stesso, si immedesima nelle esperienze di Ovidio relegato. Sull’intertestualità nella *Medea* draconziana recentemente Kaufmann 2006. Purtroppo non ho ancora potuto consultare l’edizione critica della *Medea* draconziana preparata da Kaufmann.

È ovviamente ben noto che per Ovidio stesso Medea fu un tema, e una protagonista, particolarmente ispirante, il cui carattere egli cercò di rendere più volte e attraverso vari generi letterari: tragedia, epistola elegiaca, carme epico. Occorre inoltre aggiungere che certe tendenze a trattare le vicende di Medea nel loro complesso sono già presenti nella lettera 12 delle *Heroides*. Idonea risulta qui la forma epistolare. Raccontare la storia tramite una lettera dettata dalla protagonista permette non solo di soggettivarla, presentando tutti i fatti come vissuti e visti da lei stessa, ma anche di sintetizzarla (come osserva H. Jacobson, «a letter freezes time»)⁶. Incontriamo Medea nel momento in cui, avendo appena udito i carmi nuziali cantati per Giasone e Creusa («ut subito nostras Hymen cantatus ad aures / venit et accenso lampades igne micant», vv. 137 sg.), cerca di commuovere il marito, ricordandogli ogni dettaglio della loro vita insieme, sino dal primo incontro in Colchide. Le ultime scene del dramma ci saranno però risparmiate. Il racconto si interrompe con la frase «nescio quid certe mens mea maius agit» (v. 212), dunque, il completamento della storia è possibile solo, se il lettore si vorrà servire della propria memoria letteraria. In aggiunta, la narrazione in 1^a persona fa sì che tutti gli atti richiamati, compresi quelli più crudeli: l'uccidere, anzi: dilacerare Absirto, l'indurre le figlie di Pelia ad assassinare il proprio padre, si potrebbero motivare con l'ardore del fatale, accecante sentimento per Giasone. Il monologo di Medea, benché emozionalmente marcato, non è quindi privo di una certa logica dell'argomentazione. Di conseguenza, la protagonista può veramente sembrare ciò che vuole sembrare⁷: una donna innamorata, abbandonata dal marito per cui, senza esitare (un dettaglio importante), ha sacrificato tutto – allora un carattere, sebbene spaventoso, comprensibile e coerente con sé stesso⁸.

La Medea delle *Metamorfosi* invece è, già dai primi versi, presentata in quanto un personaggio pieno di contraddizioni, oscillante fra *ratio* e *furor* («concipit

⁶ Jacobson 1974: 337.

⁷ È molto suggestiva l'interpretazione di Jacobson 1974: 109–123, secondo il quale la Medea delle *Heroides* non è soltanto ben consapevole di tutto ciò che ha compiuto, ma sa anche, con una grande abilità, giustificare sé stessa, scaricando la colpa su Giasone, anzi, presentandosi, ossia travestendosi da una *credula*, una ragazza ingenua, costretta al delitto: «numen ubi est? ubi di? meritas subeamus in alto, / tu fraudis poenas, credulitatis ego» (vv. 119 sg.); «ut culpant alii, tibi me laudare necesse est, / pro quo sum totiens esse coacta nocens» (vv. 131 sg.). Infatti, non pare casuale che nelle *Heroides* 12 Ovidio richiamasse questa versione del mito in cui è la Medea stessa ad aver ucciso suo fratello, e non le altre varianti, presentanti la protagonista sotto una luce un po' più favorevole: in Apollonio Rodio Absirto non è un bambino ma un giovane uomo e viene ucciso da Giasone, non da Medea; in Sofocle, *Scitai*, Absirto è solo un fratellastro di Medea. In tal contesto la maestria retorica – se vogliamo accettare la lettura di Jacobson – sembra essere indizio di un carattere quasi psicopatico, profondamente amorale. Notiamo che Medea osa chiamarsi una ragazza *credula* perché si è lasciata ingannare da un brigante straniero subito dopo aver confessato l'assassinio (la dilacerazione) del proprio fratello e un momento prima di raccontare in maniera piuttosto disinvolta la vicenda delle figlie di Pelia.

⁸ Cf. Newlands 1997: 179 sg.

interea validos Aetias ignes / et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem / vincere non poterat», vv. 9–11)⁹, *mens e cupido* («aliudque cupido, / mens aliud suadet», vv. 19 sg.). Si tratta dunque, occorre notare, di una ripresa della *persona* ben conosciuta dagli *Argonautikà* di Apollonio Rodio: la Medea giovane, ansiosa e inesperta, che non sa scegliere fra l'amore per il 'nauta straniero' e la lealtà verso il padre e la patria, che si pente anche delle decisioni già prese e, tormentata dai rimorsi, considera il suicidio.

Il famoso monologo (*Met.* VII 11–73) con la sua struttura dialogata riflette in modo perfetto la lotta interna che Medea, anzi, le due Medee conducono fra di sé. *Ratio e mens* le suggeriscono di rimanere figlia pia («ante oculos rectum pietasque pudorque / constiterant», vv. 72 sg.) di Eeta, della sua barbara terra, della sua stirpe reale (è Medea stessa a chiamarsi *regia virgo*, v. 21); *furor e cupido* la spingono a sperimentare lo sconosciuto. Troviamo quindi nella Medea delle *Metamorfosi* proprio ciò che – ripetiamo – mancava alla Medea delle *Heroides*: il senso del dovere, il quale non si può però adempiere, e, ne conseguente, uno stato di tensione, se non di frustrazione, tutto epitomato in modo geniale nella conosciutissima frase «video meliora proboque, / deteriora sequor» (vv. 20 sg.).

Qual è il ritratto di Medea che noi, lettori, possiamo ricostruire analizzando questo suo soliloquio? Soprattutto è un ritratto emozionale. La Medea dei versi 9–73 è una somma dei sentimenti che prova:

– l'incertezza: la fanciulla, non avendo mai sperimentato una cosa simile, non sa neanche definire con termini precisi il proprio stato d'animo:

nescio quis deus obstat, ait, mirumque quid hoc est,
aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur (12 sg.);

– la paura: Medea teme per Giasone, ma teme anche perché egli la tradisca:

cur, quem modo denique vidi,
ne pereat, timeo? quae tanti causa timoris? (15 sg.)

prodamne ego regna parentis,
atque ope nescio quis servabitur advena nostra,
ut per me sospes sine me det linthea ventis
virque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquit? (38–41)

per freta longa ferar: nihil illum amplexa verebor,
aut, siquid metuam, metuam de coniuge solo (67 sg.);

– la commozione e la compassione: la figlia di Eeta non resta indifferente vedendo un giovanotto dotato di tanti valori:

⁹ Il testo delle *Metamorfosi* secondo l'edizione di Anderson 1991.

quem, nisi crudelem, non tangat Iasonis aetas
 et genus et virtus? quem non, ut cetera desint,
 ore movere potest? certe mea pectora movit (26–28).

Al contempo, nello stesso monologo si rivelano anche altri tratti di Medea, per ora – sembra – dimostranti solo la sua nobiltà, coraggio e sapienza, nei quali però – come osserva giustamente R.J. Tarrant¹⁰ – ogni lettore sarebbe pronto a riconoscere un preannuncio di tutto ciò che determinerà l'agire della protagonista tragica (anche se, come sarà dimostrato più sotto, la Medea delle *Metamorfosi* non diverrà mai una vera *persona tragica*). La giovane principessa non cede al destino, lotta, rispetta e chiede rispetto per la propria dignità, cercando di prevedere e di provvedere ai pericoli del futuro:

quamquam non ista precanda,
 sed facienda mihi (37 sg.)

si facere hoc aliamve potest praeponere nobis,
 occidat ingratus! sed non is vultus in illo,
 non ea nobilitas animo est, ea gratia formae,
 ut timeam fraudem meritique obliviam nostri.
 et dabit ante fidem, cogamque in foedera testes
 esse deos (42–47).

Si potrebbe allora constatare che nei versi 9–73 delle *Metamorfosi* VII Ovidio conferisce a Medea le qualità della, soprammenzionata, eroina romanzesca per eccellenza. Occorre inoltre aggiungere che anche nelle scene successive, in cui – notiamo questo cambiamento del *focus* narrativo – Medea non è più la protagonista principale, o almeno non quella unica, la figlia di Eeta assomiglia ad una donna giovane ed emozionata. Seguendo come si svolge il primo incontro di Medea e Giasone nel bosco accanto all'altare di Ecate (vv. 74–99), il lettore può osservare la reazione della principessa alla vista dello straniero (vv. 76–88) – Ovidio si serve qui del motivo elegiaco degli *erotikà pathemata*:

et iam fortis erat, pulsusque recesserat ardor,
 cum videt Aesoniden extinctaque flamma reluxit.
 erubere genae, totoque recanduit ore (76–78).

Nel lungo passo narrativo dedicato a Giasone e le sue gesta (vv. 100–156), dove Medea è quasi assente, il narratore accenna solo alla sua (guarda caso) inquietudine,

¹⁰ Tarrant 1995: 222 sg. Tarrant richiama la famosa constatazione della *Medea* senecana: 'Medea – Fiam' (v. 171), la quale, probabilmente nel miglior modo possibile, riassume la sua letterarietà (*literariness*) in quanto *persona*. Il lettore, sia antico che moderno, non può fare a meno di guardare ogni nuova rappresentazione di Medea attraverso tutto ciò che ne già sa.

alla sua paura quando vede i guerrieri germogliati dai semi sparsi da Giasone e alla sua gioia, che le è tanto difficile celare, dopo la vittoria del giovane Pelasgo:

ipsa quoque extimuit, quae tutum fecerat illum.
utque peti vidit iuvenem tot ab hostibus unum,
palluit et subito sine sanguine frigida sedit (134–136)

tu quoque victorem complecti, barbara, velles;
sed te, ne faceres, tenuit reverentia famae:
obstitit incepto pudor. at complexa fuisses (144–146).

Di conseguenza, il lettore può pienamente simpatizzare con Medea. Tanto più che nei versi 156–158, richiamanti il motivo-chiave degli *argonautikà* (significativa questa riduzione di un tema così ricco ad un cenno di tre versi): la fuga di Medea e Giasone e il loro ritorno in Grecia, l'uccisione di Absirto non viene neanche menzionata¹¹:

spolioque superbus [*scil.* heros Aesonius]
muneris auctorem secum, spolia altera, portans
victor Iolciacos tetigit cum coniuge portus (156–158).

Alla luce dei fatti presentati nel testo Medea sembra una persona del tutto innocente, anzi, innocua. Notiamo che nella scena dell'incontro nel bosco sacro la principessa soltanto consegna le erbe incantate a Giasone e gliene insegna la modalità d'impiego. Se allora c'è qualcosa che la contraddistingua, si tratta piuttosto di una scienza particolare – occulta, se si vuole – che delle capacità soprannaturali, sovrumane:

creditus accepit cantatas protinus herbas
edidicitque usum laetusque in tecta recessit (98 sg.).

La metamorfosi avviene in modo tanto subitaneo che, quasi, impercettibile. Ovidio ad un tratto passa al raccontare un'altra vicenda della storia: il ringiovanimento di Esone (vv. 164–296). Alla preghiera di Giasone di togliergli i suoi anni di vita e donarli al padre, Medea si sdegna e offre un'altra soluzione. Leggiamo attentamente questa sua risposta:

quod inquit
excidit ore tuo, coniunx, scelus? ergo ego cuiquam
posse tuae videor spatium transcribere vitae?
nec sinat hoc Hecate, nec tu petis aequa; sed isto,
quod petis, experiar maius dare munus, Iason.

¹¹ Il che, ovviamente, non è conforme alla versione di Apollonio Rodio. D'altronde, come si è già detto (n. 7), anche Apollonio cerca di sminuire la colpa di Medea.

arte mea soceri longum temptabimus aevum,
non annis renovare tuis, modo diva triformis
adiuvet et praesens ingentibus adnuat ausis (171–178).

La protagonista, quasi a nome di Ecate, promette di rendere giovane il suocero tramite la sua arte (*arte mea*, v. 176). È la prima volta che Medea, Medea stessa, così apertamente dichiara la sua abilità nell'arte magica. È la prima volta che si rivela *maga*; paragoniamo i versi 98 sg., dove la giovane colchica pareva piuttosto un' 'erborista' che una maga.

Non si dovrebbe tralasciare un altro dettaglio compositivo. I versi successivi offrono la descrizione dell'*aspectus* di Medea, del suo aspetto fisico. Prima, soprattutto tramite il famoso soliloquio della protagonista (vv. 11–73), il testo ovidiano focalizzava solo la sua psiche, le sue emozioni: inquietudine, paura, compassione, le emozioni, occorre ripetere, femminili. Ora il lettore non sente più Medea esitare, immaginandosela come una fanciulla, sente invece una promessa spavalda e vede una creatura dai capelli sparsi sulle spalle, vestito sciolto, piedi nudi – una maga o, per usare la comparazione proposta nei versi 257 sg., una baccante celebrante riti in onore della sua dea. Cambiata la prospettiva, cambia anche la nostra percezione e, pian piano, il nostro approccio alla protagonista:

egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas,
nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos (182 sg.)

passis Medea capillis
bacchantum ritu flagrantem circuit aras (257 sg.).

All'atmosfera, sempre più misteriosa, magica, corrisponde benissimo il tono della preghiera che la colchica rivolge a Ecate, Notte, Luna e Terra (vv. 192–219).

In tal contesto il narratore per la prima volta fa cenno ad un vero e proprio attributo-chiave di Medea, e, al contempo, ad un altro motivo che rinvia all'intertesto, soprattutto al grande paradigma euripideo: il carro del Sole (Elio) con cui sua nipote viene portata via. Molto rilevante è però una differenza rispetto alla versione tradizionale. In Euripide, anche in Seneca, il carro appare nella scena finale della tragedia: dopo l'infanticidio Medea sale sul carro tirato da draghi, sfuggendo a Giasone. Osservano giustamente parecchi commentatori che la Medea euripidea gradualmente perde tutte le qualità umane: della moglie, della madre, rompe anche tutti i vincoli che la univano con il mondo umano, un punto culminante – e un simbolo chiaro – di questa sua disumanizzazione essendo proprio il sollevarsi, il volare via. Nelle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane Medea sale sul carro e si stacca dal suolo non nel finale, ma solo alla metà della storia raccontata (v. 220); vola per raccogliere erbe dalle quali preparerà il sugo vivificante per Esone. Diventa ancor più evidente che sotto gli occhi del lettore avviene una metamorfosi della protagonista: da una ragazza innamorata per la prima volta,

ma che sta coi piedi per terra, in una maga che sa volare. Il mondo reale cede a quello fantastico.

La descrizione del ringiovanimento di Esone abbonda di elementi fantastico-magici, basta analizzare i versi 262–278, la lista degli ingredienti da cui Medea prepara la sua mistura miracolosa. Vale la pena notare una certa ironia, se non disgusto, con cui il narratore commenta la scena. Significativo anche l'aggettivo *barbara*, usato per indicare la protagonista, il quale, in questo contesto, assume connotazioni chiaramente negative:

his et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus
propositum instruxit mortali barbara maius (275 sg.).

L'episodio di Esone va legato alla storia delle figlie di Pelia. Ovidio rispetta quest'ordine generale, relevantissima è però un'altra sua variazione rispetto alla versione sancita dalla tradizione, anzi, ad una certa logica narrativa. Medea dovrebbe indurre le figlie di Pelia al parricidio, sfruttando la loro richiesta ingenua¹² di ringiovanire anche il loro padre, per vendicare Giasone. Pelia, come sappiamo, era zio di Giasone che, detronizzato suo fratello Esone, costrinse il nipote alla difficile prova del vello d'oro con la promessa di rendergli il regno in caso di successo; con la speranza in verità di causarne la fine. Nel libro VII delle *Metamorfosi* non c'è neanche un cenno a questa motivazione; il poeta si limita a dire che Medea, dotata sempre delle capacità soprannaturali che le permetteranno di agire malvagiamente («neve *doli* cessent», v. 297)¹³, simula l'odio per il marito e, trovato il rifugio alla corte di Pelia, si accattiva la simpatia delle sue figlie, vantandosi dei poteri magici. Tale trattazione rende l'atto di

¹² L'ingenuità delle figlie di Pelia viene sottolineata da Frécaut 1989.

¹³ Newlands 1997: 188, interpreta i versi 297–299 come una frase finale: «no motivation is provided in the *Metamorphoses* for Medea's masterminding of Pelias' murder beyond the weak transitional disclaimer with which Ovid crosses from the story of rejuvenation to that of Pelias' murder, *neve doli cessent* (her purpose was to prevent any lack of treachery, 297). [...] Medea seemingly acts alone purely for malice's sake». Così anche in alcune traduzioni inglesi ed italiane, dove i traduttori aggiungono a volte il pronome possessivo 'suo' ad es. B. More: «but so *her* malice might be satisfied / Medea feigned she had a quarrel with / her husband» (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, edited by Brookes More, Boston 1922). Occorre notare che la subordinata sarebbe anche interpretabile come frase retorica pseudofinale che accentui il fatto che Medea rimarrà sempre («neve ... cessent») capace di esercitare magia, evidentemente con intenti malefici (*doli*), piuttosto che offrire una precisa spiegazione dei suoi motivi. Una tale sfumatura forse più percettibile nella traduzione di F.J. Miller: «That malice might have its turn, The Phasian woman feigned a quarrel with her husband» (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, with an English translation by F.J. Miller, London 1951, vols. 1–2) o, anzi, in quella antichissima di Arthur Golding: «And lest deceitfull guile should cease, Medea found a shift / To feyne that Jason and hir selfe were falne at oddes in wroth» (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, edited by Arthur Golding, London 1567). (I testi delle traduzioni di B. More e di A. Golding consultabili on-line: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Ov.+Met.+7>).

Medea particolarmente ripugnante anche perché completamente inspiegabile¹⁴. Anzi, occorre notare che è Medea a dare l'ultimo colpo mortale al povero vecchio. La fanciulla che cercava di analizzare e reggere in qualsiasi modo i propri sentimenti è irrevocabilmente sparita; il suo *alter ego* sembra però difficilissimo da definire. Sarebbe esagerato vedere in esso quella vendicatrice di cui si può parlare nel caso della tragedia euripidea¹⁵ dato che ci manca, appunto, il motivo della sua vendetta: quale sarebbe la ragione di punire le povere Peliadi? Abbiamo notato che la Medea delle *Metamorfosi*, trasformandosi dalla ragazzina giovane in una *maga*, perde la sua emotività per acquistare l'*aspectus* e le capacità magiche. Paragonando i due episodi, del ringiovanimento di Esone e dell'assassinio di Pelia, si dovrebbe probabilmente aggiungere che questa sua metamorfosi va ben oltre: da una maga, dotata di mutare le leggi della natura, ma in favore degli uomini, Medea cambia in una strega che appare improvvisamente seminando orrore e distruzione, facendo torto ai mortali quasi senza il perché. Nei prossimi 75 versi Medea compare ancora due volte: quando torna da Giasone e, avendo trovato il marito ammogliato con un'altra, incendia il palazzo e ammazza i propri figli e quando, accolta profuga da Egeo, è ben vicina a persuaderlo ad avvelenare Teseo. Egeo, riconosciuto nell'ultimo momento il proprio figlio, vuole vendicarsi su Medea, ma essa fugge sparendo, questa volta per sempre, fra le nuvole:

sed postquam Colchis arsit nova nupta venenis
flagrantemque domum regis mare vidit utrumque,
sanguine natorum perfunditur inpius ensis,
ultaque se male mater Iasonis effugit arma (394–397)

excipit hanc Aegeus facto damnandus in uno;
nec satis hospitium est: thalami quoque foedere iungit.
Iamque aderat Theseus, proles ignara parenti,
et virtute sua bimarem pacaverat Isthmon:
huius in exitium miscet Medea, quod olim
attulerat secum Scythicis aconiton ab oris (402–407)

ea coniugis astu
ipse parens Aegeus nato porrexit ut hosti.
sumpserat ignara Theseus data pocula dextra,
cum pater in capulo gladii cognovit eburno
signa sui generis facinusque excussit ab ore;
effugit illa necem nebulis per carmina motis (419–424).

¹⁴ Se non proprio e solamente con la sua malignità, come vuole Newlands 1997: 188.

¹⁵ Cf. Boedeker 1997: 127, la quale cita Schlesinger 1966: 51: «Medea, the human being is dead, into her place has stepped the victorious goddess of vengeance».

Un lettore attento scorge con facilità non solo la sommarietà con cui vengono trattati questi motivi, di nuovo fondamentali della storia di Medea, specie l'episodio corinzio, cioè la vicenda di Medea, Giasone e Creusa, tragico per eccellenza, ma anche un parallelismo tra la protagonista in quanto caratterizzata, presentata tramite i fatti raccontati e il metodo narrativo come tale. Nella parte iniziale Medea con la sua lotta interna era la *persona* principale, anzi, l'unico tema del libro VII. Dopo, il suo ruolo diminuisce, l'attenzione del narratore concentrasi su altri personaggi e altri motivi: le prove di Giasone, il ringiovanimento di Esone, l'assassinio di Pelia. Pian piano, Medea smette di essere un'eroina in cui il lettore, o soprattutto la lettrice, potrebbe immedesimarsi, anche perché conosce i suoi pensieri, i suoi sentimenti, per diventare una figura surreale che appare e sparisce (leggendo i versi 350–393 si può, quasi, volare insieme a Medea e osservare dall'alto i paesaggi passati), così come fanno, nelle fiabe, proprio le maghe o le streghe, eccitando, forse, il pubblico, ma non provocando la sua empatia.

Quindi, quantunque il libro VII delle *Metamorfosi* offra una combinazione di tutti gli episodi legati al mito di Medea, quello colchico, quello corinzio, anche quello ateniese, risulta chiaro che Ovidio non tratti questi tre segmenti della storia alla pari. È sintomatico che egli non abbia affatto sfruttato la dimensione tragica dell'episodio corinzio: la sua Medea, disumanizzata già prima – simbolica è qui, come abbiamo già accennato, l'apparizione del carro del Sole¹⁶ – non può, semplicemente, provare nessun'emozione considerando, anzi, neppure commettendo l'infanticidio, non può allora diventare una vera *persona tragica*; non è più capace di soffrire. Di conseguenza, non potrebbe neanche ricevere punizione, non la sentirebbe (è una differenza notevole rispetto all'interpretazione proposta da Ovidio nelle *Heroides* 12). La vicenda presentata nelle *Metamorfosi* VII non ha, quindi, una chiara fine. Come Medea stessa, così il racconto di cui era protagonista scompare, si dilegua fra le nuvole. E il lettore, ancora prima che se ne renda conto, sarà già intento a seguire le altre storie, sempre nuove.

A differenza dell'episodio di Medea, inserito nel grande progetto epico delle *Metamorfosi*, i cui principi compositivi sono stati già esposti all'inizio del libro I, il *Romuleon X* di Draconzio costituisce un'unità a sé stante. Non pare quindi strano che l'epillio cominci con una sorta di prologo in cui vengono segnalati i più rilevanti aspetti dell'opera. È in questa parte introduttiva dove l'autore *expressis verbis* dichiara di voler riunire in un unico carne i due segmenti della storia di Medea. Il suo poemetto – annuncia – tratterà prima l'arrivo e la cattura del nauta, seguiti dal suo inaspettato trionfo, dopo – la trasformazione della madre in una matrigna crudele, causata dal furore misto all'amore, e la finale fuga dell'autrice di tanti crimini. La presente analisi non concerne la questione delle possibili fonti draconziane, occorre, nondimeno, richiamare un cenno a due

¹⁶ Cf. Newlands 1997: 189 sg.

generi cui il poeta ammette di essersi rifatto. Il motivo della *Medea furens* dovrà trovare la sua ispiratrice, quasi naturale, nella pallida Melpomene, la musa della tragedia; come la patronessa dell'episodio amoroso è indicata invece la muta Polimnia, cioè la musa della pantomima¹⁷:

Nos illa canemus,
 quae solet in lepido Polyhymnia docta theatro
 muta loqui, cum nauta venit, cum captus amatur
 inter vincla iacens mox regnaturus Iason;
 vel quod grande boans longis sublata cothurnis
 pallida Melpomene, tragicis cum surgit iambis,
 quando cruentatam fecit de matre novercam
 mixtus amore furor dotata paelice flammis,
 squamea viperei subdentes colla dracones
 cum rapuere rotis post funera tanta nocentem (16–25)¹⁸.

Pare non meno rilevante un'altra specificazione del tema dell'epillio e, di conseguenza, della sua struttura compositiva, espressa tramite la figura retorica della *praeteritio*. Esso non dovrebbe rivelare gli aspetti magici, occultistici della storia, il simbolo dei quali sarebbero le formule mormorate da Medea:

Quae carmina linguis
 murmuret aut urens species quae nomina dicat,
 haec vatem nescire decet; quae nosse profanum est,
 quod fuerit vulgasse nefas (13–16).

Draconzio sembra suggerire che intenderà concentrarsi non tanto su certi tabù cui rinvia il mito in questione, sulla magia come tale, ma soprattutto sui suoi protagonisti in quanto certe figure già conosciute dalla tradizione letteraria e, quindi, sempre leggibili anche in prospettiva intertestuale. Infatti, il poeta riduce la trama epica ad una scena quasi teatrale, molto semplificata, ascetica per così dire: non accenna neanche agli argonauti, mettendo in rilievo solo Giasone, *pelagi temerator primus* (v. 34), e il suo incontro con Medea. Colpisce però una certa staticità, o forse passività, dei protagonisti, i quali, in realtà, già dall'inizio diventano solo strumenti degli dèi, pedine nelle loro mani – un motivo del tutto assente nella versione ovidiana. Lo stesso innamoramento di Medea è, secondo Draconzio, un risultato di un intervento di Giunone. Essa, molto favorevole a Giasone (per un motivo menzionato solo brevemente: «est nimis

¹⁷ Sulle ispirazioni mimiche di Draconzio Bright 1987: 219 sg. Un'ipotesi definita come «avventurosa» da Schetter 1991: 217 sg. Va aggiunto che nei versi successivi (vv. 26–31) viene anche invocata Calliope, la vera e propria musa della poesia epica.

¹⁸ Il testo dell'epillio draconziano secondo l'edizione di Wolff 1996; per unificare la grafia dei testi latini citati nell'articolo: 'vincla'; 'noverca' invece di 'uincla'; 'nouerca', come nell'edizione di Wolff.

acceptus iuvenis mihi pulcher Iason, / qui gelidum quondam mecum tranaverat Istrum», vv. 56 sg.), chiede a Venere di salvarlo, infondendo nel cuore di Medea l'amore per il giovane, naturalmente con l'aiuto dell'insostituibile Amore-arciere. Giunone aggiunge anche un altro argomento, molto convincente, come vedremo, per Venere, la quale, rivolgendosi in seguito al figliuolo, riporta le parole della sua matrigna (*noverca*, vv. 82; 134). Medea come sacerdotessa di Diana è quasi onnipotente, esercitando questo potere anche sugli dèi (il motivo è preannunciato già nel prologo). Venere invece potrebbe, e dovrebbe, dimostrarsi superiore a Diana attraverso l'umiliazione della sua ministra:

igne tuo flammata cadat furibunda virago,
 discat amare furor, tandem sit blanda sacerdos,
 templa pharetratae contemnat virgo Dianae,
 despiciat delubra deae. Licet immemor extet
 religionis amor timeant nec fulmen amantes,
 te solam putet esse deam, te numen adoret,
 te metuat metuenda deis (62–68)

Medea sacerdos,
 sacrilega quae voce solet compellere caelum,
 invitos accire deos, urgere Tonantem,
 dum precibus elementa quatit mare sidera terras,
 naturam turbare simul, tua tela medullis
 excipiat (hoc Iuno petit) iuvenemque Pelasgum
 diligat optet amet cupiat suspiret anhelet (136–142).

Nell'impostazione draconziana la protagonista umana, Medea, non è quindi autosufficiente, non è in pieno l'autrice dei propri atti, inclusi quelli più infami. Nei versi 293–300 il poeta precisa che nella sua versione, nella sua reinterpretazione della storia anche gli eventi tragici che avranno luogo in Grecia: il tradimento coniugale di Giasone, la sua morte, la morte dei figli, l'errare senza fine di Medea, saranno, infatti, dovuti alla maledizione lanciata da Diana contro la propria sacerdotessa infedele, la sacerdotessa che si è sposata («sponsus Iason erat gaudens et sponsa sacerdos», v. 267):

sed iustius opto:
 perfidus egregiam contemnat nauta iugalem,
 dulcior affectus vel amara repudia mittat;
 funera tot videat fuerint quot pignora mater,
 orba parens natos plangat, viduata marito
 lugeat et sterilem ducat per saecula noctem;
 advena semper eat, se tanti causa doloris
 auctorem confessa gemat (293–300).

Quale, in tal contesto, sarà il ruolo della Medea draconziana? La domanda di base sarebbe proprio tale: chi è la Medea di Draconzio? Ricordiamo la

Medea ovidiana delle *Metamorfosi*, prima così profondamente umana nella sua emotività, dopo gradualmente disumanizzata, privata completamente di qualsiasi vita interiore.

Se si analizza il lessico, i termini con cui Draconzio definisce la sua protagonista, si può rispondere con una certa convinzione che, soprattutto nella prima parte dell'epillio, anch'essa viene presentata come una donna giovane: *virgo* (v. 1), *puella* (v. 3), *mulier* (v. 5), benché una vergine tutt'altro che debole, una *virago* (vv. 12 e 62), dotata di forze sovranaturali (perciò *virgo atra*, v. 1) in quanto sacerdotessa di Diana. Senza dubbio, la Medea draconziana non è caratterizzata dalla stessa profondità psicologica che ha invece la Medea ovidiana, il che, forse, potrebbe deludere un lettore moderno; il suo ritratto pare molto più povero, molto più schematizzato – d'altronde è una qualità dell'estetica tardoantica, anche dell'estetica delle arti figurative, si pensi alla scultura, specie al bassorilievo¹⁹. Inoltre, la Medea draconziana colpisce per la sua letterarietà (*literariness*) quasi non celata. Presentata come *virgo cruenta* (v. 152), *xeinoktonos*, da un lato sembra incarnare tutto ciò che raffigura e raffigurava da sempre nella letteratura greco-romana la Colchide («impia Colchis ... saevior ara Dianae», v. 177)²⁰, terra della crudeltà barbara, contrapposta alla Grecia civilizzata, dall'altro lato – non è che un riflesso, un'immagine allo specchio di un'altra protagonista mitologica e tragica, Ifigenia fra i Tauri²¹.

Sulla scia della Medea ovidiana, anche la protagonista draconziana subisce una metamorfosi da una donna innamorata in una maga onnisciente; come osserva giustamente D. Bright essa viene chiamata *maga* solo nel verso 343²². Questa trasformazione sembra però meno sorprendente, meno inaspettata che quella presentata nelle *Metamorfosi*, sia perchè già dal prologo il lettore è preavvisato che avrà a che fare con una *virgo atra*, sia per le, soprannominate, associazioni, riconoscibili in prospettiva intertestuale, con altre figure mitiche, altre *virgines cruentae*, simboli della selvatichezza, della barbarie:

quattuor interea Phoebus transegerat annos,
sed natos Medea duos fecunda marito
ediderat, cum nocte iacens suspirat Iason
nec gemitus latuere magam: «Quam, callide, fraudem
quodque nefas moliris?» ait. «Non fallis amantem.
Dulcia saepe vigil contrectans pectora coniux
agnovi quia furta paras, quia mente fugaci
infaustum quodcunque cupis. Secreta polorum
cognosco, si morbus erit, si bella parentur,

¹⁹ Cf. Bright 1987: 212–216; Roberts 1989: 69.

²⁰ Cf. ad es. Ovidio, *Tristia* III 9.

²¹ Bright 1987: 54–58; recentemente Simons 2005: 185–189.

²² Bright 1987: 63.

si pluet aut flamma caelum rutilante coruscet:
et tu Medeam credis quia fallis, Iason?» (340–350).

Comunque, nel brano sopraccitato non è solo la metamorfosi della protagonista ad attirare l'attenzione del lettore. Ancora più rilevante pare la disinvoltura con cui Draconzio tratta certi *topoi* della storia di Medea, la disinvoltura che si è manifestata anche prima, nel suo assoluto tralasciare gli argonauti (Giasone arriva solo) e, in particolare, nei versi 293–300, dove il poeta reinterpreta il motivo-chiave del mito, cioè l'infanticidio. Di nuovo occorre ricordare una simile leggerezza nel riferirsi a parecchi, sembrerebbero, punti culminanti della storia nelle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio. Il Sulmonese, come si è detto sopra, abbrevia in tre versi la fuga di Medea e Giasone, rinunciando del tutto al motivo del fratricidio. Draconzio, toccando il tema con una simile stringatezza, il fratricidio come tale lo menziona, ma negli altri dettagli supera Ovidio stesso nello scostarsi dalle versioni stabilite. Innanzi tutto pospone lo stesso momento della fuga: Medea e Giasone rimangono per quattro anni in Colchide, sempre in Colchide nascono i loro figli, e decidono di fuggire solo quando Giasone un giorno prova una nostalgia improvvisa del paese natio. Inoltre – e questo pare più sorprendente – nell'impostazione draconziana è Medea a rubare il vello d'oro²³ e a consegnarlo al marito. Il Giasone draconziano è una figura completamente passiva. Non c'è neanche un cenno a Pelia – una differenza notevole in paragone a Ovidio. E infine questo «ventum erat ad Thebas» (v. 366) – non un semplice errore draconziano, come riteneva Diaz de Bustamante²⁴, ma un altro messaggio leggibile solo in prospettiva intertestuale: una citazione della *Tebaide* di Stazio (II 65), la quale, una volta decifrata, dovrebbe rievocare alla memoria del lettore una serie di associazioni con le Tebe staziane: città maledetta, governata da una famiglia malfamata²⁵:

Astra vocans et signa ciens iubet illa Soporem
ad nemus ad pellem vel templum Martis abire.
Dormierat serpens: pellis subtracta marito
traditur, et pariter fugerunt fratre necato.
Accipiunt natos et singula pignora portant.
Ventum erat ad Thebas, pellis datur aurea regi (361–366).

Come vediamo, Draconzio non bada affatto alla scioltezza narrativa – il che, d'altronde, era caratteristico anche per Ovidio – intendendo piuttosto combinare,

²³ Nel film di Pasolini *Medea*, insieme ad Absirto (un giovane uomo, non un bambino), a cui ha chiesto aiuto, ruba il vello d'oro e lo dona a Giasone. Poi è sempre Medea ad ammazzare il fratello, Giasone rimasto inspiegabilmente passivo.

²⁴ Diaz de Bustamante 1978: 242.

²⁵ Seguo l'interpretazione convincente di Schetter 1980: 209–221. Schetter nel suo studio dimostra una continua presenza del concetto staziano di Tebe nella seconda parte dell'epillio draconziano.

o meglio giustapporre, al più presto possibile i due episodi della storia di Medea: quello colchico e quello greco, tebano nella sua versione. Un altro tratto della sua poetica che si scorge subito è il parallelismo compositivo. Nella seconda parte dell'epillio, che riguarda gli avvenimenti che hanno luogo a Tebe, appare una protagonista in cui potremmo vedere un *alter ego* della Medea in Colchide²⁶. Si tratta di Glauce, la figlia di Creonte. Interessante che questa somiglianza fra di loro concerne soprattutto l'approccio a Giasone. Giasone che, come abbiamo già suggerito, risulta una figura sorprendentemente passiva: è Medea a rubare il vello d'oro, anzi, è Medea a dichiararsi a lui (vv. 247–254). Anche per Glauce Giasone non è che un oggetto, un oggetto del desiderio che essa vorrà saziare ad ogni costo, anche violando i vincoli matrimoniali. Da notare un altro punto in comune fra Medea e Glauce: ambedue trasgrediscono le norme morali: Medea, la sacerdotessa, tradendo la sua dea, Glauce – concupiscendo un marito altrui:

Regis nata decens fuerat pulcherrima Glauce,
iam cui virginitas annis matura tumebat;
haec ubi conspexit iuvenem, flammata nitore
aestuat et laudans alieni membra mariti
optat habere virum. Sonuit genitoris ad aures (369–373)

Conversa sacerdos
ad iuvenem: «Dic, nauta fugax, pirata nefande:
est consors matrona decens an caelibe vita
degis adhuc nullumque domi tibi pignus habetur?»
«Solus», ait captivus, «ego, mihi pignora nulla
coniugis aut sobolis». Dictis gavisus virago
blanda refert: «Vis ergo meus nunc esse maritus?»
«Servus», Iason ait (247–254).

Se allora, in certo senso, Glauce diverrà la nuova Medea, quale sarà il ruolo che impersonerà quest'ultima? Una domanda interessante perché, nel fervore delle preparazioni delle nozze, tutti sembrano averla dimenticata. Infatti, Draconzio ancora una volta si allontana dalla versione canonica: Medea non viene espulsa da Tebe, non deve fuggire in esilio. Di conseguenza, il nostro poeta non può sfruttare altri motivi classici, soprattutto i famosi scontri fra Medea e Creonte e Medea e Giasone, elaborati sia da Euripide che da Seneca. Medea semplicemente viene a sapere della festa e subito decide di vendicarsi, così come ha fatto Diana in Colchide:

Dum festa parantur,
cognovit Medea nefas nec tardius illud
credidit; ingratum nam senserat ipsa maritum (382–384).

²⁶ Cf. Bright 1987: 70–72.

In tal modo si compie la finale metamorfosi della protagonista, dalla *Medea amans* nella *Medea furens* (v. 389), dalla Medea umana nella Medea quasi dea-vendicatrice:

signorum cursus et plenae cornua lunae
 captabat Medea furens: iam clauserat orbem
 Cynthia sidereis transcendens saltibus astra.
 Mox Colchis se spargit aquis, et sulphure puro
 cum taedis fumans, purgabat membra sacerdos
 et campum secreta petens ubi mille sepulchra,
 astabat deiecta oculos (388–394).

Amplificano l'atmosfera d'orrore le preghiere che essa rivolge alle forze: a Luna (vv. 396–430), a Dite e le Furie (vv. 436–460) e al Sole (vv. 497–508). Particolarmente significative sono le implorazioni a Luna, invocata quale la dea della vendetta che punisce i colpevoli²⁷. Medea ammette la propria colpa, ma indicando Giasone come il vero autore del delitto (è, d'altronde, lo stesso ragionamento che quello fatto dalla mittente delle *Heroides* 12):

da veniam, Medea precor. Cum clade suorum
 non decet ira deos. Mereor pro crimine poenam,
 te feriente tamen, non ut mendicus Iason
 sit vindex, regina, tuus, qui criminis auctor
 ipse fuit: miseram solus non puniat, oro,
 qui mecum feriendus erat (416–421).

Perciò spetterà a lei fare giustizia, essere uno strumento della pena divina, anche letteralmente perché – di nuovo Draconzio non segue la versione sancita dalla tradizione letteraria – sarà proprio Medea a regalare a Glauce la corona dalla quale, come sappiamo, prenderà fuoco l'intero palazzo reale con tutti i presenti: la fidanzata, Giasone, Creonte:

«Accipe, virgo, libens auratam in fronte coronam,
 quam captiva dabo, qualem mea pignora sumant» (513 sg.).

Uritur ingratus usta cum virgine nauta;
 cum genero nataeque parat succurrere rector,
 uritur ipse Creon, rogos est mox aula tyranni (519–521).

Al contempo però – ed ecco il punto culminante dell'opera draconziana – la pena inflitta da Medea sarà destinata non solo a Giasone ma anche a lei stessa.

²⁷ Occorre aggiungere che nella parte introduttiva della preghiera (vv. 396–415) Luna è invocata come *triplex regina* (398), sotto la sua forma celeste, terrestre ed infernale, cf. Wolff 1996: 212. Se prendiamo in considerazione che sotto la sua forma terrestre Luna è identica a Diana, la preghiera di Medea assume il valore di una particolare implorazione di perdono.

Sembra che Medea non possa, e infatti non si accontenti («necdum satiata», v. 527) di aver ucciso i propri nemici: il marito infedele, la giovane adultera e suo padre. Come ha annunciato (vv. 425–430), intende offrire un sacrificio in espiazione della sua colpa («pro crimine nostro», v. 425), un sacrificio particolare, del frutto del proprio seno:

«Quinque dabo inferias (sat erunt pro crimine nostro
illustres animae): niveam cum Iasone Glaucem,
mortibus amborum regem superaddo Creonta
et natos miseranda duos, mea pignora, supplex
offero, sacrilegos nostro de corpore fructus,
ne prosit peccasse mihi» (425–430).

Stabat sola nocens necdum satiata sacerdos
nec secura tamen: nunquam sic posse venena
credidit aut precibus tantum servire furores.
Sed postquam solos quos iusserat ignis adussit,
tunc natos furibunda premit (527–531).

Draconzio ci ha già abituati alla sua disinvoltura nel trattare i temi mitologici. Nondimeno, questa reinterpretazione dei motivi tradizionali pare nonconfrontabile con nessun'altra. Nella variante draconziana Medea commette l'infanticidio non per vendicarsi di Giasone, il quale è già morto – anche se la vendetta su Giasone era, come si sa, una costante di tutte le impostazioni tragiche, di Euripide, di Seneca, anche di Osidio Geta – ma per placare la sua dea, Diana. Non pare del tutto improbabile che il poeta tardoantico si ispirasse qui ad un motivo suggerito da Seneca, la cui Medea dichiara di aver espiato il fratello e il padre con l'uccisione dei propri due figli: «fratri patrique quod sat est, peperit duos» (*Medea*, v. 957), il senso dell'interpretazione draconziana è però più ampio; in aggiunta, determina anche la lettura del componimento come una *Ringkomposition*:

«sumite vos, FURIAE; noctis rex exigit umbras;
spiritus in ventos
..... satis est punisse nocentes
insontesque simul. Miseros hoc ense necabo,
quo genitor feriendus erat: nihil ipsa dolebo,
si ingrata maneat nullus de gente superstes».
Haec ait et geminos uno simul ense noverca
transegit pueros (542–549).

Risulta chiaro che nel finale dell'epillio la protagonista ridiventa ciò che era all'inizio, riprende il suo ruolo originario: della sacerdotessa che offre sacrifici umani, della *xeinoktonos*. Ripaga per il sacrificio non compiuto, quello di Giasone, con un sacrificio moltiplicato – dei propri bambini. Essendosi resa conto della propria colpa, della *hybris* contro gli dèi, riceve una punizione, anzi, riconosce

i motivi per cui sarà necessaria, indispensabile la pena e si autopunisce. Una tale logica narrativa conferisce al poema draconziano una vera dimensione tragica – un aspetto non ritrovabile affatto nelle *Metamorfosi* del Sulmonese – secondo la logica del principio tragico *pathei mathos* (il motivo dell'autopunizione ci rinvia, volenti o nolenti, all'*Edipo re* sofocleo). A differenza del pezzo ovidiano, il racconto di Draconzio ha anche una struttura chiusa, compiuta, il cui nocciolo è la vicenda della *Medea furens* e *vindex*, la maritocida e l'infanticida; in Ovidio invece, come ricordiamo, l'uccisione dei figli era soltanto una delle ingiustizie fatte agli uomini dalla *maga* malvagia, le ingiustizie che, come pare, non avrebbero mai fine.

Perciò, questa volta sulla scia delle impostazioni tradizionali (soprattutto di Euripide e di Seneca), il poeta tardoantico fa cenno all'attributo-chiave della protagonista solo nella parte conclusiva. Nella scena finale anche la sua Medea sale sul carro del Sole per distaccarsi dalla terra, perdendo così definitivamente ogni tratto umano. Il primo sintomo di questa disumanizzazione era, come in Ovidio, lo scomparire della capacità umana di provare emozioni – notiamo che in Draconzio lo ammette ancora Medea stessa («nihil ipsa dolebo», 546), nelle *Metamorfosi* la maga non rivela più nessun sentimento.

La versione draconziana del finale non è però del tutto conforme al paradigma euripideo-senecano. La Medea del *Romuleon X* non dovrebbe, infatti, fuggire, tutti i suoi nemici, incluso Giasone, essendo già morti. Il volo di Medea in Draconzio, d'altronde così come nelle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane, ha un valore semantico piuttosto che narrativo. Nelle *Metamorfosi* Medea, distaccandosi dalla terra, smette di essere una ragazza innamorata per diventare un essere sovrumano, minaccioso e incomprensibile nella sua crudeltà. Nel *Romuleon X* Medea, privatasi, liberatasi di tutto ciò che le ha portato con sé Giasone, il quale, con l'aiuto di Venere e Amore, le ha infiammato il cuore («stridula tela volant: rapiunt praecordia flammas, / corda calent oculique labant, suspiria rumpunt», vv. 222 sg.) e l'ha fatta moglie e madre, vola per ridiventare *virgo cruenta*, per riunirsi con Diana:

Occupat illa gravem funesto corpore currum,
ire furor residens taetros simul imperat angues.
Tolluntur celeres, mox se tellure levabant,
iam nutant per inane rotae hinc inde labantes,
aera saeva petit volitans quadriga venena (562–566).

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PRAETORIANS FROM PISAURUM AND FANUM FORTUNAE
IN NORTHERN UMBRIA*

By

IRENEUSZ ŁUĆ

Praetorians, as Tacitus wrote, were the sons of Italy, a truly Roman youth¹. This statement is unequivocally confirmed by the analysis of the epigraphic material concerning the soldiers of the praetorian cohorts. On this basis it was possible to establish that until the 190s AD the overwhelming number of praetorians came from the area of Italy. One of the regions which was the place of origin for many soldiers of this military formation was Umbria². This area has one of the most dense networks of towns which provided recruits for the praetorian cohorts. Many of these towns were located along the Roman road *via Flaminia*. On this road, in the area of Northern Umbria, along the Adriatic Sea, there are two towns in proximity: Pisaurum, now Pesaro, and Fanum Fortunae. The former was established at the mouth of the Foglia River (ancient Pisaurus). Pisaurum was a maritime colony (*colonia maritima*) which was established in 184 BC in the area of *aeger Gallicus*³. The task of its inhabitants was to protect the route running along the Adriatic Sea and connecting Cisalpine Gaul, Rome and the south of Italy⁴. The subsequent establishment of the colony in Pisaurum was carried out on the initiative of Mark Antony, whose officers directly supervised the whole

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¹ Tac. *Hist.* I 84 (“Italiae alumni et Romana vere iuventus”); Chilver 1979: 152.

² Tac. *Ann.* IV 5 (“Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis”); Bohn 1884: 251, 253, 256; Durry 1938: 239 f.; Passerini 1939: 151; Chilver 1979: 152; Łuć 2004: 24–26, 158–160.

³ Liv. XXXIX 44, 10 (“coloniae duae, Potentia in Picinum, Pisaurum in Gallicum agrum deductae sunt”); Vell. I 15, 2; Kubitschek 1889: 74.

⁴ Each of the “colonists” received six *iugera* of land. The second colony, which was established in 184 BC, was Potentia (presently S. Maria di Potenza) in Picinum: Liv. XXXIX 44, 10; Salmon 1969, pp. 104 f.; Brunt 1971: 281; Harris 1971: 152; Howarth 1999: 287 f.

operation. This *colonia*, mentioned by Plutarch, dates to the period following 41 BC. The official name of the town was *colonia Iulia Felix Pisaurum*⁵.

Fanum Fortunae lies in the valley of the Metaurus River, four kilometers north of its mouth. In this town the *via Flaminia* turns south-west and passing by Forum Sempronii and going on to Narnia runs straight to Rome. The earliest history of Fanum Fortunae leaves room for speculation. The town is likely to have developed from one of the outposts (*stationes*) situated along the *via Flaminia*. The second component of its name (*Fortunae*) presumably derives from the name of the sanctuary dedicated to the Goddess of Fortune. A short time before the death of Augustus, Fanum Fortunae was raised to the status of a colony and granted the title *Iulia (colonia Iulia Fanum Fortunae)*⁶.

I. MILITES PRAETORIANI EX PISAURO

Between the first and the third century AD the following soldiers connected with the area of the town Pisaurum served in the praetorian cohorts: Sextus Cetrius Severus, (Caius) Sueto Marcellinus, (Caius) Sueto Paulinus, (Caius) Sueto Augurinus, Nepos, Caius Tadius Sabinus, Marcus Paccius Senecio, Quintus Seienus Quinctianus⁷.

Among the above mentioned soldiers the one who served in the praetorian formation in the first century AD was Sextus Cetrius Severus. The contents of his inscription [1]⁸ is the following:

of (or to) Sextus Cetrius Severus, a speculator, the *beneficiarius* of Geta, a prison secretary⁹.

The career of Sextus Cetrius Severus in the army was closely linked with the Praetorian Guard. Although the text of his inscription omits this piece of information, it seems that he was initially a recruit (*tiro praetorianus*) and then a private soldier in the praetorian cohorts (*gregarius miles praetorianus*). After a few years of service he was moved to the unit of the praetorian *speculatores*.

⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 60; Brunt 1971: 609 f.; Harris 1971: 313, 339; Keppie 1983: 22, 185 f.

⁶ Plin. *Nat.* III 113 (“Nunc in ora flumen Aesis, Senagallia, Metaurus fluvius, coloniae Fanum Fortunae, Pisaurum cum amne, et intus Hispellum, Tuder”); Kubitschek 1889: 70; Harris 1971: 238, 303, 306, 312, 318, 337; Keppie 1983: 20, 184 f.

⁷ Also other soldiers from other Roman formations came from Pisaurum. See among others: *CIL* XI 6342; 6344; 6351; 6352; 6353; Forni 1953: 159, 169; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 237–240; Todisco 1999, 81 f., 86.

⁸ The numbers in square brackets refer to the Catalogue of inscriptions.

⁹ *CIL* XI 6343 = *ILS* 2073 – the inscription on the bronze tablet in the shape of *tabula ansata* – the first century AD.

This select unit of the praetorians comprised the soldiers who were enlisted into various centuries and praetorian cohorts. The duty of *speculatores praetoriani vel speculatores Augusti* was to protect the emperor against personal attack¹⁰. Probably between AD 48–51 Sextus Cetrius Severus held the post of *beneficiarius* in the office of the prefect of the Praetorian Guard (*officium praefecti praetorio*) Lucius Lusius Geta (*praefectus praetorio*)¹¹. Perhaps besides this post he also held the post of an *ab commentariis custodiarum*¹², i.e. a prison secretary¹³. After Lucius Geta and Rufrius Crispinus resigned as the commanders of the praetorian cohorts¹⁴, Sextus Cetrius Severus continued his service. He is mentioned by Tacitus in his account of the dramatic events which took place on the 15th of January AD 69¹⁵. At that time the praetorians, at the instigation of Marcus Salvius Otho, revolted against the emperor Servius Sulpicius Galba. As Tacitus writes, tribune Cetrius Severus, together with two other tribunes, Subrius Dexter and Pompeius Longinus, received an order to leave the palace at the Palatine and go to the praetorian camp (*castra praetoria*). Their task was to find out what the soldiers were thinking and whether the whole praetorian corps had actually forfeited their loyalty to Galba and pledged their support for Otho. Tacitus mentions that Cetrius Severus, having arrived in the camp, was “attacked with threats”¹⁶ by the praetorians who gathered there and was probably disarmed¹⁷. The mission of restoring order among the soldiers of the praetorian cohorts failed, for almost all of the praetorians had already joined Otho.

It seems legitimate to argue that Sextus Cetrius Severus, between AD 51 and 53, having completed the required sixteen years’ minimum service, might have been retained in the praetorian cohorts as an *evocatus*. Within the next several years until AD 69 inclusive, he might have obtained promotion to the post of centurion, which was an indispensable condition for making a career. The next step was promotion to a tribunate¹⁸. Sextus Cetrius Severus held the post of tribune in the pra-

¹⁰ Caver 1881: 461–465; Durry 1938: 108–110; Speidel 1994: 33 and *passim*; Luć 2004: 74 f. Cf. Bérard 2000: 287 f.

¹¹ Caver 1881: 476; De Laet 1943: 82; Dobson 1978: 206, no. 78; Breeze 1993: 12–14. Cf. Bérard 2000: 288–291.

¹² Durry 1938: 112; Nelis-Clément 2000: 100.

¹³ If Sextus Cetrius Severus held the post of *beneficiarius* and simultaneously that of *ab commentariis custodiarum*, his duties might have included not only supervising the arrested but also keeping official records later used during court trials; Nelis-Clément 2000: 211. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* IX 3, 5 (“ad commentariensem receptarum personarum custodia observatioque pertineat”); Ott 1995: 18 f., 167.

¹⁴ Lucius Geta was appointed prefect of Egypt: *PIR* III 121; *PIR*² V 435; Passerini 1939: 280; Demougin 1992: 394 f., no. 484; 485 f., no. 586; Absil 1997: nos. 10, 11, 31, 46, 51, 69, 70, 72, 78, 89, 101, 133, 134.

¹⁵ *PIR*² C 703.

¹⁶ Tac. *Hist.* I 31 (“tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis”); Chilver 1979: 93.

¹⁷ Demougin 1992: 545 f., no. 645.

¹⁸ Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 241.

etorian cohorts during the dramatic events of Otho's *coup d'état* in January AD 69 described by Tacitus. He was raised to equestrian status (*ordo equester*) for his achievements¹⁹.

The name of Sextus Cetrius Severus (*tria nomina*) is of great interest. His given name (*praenomen*), Sextus, belongs to the group of the most popular and consequently the commonest in Rome²⁰. On the other hand the name of his family clan (*nomen gentile*), Cetrius (or C(a)etrius), presumably of Etruscan origin, is quite rare. It is not attested in any other way in Pisaurum and its area²¹. His family name (*cognomen*), Severus, which was derived from the adjectival form, was also common²².

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

(gregarius miles praetorianus)?

speculator praetorianus

beneficiarius Getae (= beneficiarius praefecti praetorio)

ab commentariis custodiarum

(evocatus)?

(centurio in cohorte praetoria)?

tribunus cohortis praetoriae?

In the second century AD (Gaius) Sueto Marcellinus, who also came from Pisaurum, served as a praetorian. The text of his epitaph [2] is the following:

To the spirits of the departed. Sueto Marcellinus, served 6 years, 8 months, (as) a *tesserarius* 2 years, 11 months, (as) a horseman 2 years, 9 months, 10 days. Brothers set up [the monument], thanks to their mother Salena Paulina's efforts, Sueto Crispinus and Sueto Paulinus, Augustus' *evocatus*, Sueto Augurinus soldier of the 4th praetorian cohort, Sueto Iustus. To the one born for the good of the state²³.

According to the inscription the funeral of deceased (Gaius) Sueto Marcellinus was arranged by his brothers Suetos, i.e. Crispinus, Paulinus, Augurinus and Iustus, as well as his mother Salena Paulina. We can suppose that Salena Paulina's husband died before AD 160 or 161, because the monument of (Gaius) Sueto Marcellinus was erected by his brothers with the help of their mother Salena Paulina. Their father is not mentioned in the inscription. They might have also been heirs to the deceased²⁴.

¹⁹ Demougis 1988: 375, 842; Demougis 1992: 8, 545 f.; Nelis-Clément 2000: 100.

²⁰ Kajanto 1965: 40 f., 172–174.

²¹ *CIL* XI, *Indices*, 1438; Schulze 1933: 268, 337, 351; Dobson 1978: 206; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 241; Solin, Salomies 1988: 54.

²² Kajanto 1965: 20 f. (*severus* – 'severe', 'sinister', 'grim'); Solin, Salomies 1988: 402.

²³ *CIL* XI 6350 = *ILS* 9066 – Pisaurum (Umbria, regio VI); the inscription was engraved on the marble altar, the second century AD.

²⁴ Varon 1997: 565–570.

(Gaius) Sueto Marcellinus can be also found on one of the discharge lists (*laterculi praetorianorum*) [2a].

(the ... praetorian cohort)?, (century) under the command of Antonius, Sueto, son of Gaius, of the Camilia (tribe), Marcellinus, from Pisaurum²⁵.

The career of (Gaius) Sueto Marcellinus, the son of Gaius, developed as follows. He joined the Praetorian Guard, as recorded on a discharge list (*laterculus praetorianorum*) in AD 154. He was a soldier of one (the 4th or the 5th) of the praetorian cohorts. He served in Antony's century (*cohors ... praetoria?*, *centuria Antoni*). According to the text of the sepulchral inscription, Sueto's service lasted 6 years and 8 months in all, a period which includes 2 years and 11 months of service as a *tesserarius*. For 2 years, 9 months and 10 days he was a horseman (*eques*). He spent almost a year exercising and training, in all probability as a recruit (*tiro*) in the praetorian cohorts²⁶. Although Sueto Marcellinus can be found on the discharge list (*laterculus praetorianorum*) of the praetorians who retired ca AD 172, it is indisputable that by then he had already died. As the text of his sepulchral inscription indicates he died on duty, somewhat less than 7 years after he joined the praetorian cohorts. His death took place probably ca AD 160 or 161²⁷.

Cursus:

(*tiro praetorianus*)?

miles cohortis (IV vel V) praetoriae, centuria Antoni?

tesserarius cohortis ... praetoriae?, centuria Antoni?

eques cohortis ... praetoriae?, centuria Antoni?

Thanks to the inscription of Sueto Marcellinus we know that his two brothers, at more or less the same time, served as praetorians. One of them was (Gaius) Sueto Paulinus. Besides the inscription of Sueto Marcellinus, he can be found on a discharge list (*laterculus praetorianorum*). The inscription [3a] which contains his name is the following:

the 4th praetorian cohort, century under the command of Verus, *evocatus* of August), Gaius Sueto Paulinus, from Pisaurum²⁸.

²⁵ CIL VI 32522 a, I 14 = CIL VI 2381 a, I 14 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 154–172); Kubitschek 1889: 74.

²⁶ ILS 9066, 3 (“Videtur per annum fere fuisse tiro, deinde statim promotus esse”). On the basis of the inscription itself it is difficult to accept the thesis that Sueto Marcellinus was first a soldier of the urban cohorts (*cohortes urbanae*) and only then joined the praetorian cohorts. Cf. Domaszewski 1967: 18; Mench 1969: 423 f., no. 307; Franzoni 1987: 59, no. 38.

²⁷ Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 252 (“è morto in servizio dopo appena sei anni di ferma”).

²⁸ CIL VI 32520 a, III 57 = CIL VI 2379 a, III 57 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160); Huelsen 1894: 119 f.

Gaius Sueto Paulinus began the service in the praetorian cohorts in AD 144 and completed it after sixteen years in AD 160. He was then enlisted into the 4th praetorian cohort (*IV cohors praetoria*), into the century under the command of centurion Verus (*centuria Veri*). However this was not the end of his service in the ranks of the Praetorian Guard. The term *evocatus Augusti*²⁹, by which he was referred to both in the inscription of Sueto Marcellinus and on a discharge list, suggests that he was offered continued service. In AD 160, the probable year of the death of Sueto Marcellinus, Gaius Sueto Paulinus continued to serve.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles in cohorte IV praetoria, centuria Veri
evocatus Augusti.

(Gaius) Sueto Augurinus was a soldier who also served in the Praetorian Guard in the second century AD. The sepulchral inscription of Sueto Marcellinus informs us that Sueto Augurinus was a soldier of the 4th praetorian cohort, *m(iles) c(ohortis) IIII pr(aetoriae)*³⁰.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis IV praetoriae, centuria ...?

It is probable that both Sueto Marcellinus and Sueto Augurinus took the decision to join the praetorian formation because their brother Sueto Paulinus had already served there. Sueto Paulinus was probably the eldest of the three brothers. Maybe both Marcellinus and Augurinus joined the ranks of the Praetorian Guard thanks to his recommendation, for Sueto Paulinus and Sueto Augurinus are certain to have served in the 4th praetorian cohort and, what is interesting, Sueto Marcellinus may have been in the same cohort³¹.

None of the three praetorians lived long lives. Their death at a relatively early age seems to be confirmed not only by the epitaph of above mentioned Sueto Marcellinus but also by the sepulchral inscription of their mother, Salena

²⁹ Durry 1938: 112, n. 11, suggested that the abbreviation: *evob*, which originally came in front of Sueto Paulinus' *tria nomina*, might have meant *EVO. B*, i.e. *evo(catus) (ex) b(eneficiario)*: *CIL VI 32520 a, III 57 = CIL VI 2379 a, III 57* ("coh(ors) IIII pr(aetoria) (centuria) Veri evob = evo(catus) (ex) b(eneficiario)? C(aius) Sueto Paullinus, Pisauro"). Gaius Sueto Paulinus might have then held the post of praetorian *beneficiarius*. However interesting this hypothesis sounds, it seems too bold. In the case of soldiers of the praetorian cohorts in question who fell under the category of *evocati* the abbreviation was usually the following: *evoc* or *evo – evoc(atus) – evo(catus)*. In turn a praetorian who served as a *beneficiarius* and who, having completed the 16 years' service, continued as an *evocatus*, at the moment of retirement from the praetorian formation probably received an inscription with the following text: *evoc b*, which probably meant *evoc(atus) (ex) b(eneficiario)*. Cf. *CIL VI 32520 a, IV 51 = CIL VI 2379 a, IV 51* ("coh(ors) V pr(aetoria) (centuria) Firmi evoc(atus) (ex) b(eneficiario)? Q(uintus) Geminius Castus (S)ora").

³⁰ *CIL XI 6350 = ILS 9066*.

³¹ Mench 1969: 423.

Paulina, who was buried in the town of Fanum Fortunae. The text of her inscription [5] is the following:

To the spirits of the departed. To Salena Paulina, Sueto Iustus set up for his most virtuous mother, a widow faithful to her dead husband, born under an evil star. I alone out of her five sons outlived her. She lived 78 years, 56 days³².

Analysis of this epitaph leads to the conclusion that Salena Paulina, who was 78 at the moment of her death, was apparently not happy and satisfied with life. A metaphor which appears in her epitaph, “born under an evil star” (*astrota*), seems significant. She was a widow and after her husband’s death she did not get married (*univira*). Death took her four sons. The first one was Sueto Marcellinus, who was followed, some time later, by (Gaius) Sueto Crispinus, Sueto Paulinus and finally Sueto Augurinus. None of them is mentioned in the text of her own epitaph, which suggests that they had already died within Salena Paulina’s lifetime. (Gaius) Sueto Iustus, the last of the family, arranged the funeral of the woman who had suffered her share of misfortune in life³³.

The name (*nomen gentile*) of the brothers, Sueto³⁴, is rather infrequent in the area of Pisaurum (like the *nomen Salena*)³⁵. In turn the *cognomina* Marcellinus, Crispinus, Paulinus, Augurinus and Iustus³⁶ also appeared in other areas of Umbria³⁷.

In the second century AD four other inhabitants of Pisaurum joined the praetorian cohorts. One of them was Nepos, who appeared on a damaged discharge list (*laterculus praetorianorum*). The inscription [7] in question is the following:

the 7th pr(aetorian) coh(ort), (century ...), [...] Nepos, from Pisaurum³⁸.

The part of the list which contained the first letter of the *praenomen* and the *nomen gentile* of this soldier was damaged. Only the *cognomen* Nepos is extant³⁹. However, we know that Nepos began service as a praetorian in AD 120 and was discharged in AD 136. He was a soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort (*miles*

³² CIL XI 6281– Fanum Fortunae (regio VI, Umbria), the second century AD; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 253.

³³ Mench 1969: 423.

³⁴ Kajanto 1965: 356 (*suetus* – ‘accustomed’, ‘usual’, ‘ordinary’, ‘known’, ‘familiar’).

³⁵ CIL XI, *Indices*, 1452. The cases of other “Suetos”: Schulze 1933: 300 f.; Solin, Salomies 1988: 178.

³⁶ Kajanto 1965: 133; this *cognomen* was rarely used by slaves.

³⁷ Kajanto 1965: 68, 83, 113, 133, 173, 223, 244, 252, 318; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 253.

³⁸ CIL VI 32515 b, 7 = CIL VI 2375 c, 7 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 119–136).

³⁹ Kajanto 1965: 21, 79, 304; Solin, Salomies 1988: 368.

cohortis VII praetoriae). The commander of his century is unknown because of the damage to the list.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VII praetoriae, centuria ...?

Another praetorian whose name unfortunately has not been preserved (*ignotus I*) was an inhabitant of Pisaurum. He can be found on a damaged discharge list (*laterculus praetorianorum*). The reference [8] to his person is the following:

the 1st praetorian cohort, century?, [...] [...] Illus from Pisaurum⁴⁰.

The part of the list which contained the first letter of the *praenomen*, the *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* of this soldier, was destroyed. Only four letters, [...] *llus*, of the last part of his name⁴¹, i.e. his *cognomen*, are extant. We know that this praetorian served in the 1st praetorian cohort and that he began his service in AD 144 and completed it in AD 160.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis I praetoriae, centuria ...?

Caius Tadius Sabinus also came from Pisaurum and served in the Praetorian Guard in the second century AD. We know of him from the sepulchral inscription of a Maria Marcellina and Caedius Rufinus. The text of this epitaph [9] is the following:

To the spirits of the departed. To people of great merit, Maria Marcellina, his wet-nurse and his foster-brother Caedius Rufinus, Caius Tadius Sabinus, soldier of the 2nd praetorian cohort (set up)⁴².

It follows from the text that Caius Tadius Sabinus, a soldier of the 2nd praetorian cohort, arranged the funeral of two people. They were Maria Marcellina, his wet-nurse (*nutrix*), and his foster-brother and friend (*conlactaneus*) Caedius Rufinus. Unfortunately we do not know how this praetorian's career developed.

The *nomen gentile* Tadius is attested in Pisaurum. However, the *nomen gentile* Marius and the *cognomen* Rufinus were much more common in this area⁴³.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis II praetoriae, centuria ...?

⁴⁰ *CIL* VI 32520 a, I 24 = *CIL* VI 2379 a, I 24 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160).

⁴¹ (Cami)llus?; (Catu)llus?; (Marce)llus? Cf. Solin, Salomies 1988.

⁴² *CIL* XI 6346 – Pisaurum (regio VI, Umbria); the inscription engraved on the marble stela, the second century AD; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 245 f., no. 57.

⁴³ *CIL* XI, *Indices*, 1452; Schulze 1933: 89, 137, n. 1, 189, 221, 360, 368, 424 f.; Kajanto 1965: 20, 27 f., 30 f., 42; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984, 244 f.; Solin, Salomies 1988: 180, 393.

An interesting case of a soldier connected with Pisaurum, who also served in the praetorian cohorts in the second century AD, was Marcus Paccius Senecio. His sepulchral inscription [10] is the following:

To the spirits of the departed. Of Marcus Paccius Senecio, son of Marcus, of the tribe Camilia, from Verona, soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort, century under the command of Maximus, lived 30 years, served 13 years. Marcus Varius Optatus (set up) to the best friend⁴⁴.

Marcus Paccius Senecio, mentioned in this epitaph, came from Verona. However, he changed his domicile and moved to Pisaurum. Besides he probably changed his affiliation with the tribe *Publilia* where he originally belonged and joined the tribe *Camilia*. He was buried in Pisaurum⁴⁵. Marcus Paccius Senecio began his service in the Praetorian Guard at the age of 17. However he did not manage to complete the sixteen years' service. He died on duty, having completed thirteen years' service. At that time he was already a thirty-year-old soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort. He served in the century commanded by Maximus. M(arcus) Varius Optatus was the one who arranged the funeral of Marcus Paccius Senecio. It is he who referred to the deceased as "the best friend" (*amicus optimus*). This fact might suggest that Marcus Paccius Senecio did not have any relatives who could take care of his funeral. It is likely that his sole heir was the very M(arcus) Varius Optatus. He might also have been a testamentary guardian⁴⁶. At the moment of the death of Marcus Paccius Senecio he was presumably a civilian. However it is probable that M(arcus) Varius Optatus was an old acquaintance – a comrade in arms of the deceased when he served in the praetorian cohorts.

The *nomen gentile* Paccius was common particularly in Central Italy. It was well-known in Umbria. The *cognomen* Senecio was rare in the area of Pisaurum. On the other hand, the *nomen gentile* Varius and the *cognomen* Optatus appear much more frequently⁴⁷.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VII praetoriae, centuria Maximi.

⁴⁴ CIL XI 6346 – Pisaurum (regio VI, Umbria); the inscription engraved on the lime stela, the second century AD; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 245 f., no. 57.

⁴⁵ Kubitschek 1889: 116 ("sed is homo Veronae natus, postea in civium Pisaurensium numerum receptus putandus est"); Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 246 ("in questa città [i.e. Pisaurum – I.L.] il defunto, oriundo di Verona, ha fissato il domicilio cambiando la sua probabile tribù originaria Publilia con la Camilia").

⁴⁶ Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 246.

⁴⁷ CIL XI, *Indices*, 1445 f.; Schulze 1933: 204, 424, 429; Kajanto 1965: 75, 77, 296, 301; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 246; Solin, Salomies 1988: 132, 135, 198, 400.

Q(uintus) Seienus Quinctianus served in the praetorian cohorts at the turn of the second century AD. The text of his inscription [11] is the following:

Q(uitus) Seienus Quinctianus, son of Quintus, of the tribe Publilia?, from Verona, soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort, century under the command of Fructus, lived 40 years, served 15 years, had [the monument] built according to his will, his heir Lucius Baebius Certus set up, Quintus Seienus Euphemus his freedman, Publius Aelius Mucianus arranged, soldier of the 1st praetorian cohort, century under the command of Iustus, the purchased area 4 feet wide, 8 feet long⁴⁸.

According to the epitaph, Q(uitus) Seienus Quinctianus, son of Quintus, came from Verona (*origo Verona*). He belonged to the tribe *Publilia*. Then he moved to Pisaurum⁴⁹. He began his service probably at the age of 25. He was a soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort and served in the century under the command of Fructus. Q(uitus) Seienus Quinctianus met his death a year before the completion of the required 16 years' minimum service. His funeral was arranged by Lucius Baebius Certus, referred to as heir (*heres*), Quintus Seienus Euphemus, his freedman (*libertus*) and Publius Aelius Mucianus, his comrade in arms (*commilito*) from the praetorian formation who was a soldier of the 1st praetorian cohort and served in the century under the command of Iustus (*centuria Iusti*). The conclusion of the inscription gives the measurements of the area covered by the tomb of Q(uitus) Seienus Quinctianus.

The *nomen gentile* Seienus and the *cognomen* Quinctianus appeared relatively rarely in Pisaurum. It is reasonable to argue that this *cognomen* derived from the *praenomen* of the father of Q(uitus) Seienus Quinctianus, Quintus. The *nomen gentile* Baebius was also an isolated case in the area of Pisaurum, as was a Greek *cognomen*, Euphemus. *Cognomina* Certus and Mucianus, as well as the *nomen gentile* Aelius, were used on a more common basis⁵⁰.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VII praetoriae, centuria Fructi.

II. MILITES PRAETORIANI EX FANO FORTUNAE

The following soldiers who served in the praetorian cohorts in the first and second centuries AD came from the area of Fanum Fortunae: Lucius Rufellius Severus, Caius Rufrenus, Lucius Clarennius Verus, Maximus, Titus Calinius

⁴⁸ *CIL* XI 6348 – Pisaurum (regio VI, Umbria); a marble tablet, the third century AD; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 247–249, no. 59.

⁴⁹ Kubitschek 1889: 116; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 246, 248.

⁵⁰ *CIL* XI, *Indices*, 1450; Schulze 1933: 93, 116, 133, 204; Kajanto 1965: 18, 32, 35, 151, 153, 254; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 249; Solin, Salomies 1988: 7, 31, 166, 313.

Matcellus and Titus Clonius Dexter⁵¹. On the basis of the discharge lists we know that at least two more inhabitants of Fanum Fortunae belonged to *cohortes praetoriae* in the second century AD.

In the early first century AD Lucius Rufellius Severus from Fanum Fortunae served as a praetorian. His epitaph [12] is the following:

To Lucius Rufellius Severus, son [...], of the tribe Pollia, (centurion) [...] and of stators and of the 6th praetorian cohort..., centurion of the 1st century in the 1st cohort of the 2nd Legion (...) ? tribune of the 7th praetorian cohort, twice awarded with (two) gold crowns, rampart crowns and a headless spear by the emperors, municipal clerk, quinquennial prefect of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the common people of the town Herculaneum? The base of this monument ruined by the lapse of time, was renovated at his own expense by...?⁵²

According to this inscription Lucius Rufellius Severus was born in Fanum Fortunae and belonged to the tribe *Pollia*. However this part of the epitaph which contained the name of his father (*praenomen*) and information concerning the earliest stage of his career is not extant. Lucius Rufellius Severus was a centurion in the cohort of stators and in the 6th praetorian cohort. He also might have been the commander of one of the centuries in the urban cohorts (*cohortes urbanae*) or in the cohorts of the vigiles (*cohortes vigilum*)⁵³. Under Caligula he held the posts of centurion in the cohort of stators and in the 6th praetorian cohort. The subsequent promotion that he obtained was to the post of centurion of the 1st century in the 1st cohort of the 2nd legion (...?)⁵⁴ (*primus pilus*). Under Caligula and Claudius he was distinguished for his service with the following awards: gold crowns (*corona aurea*), rampart crowns (*corona vallaris*) and a headless spear (*hasta pura*), which is evidence that Lucius Rufellius Severus took part in the military campaigns waged by these emperors. He might have participated in Caligula's campaign on the Rhine⁵⁵ and in the Roman invasion of Britain⁵⁶. His duties also

⁵¹ Also the soldiers of other Roman military formation came from Fanum Fortunae. See among others: *CIL* VI 32521 a, II 4; 32526 a, II 50 (?); a, IV 31; *AE* 1959, 174; Forni 1953: 159, 169, 187; Freis 1967: 54, 59; Mench 1969: 572; Todisco 1999: 79 f., 86.

⁵² *CIL* XI 6224 – Fanum Fortunae (regio VI, Umbria), the early first century AD; Dobson 1978: 192–195, no. 59; Demougin 1992: 385 f, no. 472.

⁵³ Freis 1967: 63, 82.

⁵⁴ It might have been *legio II Augusta* which was one of four legions making up a Roman army invading Britain (*II Augusta, XIV Gemina, XX Valeria, IX Hispana*). Cf. Parker 1958: 129–131; Evans 1986: 107.

⁵⁵ Dobson (1978: 193) suggests that Lucius Rufellius Severus might have been *primipili* in two legions.

⁵⁶ It is possible that during the invasion of Britain Lucius Rufellius Severus held the post of the tribune of the 7th praetorian cohort and that he might have accompanied the emperor Claudius on his expedition to the island: Demougin 1992: 385.

included supervising the repairs of the road connecting Trieste (Tergeste) and the port of Tarsaticanis on the Adriatic, which probably took place between AD 39 and 43. Then he was promoted to the post of tribune in the 7th praetorian cohort. Either on return to Fanum Fortunae or on retirement from active service Lucius Rufellius Severus was appointed to the post of a municipal clerk (*duovir vel duumvir quinquennalis*) and he held the post probably ca 45/46 AD. Subsequently he was designated as quinquennial prefect by the emperor Claudius himself and in all probability he held this post from ca AD 50/51 onwards. He was raised to equestrian status (*ordo equester*) for his achievements⁵⁷.

Whereas the *praenomen* Lucius and the *cognomen* Severus belonged to the category of the commonest, the *nomen gentile* Rufellius is considered quite rare⁵⁸.

Cursus:

(centurio cohortis urbanae vel vigilum)?

(centurio cohortis) statorum

centurio cohortis VI praetoriae

primus pilus II legionis ...?

tribunus cohortis VII praetoriae

(duovir) quinquennalis

praefectus quinquenn(alis)

bis ab [imperato]ribus donatus coronis aureis (duabus) et coron(is) vallaribus, hasta pura.

Caius Rufrenus joined the praetorian formation in the first century AD⁵⁹. We know of him from the following inscription [13]:

Caius Rufrenus, son of Caius, of the tribe Pollia, from Fanum Fortunae, soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort, he served 8 years⁶⁰.

According to the text of this damaged inscription⁶¹, although Caius Rufrenus was buried in Aquileia, the town of his origin was Fanum Fortunae. He was a soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort and he served 8 years. He died right at the midpoint of his service. He was buried in Aquileia probably in the area of San Stefano.

⁵⁷ Demougin 1988: 836; 1992: 18, 386.

⁵⁸ *CIL* XI, *Indices*, 1448; Schulze 1933: 221, 443, 461; Kajanto 1965: 11, 20, 22, 30, 40, 68 f., 128, 172, 230, 256; Solin, Salomies 1988: 157, 402.

⁵⁹ It is probable that it was even the early first century AD if the lack of the full formula of *tria nomina* is taken into consideration. Cf. Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 244; Saddington 2000: 165.

⁶⁰ *CIL* V 931 – Fanum Fortunae (regio VI, Umbria); the inscription engraved on the lime stela, the first century AD; Kubitschek 1889: 71; Brusin 1992: 969, no. 2840 (“cippus ex calcario lapide”); Ricci 1994: 10.

⁶¹ This is only a part of the epitaph. The lower part of the monument was destroyed.

The *praenomen* Caius and the *nomen gentile* Rufrenus were common in the area of Central Italy⁶².

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VII praetoriae, centuria ...?

Lucius Clarennius Verus lived probably at the turn of the first century AD. He was a praetorian from Fanum Fortunae. The text of the inscription [14] where his name appears is the following:

Devoted (to the God) Mars. Titus Livius Successus, son of Titus, of the tribe Falerna, from Caudium, soldier of the 1st praetorian cohort, (century under the command of Lepidus?), Lucius Clarennius Verus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Pollia, from Fanum Fortunae, soldier of the 5th praetorian cohort, (century under the command of Pomponius?)⁶³.

According to this epitaph Lucius Clarennius Verus came from Fanum Fortunae. He served in the 5th praetorian cohort, probably in the century under the command of Pomponius. Together with Titus Livius Successus, a soldier of the 1st praetorian cohort, he expressed his gratitude to god Mars. Both these soldiers were probably good acquaintances from the times of their service in the Praetorian Guard. A relative of Lucius Clarennius Verus was presumably Publius Clarennius Leo. He appears on the list of *cultores Iovis Latii* which was set up in Pisaurum⁶⁴.

The *nomen gentile* Clarennius is relatively rare⁶⁵. The *cognomen* Verus is one of the many *cognomina* derived from the adjectival form⁶⁶. The *cognomen* Successus was one of the commonest in Rome itself⁶⁷.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis V praetoriae, centuria Pomponi.

Maximus, who came from Fanum Fortunae, served as a praetorian in the second century AD. He appears on one of the discharge lists (*laterculi praetorianorum*). The inscription [15] concerning him is the following:

⁶² *CIL* XI, *Indices*, 1449; Schulze 1933: 30, 37, 220; Kajanto 1965: 20, 40, 172; Solin, Salomies 1988: 158.

⁶³ *CIL* VI 478 – Fanum Fortunae (regio VI, Umbria); the text of this inscription is known from the copy of the inscription (*apographum expressi*), I–II AD?; Kubitschek 1889: 71.

⁶⁴ *CIL* XI 6310, 6 (Publius) Clarennius Leo); one of the two lime tablets, the early second century AD; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 164–168, no. 21. A. The above mentioned Publius Clarennius might have come from Pisaurum (Schulze 1933: 280) or from Fanum Fortunae (Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 168).

⁶⁵ Schulze 1933: 280, 570; Solin, Salomies 1988: 56.

⁶⁶ Kajanto 1965: 20, 22, 68, 133, 253 (*verus* – ‘veracious’, ‘credible’, ‘true’). This *cognomen* was rarely used by slaves; Solin, Salomies 1988: 420.

⁶⁷ Kajanto 1965: 18, 93, 96, 356; Solin, Salomies 1988: 409.

the 6th cohort, century under the command of Mettius?, [...] Maximus from Fanum Fortunae⁶⁸.

The part of the list which contained the first letter of the *praenomen* and the *nomen gentile* was destroyed. Only the *cognomen*, Maximus, is extant. According to the information provided by the list he joined the service in AD 144 and retired in AD 160. Maximus was a soldier of the 6th praetorian cohort and served in the century under the command of Mettius.

The *cognomen* Maximus, as I. Kajanto established, belonged to the particularly numerous group of wish-names. It was also one of the oldest and commonest Latin *cognomina*⁶⁹.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VI praetoriae, centuria Metti.

Another inhabitant of Fanum Fortunae who also served in the praetorian cohorts in the second century AD appears on the same list (*laterculus praetorianorum*) as the above mentioned Maximus. The man in question is Titus Calinius Matcellus. The information concerning him is the following [16]:

the 6th praetorian? cohort, century under the command of Maximinus, Titus Calinius Matcellus, from Fanum Fortunae⁷⁰.

The praetorian in question joined the service in AD 143 and completed it in AD 160. He was probably a soldier of the 7th praetorian cohort and was enlisted into the century commanded by Maximinus.

If the *praenomen* of this praetorian, Titus, was one of the commonest, his *nomen gentile*, Calinius, on the contrary, did not belong to this category⁷¹.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis VII praetoriae?, centuria Maximini.

Fanum Fortunae was the home of a praetorian whom we know from one of the discharge lists (*laterculi praetorianorum*) [17]:

(praetorian cohort)?, (century)?, [...]in, from Fanum Fortunae⁷².

⁶⁸ CIL VI 32520 a, V 32 = CIL VI 2379 a, V 32 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160).

⁶⁹ Wish-names indicated or rather suggested 'prosperity', 'vitality', 'perfection', 'wealth', 'power' or 'greatness'. The *cognomen* 'Maximus' was rarely used by slaves: Kajanto 1965: 29 f., 71–74, 101, 104, 133, 275, 294; Solin, Salomies 1988: 361.

⁷⁰ CIL VI 32520 b, 22 = CIL VI 2379 b, 22 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 143–160).

⁷¹ Schulze 1933: 138; Kajanto 1965: 40, 175; Solin, Salomies 1988: 42.

⁷² CIL VI 32519 a, I 12 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 142–158).

Unfortunately the part of the list which included the information about the cohort and the century where he served is not extant. Also the line containing the first letter of his *praenomen* was damaged. Neither his *nomen gentile* nor the *cognomen* has been preserved. Only the last two letters, [...]*in*, can be read in the third part of the praetorian's name, i.e. his *cognomen*. This soldier unknown by name (*ignotus II*) began his service in the praetorian formation in AD 142 and ended it in AD 158.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis praetoriae?, centuria ...?

The next anonymous praetorian soldier who came from Fanum Fortunae and served in the praetorian cohorts in the second century AD also appears on one of the discharge lists (*laterculi praetorianorum*) [18]:

the 1st praetorian? cohort, century?, [...]*s*, from Fanum Fortunae⁷³.

The part of the list which contained the number of the cohort and the name of the commander of a century where this praetorian served was destroyed. The parts of this soldier's name (*tria nomina*) have not been preserved. Only the last letter in the *cognomen* can be read: [...]*s*. This praetorian unknown by name (*ignotus III*) joined the service in AD 144 and completed it in AD 160.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis I praetoriae?, centuria ...?

Titus Clonius Dexter came from Fanum Fortunae and served in the praetorian formation in the later second century AD. A reference in the sources concerning him appears on one of the discharge lists (*laterculi praetorianorum*) [19]:

Titus Clonius Dexter, from Fanum Fortunae⁷⁴.

It was probably a list of soldiers serving in only one cohort. The praetorians mentioned on the list, as the editors of *L'Année Épigraphique* suggest, served in the same century⁷⁵. Titus Clonius Dexter joined the service in AD 183 and probably completed it ca AD 199.

The *nomen gentilicium* Clonius is relatively rare⁷⁶. The *cognomen* Dexter, according to I. Kajanto, belonged to the category of the *cognomina* indicating

⁷³ CIL VI 32520 a, I 7 = CIL VI 2379 a, I 7 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160).

⁷⁴ AE 1933, 95, 17 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 183–199?).

⁷⁵ AE 1933, 95, 17, 27.

⁷⁶ Solin, Salomies 1988: 57.

high intellectual capacity. It is supposed to have referred to people of superior intelligence⁷⁷.

Cursus:

(tiro praetorianus)?

miles cohortis praetoriae?, centuria ...?

CONCLUSIONS

The epigraphic material analysed leads to the conclusion that the praetorians connected with either Pisaurum or Fanum Fortunae served in various units of the praetorian formation (*cohortes praetoriae*). They served in the 1st cohort (*ignotus I, ignotus II*), the 2nd cohort (Caius Tadius Sabinus), the 4th cohort (Sueto Paulinus, Sueto Augurinus), the 4th or 5th cohort (Sueto Marcellinus), the 5th cohort (Lucius Clarennius Verus), the 6th cohort (Maximus, Lucius Rufellius Severus) and the 7th cohort (Nepos, Marcus Paccius Senecio, Quintus Seienus Quinctianus, Lucius Rufellius Severus, Caius Rufrenus, Titus Calinius Matcellus).

Some of these praetorians might have held various posts in the centuries. Apart from common praetorian privates (*milites gregarii*) there were among them praetorian horsemen (*eques praetorianus* – Sueto Marcellinus); praetorian non-commissioned officers (*tesserarius* – Sueto Marcellinus); non-commissioned officers of the staff of high-rank officers (*beneficiarius Getae* – Sextus Cetrius Severus); soldiers of a select unit of *speculatores* (Sextus Cetrius Severus); soldiers who carried out special duties (*ab commentariis custodiarum* – Sextus Cetrius Severus). Some of them, having completed the required sixteen years, could remain in the praetorian formation and continue their service as *evocati Augusti* (Sueto Paulinus, Sextus Cetrius Severus?). Two of the above mentioned soldiers of the praetorian cohorts, i.e. Sextus Cetrius Severus and Lucius Rufellius Severus, managed to obtain promotion to the ranks of the officer. Both gained the rank of centurions (*centuriones cohortium praetoriarum*) and tribunes in the praetorian cohorts (*tribuni cohortium praetoriarum*).

Thanks to the epitaphs of the praetorians discussed here we know that some of them joined the service at the age of 17 (Marcus Paccius Senecio) and 25 (Quintus Seienus Quinctianus). These soldiers were probably subjected to the recruitment procedure typical of the praetorian cohorts and before they became full-fledged praetorians (*milites praetoriani*) they were praetorian recruits (*tirones praetoriani*)⁷⁸. Not all of these soldiers lived to see the happy end of their service. Some of them died after 7 years (Sueto Marcellinus), 8 years (Gaius Rufrenus),

⁷⁷ Kajanto 1965: 68, 250.

⁷⁸ Łuć 2004: 36–45.

13 years (Marcus Paccius Senecio) and 15 years of service (Quintus Seienus Quinctianus).

Praetorians might have depended on religion for determination to complete their service. Hence the epitaphs of these soldiers contain invocations to popular Roman deities (*Marti sacrum*).

Their reason for joining the Praetorian Guard might have been the prior service of a family member (the Suetos). What also might have encouraged young men to join the Guard was an intention to continue the family tradition. Marcus Sueto [6], who was a centurion in the 11th legion (*Claudia*) under Caligula, was probably connected with the family of the Suetos⁷⁹. It is possible that he was the one to initiate the “military”, so to say, tradition of the Suetos from the area of Pisaurum. It seems that the military career of some family members might have helped other relatives (the family of Suetos, Lucius Clarennius Verus – Publius Clarennius Leo?).

As far as the status of these praetorians is concerned, the case of Caius Tadius Sabinus, the founder of the monument of Maria Marcellina and Caedius Rufinus, is undoubtedly intriguing. Maria Marcellina was a wet-nurse (*nutrix*) and Caedius Rufinus was a foster-brother (*conlactaneus*) and a friend of Caius Tadius Sabinus. It is not unlikely that the family of this praetorian was affluent enough to be able to afford such a nurse (although the reverse cannot be rejected). Caius Tadius Sabinus himself must have been a worthy man (and at the same time an affluent one) who did not forget his family and, as his decision to finance the above mentioned monument indicates, he was also able to express his gratitude in an honourable way.

Praetorians Marcus Paccius Senecio and Quintus Seienus Quinctianus are equally interesting cases. As far as Marcus Paccius Senecio is concerned the person who took care of his funeral arrangements was Marcus Varius Optatus. He referred to the deceased as “the best friend” (*amicus optimus*). The funeral of Quintus Seienus Quinctianus was arranged by as many as three people, only one of whom, namely Lucius Baebius Certus, was referred to as his heir (*heres*). Apart from him also Seienus Euphemus, a freedman, i.e. his former slave, and Publius Aelius Mucianus, a soldier of the 1st praetorian cohort, his comrade in arms (*commilito*), took part in the worthy funeral of Quintus Seienus Quinctianus. These cases help to establish the recurrent mode of referring to people who were not relatives of the deceased but who took part in the funeral of a given praetorian⁸⁰.

The achievements of Lucius Rufellius Severus during his service in the praetorian cohorts were certainly remarkable. This inhabitant of Fanum Fortunae held various posts as an officer and received a number of awards for his

⁷⁹ *CIL* III 9832 = *ILS* 5949 (Promona, Burnum, Dalmatia); Mench 1969: 423. Cf. *PME* 1977: 873; Parker 1958: 129 f.; Evans 1986: 112 f.

⁸⁰ Panciera 1993: 264–266; Reali 1995: 33–37; Ricci 2001: 41–50.

achievements. These were gold crowns (*corona aurea*), rampart crowns (*corona vallaris*) and a headless spear (*hasta pura*). Granting a rampart crown indicated that a soldier was the first to enter the wall of the hostile camp under siege. Lucius Rufellius Severus must have distinguished himself by showing courage⁸¹. During his military service he was raised to equestrian status (*ordo equester*). This is however not the end to his honours. Having retired from the praetorian cohorts he entered the local municipal elite (*ordo decurionum*). He became a member of the city council where he held the post of a clerk (*duovir*) whose duties included carrying out censuses for the fiscal purposes. It was probably he who was responsible for establishing the composition of the city council (*album decurionum*)⁸². Lucius Rufellius Severus held the post of a *duumvir quinquennalis* for five years. Probably his conscientiousness and diligence earned him universal appreciation, so that emperor Claudius himself took notice of him. It was Claudius himself who appointed him to the post of quinquennial prefect. Apart from the tangible evidence of his career, Lucius Rufellius Severus might have become popular because he financed the erection of various public utility buildings, one of the duties incumbent on the holders of this kind of offices⁸³.

Even if we assume that the above mentioned praetorians coming from Pisaurum and Fanum Fortunae neither belonged to nor formed any elite at the beginning, the situation probably changed after their service in the praetorian cohorts, which offered them a chance not only to start a new life but also to climb up the social ladder⁸⁴. If they managed to survive the military service and if they did not squander their accumulated material means⁸⁵, they had a strong possibility of becoming financially independent after returning to civilian life. They could also actively participate in the life of their communities as holders of various offices, which as a matter of course enhanced their social status. The praetorians were likely to improve their own prospects in life, but in addition they could also pave the way for others, especially their relatives, provided they had any families at all.

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⁸¹ Maxfield 1981: 79.

⁸² *Duumviri quinquennales* performed the function of Roman censors: Levick 1967: 79; Haeck 2005: 602–604; Zabłocki, Tarwacka 2005: 91 f., 106–108.

⁸³ The affiliation with *ordo decurionum* involved the duty of private financing the needs of the inhabitants of a given town (*summa honoraria*): Levick 1967: 80 f.; Alföldy 1991: 175.

⁸⁴ Żyromski 2000: 102–105.

⁸⁵ Watson 1965: 147, 153; Łuć 2004: 128–133, 145.

CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

PISAURUM

[1] Sextus Cetrius Severus: *CIL* XI 6343 = *ILS* 2073 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria); Durry 1938: 109 f.; Demougin 1992: 545 f., no. 645; Dobson 1978: 206, no. 78; Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 240 f., no. 5440 (1st cent. AD):

SEX(TI) CETRI SEV[E]RI, SPEC(ULATORIS), BENEFICIARI GETAE, AB COMENTARIS CUSTODIAR(UM).

[2] (Caius) Sueto Marcellinus: *CIL* XI 6350 = *ILS* 9066 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria); Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 250 f., no. 61; Franzoni 1987: 59 f., no. 38, tab. XIX 3 f. (2nd cent. AD):

D(IS) M(ANIBUS). SUETO MARCELLIN(US), MILITAVIT AN(NOS) VI M(ENSES) VIII TES(SERARIUS) AN(NOS) II M(ENSES) XI EQ(UES) AN(NOS) II M(ENSES) VIII D(IES) X, POSUERUNT FRATRES CURANT(E) SALENA PAULINA MAT(RE), SUETO CRISPIN(US) ET SUETO PAULIN(US) EV(OCATUS) AUG(USTI), SUETO AUG(U)RIN(US) M(ILES) C(OHORTIS) IIII PR(AETORIAE), SUETO IUSTUS. BONO REI PUBLICAE NATO.

[2a] *CIL* VI 32522 a I 14 = *CIL* VI 2381 a I 14 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 154–172):

(COHORS PRAETORIA)? (CENTURIA) ANTONI [...] (SUETO *pro* SUETO), C(AI) F(ILIIUS), (CAR *pro* CAM(ILIA TRIBU), MARCELLINUS, PISAU(RO).

[3] (Caius) Sueto Paulinus: *CIL* XI 6350 = *ILS* 9066 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria; 2nd cent. AD):

..... SUETO PAULIN(US) EV(OCATUS) AUG(USTI)

[3a] *CIL* VI 32520 a III 57 = *CIL* VI 2379 a III 57 (*laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160):

COH(ORS) IIII PR(AETORIA) (CENTURIA) VERI EVOB(ATUS) *pro* EVO(CATUS) C(AIUS) SUETO PAULLINUS, PISAURO.

[4] (Caius) Sueto Augurinus: *CIL* XI 6350 = *ILS* 9066 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria; 2nd cent. AD):

..... SUETO AUG(U)RIN(US) M(ILES) C(OHORTIS) IIII PR(AETORIAE)

[5] Salena Paulina: *CIL* XI 6281 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; 2nd cent. AD):

D(IS) M(ANIBUS), SAL[E]N(AE) PAULIN[(A)E], POSUIT SUETO IU(S)TUS MATRI PIISSI(MAE), UNIVIR[(A)E] ASTROS[(A)E] QUEI FATO [E]X FILIS QUI(N)QUE SUPERAVI(T), VIXIT ANNIS LXXVIII, DIES LVI.

[6] Marcus Sueto: *CIL* III 9832 = *ILS* 5949 (Promona, Burnum, Dalmatia; 1st cent. AD):

[. VIB]ULLIUS T[RIB(UNUS)]? / [LE]G(IONIS) VII ET L(UCIUS) SA[LVI(US)] M(ARCUS) SUETO CE[N/T]URIONES LEG(IONIS) X[I] / [IU]DICES D[A]TI EX / [CO]NVENTIONE a / [L(UCIO) V]OLUSIO SATUR/[NI]NO LEG(ATO) PRO PR(AETORE) / [C(AI) C]AESARIS AUG(USTI) / [GER]MANICI INTER [...]?

[7] Nepos: *CIL* VI 32515 b 7 = *CIL* VI 2375 c 7 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 119–136):

COH(ORS) VII PR(AETORIA) [CENTURIA ...] / [...] NEPOS PISAURO.

[8] Ignotus I – [...]llus: *CIL* VI 32520 a I 24 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160):

COH(ORS) I PR(AETORIA)? (CENTURIA) ...MI [...]LLUS PISAURO.

[9] C(aius) Tadius Sabinus: *CIL* XI 6345 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria); Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 244 f., no. 56 (2nd cent. AD):

D(IS) M(ANIBUS) MARIAE MARCELLINAE NUTRICI (!) (*pro* NUTRICIS) SUAE ET CAEDI RUFINI CONLACTANEI C(AIUS) TADIUS SABINUS MIL(ES) COH(ORTIS) (SE-CUNDAE) PR(AETORIAE) BENE MERENTIB(US) (FECIT).

[10] Marcus Paccius Senecio: *CIL* XI 6346 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria); Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 245 f., no. 57 (2nd cent. AD):

D(IS) M(ANIBUS) M(ARCI) PACCI M(ARCI) F(ILII) CAM(ILIA TRIBU) VERONA SENECTIONI(S), MIL(ITIS) COH(ORTIS) (SEPTIMAE) PRAET(ORIAE) (CENTURIA)

M[A]XIMI, VIX(IT) AN(NIS) (TRIGINTA), MILITAVIT AN(NIS) (TREDECIM) M(ARCUS) VARIUS OPTATUS AMICO OPTIMO (FECIT).

[11] Q(uintus) SEIENUS QUINCTIANUS: *CIL* XI 6348 (Pisaurum, regio VI, Umbria); Cresci Marrone, Mennella 1984: 247–249, no. 59 (2nd/3rd cent. AD):

Q(UINTUS) SEIENUS QUINCTIANUS, Q(UINTI) F(ILIIUS), PUBLICIAE (!) (*pro* PUBLI[L]IAE *pro* PUBLILIA TRIBU)?, VERONAE, MILES COH(ORTIS) (SEPTIMAE) PRAETOR(IAE) (CENTURIA) FRUCTI, VIXIT ANNOS (QUADRAGINTA), MILITAVIT ANNOS (QUINDECIM), EX TESTAMENTO FIERI IUSSIT, L(UCIUS) BAEBIUS CERTUS HERES POS<U>IT, Q(UINTUS) SEIENUS EUPHEMUS LIBERT(US) EIUS, P(UBLIUS) AELIUS MUCIANUS CURAVIT, MILES COH(ORTIS) (PRIMAE) PR(AETORIAE) (CENTURIA) IUSTI, LOCUM EMPTUM LATUM P(EDES) (QUATTUOR), LONGUM P(EDES) (OCTO).

FANUM FORTUNAE

[12] Lucius Rufellius Severus: *CIL* XI 6224 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria); Dobson 1978: 192–195, no. 59; Demougin 1992: 385 f., no. 472 (1st cent. AD):

L(UCIO) RUF[ELLIO] .. F(ILIO)] POL(LIA TRIBU) S[EVERO (CENTURIONI COHORTIS ...)] ... ET STATOR(UM) ET CO[H(ORTIS)] VI [PR(AETORIAE)] [...] PRIMI PILI II LEG(IONIS) [...] TRIB(UNO) COH(ORTIS) VII PR(AETORIAE) BIS AB [IMPERATO]RIBUS DONATO CORONIS AUREIS (DUABUS) ET CORON(IS) VALLARIBUS, HASTA PURA [DUOVIRO] QUINQUENN(ALI) [TI(BERI)] CLAUDI CAESARIS AUGUSTI GERMANICI QUINQUENN(ALI) PRAEF(ECTO) PLEBS URBANA VICI HERCULANI QUAM BASSIM VETUSTATE COLLAPSAM PEC(UNIA) SUA RESTITUIT.

[12a] *CIL* XI 6225 = *ILS* 5679 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria); Dobson 1978: 192–195, no. 59; Demougin 1992: 385 f., no. 472 (1st cent. AD):

....., BALINEUM a L(UCIO) RUFELLIO SEVERO P(RIMI)P(ILARI) TRIBUNO FACTUM
.....

[12b] *CIL* V 698 = *ILS* 5889 (via Tergeste Tarsaticane, Ager Tergestinus, Histria); Dobson 1978: 192–195, no. 59; Demougin 1992: 385 f., no. 472 (1st cent. AD):

[H]ANC VIAM DERECTAM PER ATIUM CENTURION(EM) POST SENTENTIAM DICTAM AB A(ULO) PLAUTIO LEGATO TI(BERI) CLAUDI CAESARIS AUG(USTI) GERM(ANICI) ET POSTEA TRANSLATAM A RUNDICTIBUS IN FINES C(AI) LAECANI BASSI, RESTITUIT IUSSU TI(BERI) CLAUDI CAESARIS AUG(USTI) GERM(ANICI) IMPERATORIS L(UCIUS) RUFELLIUS SEVERUS PRIMIPILARIS.

[13] Caius Ruffrenus: *CIL* V 931 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria); Brusin 1992: 969, no. 2840 (1st cent. AD):

C(AIUS) RUFRENUM C(AI) F(ILIIUS) POL(LIA TRIBU) FAN(O) FORTUNAE MILES C(O) HOR(TIS) VII PRAETO(RIAE) MILITAVIT ANNOS VIII.

[14] Lucius Clarennius Verus: *CIL* VI 478 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; 1st/2nd cent. AD):

MART(I) SAC(RUM) T(ITUS) LIVIUS T(ITI) F(ILIIUS) FAL(ERNA TRIBU) SUCCESSUS CAUDI MIL(ES) C(O)HO(RTIS) I PR(AETORIAE) LEPID(I) (!)? (CENTURIA) POMP(ONI) (!)? (*pro* (CENTURIA) LEPID(I)?) L(UCIUS) CLARENNIUS L(UCII) F(ILIIUS) POL(LIA TRIBU) FAN(O) FOR(TUNAE) VERUS MIL(ES) C(O)HO(RTIS) V PR(AETORIAE) (*pro* (CENTURIA) POMP(ONI)?)

[15] Maximus: *CIL* VI 32520 a V 32 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160):

(COH(ORS) VI PR(AETORIA) (CENTURIA) METTI [...] MAXIMUS FANO FORT(UNAE).

[16] T(itus) Calinius Matcellus: *CIL* VI 32520 b 22 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 143–160):

(COH(ORS) VII PR(AETORIA) (CENTURIA) MAXIMINI T(ITUS) CALINIUS MATCELLUS FANO FORT(UNAE).

- [17] Ignotus II – [...]in: *CIL* VI 32519 a I 12 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 142–158):
(COHORS) ... (PRAETORIA)? (CENTURIA)? [...]IN FAN(O) FOR(TUNAE).
- [18] Ignotus III – [...]s: *CIL* VI 32520 a I 7 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 144–160):
(COH(ORS) I PR(AETORIA)? (CENTURIA)? [...]S FANO FORT(UNAE).
- [19] Titus Clonius Dexter: *AE* 1933, 95, 17 (Fanum Fortunae, regio VI, Umbria; *laterculus praetorianorum*, AD 183–199?).
T(ITUS) CLONIUS DEXTER FAN(O) F(ORTUNAE).

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AURELIAN, CLUBS, AND HERODOTUS.
THE WEAPONS OF TROOPS FROM PALESTINE IN THE BATTLE
OF EMESA (272 AD)

By

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ABSTRACT: In 272 AD at Emesa there was a decisive battle between the forces of Zenobia and Aurelian. According to Zosimus the Romans owed this victory to a counter-attack of the infantry recruited from among the Palestinians, who fought with staves shod with iron and clubs (*Historia Nova* I 52, 4; 53, 2). The present author believes that in this passage Zosimus did not recount real events but when writing his account he relied upon Herodotus, according to whom the inhabitants of Syria (including the Palestinians) used such weapons. In several other passages of Zosimus' work one can discern a similar method applied when describing the past. This historian (or his source) used *topoi* and literary texts when building his narration.

During the campaign conducted by Aurelian against the rebellion of Vaballathus and Zenobia in 272 AD the Romans claimed two significant victories. One of these battles took place near Emesa and had decisive impact on the Roman reconquest of the East. After this clash Zenobia's army was no longer able to actively combat Aurelian's forces¹.

According to Zosimus' *Historia Nova*, our main source for the events that took place in the course of this battle, Zenobia's army numbered as many as 70 thousand soldiers. This figure is most certainly implausible. The Palmyrene queen's forces must have been much smaller. Zosimus does not mention the manpower of the Roman army, which included Dalmatian and Mauretanian cavalry, Moesians, Pannonians, Noricians and Rhaetians (troops from legions stationed in these provinces), praetorians and troops recruited in Asia Minor

¹ Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia has not yet received a monographic treatment (which is no surprise, as not much is known about it). The most recent discussions are: Starcky, Gawlikowski 1985: 62–67; Saunders 1992: 204–241; Stoneman 1993: 155–180; Cizek 1994: 105–114; Kotula 1997: 125–140; Watson 1999: 70–88; Hartmann 2001: 364–394; Southern 2001: 116–118; Potter 2004: 270–272. Commentaries on the account of Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia in Zosimus' work: Paschoud 1971: 164–169; Ridley 1982: 146; Wipszycka 1993: 261 ff.; and in the *Historia Augusta*: Paschoud 1996: 133–157.

(including Tyana), Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia and infantry from Palestine². The Romans employed the same stratagem as in the battle of Immae (I 50, 3 f.). Their cavalry performed a tactical retreat to provoke the enemy's heavy armoured cavalry (*cataphractarii*) to break their formation, which would enable the Roman army to begin a counter-attack. This manoeuvre granted success to Aurelian in the battle of Immae, but this time nearly led to a defeat of the Roman troops. Zenobia's prevailing forces caught up with the weaker Roman cavalry. According to Zosimus it was the Roman infantry that turned the tide of the battle. When it saw the line of its troops being broken, it attacked the queen's army³. Taken by surprise, Zenobia's forces suffered heavy losses and fled from the battlefield (I 53, 3). What attracts particular attention in Zosimus' narrative

² Zosimus, *Historia Nova* I 52, 3 f.:

τὸ δὲ τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν στρατόπεδον ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ πρὸ τῆς Ἐμίσης πεδίῳ συνειλεγμένοι εἰς πλῆθος ἐπὶ μυριάδων ἕκ τε αὐτῶν Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῖς εἴλοντο μετασχεῖν, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύετο τῇ τε Δαλματῶν ἵππῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίσιον καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικὰ τάγματα. Ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοισι οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους, ἐκ πάντων ἀριστίδην συνειλεγμένοι καὶ πάντων διαπρεπέστατοι. Συντετάκτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυάνων δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τέλη τινα τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ὀπλίσει κορύνας καὶ ῥόπαλα ἐπέφεροντο.

"Finding the Palmyrene army drawn up before Emesa amounting to seventy thousand men, consisting of Palmyrenes and their allies, he opposed to them the Dalmatian cavalry, the Moesians and Pannonians, and the Celtic legions of Noricum and Rhaetia and besides these the choicest of the imperial regiment selected man by man, the Mauritanian horse, the Tyaneans, the Mesopotamians, the Syrians, the Phoenicians, and the Palestinians, all men of acknowledged valour; the Palestinians besides other arms wielding clubs and staves" (transl. by W. Green, T. Chaplin).

³ Zosimus I 53, 1–3:

Συμπεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξεν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππος κατὰ τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πλήθει τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἵππεων πλεονεκτούντων (καὶ) περιππαζομένων πως τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐμπεσὸν ἐς κύκλωσιν λάθῃ. Τῶν τοίνυν Παλμυρηνῶν ἵππεων τοὺς ἐκκλινάντας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τὴν οἰκίαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τοῦναντίον ἀπέβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῦσιν τὸ βουλευθέν· ἐδιώκοντο γὰρ τῇ ὄντι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσωθέντες. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἔπιπτον πλείστοι, τότε δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γενέσθαι συνέβη· τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς διαρραγείσαν ἰδόντες ἐκ τοῦ τοῦς ἵππεας τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες ἀτάκτοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπέθεντο. Καὶ φόνος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπιόντων ὄπλοις, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τὰς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ῥόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ τεθωρακισμένοις ἐπιφερόντων, ὅπερ μάλιστα τῆς νίκης ἐν μέρει γέγονεν αἴτιον, τῇ ξένη τῆς τῶν ῥοπάλων ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων.

"At the commencement of the engagement, the Roman cavalry receded them, lest the Palmyrenes, who exceeded them in number, and where better horsemen, should by some stratagem surround the Roman army. But the Palmyrene cavalry pursued them so fiercely, though their rank were broken, that the event was quite contrary to the expectation of the Roman cavalry. For they were pursued by an enemy much their superior in strength, and therefore most of them fell. The foot had to bear the brunt of the action. Observing that the Palmyrenes had broken their ranks when the horse commenced their pursuit, they wheeled about, and attacked them while they were scattered and out of order. Upon which many were killed, because the one side fought with the usual weapons, while those of Palestine brought clubs and staves against coats of mail made of iron and brass. This was perhaps a contributory factor to the victory, as the enemies were paralysed by the unexpectedness of being attacked by staves" (transl. by Green, Chaplin, supplemented).

of the clash are the weapons of the troops supporting the emperor, recruited in Palestine. These volunteers were said to have fought with clubs, maces (*κορύνη*) and staves, cudgels (*ρόπαλον*). Is it possible that Aurelian's auxiliary troops were armed with clubs? For Zosimus this detail seems to have been important and not merely a matter of incidental curiosity, since he mentions it twice: once when describing the composition of Aurelian's forces (I 52, 4: "the Palestinians besides other arms wielding clubs and staves"), and again when recounting the role of the Palestinian troops in the battle of Emesa (I 53, 2: "those of Palestine brought clubs and staves against coats of mail made of iron and brass").

Besides the facts supplied by Zosimus the information about the battle is scarce. Latin epitomators (Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Festus, *Epitome de Caesaribus*) are silent. The biography of Aurelian found in the *Historia Augusta* devotes several sentences to it. From this source one learns who was in command of Zenobia's forces (a certain Zaba, whose identification with Zabdas is certain). The *Historia Augusta* also describes the dramatic circumstances of Aurelian's victory. The Roman cavalry was already retreating under enemy attack when, influenced by a divine force, Aurelian's infantry held its position. This allowed the cavalry to restore order in its formation which led to the Roman victory. Zenobia fled after the clash⁴. According to the *Historia Augusta* Aurelian, grateful for the victory, felt obliged to restore the temple of Sol in Emesa and to build another one in Rome⁵.

The descriptions of the battle of Emesa found in the *Historia Augusta* and Zosimus' account are predominantly similar. Both sources agree that initially Zenobia's forces gained an advantage, as her heavy armoured cavalry was superior to the Roman cavalry. Her *cataphractarii* began to pursue Aurelian's fleeing forces and broke formation in the process. The turning point of the battle was the counter-attack of the Roman infantry. It seems that these basic facts deserve to be trusted.

The discrepancies between the sources come down to two facts. In Zosimus' view the retreat of the Roman cavalry during the battle was the implementation of a tactical manoeuvre ordered by Aurelian. *Historia Augusta* sees the Roman retreat as a consequence of the Palmyrene advantage⁶. The sources also differ

⁴ *HA Aurel.* 25, 2 f.: "Pugnatum est post haec de summa rerum contra Zenobiam et Zabam eius socium apud Emessam magno certamine. Cumque Aureliani equites fatigati iam paene discederent ac terga darent, subito vi numinis, quod postea est proditum, hortante quadam divina forma per pedites etiam equites restituti sunt. Fugata est Zenobia cum Zaba et plenissime parta victoria".

⁵ *HA Aurel.* 25, 4 f.: "Recepto igitur orientis statu Emesam victor Aurelianus ingressus est ac statim ad templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communi officio vota soluturus. Verum illic eam formam numinis repperit, quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. Quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positus et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum, ut suo dicemus loco".

⁶ It cannot be judged whether the initial failure of Aurelian's cavalry was due to an unsuccessful manoeuvre or simply to the advantage of the Palmyrene cavalry. This tactical move was not used very often in Roman cavalry combat. It was familiar to Caesar as the Brits attacked his forces in such a manner

in opinion on who initiated the counter-attack of the Roman infantry. *Historia Augusta* knows nothing about the role of Aurelian's auxiliary troops recruited in Palestine, and is therefore silent about their unusual weapons.

The similarity between the descriptions of Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia found in the *Historia Augusta* and in Zosimus lay the grounds for a belief that both authors borrowed from a Greek common source (Barnes 1978: 112). Analogies between sources are, however, explainable since they describe the same campaign; it would be hard for them not to describe the key facts of the events in a similar manner. Nevertheless, there are major discrepancies between the passages of interest (Paschoud 1995: 281 ff.). This provokes an important conclusion that the story about the role of the Palestinian troops armed with clubs originated from Zosimus, or from his source, so it could be his invention.

When describing the army of usurpers both sources name only the cavalry *cataphractarii*, and say nothing about other types of forces. Naturally the heavy cavalry may have formed only a part of Zenobia's army⁷. This special interest in *cataphractarii* is rather typical for ancient historiography. Heavy armoured cavalry must have made quite an impression on the onlookers. This indicates that at this point we are dealing with accounts of amateurs in military matters, whose knowledge of the real course of the battle was scarce.

Could this lack of knowledge of Roman warfare have influenced the way the battle of Emesa was depicted by Zosimus? Is it possible that among Aurelian's forces there were such poorly equipped troops (bearing maces and clubs shod with metal)? Equipped with such weapons, the recruits from Palestine would have had little chance to combat a better-armed enemy, which could turn out to be very dangerous for Aurelian's army. The danger of the Roman lines being broken would be greater than the benefit from having such badly armed allies.

Zosimus devoted attention to unusual ways of fighting⁸, but this need not be an argument in favour of the truthfulness of the account of the battle in question

during the invasion on Britain (Caes. *Gall.* V 16). It cannot be excluded, however, that this manoeuvre was used by Aurelian to diminish the advantage of the Palmyrene heavy cavalry. Unfortunately, on the basis of information concerning the causes of the Roman cavalry's retreat during the battle of Emesa it cannot be judged which account can be trusted more – that of Zosimus or that of the *Historia Augusta*.

⁷ On the Palmyrene *cataphractarii* see Mielczarek 1993: 85–87.

⁸ For instance, he describes the unusual way in which the Goths captured Trapezos (they took advantage of the inhabitants' indolence and laziness to get inside the city unseen; I 33, 2); the Empire's struggle against the Goths in the Haemus Mountains (he speaks about the quarrels of the commanding officers of the Roman infantry and cavalry about who would have the honour of defeating the Goths, which nearly ended in a massacre of Roman infantrymen; I 45, 2); the unsuccessful ambush of Magnentius in the Battle of Mursa (his soldiers hid in a stadium near the city and were to launch a surprise attack on the army of Constantius II, but were spotted by the latter's men and massacred; II 50, 1–4); the massacre of Tribigildus' troops (the Goths were trapped between the shore of a lake, morasses, and a mountain and were killed by stones tossed at them by Florentius' men; V 16, 2).

found in his work. Perhaps also in other instances we are dealing with the creativity of Zosimus (or one of his sources – Dexippus, Eunapius, or Olympiodorus), who in order to make his account more appealing used his imagination, the works of classical historians, or modified the account according to his religious or ideological beliefs. The latter is well illustrated by a passage from his work concerning the battle on the river Frigidus. According to Zosimus, during the clash there was a solar eclipse, which had a significant influence on the course of the battle (IV 58, 3). However, nothing of the sort took place. Certainly Eunapius (and after him Zosimus), when writing about the battle, added the description of combat during a solar eclipse in order to make his account more attractive, give it more pathos and explain why the pagan Emperor Eusebius was defeated by the army of the Christian Emperor Theodosius I (Janiszewski 2002: 71–85).

The accounts of battles and third-century military campaigns of the Roman Empire provided by Zosimus are dubious. He tells (as does the *Historia Augusta*) about the siege of the walls of Palmyra in 272 AD, although the city did not have the proper fortifications to hold back the Roman army (Starcky, Gawlikowski 1986: 65; Buck 1995: 89). Zosimus does not apply the nomenclature used by other contemporary historians. To third- and fourth-century authors the “Scythians” were Germanic tribes that inhabited the Black Sea coast, in particular the Goths and Heruli. However, Zosimus uses this term for tribes settled in the upper Danube: Juthungians and Alamani who attacked Italy in 260 AD (I 37, 1; 38,1) and Vandals, against whose invasion Aurelian fought in late 270 or early 271 AD (I 48, 1). He also evidently differs from other authors when he describes the fate of Zenobia after the fall of Palmyra. While most of them tell about Aurelian’s lenience towards the Palmyrene queen, according to Zosimus she died of self-starvation or disease she had suffered from when held captive by Aurelian (I 59, 1; there is nothing to indicate that Zosimus believes she was displayed during the triumph of the emperor in Rome; I shall return to this matter further on). While practically all the authors mention the nomination of Tetricus to the office of *corrector* of Italy or Lucania by Aurelian, Zosimus provides a somewhat enigmatic mention about him and the other rebels being captured and punished accordingly (I 61, 2). Finally the mention of a war fought by Aurelian against the Goths is very enigmatic (I 50, 2). The controversy over the battle of Naissus needs to be mentioned in this context. Zosimus is the only author that describes this victory, supposedly gained over the Goths by Claudius II. Whether or not Zosimus can be trusted that this emperor really defeated the Goths in this battle is a matter of discussion until today⁹. If not, Zosimus may have given Claudius II credit for a victory won by Gallienus.

⁹ I 45, 1. The discussion about which of the two emperors, Gallienus or Claudius II, claimed the decisive victory over the Goths, begun by A. Alföldi, goes on until today. Alföldi himself doubted the value of information provided by Zosimus and favoured the account of Synkellos, who is the

Moreover, we have grounds upon which to determine what kind of weapons were used by auxiliary troops that supported Aurelian in his campaign against Zenobia. This applies at least to the army recruited from Egypt.

We owe our knowledge in this field to a papyrus *P. Mich.* 5457. On this papyrus, found in Karanis during excavation works carried out in 1928/1929, 21 lines of the text (or rather a part of the text) were preserved. The document is a private letter. Neither the name of the author nor the name of the addressee are extant. The text does not contain a date, but its relation to the war between Aurelian and Zenobia is irrefutable¹⁰. The content of the letter is quoted after R. Caldwell and T. Gagos¹¹:

 [...] . [..].ατω ἔξεν[ca. 4]
 [...] . ὁ κύριός μου ἐπ[ανορ]
 [θωτῆς Φίρμος ἐποίησεν]
 με λεγειωνάριον κα[ὶ οὐ]
 κ ἠθέλησα δια [ca. 4–5]
 ἐπὶ πέμποντ[ἐπὶ]
 Συρίας πρὸς τ[ὸ]ν [.....]
 Αὐρηλιανὸν χ[ca. 7]
 χρόνον ποιου [ca. 7]
 ἐντυχοῦσιν [ca. 7]
 οὐπω συν[ca. 7]
 εἰς λεγειων[ναρίους β]
 τὸ ὄνομα[ca. 8]
 νάριος λεγε[ιτώνος β]
 Τραιανῆ[ς Ἰσχυράς]
 Αὐρηλιανῆ[ς ca. 6]
 πόλει .[ca. 8]
 [..]μιν τι ε[ca. 8]
 θαι εἰς τῆ[ν ca. 8]
 μος ημ[ca. 12]
 ως η .[ca. 15]
 ... my lord, the *corrector* Firmus, made me a legionary and I did not want to....
 because (?) (they?) are being sent to Syria to... Aurelian... time; make [].. to those
 petitioning (?).... Not yet in a legion (?)... the rank (?)... -narius of the *Legio*
secunda fortis Aureliana in... polis... (untranslatable remains).

As one can see, the text is poorly preserved. It is impossible to fully understand it. However, the most important thing from my point of view evokes no

only one to mention Gallienus' victory over the Heruli in a clash on the River Nessos. Some scholars agree with the great Hungarian scholar (J. Straub, R. Syme, M. Salamon, A. Ziólkowski) and others trust Zosimus' account (T. Kotula, E. Kettenhofen, A. Chastagnol, D.S. Potter). At this point I do not take sides in this discussion; what is important to me is the fact that information provided by Zosimus has been questioned by modern scholars.

¹⁰ On this papyrus see Caldwell, Gagos 2000: 451–462.

¹¹ Caldwell, Gagos 2000: 458 (Greek text), 459 (translation by Caldwell and Gagos).

controversy. Without a doubt it is a letter of a soldier enlisted in a Roman legion and sent with his unit to Syria to help Aurelian in his campaign.

This legionary could have come to Syria only during Aurelian's war against Zenobia in 272 AD. A year later during the upheaval in Palmyra the rebels did not constitute a serious threat to the Romans and the campaign led by Aurelian did not abound in important battles (none of them are mentioned in our sources). In addition, there were pro-Palmyrene demonstrations in Alexandria. It is hard to imagine that troops were dispatched to Syria from Egypt when there were brawls in Alexandria¹². Also Aurelian's war against Persia should be excluded. It most probably never actually happened¹³.

This document unequivocally indicates that the *corrector* Firmus dispatched as auxiliary forces for the emperor against Zenobia's army regular legionary units, which for obvious reasons must have been armed like regular Roman legionaries. Some of the soldiers from this legion may have been newly enlisted in the army, but most probably the majority already had spent a longer period of time in service.

¹² The struggles in Egypt after the usurpation of Antiochus are mentioned by the *Historia Augusta* (*Aurel.* 32, 3; *Quadr. tyr.* 5, 1) and by Zosimus (I 61, 1). Also Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII 16, 15) writes about the damage done in Alexandria during the fighting that took place under Aurelian (especially in the Bruchion quarter). Since he does not mention the participation of Zenobia's troops, it could not have taken place during the capture of Egypt by her army in the Autumn of 270. It should therefore be associated with the events that took place in Egypt in 273. It is not clear whether Firmus, who according to the *Historia Augusta* was the leader of the rebellion, is a historical figure or yet another confabulation, as many others in this work. At this point I do not wish to take a stand in the discussion whether or not Firmus indeed existed. On the demonstrations against Aurelian's rule in Alexandria in 273 cf. Paschoud 2001: 208 ff.

¹³ Aurelian's war against Persia is mentioned by the *Historia Augusta* (*Aurel.* 28, 2) and by Aurelius Victor (*De Caes.* 35, 1); there are also inscriptions and papyri in which Aurelian is mentioned with a *cognomen ex virtute* 'Persicus/Parthicus Maximus', as well as coins bearing a legend *VICTORIA PARTICA* (*MIR* 47, 208 = *RIC* V 2, 240). However, this war is not mentioned by Malalas, Zosimus and the other authors of *breviaria* (including Festus, who diligently lists all the wars that the Roman Empire fought against Persia). It is puzzling (as pointed out by Bird 1993: 142) that Aurelius Victor, who mentions the Persian war, is silent about Aurelian's victory over Zenobia. If we take a closer look at the order in which he portrays the events of Aurelian's reign, we can easily see that he mentions this war at the same point when Eutropius writes about the fall of Palmyra. Most probably Aurelius Victor simply made a mistake. I therefore believe that during the reign of Aurelian there was no war against Persia. In addition, several emperors that ruled in the end of the third century were given a *cognomen ex virtute* 'Persicus Maximus' although they did not fight wars against Persia. It was the case of Claudius II and Probus (cf. Peachin 1990: 96 f. for a list of documents in which 'Parthicus/Persicus Maximus' appear in Probus' titulature; what stuns is that this title is evidently official). As for Aurelian, I believe that this title is associated with the victory over Palmyra (the title 'Persicus/Parthicus Maximus' appeared after he had defeated Palmyra, cf. Kotula 1997: 137). According to Watson (1999: 77) Aurelian accepted this *cognomen ex virtute* under the pretext that there were Persian mercenaries in Zenobia's army. I find this hypothesis less probable than the previous one. Among the authors of recent studies Aurelian's Roman-Persian war is accepted by Saunders 1992: 216 ff.

A question comes to mind if the auxiliaries that Aurelian received from Syria could have had different weapons and formation than the legions sent to the imperial army from Egypt. In the case of Egypt the political situation during Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia seems rather clear. Up until 17 April 272 AD Egypt recognized her as ruler (papyrus *P. Oxy.* XL 2904 was dated with the years of joint rule of Aurelian and Vaballathus). Aurelian first appears as sole ruler in papyri from Egypt on 24 June 272¹⁴. The capture of Egypt by the emperor took place between 17 April and 24 June 272. When Zenobia controlled Egypt in 272, the prefect was Statilius Ammianus¹⁵, who kept his office when the province was already in Aurelian's hands¹⁶. It therefore seems that after the first victories of the emperor (the capture of Asia Minor) Statilius Ammianus came to terms with the legitimate emperor and handed over the governed province. His deputy in Egypt was Claudius Firmus, mentioned in the letter, who bore the title of *corrector* of Egypt. By all means one thing must be stressed: Aurelian regained power over Egypt before the fall of Palmyra in August 272, and in Egypt the central government reached a compromise with the provincial administration and local elites in regions controlled by Zenobia.

In Syria (and Palestine) the situation may have been similar. According to Zosimus, after capturing Antioch the emperor ordered to announce that he forgave those who had collaborated with Zenobia (I 51, 3–54, 1). There is no reason to distrust this information. At this point one might ask how the Palestinian auxiliary troops for Aurelian were recruited. They may have been hastily formed by cities in Palestine (and analogically in Syria). A similar practice is known from Egypt, from the time of the Jewish uprising under Trajan, when during the civil war the Romans were supported by troops recruited by local authorities (the existence of such units is attested in papyrus documents)¹⁷. Unfortunately, there are no known inscriptions for wars fought by Aurelian that would attest such local initiatives. However, even the lack of epigraphic evidence cannot lead to strong conclusions concerning this practice, as there are relatively few Greek inscriptions available from Syria from this period in general, which causes reasoning *ex silentio* to be highly doubtful. It needs to be stressed that the character of this war was completely different from that of the struggle against Jewish insurgents in Egypt under Trajan. The latter was a bloody, cruelly suppressed civil war. The

¹⁴ *P. Oxy.* XL 2902. Cf. Price 1973: 84 ff.; Potter 1990: 61. Besides this papyrus we know several documents from Egypt dated to the third year of Aurelian. They are *P. Oslo* III 96, 10 from late July–August 272 (the Egyptian month of Mesore); *P. Strasb.* IV 280 rp. 21 of 26 August 272 and *P. Flor.* I 26, 11, where the month and day are lacking.

¹⁵ On the career of Statilius Ammianus see Rea 1969: 134–138.

¹⁶ *P. Wisc.* I 2, 44–46. Cf. Rea 1969: 134–138. Kreucher 1998: 270 places this papyrus among the undated papyri from the time of Aurelian.

¹⁷ On the Jewish war in Egypt under Trajan see Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1991: 161–167.

conflict with Zenobia needed no such extreme measures. For this reason I find it improbable.

I would therefore consider another hypothesis. We do not have good knowledge of the whereabouts of the Roman army in Palestine during the reign of the Palmyrene usurpers. Our sources do not mention clashes of Roman legions from Syria and Palestine with forces loyal to Zenobia, as it had happened in Egypt¹⁸ or Arabia¹⁹. Perhaps the Roman army from Palestine and Syria submitted to Zenobia's power during her conquest of the eastern *Imperium Romanum* (or even formed the core of the Palmyrene queen's army). One can hardly imagine that Malalas would not mention clashes in Syria, if there had been any. In this case one can suppose that the troops that came to Aurelian's aid were Roman army units that had crossed over to Zenobia's side (when she had gained control of Syria). This theory is, of course, very feeble (it lacks confirmation in the sources), but it seems more reasonable than the belief that Aurelian's army was supplemented by hastily formed units recruited from among the inhabitants of Syria or Palestine, who had no military experience.

Moreover, one should not draw overly bold conclusions based on the fact that the units were called "Syrians" or "Phoenicians". Mentioned in the same passage describing the composition of Aurelian's army are also "Dalmatians," "Moesians," "Pannonians," as well as "Noricians and Raetians or Celts" (I 52, 3). There is no doubt that in each of these cases what Zosimus had in mind were regular units of the Roman army stationed in these provinces, and not freshly created formations.

I believe there are factors that undermine the credibility of Zosimus' account concerning weapons used by Palestinian troops that joined Aurelian's army. In my opinion Zosimus (or rather his source) was misled by Herodotus on this point. Speaking in his seventh book about the Persian army that set out against the Greeks, Herodotus notes that the contingent of "Assyrians called Syrians by the Hellenes" was armed with wooden clubs (*ρόπαλα*; VII 63, 4).

Of key importance at this point is whether or not in Zosimus' work there are similar cases of imitating literary texts which distort his accounts of real events. Scholars suspect that yet another passage from Zosimus' account of Aurelian's campaign against Palmyra was inspired by Herodotus²⁰. It is the description of

¹⁸ *HA Claud.* 11, 2; Zosimus I 44, 1 f.

¹⁹ On the clashes of Zenobia's forces with those loyal to the legitimate Roman emperors see Malalas, *Chron.* XII 28 (299). These struggles are attested epigraphically: *JGLS* XIII 1, 9107 = *AE* 1947, 165.

²⁰ Ridley 1982: 145; Watson 1999: 241. They called attention to Herodotus' account of Peisistratos' return to power in Athens. The Athenian tyrant was said to have found a tall girl (Fye), whom he dressed in full armour. Then she entered the town riding a wagon and the heralds preceding her announced that Peisistratos had been chosen by the goddess Athena. The inhabitants of the city believed that the girl was Athena herself and the power was handed over to Peisistratos (Hdt. I 60).

Zenobia's actions in Antioch after she had suffered a defeat in the battle of Immae (that is, according to him, in the vicinity of Antioch). According to Zosimus, Zenobia's commanding officer Zabdas feared that once the Antiocheans learned that his army had been defeated, they would attack him, which could impede the Palmyrene queen's escape from northern Syria. He then devised a stratagem consisting in finding a man who would bear a resemblance to Aurelian, dressing him in clothes that the emperor wore on the battlefield and leading him through the centre of Antioch pretending he had taken the emperor hostage. The Antiocheans fell for this mystification, which gave Zenobia, Zabdas and the Palmyrenians a chance to escape for Emesa without being troubled (I 51, 1).

In the following paragraph, however, Zosimus mentions clashes between the Palmyrene infantry and Aurelian's troops, which took place in Daphne on the outskirts of Antioch after the city had been captured by the emperor (I 52, 1). This would imply that Zenobia fled very hastily from Antioch and had not even evacuated her army from the environs of the Syrian metropolis. After the battle of Immae Aurelian's forces stood only a few kilometres away from Antioch and it seems that Zenobia would not have had the time for a propaganda show in the city streets, which could only hamper her retreat.

The discrepancy between the two passages lead many scholars to doubt the historicity of Zenobia's stratagem, as described by Zosimus, and to assume that the author of the *Historia Nova* was inspired by Herodotus' description of Peisistratos' return to power. In fact, the two passages (that of Herodotus on Peisistratos and that of Zosimus on Zenobia) show evident structural similarities. In both cases a witty figure (Peisistratos or Zenobia) finds a person who is then dressed up as someone else (Athena or Aurelian), the gullible inhabitants of the cities are fooled by the spectacle and, as a result, the shrewd character attains the desired goal.

It is suspected that also in other passages of his work Zosimus (or his source) made use of literary texts in shaping his narrative. The following passages may be mentioned:

The description of Zenobia's death: whereas all other sources emphasize Aurelian's lenience towards Zenobia, Zosimus says that the woman died of either disease or self-starvation (I 59, 1). R.T. Ridley points to an analogy to Cleopatra VII, to whom Zenobia is compared. If the Egyptian queen committed suicide after the battle of Actium, Zenobia could not have survived the emperor's victory either²¹.

When Zosimus describes Julian the Apostate's victory over the Alamani, he mentions 60 thousand slain enemies (III 3, 5), while Ammianus Marcellinus supplies a figure that is ten times smaller. According to F. Paschoud Zosimus multiplied the number of victims among the Germans to show that Julian

²¹ Ridley 1982: 146.

the Apostate was no worse a commander than Alexander the Great²². The multiplication of the number of slain enemies is a typical device in ancient historiography.

According to Zosimus Constantine the Great ordered that his son Crispus be executed, as he suspected him of having an affair with his wife, Fausta (II 29, 2). This story is most probably modelled on the myth (or related literary works) about Theseus, Phaedra, and Hippolytus²³.

In Zosimus' account of the meeting between Alaric and Roman envoys, the former is loud, impudent, and greedy (V 40, 3 f.). The passage should not be trusted, since the presentation of Alaric reveals typical negative traits attributed to barbarians in ancient historical texts²⁴.

Zosimus, like other authors, calls the Visigoths Scythians. It was a favourite device of ancient historiography to archaize the names of tribes. Thus Zosimus uses the name of a people that was found in older historiography, including Herodotus. When he discusses the ethnic identity of the Huns he refers to passages from Herodotus and identifies them with the Royal, or flat-nosed, Scythians²⁵. Importantly for us, Zosimus tries to comprehend contemporary events by referring to the past, to Herodotus, in order to find in the father of history the key to their understanding.

Zosimus devotes a surprising amount of space to the description of clashes with the Isaurian brigand Lydos, that occurred under Probus. It is suspected that the image found in Zosimus' work is mostly fictitious. He must have composed his account of Lydos on the basis of events which took place in Isauria in the fourth century (familiar to us thanks to Ammianus Marcellinus; see XIV 2; XIX 13; XXVII 9, 6 f.)²⁶.

As one can see, when Zosimus (or his source), did not have enough information, he may have distorted the account by introducing *topoi*, clichés known from literary or historical texts, thanks to which he could supplement his narration or create new (often dramatic and spectacular) 'facts'. I believe, therefore, that Zosimus (or rather his source) knew about the unexpected role played by Palestinians in the battle of Emesa. To make his account more appealing and detailed, he borrowed from Herodotus and made them fight with the same weapons they had used in the time of the Greek-Persian wars (Palestine was considered a part of Syria in antiquity). According to the practice mocked by Lucian of Samosata (in *How to Write History*), but common in ancient historiography, he transferred historical

²² Paschoud 1979: 69 ff.

²³ Barnes 1981: 220.

²⁴ Paschoud 1986: 274; Wipszycka 1993: 328.

²⁵ Zosimus IV 20, 4. Zosimus refers to Herodotus V 9 when searching for an ethnic identification of the Huns; cf. Paschoud 1979: 374 ff.

²⁶ Rougé 1966: 282–315; Syme 1968: 43–52; Matthews 1989: 361.

details from the fifth century BC into the second half of the third century AD, using Herodotus as his source of information about the hypothetical weapons used by Palestinians in Aurelian's army. The above is therefore a voice in the debate over the credibility of Greek and Latin historical texts²⁷.

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²⁷ For the discussion see Woodman 1988.

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UT PICTURA POESIS AND ORBIS POLONUS:
EKPHRASEIS IN OLD POLISH LITERARY WORKS GLORIFYING
RULERS¹

By

BOGUSŁAW PFEIFFER

ABSTRACT: The paper focuses on the connections between literary descriptions and the fine arts exemplified by selected Polish texts from the 16th and 17th centuries. The author analyses them in the context of rhetoric tradition (*ekphrasis, evidentia, ars memoriae*). The discussed descriptions of imaginary works of art and architecture come from texts (by Mikołaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, Samuel Twardowski, Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro) referring to the symbolism and hierarchy of power in the 16th- and 17th-century Commonwealth.

The problem of mutual relationships between the mimetic arts – painting and literature – has for centuries attracted the attention and inspired the imagination of artists and theoreticians, with painting treated as representative of all fine arts². In Antiquity intentions of poets, painters and musicians were viewed as basically similar, the approach embodied by Orpheus, the mythical creator of “sacred poetry” (*sacra poesis*)³ who was at the same time an inspired singer, poet, and musician. The idea is echoed in the writings of Plato (*Leg.* X 605), Aristotle (*Poetics* and *Rhetoric*), and Cicero (*Tusc.* V 114).

To Plato, poetry reflects a divine inspiration and is a supreme activity and thus could not be treated as an art. If, however, poetry may be regarded as a mimetic art, it follows that the connections between poetry and the fine arts may be identified in similar structures and hierarchies of elements in both arts. This is

¹ The article is an abbreviated version of ch. IV of my book *Caelum et regnum. Studia nad symboliką państwa i władcy w polskiej literaturze i sztuce XVI i XVII stulecia*, Zielona Góra 2002.

² Literature on mutual relations between literature and painting is vast. Markiewicz 1984 quotes basic positions. See also: Praz 1981; Lee 1940; Spencer 1957 (Polish translation by M.B. Fedewicz, *Pamiętnik Literacki* LXXVI 1985, fasc. 3, pp. 197–218 – here also other articles on relation between painting and literature); Pelc 1982; Komorowski 1982.

³ In this manner Antonio Possevino described the work of Orpheus, Musaios and other “ancient Greeks”, *Bibliotheca selecta*, ch. XVII: *De poesi et pictura ethnica*; see Sarnowska-Temierusz 1969: 93 f. See also Bieńkowski 1970.

the departure point for Aristotle. In his methodology Plato's dualism is replaced with the mimetic perspective: poetry, painting and sculpture are mimetic arts. In *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* Aristotle elaborates the similarities between the work of the poet and painter.

According to Praz, two axioms have been most important in the debate on the connection between literature and the fine arts⁴. The first is Horace's famous formula from *Ars poetica*: "ut pictura poesis". Gradually, its meaning was being modified departing from Horace's original intent. His personal aesthetic judgement based on reception of art was extended into a norm: "ut pictura poesis erit"⁵.

The second axiom was a statement attributed to Simonides by Plutarch. According to Plutarch Simonides made the connection between the methods of the painter and poet. "Simonides, however, calls painting inarticulate poetry and poetry articulate painting: for the actions which painters portray as taking place at the moment literature narrates and records after they have taken place"⁶.

The humanists of the Renaissance regarded painting as closest to the liberal arts in general and rhetoric in particular. In the Accademia del Disegno in Florence the arts were classified on the basis of their similarity to poetry. In a way, Horace's formula was reversed which may be expressed as: "ut poesis pictura" or, more general, "ut poesis artes"⁷.

The idea of connections between the fine arts and literature was taken up by artists and theoreticians of the Baroque period. Whereas in the previous period the work of art was admired for its "artful" form or perfection in mimetic representation of nature, now art becomes first of all a means to impress the viewer/reader. Study of the human soul thus becomes more important than study of nature and the emphasis shifts to some kind of "psychologism". Form becomes increasingly important: to put it in Horace's terms: *delectare* becomes subservient to *premove* and *docere*. Gombrich points out that in the art of the 16th and 17th centuries, the approach to iconic and verbal forms is informed by a two-fold approach: Neoplatonic and Aristotelian⁸. From the Neoplatonic perspective, cognition affected through the image is of a different nature than that brought about through words: it is more like a direct illumination. The Aristotelian view regarded images as equivalents of words which describe them and thus are elements of a conventional language. Integrating image and word, this language was the medium of emblematics.

⁴ Praz 1981: 7.

⁵ In the 17th and 18th c., this popular aesthetic postulate was expanded to include the "musical" variant: "ut musica pictura"; see Białostocki 1966: 86–88.

⁶ Plut. *Mor.* 346 F, quoted after F.C. Babbitt (Loeb).

⁷ Tatarkiewicz 1967: III 127; characteristic of the Early Modern period is the emphasis on the unity of the fine arts and literature in emblematic works, e.g. B. Aneau, *Picta poesis. Ut pictura poesis erit*, Lyon 1552.

⁸ Gombrich 1948.

For the Baroque *persuasio*, the classical art of memory, traditionally associated with Simonides, was very important as an element of the system of rhetoric. Relying on the time-honoured mnemotechnic methods, it not only facilitated memorizing things in a given order but also associated with this order relevant images⁹. They were intended as memory aids at the same time performing an aesthetic function. The present paper focuses on how these premises were realized in literature.

In Old Polish literature a special form of description – the ekphrasis (Lat. *descriptio*) – was commonly used to appeal to the imagination, sense of sight and memory. According to Hermogenes of Tarsus, “ekphrasis is a descriptive account; it is visible – so to speak – and brings before the eyes the manifest”¹⁰. Without any attempt to present here the history and development of the concept, it is sufficient to state that in the rhetoric schools of Antiquity the ekphrasis was treated as an element of the narrative, *topoi*, epideictic speech. It appeared in both epic and lyrical texts, usually as a constituent part of a literary work and rarely as an autonomous piece. The aim of *descriptio* was to evoke an illusion of the described persons, objects or events, make them appear as real before the reader’s eyes. This was achieved by means of the *evidentia* (*hypotyposis*), a figure of speech consisting in the enumeration of events, persons or characteristics. Quintilian defines it as “representation of facts which is made in such vivid language that they appeal to the eye rather than the ear”¹¹.

For centuries, writers and poets tried to “translate” the semantics of the picture into words. Figures of speech (ekphrasis, *evidentia*) were being employed to match the effects of the visual arts¹². This pursuit informed a number of famous descriptions: from Homer’s rendering of Achilles’ shield, the ekphraseis of Alexandrian poets, the Nature building in *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille decorated with paintings, to the evocative descriptions included in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Petrarca’s *Africa*, Boccaccio’s *Amorosa visione* or Marino’s *Gallery*. The statues of poets in Chaucer’s *The House of Fame* or Pope’s much later *Temple of Fame* served the same purpose.

In Old Polish literature extensive, elaborate descriptions were highly valued, particularly descriptions of palaces, residences, manors, galleries of “illustrious persons”, works of art. The *descriptions* of this kind may be found first of all in

⁹ Yates 1977.

¹⁰ Cf. Hermog. *Prog.* 10; for the meaning and history of the term *ekphrasis* see Downey 1959; Popowski 1996. On the knowledge of the rhetoric and style of Hermogenes in the Renaissance see Patterson 1970.

¹¹ Quint. *Inst.* IX 2, 40, after Butler (Loeb). On *evidentia* see also Lausberg 1960: 682 f. (recently in Polish translation by A. Gorzkowski, Bydgoszcz 2002); Ziomek 1990: 205, 230.

¹² There also existed since Antiquity an opposite approach, pronouncing the superiority of the written word over the visual arts, see Domański 2002: 67 f.

historical epics, occasional pieces, and panegyrics. Ekphraseis, poems on paintings and emblematic pieces may be found in texts by Rej and Kochanowski¹³.

A well-known example of ekphrasis depicting the King of Poland in majesty and historical events is Jan Kochanowski's *Proporzec albo hold pruski* ("Banner or the Prussian Homage") describing the ceremonial act of homage paid during the session of the Sejm (Polish Diet) in 1569 remembered for the Act of Union concluded between Poland and Lithuania. In this case, the description of the nation's painted history instead of the traditional presentation of the gallery of portraits of Polish kings is dictated by the idea informing the piece intended, as the author declares, to refer to the contemporary period:

...a ja, tego niechając, co przed laty było,
Dzień dzisiejszy poświęcić myślę rymem swoim...¹⁴

In fact, however, the poem mostly refers to past events. The narrative pretext for the presented "history" is provided by the description of an elaborate work of art – the banner referred to in the title – telling the story of the relations between the Kingdom of Poland and the Teutonic Knights and the beginnings of the Slavonic domain. However, unlike other poems elevating the present to an epic status¹⁵, it does not assume the form of a dynastic chronicle although the rulers' names are mentioned: Konrad of Mazovia (Duke of Kraków); kings of Poland: Władysław I the Short, Kazimierz the Great, Władysław II Jagiełło; king of Bohemia and Hungary Władysław III. However, they do not dominate in the description, remaining in the shadow of the tradition defined by the "catalogues" of the rulers and other forms deriving from them, e.g. *icones*¹⁶.

The reader's attention is drawn to the elaborate description of the monarch's "golden nature": the dress and attributes of enthroned King Sigismund II Augustus surrounded by the members of the Senate and Sejm (*Proporzec*, p. 84):

Oto w zacnym ubierze i w złotej koronie
Siadł pomazaniec boży na swym pańskim tronie,
Jabłko złote i złotą laskę w rękę mając,

¹³ See Pełc 1973; 2002.

¹⁴ J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, vol. I, Warszawa 1953, p. 85; all ensuing passages from *Proporzec* have been quoted after his edition.

¹⁵ They were: *Bellum Prutenum* by Jan of Wiślica, Kochanowski's unfinished poem about the Battle of Varna or *Conflictus ad Nevelam Polonorum cum Moschis* by Jan Siemuszkowski, see Ślęk 1978: 90 f. About the work's literary models (e.g. its dependency on Catullus' epyllion), writes Głombiowska 1986. Wespazjan Kochowski's *Proporzec nieumierającej sławy ... Stefana Czarnieckiego...* (*Lir. pol.* IV 6), while referring to the epicedium, also draws from the tradition of Kochanowski; the focus shifts from the history of wars to the addressee's military deeds; Nowak-Dłuzewski 1967: 250, links the genesis of the title with funerary banners inscribed with the deceased knight's deeds.

¹⁶ See Ślęk 1991.

A zakon Nawysshzego na lonie trzymając.
 [.....]
 Z obu stron zacny Senat koronny, a wkolo
 Sprawiony zastep stoi i rycerstwa czolo.

The description, which brings to mind such iconographical expressions of power as the representations of the monarch in majesty and convening estates known from *Łaski's Statute* and the final act of the coronation rite from the painted miniature in the Ceremonial of Erazm Ciołek, Bishop of Płock, seems accompanied by the elaborate banner lower by Duke Albrecht in the gesture of homage¹⁷. Its description emphasizes its features characteristic of the work of art (painted with precious pigments, splendid, ornate) – and expressly not of the item associated with the art of war (not seen in any famous battle)¹⁸.

Kosztownymi farbami wszytek malowany,
 Wielki, świetny, ozdobny, jaki za lat dawnych
 W żadnym szyku nie był znan ani w bitwach sławnych (p. 85).

The same aspect is emphasized in the introduction: the Crown-Hetman is presented not – as might have been expected – with a body-armor and shield (and not just any armor and shield but those once belonging to Aeneas), but with a banner “beautifully woven” by the Muses and brought over from Helicon (p. 83). It is because only the Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne could ensure fame. Everything seems subjected to the apotheosis and commemoration of the Prussian Homage. Thus, the piece glorifying peace and the act of concluding a covenant is confronted with the tradition of epics glorifying military history.

Irrespective of literary sources and likely inspiration drawn from the fine arts which have been pointed to, it seems obvious that the piece does not refer to any actual banner¹⁹.

Beside this most celebrated description of the king in majesty and banner in Polish literature, a number of lesser *descriptions* exist referring to monarchs and ancestors representing the *orbis Polonus* informed by the ideology of Polish nobility. The present paper focuses on ekphraseis referring by the symbolism of royal and state power and exemplification of kin traditions in selected pieces by 17th- and 18th-century authors.

¹⁷ A similar banner, which had perhaps inspired Kochanowski, features on the map of Poland published in 1542 by Heinrich Zell (held by a standard-bearer of Ducal Prussia together with the coat-of-arms of Duke Albrecht I). Reproduction and commentary in Chrościcki 1998: 102, 114, fig. 5. See also Kuczyński 1993: 206–208, fig. 217. The symbolism of banners (*labarum, vexillum*) was important in Rome and Byzantium; the double-headed eagle appearing on same Byzantine banners symbolized the rule over the East and West, see W. Smith 1975.

¹⁸ Kotarski 1989: 40–43, questions the descriptive character of the banner's presentation.

¹⁹ See Pelc 1980; Głombiowska 1986: 156–159; Chrościcki 1998: 97–116.

The first author considered is Samuel Twardowski, the author of the epic biographic poem titled *Władysław IV* in which the story of the king is linked with the fate of his nation²⁰: its important episodes and narration (Smoleńsk campaign, Battle of Chocim, Grand Tour, election, and coronation) connected with the principal character. Historical events become the background to demonstrate the virtues and deeds of the monarch²¹. The *topos* of *puer senex* serves to compare Władysław's military prowess with that of Pompey the Great (f. B 2):

A co do manieri wojennej i męstwa,
 Świadczą jego podboje i rane zwycięstwa,
 Gdy lubo to w ojcowskim pierzu i ozdobie
 Młodzieńcem niedorosłym bujał jeszcze sobie,
 Ze dwu świata tyranów co na[j]potężniejszych
 Tryumfował przed czasem. Co w dziejach dawniejszych
 Wielki był Pompejusz? Że za rok to sprawił
 Co by drugi przez sto lat? Więszym się on stawił,
 Gdy nie miękka Azja, ani Pont pieszczony,
 Ale zimne ukrócił pułnocne Tryjony...

In *Władysław IV* the ancestral genealogy, enumerated in the primate's speech following Władysław's election to the throne, provides an important link connecting the fates of the monarch and his kingdom. The speaker compares the achievements of the newly-elected king with the times of Bolesław the Brave, elaborating the laudation into the catalogue of rulers legitimizing his power (it includes, among others, Bolesław the Brave, Kazimierz the Great, Władysław Jagiełło, Sigismund Augustus, and Stephen Bathory). It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the poem the author lists another genealogy. Thus, there are two kinds of genealogical retrospective: one referring to Władysław's ancestors on the agnate and distaff sides and the other to his historical genealogy presenting the lineage of inherited power. The latter genealogy is, in a sense, defined by history which additionally emphasizes the author's approach connecting the personal story of the monarch and the history of his kingdom into a single whole²².

Genealogical catalogues may also be found in descriptive passages, among them the description of a state room at the court in Vienna. Twardowski placed this description in the account of Władysław's tour of Europe taking the form of *hodoeporicon*²³. It contains the gallery of famous Roman emperors (pp. 148 f.):

²⁰ See Ślęk 1973: 63–65; Kaczmarek 1972: 53 f.; 120 f.

²¹ These are: wisdom, common sense, "controlled anger", goodness, and grace shown to the subjects, see: S. Twardowski, *Władysław IV król polski i szwedzki*, Leszno 1649, f. B 1v. Cf. Ryba 2000: 123–125.

²² Cf. Ryba 2000: 124.

²³ More on travel poems: Krzywy 2001.

Aż gdzie się przeźroczyta altana otwiera
 Która zda się, że wszystkie ozdoby zawiera,
 Świata tu zniesionego, kosztowne obrazy
 Przeszłych widzieć cesarzów, skąd przyszło do skazy
 Konsulatu Rzymskiego a cesarzem pierwszym
 Uczynił się Julijusz. Kiedy, gdy w najszerszym
 Nie mogli panowaniu zgodzić się dwa z sobą
 Lubo wielkiej tej władze prędką wnet żalobą
 I zgubą swą przyplacił. Toż August i owi
 Ledwie godni pamięci Swetonijuszowi
 Nastąpili cesarze, aż szczerzy tyrani,
 Kiedy nie już w senacie, ale obierani
 Procz w obozie bywali, gdzie krwi przyuczeni
 Krew też lali i pili. Dopiero odmieni
 Twarz się ta monarchiję w Wielkim Konstantynie,
 [.....]
 I to procz w Germaniję samej się zostało
 Rzymskiego Imperyjum. Na który tron święty
 Między różnorzymskimi przednimi książęty
 Godniejszy następował od siedmi obrany
 Elektorów, a w Rzymie prócz koronowany.
 Na koniec, jako to raz do austriackiego
 Począwszy od komesa niegdy habsburskiego
 Weszło domu, trwa dotąd, ani rozerwanym
 Płuży trybem. A tu już daleko rownanym
 Dziełem i inwencyją z wszystkimi owymi,
 Widzieć wielkie Karole i alcydowymi
 Kolumnami Filipy nieograniczone,
 Ferdynandy, Rudolfy, Matyjasze one...

The images of emperors placed inside a “transparent bower” (presumably a glazed gallery) constitute an important element in the history of the ruling dynasty and owners of the palace. The young heir apparent to the Polish throne admires them surrounded by the splendour and pomp of the Habsburg residence²⁴. The riches of the imperial residence in Vienna recall the description of Sultan Suleiman’s room in *Poważna legacja*²⁵. The author made the description rich and imposing by accumulating details and epithets that refer to glitter and gleaming jewels (p. 148):

Wzywają Władysława [...]

 [...] na wdzięczną perspektywę sale

 I cesarskich pokojów, gdzie krwawe korale

 Między się błyszczącymi wstydzą smaragdami

²⁴ Many literary sources described the courts visited by Prince Władysław, see Pac 1854; Przyboś 1977. See also Press 1992.

²⁵ See S. Twardowski, *Przeważna legacja Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego od Zygmunta III do Soltana Mustafy*, ed. by R. Krzywy, Warszawa 2000, p. 135.

Po cedrowych podłogach. Drzwi portierami
 Zasłonięte złotymi. Tam podwoje ryte
 Z kosztownych topazyjów i drogo obite
 Sydońskimi pałają szpalerami ściany,
 A pawiment aspisem szczero brukowany...

It seems that the imagination of Old Polish authors was brimming with images of splendid palaces filled with ornate rooms. Such images are recalled not only in elaborate ekphraseis or mnemonic “places” appealing to the reader’s imagination. They also appear as conventional motifs within the piece allowing for presentation of a series of heroes, rulers or events connected with them. For example, in the digress to the first part of Władysław Potocki’s *The Chocim War* a porter opens the door to the “vast room of my motherland” which will be inscribed with the story of heroes (*Wojna chocimska...*, p. 11):

Wrota, gdzie na szerokiej mej Ojczyzny sali
 Wielcy bohaterowie będą się pisali!

The author then presents a genealogical list which begins with Mieszko, the protoplast of Poland’s Christian monarchs, and ends with Sigismund III Vasa. He returns to the “catalogue of Polish kings” in the *Introduction* to the poem addressed to Jan Lipski where the subsequent kings are listed, from Sigismund III Vasa to Jan Kazimierz.

Numerous ekphraseis also appear in Twardowski’s romance *Nadobna Paskwalina* (*Beautiful Pasqualine*). It mentions Venus as “Cypriote Queen” and her worldly domain. Juno is also called queen who together with Jove rules over heaven and earth. The story is far removed from descriptions of the splendours of contemporary kings and their temporal kingdoms. Worth noting, however, are the extensive ekphraseis of palaces containing elements that over time become conventional and are employed in descriptions of residences of “earthly gods”. Obvious similarities (testifying to the conventional nature of such descriptions) emerge between the descriptions of courtly residences in *Nadobna Paskwalina* and another poem by Twardowski, his *Pałac Leszczyński* (1643)²⁶.

In *Pałac Leszczyński* Twardowski elaborates a formula linking the descriptive and genealogical poem. It presents the history of the Leszczyński family by “painting” them by means of sculptures and pictures furnishing the palace’s interiors²⁷. The aforementioned descriptions of monumental residences in *Władysław IV* (similar ones appear in *Nadobna Paskwalina*) are usually part of

²⁶ Witczak 1962: 337–339.

²⁷ Witczak 1962 writes on the stereotype character of architectural descriptions. The work was also “performed” in public during the ingress of Bogusław Leszczyński to Poznań; see Chrościcki 1970: 251 f.

the poem's narrative or digressive passages. In this case, however, the palace's description is the poem's focus and leitmotif. It is not limited to the presentation of the building and its interiors but becomes an allegory of memory filled with images of persons and events²⁸. The beginning of the poem contains a classic ekphrasis (p. 102)²⁹:

Jest z marmuru czarnego w kwadrat zbudowany,
 Alabastrem tak ślicznie biało przeplatany,
 Że w tej swojej różności (ile kto żrzenicą
 Dojrzy tego bystrzejszą) zda się szachownicą.
 Zaraz w jego arei, z marmurów mienionych
 Podawa się fontanna na czterech złożonych
 Lwach stojąca, oddana z koryntyjskiej miedzi!
 A śród słup aśpisowy, gdzie dwie parze siedzi
 Syren alabastrowych, nad czaszą fontany
 Wiesząc się, a w rękę porfirowe dzbany
 Wyniesionych trzymają: skąd gębami lwiami
 Woda pryska daleko po przyległej ziemi.
 Ale płaczą i same oczy wiecznym zdrojem,
 I czoła kryształowym pocą się im znojem.
 Wzgórze ganki około wszystkie marmurowe,
 Które wewnątrz popstrzyły macice perłowe
 Przeplatane koralem: gdzie po tynkowanych
 Drogo ścianach, historyj wiele odkowanych
 W miedzi i w starożytnym widzieć mozaiku:
 O tych zwłaszcza hero[j]ach, którzy kiedy w szyku
 Krwawej służąc Bellony, czego dokazali,
 Czemby sobie łaskawą panią tę zjednali...

The author does not stop at presenting the palace's architecture and interiors. The final verses of the passage, referring to "stories worked in copper and ancient mosaics", describe the stories of famous heroes and historical characters from Antiquity: *antiquitates fabulosae heroum*. They become a mythical archetype (a similar figure is used in *Nadobna Paskwalina*) of the ancestors of the Leszczyński family who are presented in following passages.

The images of the *toga*-clad venerable ancestors of the family are placed on the palace's second floor. The personification of Fame, to whom the rule over the palace has been ceded, also presents matrons (in majestic traditional head coverings) belonging to various noble families (Stadnicki, Łaski, Chodkiewicz, Ostrogski, Zbaraski) and not only to the Leszczyński family. Then, having parted

²⁸ Eustachiewicz 1981: 10; the autor applies this term to *Poetowie polscy*, a poem by Wespazjan Kochowski.

²⁹ S. Twardowski, *Palac Leszczyński* [1643], in: *Zbiór różnych rytmów*, Wilno 1770, pp. 100–141. The first edition was illustrated with a print depicting a palace, Witczak 1962 thinks it depicted the palace in Gołuchów.

with the dead, Fame addresses the living inhabitants of the palace who are invited to a sumptuous banquet and take the places of honour under a splendid canopy. The listing of their names is preceded by the presentation of the Senate, Sejm, and representatives of voivodships. The panegyric closes with a concert given by Apollo and the Muses.

The galleries contained in Twardowski's poems of "past emperors", heroes, and Polish rulers (arranged according to the agnate and distaff sides) and representation of the estates (only in *Pałac Leszczyński*) seem to have their prototypes in the catalogues in Mikołaj Rej's *Żwierzyniec*. Rej's poem contains catalogues of emperors, kings, and mythological figures, represented also in a visual form, and the genealogy of the ruling dynasty which includes both its male and female members. The monarch's wives and sisters follow in an orderly procession, with married ladies taking precedence over the unmarried ones.

The second chapter renders the hierarchy of the estates and the hierarchy of power defined by the three convening estates (King, Senate and Sejm; the latter consisting of the delegates of the provinces). Then senatorial dignitaries are listed in the order of importance: Castellan of Kraków, voivodes, other castellans, and Chancellor of the Crown. The following verses list delegates of the provinces according to their rank: beginning with the nobles of Kraków, followed by the delegates of Wielkopolska and other provinces³⁰. Then the author proceeds to present – also in hierarchical order – "ecclesiastical and temporal estates"³¹ and various "cases of this world": "Christian kingdoms", "Polish Crown", "councils to the Crown", "commonwealth or common sejm", "crown delegates". Rej ventures from the macrocosm of the kingdom and central power like Kraków Castle or Town Hall to their local counterparts like the capital college, scales by the Town Hall or Cloth Hall.

Compared with Baroque genealogical catalogues, Rej's poem strikes with its emphasis on the systemic principle informing the presented hierarchies³². While in Twardowski's *Władysław IV* the future king views the images of the emperor's ancestors in Vienna and in Wespazjan Kochowski's poem the newly crowned Korybut Wiśniowiecki does the same in Wawel Castle in Kraków³³, Rej introduces the catalogue and genealogical forms in a "direct" manner, without any

³⁰ M. Rej, *Żwierzyniec*, Kraków 1562, f. L 7.

³¹ The division into clergy and lay senators within the Senate (one of the convening estates) was quite common, e.g. in the speech of H. Visconti, nuncio of Pope Urban VIII, to those gathered in the election field in 1632, see Kaczorowski 1984: 164.

³² Rej often used similar formulae: "A tu się już poczynają stany i domy niektóre zacnego narodu polskiego..."; "a napirwej on zacny Zygmunt, sławny król polski". The hierarchical listing of church offices is preceded by the sentence: "a tu nuż idą stanów duchownych przypadki". Quoted after: *Żwierzyniec* (n. 30), f. H 1, N 4 v.

³³ W. Kochowski, *Muza słowiańska na koronacyjnej ... Michała* (IV 20), in: *Utwory poetyckie. Wybór*, ed. by M. Eustachiewicz, Wrocław 1991, pp. 163–175.

mediating convention. The difference of approach obviously reflects different goals pursued by the authors living in different epochs and thus operating within different aesthetic and literary modes.

In Baroque poems the literary device making the principal character view a gallery of “illustrious men” or ancestors allows for the introduction of a genealogical catalogue without breaking up the unity of the story. However, the same principles of *ars memoriae* that govern the arrangement of portraits in the rooms of Baroque buildings, also served earlier authors (like Rej) to organize their schemes whose very form signalled the logical structure of the whole consisting of like components (hierarchic order of ancestors, illustrious men, offices)³⁴.

In the same way mnemonic alphabets referring to visual images (*loci* and *imagines agentes*) could be included in the poem, so it was also possible to introduce some “masterplans”³⁵. It seems likely that the same rules that let Rej inscribe in his discourse the hierarchy of *universum* and *regnum*, also inspired the authors of the Baroque period although in an altered form. Rej’s “cases of this world”, i.e. of nations, kingdoms, estates or “certain houses”, were replaced with galleries of “illustrious men”, ancestors, poets or (occasionally) hierarchy of estates or offices, integrated in the artfully decorated rooms of the allegorical palaces of memory.

In this context, the text titled *Peristromata regum...* by Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, Marshal (President) of the Sejm and Voivode of Podolia, seems particularly interesting. Published as an annex to his *Scriptorum seu togae et belli notationum fragmenta*³⁶, it is considered Fredro’s most important work. The five opening chapters develop an image of the ideal monarch as a model for Polish kings³⁷. Recalling examples drawn from Classical Antiquity, the author also refers to the writings of Orzechowski: *Annales* and *Fidelis subditus*. It is worth mentioning that in his earlier historical work, *Gestorum populi Poloni sub Henrico Valesio...*³⁸, Fredro had also referred to the spirit and style of Stanisław Orzechowski, the author of *Quicunx*, reflecting on the Commonwealth’s perfection and sacred nature. The frontispiece of *Gestorum populi...* features the image of the three convening estates and the author presents the situation in the

³⁴ See Ślęk 1992; Lewis 1986: 19.

³⁵ Ślęk 1992: 13.

³⁶ A.M. Fredro, *Peristromata regum seu memoriale principis monitorum, symbolis expressum, auctarii loco positum*, in: *Scriptorum seu togae et belli notationum fragmenta...*, Gdańsk 1660.

³⁷ Alongside the “mirrors of the kings”, literature promoted other personal models as well: that of a senator (W. Goślicki, *De optimo senatore*), member of the Sejm (K. Warszewicki, *De legato*) or hetman (B. Paprocki, *Hetman*).

³⁸ *Gestorum populi Poloni sub Henrico Valesio, Polonorum postea vero Galliae Rege*, Gdańsk 1652; Polish translation by W. Syrokomla: *Dzieje narodu polskiego pod Henrykiem Walezjuszem (Dziejopisowiew krajow, vol. IV)*, Petersburg 1855.

realm after the death of the last Jagiellon monarch and praises the institution of free election³⁹. He acquiesces that foreigners might find his opinion rather strange but this is what is required by the admirable and arcane (“magno arcano simili”) political system of the Commonwealth which remains under divine protection⁴⁰.

The form of the aforementioned *Peristromata regum...*, with its multilayer but integrated structure, appears to refer to the tradition of the famous *Stromateis* by Clement of Alexandria and exemplifies the integration of emblematics into the form of the mirror of monarchs⁴¹. The work’s Polish title *Kobierce królów czyli upamiętnienie przestroóg dla panującego wyrażone w symbolach (Carpets of Kings or the Record of Instructions for the Ruler Expressed through Symbols)* sums up the author’s objective referred to in the Foreword: to picture and symbolize the issues addresses in *Scriptorum*, because nothing would be more instructive for the ruler as the wise instructions and sentences covering the walls of his palace: “...quam in qua muta etiam et inanimata, salubria loquantur, et parietes loco monitorum sint” (*Script.*, p. 306)⁴². Apparently, Fredro ventures beyond the imaginary *descriptio* and employs emblematics to create a work that is both literary and visual. His intentions are made obvious in the Foreword to *Peristromata*. The royal carpets, with the instructions and warnings woven into them, are not only the splendid decoration of the palace but become the images of most profound reflection – its “living sculpture” (*Script.*, p. 307):

Utinam haec etiam quae aulaearum sub specie hic suggeruntur monita, non palatii principis ornamenta sint, sed potius animorum, tum intimae mentis imago, et *viva sculptura*⁴³.

The idea was exemplified by illustrious men adorning their residences with emblems (Alexander the Great and the lion as his symbol or the Emperor Charles V whose motto “Non plus ultra” was pictured as Pillars of Hercules). Władysław IV becomes their counterpart on the Polish ground, his state bedroom featuring

³⁹ According to Chmielowski 1899: II 80, Fredro referred to the unfortunate Henri Valois while warning against absolutism in order to justify the privileges of the nobility limiting the power of the monarch. Fredro’s praise of election was probably inspired by the influence of his favourite author Justus Lipsius and his *Monita et exempla politica* (Antverpiae 1605, p. 83).

⁴⁰ See Rynduch 1980: 41. Recently on *Peristromata*, Pelc 2002: 252–259.

⁴¹ Cf. Pelc 1973: 189. On the “mirrors of the kings” see also Kochan 2003; on the form of *Stromateis* see Niemirska-Pliszczyńska 1994: XIII.

⁴² Quoted after Rynduch 1980: 111.

⁴³ Pelc 1973: 186 f., writing on emblematic publications concerned with conveying the idea of ruler and state (*Emblemata regia*), points to *Peristromata Turcica...* and its replica – *Aulaea Romana contra Peristromata Turcica...* published in Paris in 1641. In both series, the fifth emblem in a row shows *Regnum Poloniae*. One of the editions of *Peristromata Turcica* was bound together with *Gestorum Vladislai IV...* authored by Eberhard Wassenberg (1643), its title page shows King Władysław IV with a sword and orb, accompanied by his deeds conveyed symbolically.

the image of the eagle with a sheaf of corn (symbol of the Vasa dynasty) accompanied by the motto: “Panem not fulmina”. The motto reappears as the lemma accompanying the image featured in *Peristroma V*. The eagle holding the sheaf of corn in its claws is not the messenger of the angry, thunder-wielding Jove but the symbol of a good, benevolent monarch distributing favours and goods⁴⁴. The Vasa dynasty’s emblem, the sheaf of corn, thus acquires additional meanings referring to the monarch’s magnanimity and his subjects’ wellbeing.

Interesting in the contexts of discussed issues is also *Peristroma X* featuring an engraving depicting royal subjects supporting the crown and accompanied by the inscribed lemma reading: “Hic fulcris potens”. The commentary included in the emblematic description refers to the Room of the Heads at Wawel Castle, which, according to the author, symbolizes the multitudes of the monarch’s subjects and therefore his power. The royal insignia, together with the empty throne and skull, appear in *Peristroma XX* signifying the eternal life of the monarchs serving God and their subjects (“Coelo morituri, imo sic tandem renascituri”, *Script.*, p. 381)⁴⁵.

Concluding this review of ekphraseis related to monarchs is the work under the meaningful title *Classicum nieśmiertelnej sławy* (*Classicum of Immortal Fame*) authored by Samuel Leszczyński (Kraków 1674)⁴⁶ and directly referring to the aforementioned *Pałac Leszczyński*. The poem, dedicated to the general and hetman Jan Sobieski (future king), opens with an epic apostrophe to Fame praising the victory over the Turks in the Battle of Chocim (henceforth the “classicum” in the title). Then follows the description of the Fame’s palace located on top of a steep, “very unpleasant” rock⁴⁷. It may be mounted only by the virtuous, those whose life is free of laziness and earthly pleasures. The road leading to the palace is narrow and dangerous, with thorns, dragons and hydras threatening the climber. The details would have seemed insignificant if not for the similarity with the narrow path to Virtue described in Mikołaj Rej’s *Wizerunek* or the path chosen by Polish Hercules in Jan Jurkowski’s morality play⁴⁸.

Interestingly, Boccaccio’s allegorical poem *Amorosa visione* (1343) features the figure of female guide, symbolizing Virtue, leading the poet to a magnificent

⁴⁴ Pelc 1973: 185.

⁴⁵ Quoted after Rynduch 1980: 119 f.

⁴⁶ The similarity of the author’s name to *Pałac Leszczyński* is accidental.

⁴⁷ S. Leszczyński, *Classicum nieśmiertelnej sławy*, Kraków 1674, f. a 1v.

⁴⁸ See J. Jurkowski, *Tragedia o polskim Scylurusie*, ed. by J. Krzyżanowski and S. Rospond, Wrocław 1958; the relevant passage in Rej’s *Wizerunek* refers to the “unpleasant” path leading to the castle where Virtue lives (M. Rej, *Wizerunek własny żywota człowieka poczciwego*, ed. by W. Kuraszkiewicz, part 1, Wrocław 1971, pp. 134–137). Jurkowski presents his hero with a choice between the easy path of Pleasure and the thorny, mountainous and unpleasant path of Virtue; Virtue’s palace is situated on a steep and narrow rock.

castle with two gates. One is narrow and may be accessed only via steep stairs while the other is wide and a convenient path leads to it. The first gate leads to eternal salvation, the other to temporal riches, honours and fame⁴⁹.

The manner in which these gates are characterized is clearly informed by axiology. The aforementioned comparison with Jurkowski's morality play, in which Polish Hercules chooses between the path leading to Pleasure and the "unpleasant path", seems even more justified considering that in Leszczyński's work it is Hercules who becomes the guide leading to "the basilica consecrated to Virtue".

In another passage, this "basilica" is referred to as the admirable *Templum virtutis*. The reader is presented with its splendours (*Classicum*, f. a 2v):

...przepyszne wznoszą się podwoje,
I bramy tryumfalne z marmuru szarego,
Ktoremi do dziedzica wejście jest pierwszego,
Gdzie w przestronnej arei poszrodku stojący
Obelisek, z porfiru całego noszący
Głowę, a tej w obłokach około stosami
Różne leżą ryzsztunki, zbroje z chorągwiami,
Helmy na kopijach i zdobyte łupy
Z nieprzyjaciół, do jednej narzucane kupy,
Od wielu bohaterów. Na której dziedziny
Podworzu, sporządzone różne officyny:
Grzmią kuźnie [...]
[...] Ogromne tu i leżą działa
Ktoremi się na wojnach najpierwej ozwała
Europa ...

Not only is the courtyard the venue for producing and storing weapons for those destined to achieve fame but also their deeds are commemorated:

Więc kiedy wielkich dziejów z pod prasy wydają
Historye, i rymy i skąd rozsyłają
Na wszystek świat gazety, misterne drukarnie,
Kuchnie tylko nie widać nigdzie tu i psiarnie,
Bo tu nie apetyty i bezdenne brzuchy
Karmią, ale wspaniałe umysły i duchy...

Then follows the proper description of the palace's "structure", informed by Baroque splendour and in its literary form referring to the characteristic of the

⁴⁹ Boccaccio's work is worthy of note for one more reason. Behind the monumental gate, through which the poets follows his guide, there is a square room covered with frescoes depicting philosophers, scientists and poets of Antiquity and famous legendary and historical figures (Dido, Alexander the Great, Caesar, Tristan and Isolde). They have been arranged according to the topical principle around Wisdom, Glory, Love, and Fortune. Certainly, the description has become a model for Baroque ekphrasis of palaces and galleries filled with images of illustrious men.

seat of the Leszczyński family. Like in *Pałac Leszczyński, Classicum...* also features a building laid out on a square and adorned with marble and emerald columns. Over the gate, there is a dome flanked by four towers.

The reader is led through the entrance of “translucent marbles” to “jasper galleries” (f. a 4v). Here, the walls feature “ancient stories” and imaginary portraits referring to four ancient monarchies (including Assyria and Babylon), seven wonders of the world, and heroes’ deeds. All this “machine of peoples and kingdoms” (f. B 1) serves to present the moral history of the world (included are Roman emperors, Crusades, wars with Turks, geographic discoveries)⁵⁰.

While recording and commenting on these historical events, Fame does not forget about native Polish (“Sarmatian”) examples (f. C 2):

Te kunszty niezliczone i żywe obrazy
Pędzłem apellesowym robione bez skazy,
Jako i w mozaiku drogim rozsadziła,
Gdy po tych galerjach nie upośledziła
Ta bogini i nasze sarmackie przykłady,
Męstwa i nieśmiertelnych dzieł...

Along the ancient heroes and figures from the universal history, also Polish monarchs serve as moral examples. Not only are they presented in the form of the gallery of kings but also their deeds are referred to⁵¹. This historical narrative of a kind is presented in the form of “painted history”. In addition to the kings, also hetmans and “other warriors of whom Sarmatia is proud” are featured (f. D 4v). On the ceiling (symbolizing the celestial sphere) the coats-of-arms of the Polish Crown and Lithuania and noble families have been painted by “distinguished masters”. Among them, the hereditary coat-of-arms of Jan Sobieski (Janina) takes pride of place (f. G 3v). Having described the frescoes on the ceiling, Fame proceeds to describe the “hall and precious rooms” whose elegant interiors serves as a prelude to present the works of art occupying the palace’s top floor.

Here, the domed “translucent room” features the statue of Sobieski in the centre, styled in *modo antico*. Like Mount Parnassus, the room enshrines the enthroned Fame cloaked in the “mantle of glory and dignity” under the canopy

⁵⁰ An analogous description, although pertaining to a modest house of Eusebio, features in Erasmus’ *Convivium religiosum*. A globe depicting the whole world is suspended from the library’s ceiling, the walls are covered with images of various lands, and in three galleries, located above, there is a pictorial representation of the Bible and images of popes and Roman emperors to commemorate history. See Erazm z Rotterdamu, *Zbożna biesiada*, in: *Trzy rozprawy*, transl. and ed. by J. Domański, Warszawa 1990, pp. 359–361.

⁵¹ The writers’ awareness of the tradition of employing ekphraseis to depict the deeds of famous men is confirmed in *Kazanie na pogrzebie ... Samuela Paca...* by Jakub Olszewski (Wilno 1627): “Achilles zwycięstwa i tryumfy swoje chciał mieć wyrysowane na puklerzu, Tyberiusz – cesarz – na szyszaku, Aeneas na kirysie, Octavianus Augustus – na miedzianych tablicach” (f. a 1).

suspended on ropes. Here, the author appears to give way to his proclivity for multiplying symbolic meanings. The canopy's ropes, although they may call to mind the thread woven by the Parcae, have nothing in common with it. Fame is an eternally young goddess and Time has no power over her pronouncements: "here, no law is binding" declares the narrator (f. H 4v).

The throne of Fame is flanked by the figures of Zeus and Athena (probably personifying Fortitude and Wisdom). The crowning of heroes with laurel wreaths is accompanied by music: the sound of trumpets and cannon shots honours the military heroes under the patronage of Zeus while Apollo's lute and the singing Muses entertain those under the care of Athena.

Suddenly, "rumours" appear to inform about the ongoing Battle of Chocim. Fame mounts its chariot and follows them to the battlefield. A detailed, epic description of the battle ensues and the Polish victory is announced to the whole world.

Classicum is an interesting example of a laudatory work. Its main theme – the description of the Battle of Chocim – is combined with the apotheosis of the addressee of the dedication: Jan Sobieski. The laudation has been intertwined with the historical narrative presented in the form of the series of paintings featured in the galleries and rooms of Fame's palace.

The works of art (paintings in Fame's palace) depict past and present events. The chronicle-like narrative is combined with the gallery of kings, genealogical poem, armorial, apotheosis of a hero and the tradition of epic literature (description of the battle). The successive descriptions of pictures and frescoes become departure points and a pretext for the narration leading the reader through the sequence of floors and rooms. Not only does the author attempt to organize "the painted history" according to chronological order but he also tries to evaluate them and build into a hierarchy. The art of painting serves not only to commemorate remarkable deeds but also to do so in a certain order. Leszczyński's *Classicum* appears to refer to the extensive literary tradition which had inspired the authors of allegorical galleries and palaces⁵².

In many of the aforementioned ekphraseis, the organisation of the imaginary architecture corresponds to the hierarchy of historical figures and events presented: the spatial order serves to express and emphasize the genealogical and historical order. The connection between the spatial organisation of the royal residence and court ceremony inevitably comes to mind in this context. The royal (or aristocratic) residence was often an indispensable venue for ceremonial functions. Its spatial organisation conveyed the hierarchy of rooms (state rooms, private apartments, servants quarters) and functions⁵³.

⁵² Cf. Curtius 1997: 128 f. On literary tradition and convention in Leszczyński's work: Ryba 2001.

⁵³ Extensively on the subject: Żuchowski 1999: 46–51, passim; Żygułski 1987: 10 f., 31–34. See also Rottermund 1998.

The discussed ekhphraseis include lists (for example of the ancestors of Władysław IV) in connection with some ceremony or its component (Primate of Poland's speech after the election of Władysław IV) or – more often – with the description of the gallery of illustrious men and ancestors placed within the hierarchical space of the residence.

In Twardowski's *Pałac Leszczyński*, the story of heroes and illustrious men is featured "in the marble galleries" (p. 102)⁵⁴ while the ancestors of the Leszczyński family are presented in an ideologically elevated space: the *piano nobile*. The entrance to this stately floor is flanked by two emerald columns and opens into an "unspeakably bright room". Its walls, covered with precious tapestries, feature the portraits of ancestors dressed in togas. On the opposite side of this "precious room" (pp. 119–123), feature the portraits of the family's matrons in traditional Polish headdresses (*rantuchs*). Apparently, the accumulation of adjectives emphasizing splendour and colours, characteristic of Baroque ekhphraseis, serves to valorize and organize the space featuring ancestral images.

In *Pałac Leszczyński*, the living members of the illustrious family are presented – in a deliberate order – as participants in the feast presided over by Fame. They are preceded by the Senate and representatives of particular lands (voivodeships) to emphasize the family's involvement in public matters (p. 124).

Samuel Leszczyński follows this pattern in his *Classicum*: the palace is a square marble structure opening up into an elevated courtyard (probably performing the function of the *cour d'honneur*) – f. a 3⁵⁵. We remember that from there the path leads to the "jasper galleries" whose walls feature the "machine of peoples and kingdoms", including the gallery of Roman emperors and "Sarmatian examples". Polish kings and their deeds have also been featured and thus the gallery of monarchs has been complemented with the historical narrative. Here – after perusing the "jasper galleries" – the palatial space continues to be presented as hierarchical. On the galleries' vaults and their "bands" (probably arches and friezes), traditionally symbolizing the celestial sphere, hover the coats-of-arms of Poland and Lithuania surrounded by the coats-of-arms of noble families, the most prominent among them "Great Sobieski's" Janina (f. H 1). From there, the stairs lead up to the domed "translucent room" where the glorification of the "famous Sobieski" (f. H 3v), dressed like a Roman emperor and with a laurel wreath on his head, takes place. The dome's semi-spherical shape is imbued with potent architectural symbolism referring to the tabernacle, royal majesty (canopy

⁵⁴ Quotations after Twardowski, *Pałac Leszczyński...* (n. 32). The cycles with the images of Roman emperors were an obligatory feature in the decoration of residences of European monarchs in the Renaissance, see Mossakowski 1980: 106. Such images featured in the galleries surrounding the courtyard at Wawel Castle and also the castles in Szczecin and Brzeg. For a review of this kind of images in the Middle Ages see Franz 1959.

⁵⁵ All quotations after Leszczyński, *Classicum...* (n. 47).

spread above the throne), and cosmic order. In *Classicum*, this symbolism is referred to twice: first at the beginning and then again in the aforementioned scene of the apotheosis of the Chocim victor⁵⁶.

As it has been demonstrated, the layout of the imaginary palaces could be interpreted as a “meaningful” structure reflecting the functions and spatial hierarchy underlying actual royal residences.

Thus, galleries and catalogues, the principal feature of ekphraseis, can serve not only as the *imagines agentes* in the mnemonic *loci* of the imaginary architecture but the architecture itself and its spatial organisation possibly convey the place of the depicted persons in the social hierarchy by referring to the actual layout and function of royal residences.

The narrator leads the reader through the evocatively described sequence of courtyards, floors and rooms animated not only by poetical imagination but – for some readers at least – by their personal experience of actual residences. This imbues the described pictures, frescoes and “stories carved in mosaics” with some additional value. Not only are they an object of admiration and commemoration placed in the abstract palace of memory but can be easier remembered thanks to their correspondence to the actual residences familiar to any participant in court ceremonies.

Descriptions of images of illustrious figures of Antiquity and royal or aristocratic ancestors adorning the rooms of imaginary palaces have been usually structured according to two organizing principles: one may be called successive, the other – simultaneous. The first approach consisted in presenting the painted images of illustrious men of Antiquity, heroes and family ancestors in a consecutive (successive) manner. The simultaneous manner of presentation is usually reserved for the living family members. They do not appear as painted portraits but enter the descriptive framework “in person” – as participants in some important contemporary event, a feast, battle or session of the Sejm (Parliament). In this way, the description acquires an epic dimension.

The passage from Vergil’s *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas admires in the temple in Carthage the paintings depicting the events and heroes of the Trojan War is generally considered the literary prototype and model for this kind of procedures. Queen Dido refers to the pictures as a mnemonic system helping her to memorize and recall the history of her ancestors to Aeneas⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ At the beginning of the poem, the description of the dome is part of the description of the entire palace: „Nad bramą pomienioną kopuła zrobiona / Z jednej sztuki tak wielkiej całkiem wydrążona, / Czyli, jako umieli starzy odlewana / Z kamienia, szczerozłotą blachą pobijana”; a note at the bottom of the page reads “taka miałaby być kopuła Pantheonu w Rzymie” (f. a 4). On the symbolism of the dome: Hautecoeur 1954; E.B. Smith 1956: 59–70, 107–110, passim; Targosz 1986: 137.

⁵⁷ See Verg. *Aen.* I 446–493. Yates 1977: 206 points to the mnemonic aspect of the scene. Elsewhere in *Aeneid*, Anchises shows to his son his future successors (VI 756–859), and Rinaldo in

The list of ancestors supplemented by a historical narrative has become characteristic of epics. It is worth remembering that Jan Kochanowski in his unfinished poem devoted to Władysław Warneńczyk (killed by the Turks in the Battle of Varna) before describing the fallen king's deeds descended to the "ancestral chapel" in the company of King Sigismund Augustus. There – paying homage to Władysław's predecessors – he intended to relate their deeds in the order defined by the genealogical succession⁵⁸.

Ekphraseis serve primarily to present the object of the narrator's interest in a painterly and expressive manner. The focus is on creating an illusion and visualisation (through *hypotyposis*). The accumulation of descriptive passages is conducive to expanding episodes and digressions within the text, in some cases (e.g. Twardowski's *Przeważna legacyja*) resulting in retardation.

The work of art (palace, portrait gallery, stately interior) is often employed as a means to present in an orderly (hierarchical and chronological) fashion the proper theme: succession of monarchs, ancestors, occasionally poets. At the same time, the elements of the building itself or the pictures featured in the gallery become the mnemonic places, not unlike "curators" supplying the memory with appropriate deposits⁵⁹.

The rhetoric style dominates in the descriptions, which is typical of the monologue focused on persuasion. Depending on the genre, persuasion is effected by means of a laudatory speech (*genus demonstrativum*) or an advisory utterance (*genus deliberativum*). The object is described in a manner stimulating visual and figurative associations and becomes equivalent to a visual, usually architectural, form. The gallery of pictures, frieze or plafond, which the described paintings "create" in the imagination of the reader/viewer, are placed in the palace's rooms, studios or on its particular floors. The narrator employs colour, movement, and light just as the painter would.

What seems particularly important in ekphraseis is the illusion of visual objects intended to persuade the "viewer" to "look" at the described object, the procedure underlain by the characteristic relation between the verbal nature of description and the evoked iconic aspect. While *naming and classifying* (hierarchical catalogues), the authors at the same time try to *picture and demonstrate* the described object employing the same verbal "material"⁶⁰.

Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* sees the images of his successors appearing on the shield (song XVII, oct. 66–81). The tradition of catalogues of kings harks back to the 3rd c. BC (listing in chronological order the names of the patriarchs, prophets, judges, and kings of Israel appearing on the pages of the Bible and also of the foreign kings beginning with Alexander the Great), see Kurbis 1981: 95.

⁵⁸ J. Kochanowski, *Władysław Warneńczyk. Fragmenta*, in: *Dziela polskie*, introduction and notes by J. Krzyżanowski, vol. III, Warszawa 1953, p. 40.

⁵⁹ Yates 1977: 14.

⁶⁰ More on verbal and iconic aspects of texts Kłoch 1990.

The narrator often assumes the role of an “eyewitness” relating his personal experience (frequent inclusions of such words as “I saw”, “I observed”, “I noticed”). The reader is in a way provoked to “participate” in the act of perception: the narrator repeatedly addresses him and refers to his presence (“have a look”, “you can see”, “listen!”, “look!”).

In the discussed works, the *descriptio* usually takes on a two-fold form: an ekphrasis appears either as a rhetorical figure related to the *persuasio* and is a fragment of the text (episodic or digressive) or as a literary form expanded to fill in the entire text. The first approach is exemplified by the descriptions in *Władysław IV*, the other informs *Pałac Leszczyński* or *Classicum nieśmiertelnej sławy*. In either case, the same lexical and stylistic instruments are employed and the *descriptio* performs the same function within the text.

In the context discussed in the present paper (presentation and symbolism of power), ekphrases are allowed for literary visualisation of galleries of kings. Oftentimes referring to the genre of icons, they constituted its equivalent and elaboration, taking from the icons the form of an “illustrated” catalogue and expanding it through the incorporation of the purely literary methods of description referring to rhetoric.

Wrocław

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ZU EINER SYLLABISCHEN INSCRIFT AUS KOUKLIA-PAPHOS
(*KOUKLIA* NR. 5 = *ICS* NR. 15C)¹

Von

RAFAŁ ROSÓŁ

ABSTRACT: The article deals with a Cyprian syllabic inscription from Kouklia-Paphos (*Kouklia* No. 5 = *ICS* No. 15c). The author discusses critically its present interpretation and puts forward a new proposal.

In der Sammlung der syllabischen Inschriften aus Kouklia-Paphos (zitiert als *Kouklia*) unter Nr. 5 befindet sich eine Inschrift auf einem trommelförmigen Stein (Durchmesser max. 31 cm, Höhe 15 cm)². Sie wurde zusammen mit zahlreichen syllabischen Inschriften von der britischen Kouklia-Expedition 1950–1955 auf dem Marcello-Hügel nordöstlich des heutigen Dorfes Kouklia in einer Belagerungsrampe gefunden. Da die Rampe vermutlich im Jahre 498 v. Chr. von den Persern errichtet wurde, sind die dort entdeckten Objekte auf das Ende des 6. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren³.

Die vollständig erhaltene Inschrift besteht aus neun Silbenzeichen ohne Worttrennung. Die Schreibrichtung ist rechtsläufig. Die Herausgeber bieten folgende Transliteration und Transkription:

te-mi-si-to-na-to-i-ni-se
Θεμιστώνατ(τ)ο(ς) ἱνις

Sohn des Themistonax.

¹ Für die sprachliche Korrektur möchte ich Frau Cecilie Koch (Göttingen) meinen aufrichtigen Dank aussprechen.

² Erstmals wurde sie von Mitford (1958: 263, Anm. 10) in alphabetischer Transkription angegeben und dann bei *ICS* als Nr. 15c gebucht. Die Inschrift gehört dem Museum in Kouklia (Inventar-Nr. KA 2199).

³ Zu diesem Fundort s. Meier im Vorwort zu Masson, Mitford 1986: 1 f., mit Verweis auf weitere Literatur.

Bei dieser Deutung stößt man jedoch auf verschiedene Schwierigkeiten, wie die Autoren selbst im Kommentar feststellen: „Inscription complète et assez lisible, mais qui comporte plusieurs difficultés“ (Masson, Mitford 1986: 28).

Problematisch ist in erster Linie der Inhalt des Textes: Wir würden eher die Struktur „X, Sohn des Y“ erwarten⁴. Die einzige Möglichkeit, dieses Problem zu lösen, wäre die von den Autoren aufgestellte Hypothese, dass es sich hier um „une consécration faite pour un enfant en bas âge, n’ayant pas encore reçu son nom“ handeln könnte (Masson, Mitford 1986: 29), was jedoch nicht sehr plausibel erscheint.

Erhebliche Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich auch im Bereich der Phonetik: Wenn die Zeichenfolge *te-mi-si-to-na-to* als $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau(\tau)\omicron(\zeta) < * \Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\text{F}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ interpretiert wird⁵, muss man außer der im Kyprischen häufig vorliegenden Verhauchung des /s/ im Auslaut drei weitere phonetische Erscheinungen annehmen: a) Assimilation /kt/ > /tt/, b) Schwund des /u/ und c) Kontraktion /ao/ > /ō/. Während man die Assimilation /kt/ > /tt/ annehmen könnte⁶, scheint der Schwund des /u/ und insbesondere die Kontraktion /ao/ > /ō/ in einer so frühen Inschrift fragwürdig zu sein. Aus diesem Grund versuchte Risch (1965: 90 f.) den Komplex *te-mi-si-to-na-to* als $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha(\nu)\tau\omicron(\zeta)$ oder $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\alpha\tau\omega$ zu erklären⁷. Ruijgh (1989: 570) betrachtete dagegen die Form $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau(\tau)\omicron(\zeta)$ als ionisch. Die beiden Vorschläge sind jedoch wenig plausibel.

Zudem ist die vorgeschlagene Deutung der Inschrift auch hinsichtlich der Lesung nicht einwandfrei. Die Lesung der Silbenzeichen Nr. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 und 9 unterliegt keinem Zweifel (für die Zeichen Nr. 1, 4 und 8, die von den Herausgebern nicht kursiv gesetzt wurden, gibt es keine andere Interpretationsmöglichkeit). Problematisch ist aber das sechste Zeichen, das als *to* interpretiert wird. Leider sowohl auf der Zeichnung als auch auf den Photos (Masson, Mitford 1986: 32 und Planche 6) sind nur die ersten fünf Zeichen zu sehen. Bedauerlicherweise hatte ich keine Möglichkeit, an dieser Inschrift Autopsie zu gewinnen, aber aus dem Kommentar wird deutlich, dass das sechste Zeichen in Wirklichkeit als *u* zu lesen ist: „Mitford, voyant d’abord le s. 6 comme un <u> éventuel, avait envisagé $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\upsilon$, évidemment impossible. Ensuite, reconnaissant un <to> incomplet, il a transcrit $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha(\kappa)\tau\omicron(\zeta)$ “ (Masson, Mitford 1986: 29). Der Ausdruck „un <to> incomplet“ bedeutet wohl das Fehlen des horizontalen Striches, der die Zeichen *u* und *to* voneinander unterscheidet.

⁴ Deswegen betrachtete Masson (1961: 111) diese Inschrift als fragmentarisch erhalten: „Fragment de dédicace?“.

⁵ Zustimmung bei Viredaz 1983: 186; Fraser, Matthews 1987: 212; Egetmeyer 1992: 182; Hintze 1993: 79.

⁶ Dazu s. Masson 1963: 138–141; Masson, Mitford 1986: 29. Vgl. jedoch Schmitt 1987: 185.

⁷ Kritik bei Viredaz 1983: 186, Anm. 341; Masson, Mitford 1986: 29.



u



to

Silbenzeichen *u* und *to* in den Inschriften aus Kouklia-Paphos (nach Masson, Mitford 1986: 13)

Es liegt also nahe, für das sechste Zeichen den Wert *u* anzunehmen. Daraus ergibt sich folgende Transliteration der Inschrift:

te-mi-si-to-na-u-i-ni-se

Die Interpretation der drei letzten Zeichen als ἱνις „Sohn“ scheint zutreffend, da dieses Wort auch sonst mehrmals in Paphos bzw. in den Inschriften des paphischen Königs Nikokles aus Ayia Moni belegt ist⁸. Diese Erklärung erfordert allerdings, wie schon hervorgehoben, die Struktur „X, Sohn des Y“.

Demzufolge sollte man versuchen, die Zeichenfolge *te-mi-si-to-na-u* nicht als einen, sondern als zwei Personennamen aufzulösen. Das scheint jedoch nur dann möglich, wenn wir es hier mit zwei Abkürzungen zu tun haben. Diese Hypothese ist gut begründet, denn die Personennamen in den syllabischen Inschriften aus Kouklia-Paphos treten sehr oft in abgekürzten Formen auf, z. B. *te-mi*, Θεμι() (*Kouklia* Nr. 156; 157), *ku-po*, Κυπ() (Nr. 136), *ku-po-ro*, Κυπρο() (Nr. 90), *o-na*, Ὀνα() (Nr. 141; 142; 143), *o-na-si*, Ὀνασι() (Nr. 51), *o-re*, Ὀρε() (Nr. 144) u. a.⁹ Dementsprechend können wir den Komplex *te-mi-si-to-na-u* als Θεμιστο() und Ναυ() interpretieren. Es handelt sich dann um zwei abgekürzte Personennamen mit den in der griechischen Sprache sehr häufigen Vordergliedern Θεμιστο- und Ναυ- bzw. Ναυσι-¹⁰.

Nach der vorgeschlagenen Auffassung erhalten wir folgende Deutung der Inschrift Nr. 5:

te-mi-si-to-na-u-i-ni-se
Θεμιστο() Ναυ() ἱνις

Themisto(), Sohn des Nau().

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Filiale in Piotrków Trybunalski

⁸ *ICS* Nr. 1, a 1; 6, 2; 7, 5; *Kouklia* Nr. 1, 2; sowie *ICS* Nr. 90, 3; 91, 4. Zu ἱνις s. vor allem Masson 1975.

⁹ Vgl. auch die Gruppe der Inschriften aus Kouklia und Rantidi, die aus zwei Silbenzeichen mit einem Worttrennungszeichen bestehen, z. B. *e | ti* (*Kouklia* Nr. 116), *ke | ki* (Nr. 117), *pi | pu* (Nr. 120), *se | pa* (Nr. 121). Die Interpretation dieser Inschriften bleibt zwar unklar, doch „there is a good chance that we may have here some abbreviated personal names, e.g. a son and a father, the simplest information which is given by the votaries on their dedications“ (Masson, Mitford 1983: 74); s. auch Masson, Mitford 1986: 75 f.

¹⁰ Zu diesen Gliedern s. Bechtel 1917: 199–201 und 325–327.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

ICS = Masson 1961.

Kouklia = Masson, Mitford 1986.

Rantidi = Masson, Mitford 1983.

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DIE SCHWARZPAPPELN IM PSEUDOHIPPOKRATISCHEN BRIEF
17, 2.
EIN VERSUCH IHRER DEUTUNG

Von

KRYSTYNA BARTOL

Die von Wolfgang Speyer in seinem Buch¹ präsentierten Mittel der Echtheitsbeglaubigung, deren sich die antiken Autoren bedienen, können auch auf den Briefroman appliziert werden. Sie werden zu einem der wichtigen Gattungsdeterminanten und bilden ein prominentes Element der Stoffbehandlung im Briefroman². Die Angaben über Personen, Zeit und Ort gehören auch zum ‚Beglaubigungsapparat‘³ der im *Corpus Hippocraticum* überlieferten⁴ fiktiven Geschichte der Begegnung zwischen Hippokrates und Demokrit (Briefe 10–23)⁵.

In dem Brief 17, der die eingültige Aufklärung über Demokrits permanentes Lachen und den angeblichen Wahnsinn des Philosophen enthält, finden sich – wie auch in den vorausgehenden Briefen⁶ – viele die Authentizität fingierenden Einzelheiten, die als Exponenten der Szenerie gelten. Man braucht aber einen

¹ Speyer 1971. An den Titel dieses Buchs knüpft der Untertitel meines Aufsatzes an.

² Vgl. Holzberg 1994: 49 f.; Rosenmeyer 2001: 197 f. und 2006: 97.

³ Zu diesem Problem vgl. Speyer 1971: 82: „Je genauer die Angaben sind, desto falscher sind sie“ und Rosenmeyer 2006: 97: „The anonymous writers aim for accuracy in all areas – dialect, perspective, setting – but often, in their attempt at realism, provide so many specifics that they trip themselves up on anachronisms, and reveal their fictional nature“.

⁴ Zum Verfasser und Datierung der Hippokrates-Briefe siehe Philippson 1928; Sakalis 1992: 543.

⁵ Zur Diskussion der Frage, inwieweit diese Geschichte als Melancholieschrift betrachtet werden kann siehe vor allem Rütten 1992: passim. Zum Ursprung der Geschichte vgl. Steward 1958; Caizzi 1985; López Férez 1975: 45 f.

⁶ Vgl. zum Beispiel den Brief 11, wo es steht, daß der nach Kos geschickte Bote am Tage der *Analepsis Rhabdou* und der Prozession zur Zypresse gekommen ist (dieses Fest wird von einer koischen Inschrift bestätigt, vgl. Herzog 1983: 217 f.). Vgl. auch den Brief 13 mit der Erwähnung der Jahreszeit, der Herkunft von Hippokrates’ Gattin, den Brief 14 mit der eingehenden Beschreibung des Schiffes, mit dem Hippokrates nach Abdera segeln will.

achtsamen Blick in den Text, um zu sehen, daß zweimal den Berichten über die Szenerie der Geschehen eine besondere Rolle zukommt. Die Aufzählung der Details dient nämlich in diesem Fall nicht einer Anreicherung der Darstellungsvehikel, sondern einer Ausgestaltung der Anspielungen auf die literarische Tradition wie auch auf das Theaterpotential und dramatische Handlungsentwicklung des Textes. Die platonisierende Stilisierung der Beschreibung der *katagogia* des Demokrit (Brief 17, 2) – sie ist doch eine Nachahmung der Ilissoszene aus dem *Phaidros* (230B–C) – ist nicht schwer einzusehen. Sie wurde von den Forschern in ihren Überlegungen zu den pseudohippokratischen Briefen berücksichtigt⁷ und sorgfältig behandelt⁸. Es verwundert, daß die Textstelle, wo der Platz beschrieben ist, von dem die Abderiten dem Gespräch des Hippokrates mit Demokrit zuhören, bislang nicht kommentiert wurde. Ich bin dagegen geneigt zu vermuten, daß dieser Beschreibung eine besondere Wichtigkeit zufällt, indem sie von den textexternen Lesern als das von dem Autor des Textes absichtlich gesetzte Hinweis auf den Ablauf des Theaterspiels in Athen anerkannt werden konnte. So soll diese Textstelle Gegenstand der Untersuchung sein.

Der Autor beschreibt den Platz, wo sich die Mitbürger des Demokrit befinden, folgendermaßen (17, 2)⁹:

ἔπειτα κατόπιν τοῦ πύργου βουνὸς ἦν τις ὑψηλός, μακρῆσι καὶ λασίησιν αἰγείροισιν ἐπίσκιος, ἔνθεν τε ἔθεωρεῖτο τὰ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου καταγῶγια.

Sodann war ein hoher mit den großen, dicht-bewachsenen Schwarzpappeln beschatteter Hügel hinter dem Turm gelegen. Von hier aus war es Demokrits Herberge zu sehen.

Die Abderiten, die den miteinander streitenden Hippokrates und Demokrit von den Schwarzpappeln her zuschauen und zuhören, erinnern an die Zuschauer der dramatischen Aufführungen, die vor dem Bau des Dionysos-Theater in Athen einen dramatischen Agon auf der Agora sehen¹⁰. Es gibt Zeugnisse, die deutlich zeigen, daß die antiken Lexikographen die früheren Aufführungen auf der Agora in Beziehung zu einer Schwarzpappel setzen. Die hölzernen Tribünen oder Bänke (Ikria), die als Sitzplätze dienten, mußten sich in der Nähe einer Schwarzpappel befinden¹¹. Der Platz bei diesem Baum wurde zu einem Symbol der schlechtesten Plätze, die sich durch die schlechte Sichtbarkeit kennzeichnen. Das Zuschauen von

⁷ Vgl. Rütten 1992: 216.

⁸ Vgl. Hersant 1989: 121–123 und Pigeaud 1981: 455.

⁹ Der Text des pseudohippokratischen Briefs wird nach Smiths Ausgabe (Smith 1990) zitiert.

¹⁰ Zum Thema der dramatischen Aufführungen vor dem Bau des Dionysos-Theater siehe die fundamentalen Aufsätze von Pickard-Cambridge 1946: 10–13; Newiger 1976: 82–86; Hammond 1972. Siehe auch Wycherley 1965. Siehe auch Chodkowski 2003: 66–69.

¹¹ Vgl. Kolb 1981: 29–39.

der Schwarzpappel her (αἰγείρου θέα) ist von Kratinos erwähnt worden (Fr. 372 Kassel–Austin). Photius ((b, z) α 505 = Lex. Bachm., p. 42, 25) kommentiert diese Wendung folgendermaßen: αἰγείρου θέα καὶ ἡ παρ' αἰγείρου θέα Ἀθήνησιν αἰγείρος ἦν, ἧς πλησίον τὰ ἴκρια ἐπήγνυον εἰς τὴν θέαν πρὸ τὸ θέατρον γενέσθαι [„Das Zuschauen von der Schwarzpappel her oder das Zuschauen bei der Schwarzpappel: Es war in Athen eine Schwarzpappel, in deren Nähe die Gerüste für eine Schau – vor dem Bau des Theaters – gebaut waren“]. Die frühere Quelle, Hesychios (π 513), führt die Phrase παρ' αἰγείρου θέα an und, sich auf Eratosthenes berufend, erklärt: Ἐρατοσθένους φησί, ὅτι πλησίον αἰγείρου τινός θέα ... ἐγγυς τῶν ἰκρίων. ἕως οὖν τούτου τοῦ φυτοῦ ἐξετείνετο καὶ κατασκευάζετο τὰ ἴκρια, ἃ ἔστι ὀρθὰ ξύλα, ... ἐφ' οἷς ἐκαθέζοντο πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ θέατρον [„Eratosthenes sagt, daß in der Nähe einer Schwarzpappel (...) den Gerüsten nahe. In der Tat erstreckten sich bis zu diesem Baum die Gerüste, d. h. die hochgehobenen Balken, auf denen sie sich vor dem Bau des Theaters niedersetzten“]. Suda (α 2952 = Lex. Bachm., p. 115, 8) lokalisiert die Schwarzpappel oberhalb des Theaters, wo die Leute, die die besseren Bänke auf dem Schauplatz nicht bekamen, wahrscheinlich die Gemeinsten, saßen und die Vorführung sahen: αἰγείρος γὰρ ἐπάνω ἦν τοῦ θεάτρου, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον ἐθεόρου [„die Schwarzpappel war oberhalb des Theaters, wovon diejenigen, die den Sitzplatz nicht hatten, zuschauten“]. Dasselbe geht aus dem Text des Eustathios (ε 64) hervor, wo man liest: ἦν ... αἰγείρος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπάνω τοῦ θεάτρου ἀφ' ἧς ἐθεόρου οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αἰγείρου θέα ἐλέγετο. καὶ παρ' αἰγείρου θέα, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων. καὶ ἦν φασι εὐωνότερα ἢ παρ' αἰγείρου θέα [„In Athen gibt es oberhalb des Theaters eine Schwarzpappel, von der aus diejenigen, die den Platz nicht hatten, zuschauten. Deshalb sagt man: das Zuschauen von der Schwarzpappel. ‚Das Zuschauen bei der Schwarzpappel‘ heißt ‚von hintersten her‘. Man sagt, daß das Zuschauen bei der Schwarzpappel billiger war“].

Die Erwähnung der Abderiten, die – als ob sie Zeugen eines Theaterstückes in Athen wären – von den Schwarzpappeln dem Agon der Protagonisten zuschauen, scheint die absichtliche Betonung der engen Verbindung zwischen der im Brief präsentierten Handlungsführung und der Handlungsentwicklung des Dramas¹² zu sein. Mit diesem Hinweis hebt der Verfasser des pseudohippokratischen Briefs die Analogie der von ihm geschaffenen textimmanenten Gegebenheit zu dem spannungsorientierten Drama hervor¹³. Obwohl die im Brief 17 erzählten Ereignisse

¹² Die dramatische Dimension dieses Briefromans ist von Arndt 1994: 73–75 bemerkt worden. Zu diesem Thema siehe auch Bartol 2007: 30–39. Zum Zusammenhang zwischen der dramatischen Dimension des Briefromans und dem griechischen Roman siehe Hägg 1971: 322–327. Über das Problem der Deutung des Begriffs ‚Spannung‘ in Bezug auf antike Literatur äußerte sich letzens Fuchs 2000.

¹³ Das Verhältnis der Handlungsentwicklung des pseudohippokratischen Briefromans zum Drama wird hier nicht behandelt, da es an anderer Stelle von mir angesprochen wird (vgl. Bartol 2007:

in Abdera stattfinden, mußte – paradoxerweise – die Anspielung an Athen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts im Widerspruch zu den Erwartungen der Rezipienten nicht stehen. Die Amalgamierung der Orte, Zeiten und Persönlichkeiten in der erzählten Welt des Briefromans wurde von den Gebildeten (*pepaideumenoí*) der Kaiserzeit nicht als schlechte Fälschung, sondern als raffinierter Rückgriff eingeschätzt, in dem sich die literarische Kunst des Verfassers manifestiert¹⁴.

Diese vielleicht überraschend erscheinende Wahl des Autors, die Abderiten als eine Gruppe der Zeugen eines szenischen Stückes in Athen zu präsentieren, scheint aber auch durch die Bedürfnisse der Charakterisierungskunst motiviert: Der von den Abderiten genommene schlechte und hinterste Platz bei der Schwarzpappel zeigt nämlich auf die Rolle der Bürger von Abdera als die Niedrigsten, als die ahnungslosen Figuren, die – trotz ihrer plakativen Demokritsorge – die Weisheit von Wahnsinn nicht zu unterscheiden vermögen.

Die weiteren Anhaltspunkte für diese These ergeben sich aus dem Hesych-Kommentar (α 5716) zu dem von einem Komödiendichter¹⁵ verwandten Ausdruck ἄπ' αἰγείρων. Der Lexikograph erklärt die Phrase ἄνδροκλέα τὸν ἄπ' αἰγείρων sagend, daß sie auf einen Sykophanten Androkles Bezug habe. Dann fügt er hinzu: ἐπειδὴ ... ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, αἰγείρου τὰ πίνακα ἐξήπτων, τουτέστι ἐξηρώτων, οἱ ἔσχατοι. Der Schurke Androkles hängt – wie andere Sykophanten – an der Schwarzpappel die Täfelchen mit Anklagen gegen Amtsträger¹⁶ auf. Ebenso tun die Abderiten, die – im übertragenen Sinne – ‚Schwarzpappelmänner‘ sind, indem sie mittels des an Hippokrates geschickten Briefs ständiges Lachen Demokrits verkündigen und ihre Anklagen gegen ihren einst prominenten Mitbürger, jetzt den angeblichen Verrückten – einreichen. Der Rat und das Volk

30–39). So scheint es geboten, in diesem Aufsatz die Behandlung dieses Thema nur kurz zu resümieren. Die Darstellungstechnik des Pseudo-Hippokrates zeichnet sich dadurch, daß er in ähnlicher Weise wie die Tragiker die dramatische Spannung in den Mittelpunkt stellt. Zur Spannungserzeugung tragen vor allem die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven der Informationsvermittlung und das Zusammenwirken der Ironie und des sukzessiven Enthüllens von Wahrheit bei. Die Spannung des Lesers kann mit der Empfindung von der dramatischen Spannung eines Theaterzuschauers verglichen werden, indem die beiden langsam in Richtung auf ein erwartetes Ziel voranschreiten. So empfinden sie dieselbe Art der Spannung: Die zentrale Spannungsquelle des Briefromans muß nämlich in der allmählichen – in den Einzelbriefen durchgeführten – Aufdeckung des erwarteten Endes, nicht in dem überraschenden Schluß erkannt werden. Der Aufbau des pseudohippokratischen Briefromans wird also in Form einer ‚Wie-Spannung‘ konzipiert. Diese wirkungsorientierte Perspektive hängt natürlich mit der Art der Wissensvermittlung im klassischen Drama zusammen.

¹⁴ Die Theatralität des Textes ist auch sehr charakteristisch für den kaiserzeitlichen Roman. Die Anspielungen an Theateraufführungen werden in den Text durch die theatralische Terminologie eingeführt. Zu diesem Thema siehe Walden 1894; Bartsch 1989: 109–143; Marino 1990; Dworacki 2000: 125 f.

¹⁵ Kassel, Austin 1995: 95 (ad *adesp.* 278).

¹⁶ Vgl. Bemerkungen von Kolb 1981: 34 f. und Judeich 1965: 304, Anm. 12.

der Stadt Abdera wird hier – ganz humorvoll und satirisch¹⁷ – mit den Gemeinsten, Armseligsten und Ungelehrigsten gleichgesetzt. Durch die Konfrontation mit den Abderiten, die der Gruppe von Schurken gleichgesinnt zu sein scheinen und den Unterschied zwischen Schein und Sein nicht aufzudecken vermögen, glänzt die Weisheit des Demokrit und des Hippokrates lebendig und bunt.

Die Verwendung des Plural αἰγείποισιν im pseudohippokratischem Brief scheint den inhaltlich-gedanklichen Zusammenhang der zwei unterschiedlichen Konnotationen der Schwarzpappel (d. h. Hinweis auf die theatralische Dimension des Textes und auf das Sykophantentum) gezeigt zu haben, indem sie – wie bei einer Collage – Neues aus dem Vorgegebenen schafft.

Wenn die oben präsentierten Vermutungen, die die Deutung der Schwarzpappeln im pseudohippokratischen Brief 17 betreffen, richtig sind, so muß man der Erwähnung dieser Bäume eine doppelte Rolle zurechnen. Einerseits scheint sie ein Mittel zur Darstellung des Charakters der im Text handelnden Gestalten zu sein. Andererseits fungiert sie als ein erlesenes, stoffliches Mittel, mit dessen Hilfe der Verfasser eine raffinierte Anspielung an die Natur seines διήγημα δραματικόν¹⁸ bildet. Dieses strategische Einverleiben der Schwarzpappeln, die auf den realen Ablauf der Theatervorführungen in Athen hinweisen, zeigt deutlich, daß der Autor in seinem szenisch geformten Briefroman die gattungsmäßigen Grenzen seines Werkes überschreitet¹⁹. Diese genologische Zwischenstellung des Kunstwerkes war nichts Besonders in der kaiserzeitlichen Literatur und entsprach einer starken Tendenz dieser Zeit, nicht nur eine Themenbuntheit, sondern auch eine Vielfalt der Darstellungsformen in dem literarischen Werk zu erreichen. Das läßt den Text für die Leser interessant erscheinen.

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¹⁷ Hendrickson 1927: 53 nennt die mit den kynischen Ideen gefärbten Briefe „a veritable mine of satirical topoi“.

¹⁸ Dieser Begriff funktionierte in den antiken rhetorischen Theorien, siehe Barwick 1928. Vgl. auch Hersant 1989: 14: „Lettre à Damagète, bel exemple d'un mélange de diégétique et de mimétique“.

¹⁹ Vgl. Arndt 1994: 68: „Der Leser wird [...] gewissermaßen zum Zeugen eines Theaterstückes, das sich in einzelnen Szenen, d. h. Briefen, vor seinen Augen abspielt, ohne daß der Autor oder ‚Regisseur‘ jemals auf der Bühne erscheint. Dieser Analogie entsprechend hat man denn auch immer wieder die gattungsmäßige Zwischenstellung des Briefromans zwischen Epos und Drama betont“.

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T.K. Johansen, *Plato's Natural Philosophy. A Study of the Timaeus – Critias*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 218 + VI pp., ISBN 0521-79067-0.

For once I shall dispense with the traditional procedure and start by pronouncing the verdict: Johansen's [= J.'s] work numbers among the clearest introductions into the maze of *Timaeus* – *Critias* available. Concise and lucid, it accounts for a wide variety of issues, touching upon the structure of the dialogue as well as on its advanced epistemological problems, marking the pathways for further discussion and more detailed enquiries. The close relationship between the two dialogues, of which one forms the natural continuation of the other, is of crucial importance where the explanation of many formal features (as e.g. the preference for monologues) is concerned, and, simultaneously, allows us to conceive of *Respublica*, *Timaeus* and *Critias* as a sequence similar to that of *Theaetetus*, *Sophista* and *Politicus*¹.

Now, to the details: nine chapters build the body of J.'s work, each of them dealing with a different aspect of the dialogue. A short introduction that precedes them gives a reader the first inkling of the author's method and principles of his interpretation, as right from the start J.'s attention focuses on the teleological issues at stake in the dialogue.

Having thus declared his overall purpose in the introduction, J. moves onward to discuss the *skopos* of this famous dialogic pair, the *Timaeus* – *Critias*: it may be interesting to note that in this he commits himself to the long-standing tradition of Plato's commentaries². The pair is thus put into close relation to the *Republic* as the twine accounts (respectively the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* stories) are regarded as supplementary to the central discussion of that *opus magnum*: the Atlantis story, which fulfills the demands of useful/beneficial fiction, portrays the ideal state at war, while the cosmological narrative of the other dialogue provides the discussion with a universal dimension, portraying the perfectly ordained (yet necessarily composed of very imperfect matter) whole, the whole that may serve as an ultimate model for the best possible organization of any other entity (i.e. state, as this latter is conceived in the *Republic*). Thus, J.'s reading stresses the close connection between the major works of the *corpus*, and it is in this connection that it views certain particulars of the *Timaeus* setting and story. Indeed, it is owing to the assumption of this close link that our author is able to reject (very convincingly) Loraux's view of the Atlantis story as tersely paralleling the focal theme of the *Menexenus*³ – indeed, on J.'s interpretation, the story may be seen as an exact opposite of Socrates' parody of state *epitaphios* in that latter dialogue. On the other hand, one would probably welcome a more detailed discussion of the possible divergences apparent in the portrayal of the narrative in the dialogic pair⁴. After all, the two accounts: the creation story and the Atlantis narrative do parallel each other, and the question of their mutual relationship, as well as that of their relation to the respective model may be of crucial importance in understanding Plato's intent.

The discussion of the Atlantis story brings J. to yet another issue, namely to the question of likeness as one of fundamental importance in interpreting *Timaeus*' account: in considering this

¹ On this latter subject cf. e.g. N. Notomi, *The Unity of Plato's Sophist*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 60 ff.

² Compare e.g. Olympiodorus, *Comm. in Gorgiam*, proem. 2; 1 f. Westerink.

³ N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1986. For the basic similarity of the two one may also compare Ch. Gill, *The Genre of Atlantis Story*, CPh LXXII 1977, pp. 287–304 (esp. 294)

⁴ These were highlighted e.g. by Gill, *o.c.* (n. 3).

question, he draws an interesting parallel between the notion of *eikos logos* as that of a likely account and likeness as the methodological principle organizing Demiourge's work in Timaeus' cosmogony⁵. It is well worth noticing that J.'s discussion benefits from accounting for the legal (or possibly juridical) connotation of the *eikasmos*, a manoeuvre that highlights the *verisimilitudo* as referring to what is probable (hence likelihood) rather than to the aesthetic sense of the word (the likely as inherent in likeness). Admittedly, the step has considerable epistemological consequences, as it asserts the basic inability of comprehensive, true cognition – indeed, this notion will be developed further in the subsequent chapters.

Five central chapters that follow the discussion of what may be termed the 'methodological' principles of the two accounts are devoted almost entirely to the problems intrinsic in the lecture of the *Timaeus* (or rather of Timaeus' account of creation presented in the eponymous dialogue). Starting with the issue of two principles underlying the creation, that is Demiourge's aiming at goodness, beauty and order and, on the other hand, the randomness of the preexistent substratum, J. works his way to describe the complex issues of teleology of creation that aims at repetition of the model in a radically different substratum, of *anangkē* as the random element resulting from the preexistent disorder, moving onwards to consider the concepts of motion and indeed, those of the soul (first the World-Soul and then the human soul), as reflecting the difficulties related to the demiourgeic creation in matter. It is here that J. touches upon Plato's understanding of craftsmanship as 'a cause of beauty', and stresses the teleological aspect of Platonic cosmogony that makes the reasoning cause necessary for the emergence of the universe⁶. Finally, the eighth chapter (*Perception and cosmology*, pp. 160–177) dwells upon the 'practical' dimensions of such a creation, where the skies become a depiction of the eternally harmonious, and the created universe, understood as a best possible portrayal of the model, becomes an object of contemplation, very much as a perfect state depicted in the *Republic*: this reminds the reader of the punishment reserved by Timaeus for those who fail in their duties as reasonable creatures, and who may finally be reborn in form of either reptile or fish: devoid of the very possibility of stargazing, these latter are doomed to continue in their chosen ignorance⁷. What J. does not say is that such contemplation would continue to be considered essential for the development of the intellectual faculties even in much later times, thus attesting to the influential character of the discussed account⁸.

It is however the last, ninth chapter (*Dialogue and dialectic*, pp. 177–197) that may well prove of utmost interest particularly to those interested in Plato as a writer: the discussion of the literary

⁵ It may be useful to note that a discussion of *eikos logos* and the *eikasia* as the organizing principle of the Atlantis myth appears in H. Cherniss (*Some War Time Publications Concerning Plato*, 2, AJPh LXVIII 1947, pp. 225–265).

⁶ It is particularly interesting to note that J. actually admits the possibility of disorderly, unreasoned cause being the cause of beauty – the problem (and the difference) lies in the lack of intent, which effectively means that beauty was produced only accidentally, without any respect for itself (pp. 74 f.).

⁷ Indeed, one may note that J.'s account, which refers many features of the Timaeus account to the overall *skopoi* of both the narrative and the dialogue may in itself constitute an answer to those likely to object to his assumption of the intrinsic connection between the *Timaeus* and the *Republic* on the basis of e.g. discrepancies in the eschatology presented in the two works (those latter were extensively studied by J. Annas in her *Plato's Myths of Judgement*, Phronesis XXVII 1982, pp. 119–143).

⁸ One may invoke the example of Firmicus, who states quite explicitly: "Nihil enim debemus cogitare terrenum, praesertim cum sciamus fabricatorem nostrum deum ita nos divini artificii moderatione fecisse, ut recti corporis forma ab omni humilitatis deiectione seposita, nihil aliud primum patefacta oculorum acie nisi Solem Lunam stellas et horum pulcherrimum atque immortale domicilium, mundum scilicet videremus..." (*Math.* VIII 1, 3).

issues such as the composition of the two dialogues is endowed with striking insight and subtlety. Operating on differing levels of structure and meaning, J. is able to weave the varied strands into a persuasive reconstruction of Plato's original intent that was to determine the flow of the discussion contained in the *Timaeus – Critias*. In demonstrating the high level of the subordination of the composition to the philosophical content, he attests to Plato's mastery of the literary medium he chose, simultaneously demonstrating how the features that seem to be of purely compositional character do actually stem from the underlying philosophical scheme. Indeed, on J.'s reading, the literary *demiourgos* Plato appears to come close to the perfect teleology of the Divine Demiourge of the dialogue.

In summa: J.'s is a good, extremely readable work, well worth attention of those carefully feeling their way through the intricacies of the pair and those for whom the *Timaeus – Critias*, in spite or possibly due to a long study, remains a mine-field, albeit a well mapped one. While it does not enter into a detailed philosophical analysis of the more complex issues intrinsic to the two dialogues, it provides an interesting picture of the overall pattern, thus displaying the scheme underlying their composition and possible meaning. And, as it may provide guidance and help to those beginning their studies of the philosopher, it may also be of use to the more advanced Plato scholars.

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George E. Karamanolis, *Plato and Aristotle in Agreement? Platonists on Aristotle from Antiochus to Porphyry*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006, 419 + X pp., ISBN 0-19-926456-2 (978-0-19-926456-8).

For those committed to the *agrapha dogmata* or Tübingen interpretation the question mark that stands so prominently in the title of George Karamanolis' [= K.'s] book may seem at the very least superfluous: they know (or so they claim) that the two were in general agreement, and they agree that Aristotle may be employed as a valuable source in the reconstruction of what they regard as the true (depending on the stance taken by a given individual read the only true or the truly advanced) teachings of Plato. Yet, it is neither Plato nor his actual teachings that form the principal subject of this fascinating book – instead, the account is dominated by his later heirs, starting with the prominent figure of Cicero's teacher, Antiochus of Ascalon. K.'s aim may seem simple enough, as he purposes to give an account of the part played by Aristotle's works in the thought and teachings of those who had effectively shaped the history of Platonism: yet, one should remember, the execution of this plan amounts to a comprehensive study of indirect tradition and fragmentary sources, to a careful analysis of the subtleties particular to the scarce remains of Numenius' and Atticus' writings. Even where dealing with what may appear to be the most innocuous subject, namely Plutarchus' philosophy, K.'s research is partially hampered by the loss of some of the Chaeronean's major writings.

The structure of the work being conditioned by its very subject, K.'s account traces the place and function of Aristotle's writings in the thought of major Platonists of the Roman era: consequently, each of his chapters can be read not only in reference to others but as an independent study into the method and thought of a given philosopher. Undoubtedly, this is a considerable merit, for the work is likely to be read not only as an inquiry into the reception of Aristotle's writings, but also as

a guidebook to the authors it discusses, becoming among others a welcome addition to the existing works on what we know as the Middle Platonism.

Thus, starting with a comprehensive introduction (pp. 1–43), where he highlights the unique character of Plato’s method and the problems related to the exegesis of his actual teachings, K. moves to what constituted Antiochus’ most important contributions to the development of Platonist thought, namely to the radical rejection of Carneadean scepticism, and to the origin of the idea that Academic does not necessarily imply Platonic. Relating to the monumental works of Dillon, Glücker, and Brittain¹, the chapter on Antiochus (pp. 44–83) provides a reader with a coherent picture of the epistemological debate that underlies the composition of Cicero’s *Academica*, and may prove of immense help to anyone wishing to investigate the character and biases of philosophical discussion in the period; one may note, however, that at this point K.’s argument could have benefited from a reference to Boys-Stones’ inspiring study of the notion of antiquity as employed in the post-hellenistic philosophy². Also, the overall scope of the work prevents its author from indulging a detailed survey of Cicero’s transmission of Antiochus’ teachings, yet it is worth noticing that many references of the kind are provided in the footnotes.

The chapter devoted to Plutarchus (pp. 85–126) gives a clear account of the relatively complex attitude the Chaeronean displayed toward the Aristotelian thought: acknowledging the latter’s dissension from Plato’s own doctrine (or, to be more precise, from what he considered to constitute this doctrine), Plutarchus nevertheless endows the Stagirite with considerable philosophical authority, believing him to be a veritable heir of Plato’s ethical teachings. This is certainly an intricate issue, particularly given the raging discussion concerning Plutarchus’ *connaissance* of his sources: indeed, it is to K.’s credit that he takes a decisive stand in this debate, arguing for the Chaeronean’s close and direct association with the Aristotelian thought (still, one may be worried with the argument from the in-dialogue pronouncement on the availability of Stagirite’s works)³. What needs additional emphasizing, K. notes that Plutarchus is highly likely to be acquainted with some of Aristotle’s writings that are lost to us (one may mention the dialogues), and thereby his assertions concerning the basic difference between Plato’s and his pupil’s metaphysics deserve to be treated with due attention⁴. Clearly, the issue of Plutarch’s attitude toward the Stagirite is complicated by the loss of several of his treatises, yet the formulations of the *Adv. Colotem* seem conclusive enough.

The three individuals whose philosophy is of foremost interest in the central chapters of K.’s work (chapters 3–5, pp. 127–215) are known to us only through scarce fragments and later accounts of their thought. Atticus, Numenius, and Ammonius Saccas – all the three, in spite of their apparent originality and importance for the later development of Platonist thought, seem to enjoy at best a very limited acclaim (thus Ammonius is principally known as Plotinus’ teacher). And as it is usual with a fragmentary source, they demand utmost interpretative skills: necessary provisions have to be made, any conclusions to be drawn with appropriate reservations. Laudably, K.’s work

¹ J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: a Study of Platonism 80 BC to 220 AD*, London 1977; J. Glücker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, Göttingen 1978 (Hypomnemata 56); Ch. Brittain, *Philo of Larissa*, Oxford 2001.

² G.R. Boys-Stones, *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy: a Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen*, Oxford 2001.

³ The argument runs as follows: “In *De sollertia animalium* Plutarch argues that animals are rational and criticizes the Stoics who denied this, making heavy use of Aristotle’s biological works. This becomes plain when Autoboulus, who responds to the Stoic objections, flatters Optatus by saying his expertise may save them from having to look at Aristotle’s volumes. This suggests that Aristotle’s volumes were available to them, and probably much had been drawn from them already, and that they were constantly employed in this Plutarchean argument against the Stoic position” (p. 90).

⁴ Cf. pp. 92–100. For the further considerations, concerning Plutarch’s rendering of Plato’s natural philosophy, epistemology, and the doctrine of the soul see pp. 100–115.

reveals something of the personalities that are hiding beneath the surviving fragments: the zeal of Atticus, whose polemic with Aristotle and what he saw as Aristotelizing Platonism (and hence as a betrayal of the true Platonic doctrine) is charged with almost too personal biases, the imaginative and subtle mind of Numenius, and the thirst for the true so characteristic of Ammonius... Still, one may note that the Atticus who emerges from K.'s discussion appears to be hardly compatible with the fascinating thinker of Baltes' seminal study⁵ – in his place stands an untiring and often simplifying polemist, whose strict adherence to what he perceives as Plato's doctrine (e.g. the thinking soul and not the thinking intellect) too often leads him to disregard the complexities of Aristotle's thought: as a result, his worth as a philosopher results as questionable. This poses an interesting problem: as the picture we find in K.'s work remains vastly different from that drawn by Dillon or Baltes⁶, Atticus' position in contemporary philosophy results as a worthy subject of further, detailed discussion, while taken at a more general level the discussion may give raise to the issue how to reconcile the polemical spirit of a work with a scholarly desire to uncover the more positive doctrine underlying the actual criticism.

The two final chapters are devoted respectively to the thought of Plotinus (pp. 216–242) and his most famous disciple, Porphyry (pp. 243–330). Highly demanding, they call for an extensive previous experience of the two (not to mention the above average knowledge of Aristotle's writings), yet they prove well worth the effort: K.'s discussion of Plotinus' evaluation of Aristotle's psychology is lucid and throws an interesting light on the obfuscatory techniques employed in the respective polemic (particularly the one contained in *Enn.* IV 2). He acknowledges the part played in the incorporation of Aristotle by the advancement of biological sciences: this, however, brings us to the issue of the delay – would Plotinus, a man of the third century AD, be the first to consider this particular advancement a reason sufficient to revise the teachings of Plato? And if he was not the first to pay attention to the Hellenistic discoveries (particularly to the advancement of medical lore that we owe to Herophilus)⁷, a fact that may be suggested by some passages of Alcinous' manual (which in turn would necessarily send us back to the sources of this particular compilation)⁸, was this advancement considered important by others? And how important it was? Who introduced these discoveries into the philosophical discussion? True enough, our knowledge is necessarily maimed by the lack of adequate source material, yet the question seems to deserve some scholarly attention.

Possibly the most manifest drawback of K.'s book is his failure to account more detailedly for either Apuleius or Alcinous – clearly, neither of the authors is an original or particularly imaginative thinker, yet their works may be regarded as bearing witness to a more low-key, or doxographic current of Platonist philosophy of the period – and both of them are famous for their acceptance of Aristotle's ethical teachings (particularly the doctrine on virtue)⁹. As a result, one may wonder

⁵ M. Baltes, *Zur Philosophie des Platonikers Attikos*, in: H.-D. Blume, F. Mann (hrsgg.), *Platonismus und Christentum: Festschrift für H. Dörrie*, Münster 1983 (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 10), pp. 38–57 (repr. in M. Baltes, *ΔΙΑΝΟΗΜΑΤΑ. Kleine Schriften zu Platon und zum Platonismus*, Stuttgart 1999 [Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Bd. 123], pp. 81–112).

⁶ Baltes, *o.c.* (n. 5); Dillon, *o.c.* (n. 1), pp. 247–258.

⁷ For this particular subject cf. H. von Staden's monumental work, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria*, Cambridge 1989; for a shorter yet comprehensive outline see e.g. L. Russo, *Zapomniana rewolucja*, Kraków 2005 (Polish translation of *La rivoluzione dimenticata*, Milano 2003, of which an English translation, by S. Levy, was published, under the title *The Forgotten Revolution*, by Springer Verlag in 2004), ch. 5, pp. 156–173.

⁸ On the Herophilean reverberations in Alcinous cf. T. Göransson, *Albinus, Alcinous, Arius Didymus*, Göteborg 1995, p. 124.

⁹ Most prominently in Alcinous *Did.* XXIX 182, 13–183, 14 H. and in Apuleius *De Platone* II 3, 222–225.

whether the presence of Aristotle in their respective writings, as indicative of a wider tendency to employ the works of this philosopher as supplementary to those of Plato, did not deserve something more than an occasional passing remark in the footnotes. Yet, to acknowledge an indubitable fact, the doxographers are somewhat off the particular subject, and the study of their works may rightly be viewed as secondary in a work aiming at the explanation of the process that led to Porphyry's embracing the teachings of Aristotle. One may also note that the scarce presence of "second-rate" thinkers is in a way paralleled by copious references to the philosophers, who in spite of their past eminence remain at best shadowy, such as Eudorus, Taurus and Severus¹⁰. Additionally, frequent references are made to the works of the best known Peripatetic of the imperial era, Alexander of Aphrodisias, while a brief appendix throws some light on the reciprocal interest i.e. the attention paid to the Platonic corpus by Aristotle as well as his more and less immediate successors (pp. 331–336). Finally, the list of the works written on the Stagirite himself by the philosophers of basically Platonist profession is given in the second appendix (pp. 337–339).

Paradoxically, it is to the radical supporters of the *agrapha* theory that K.'s work may well prove to be either an anathema or, at the very least, an unwelcome obstacle, a circumstance due to the very notion that the 'Plato and Aristotle in agreement' idea could have been employed (by none other but the famous Antiochus) as an effective ploy to reestablish Plato's philosophical authority. Yet, in portraying the historical quest to establish the latter as a systematic thinker, in relating the search to reconcile Plato and his most eminent student to the idea of Plato as *the philosopher*, K. has given us a welcome and fascinating account of the often ignored undercurrents that shaped the development of the ancient philosophy, finally leading Porphyry, Plotinus' pupil and biographer, to write extensive commentaries on some of Aristotle's works. This is a valuable book, a book that deserves both scholarly attention and a further discussion.

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¹⁰ For Eudorus' part in the controversy cf. pp. 81–84, for Taurus and Severus pp. 179–189.

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Geoffrey S. Sumi, *Ceremony and Power. Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press 2005, 360 S., 4 Abb.

Das Interesse an Analysen und Interpretationen der symbolischen Machtaspekte lässt, zumindest seit der Veröffentlichung der ausgezeichneten Studien von Marc Bloch und Ernst H. Kantorowicz, nicht nach¹. Leider beziehen sich nicht viele von ihnen auf das alte Rom², daher

¹ M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Paris 1924; E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957; .

² Jüngst z. B. M. MacCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in the Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge 1986; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987; M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1998.

muss die Veröffentlichung der Arbeit von Geoffrey S. Sumi [= S.], deren Grundlage die an der Universität Michigan verteidigte Doktorarbeit war³, als ein beachtenswertes Ereignis angesehen werden. Um so mehr, als im Zentrum des Interesses von S. öffentliche Zeremonien in Rom ab der Zeit Sulla bis zu Augustus (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Jahre 44 und 43 vor Chr.) stehen, also die Zeit in der Geschichte des alten Roms, die manchmal immer noch „die römische Revolution“ genannt wird. Gerade in dieser Zeit haben die traditionellen politischen Institutionen ihre Bedeutung im Prozess der gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation zugunsten anderer öffentlicher Zeremonien, wie Beerdigungen, Triumphe und unterschiedliche Feste, verloren, und die bisher durch den Senat kreierte, dominierenden Relationen zwischen der Elite Roms und dem Volk wurden durch direkte politische Verbindungen der Leaders des *populus Romanus* ersetzt.

In der rezensierten Arbeit konzentriert sich S. auf jene öffentliche Zeremonien, bei welchen es sich um Macht handelt: oratorische Reden während öffentlicher Versammlungen (*contiones*), Gerichtsverfahren (*quaestiones*) und Abstimmungen (*comitia*), Feste (*ludi, munera*) sowie Beerdigungen und Triumphe. S. definiert sie als gesellschaftliche, oft rituelle Aktionen von symbolischer Bedeutung, die mit Teilnahme des Volkes stattgefunden haben. Nach Ansicht des Verfassers spiegelten derartige Zeremonien nicht nur den politischen Kontext wieder, sondern waren selbst ein Teil der Politik. Eben während der öffentlichen Zeremonien traten die Elite Roms und das Volk in direkte Interaktionen zueinander: die Elite, um ihren privilegierten Status zu bestätigen, das Volk hingegen, um diesen Status anerkennen bzw. ablehnen zu können. Man darf jedoch die Rolle des Volkes nicht nur auf die Anerkennung bzw. Nichtanerkennung einschränken. Manchmal hat das Volk auch Handlungen unternommen, deren Ziel die Übernahme der Macht aus den Händen der Elite und ihre Übergabe, auch wenn nur zeitweilig und oft ausschließlich symbolisch, an ausgewählte Einzelpersonen oder – und zwar viel häufiger – an soziale Gruppen, war. Die Untersuchung der öffentlichen Zeremonien gemäß diesen Annahmen erforderte von S. einerseits die Erörterung des römischen aristokratischen Ethos, andererseits eine Stellungnahme zu dem in letzter Zeit oft angesprochenen Problem der Beteiligung des römischen Volkes an der Machtausübung⁴. Infolgedessen zeigt der Autor eine politische Aktivität – gemäß der römischen Metapher der Politik als eines Spektakels – als ein sich auf vielen öffentlichen Bühnen abspielendes Drama: am Forum, *comitium* und *saepa*, in Theatern und im Zirkus sowie auf den Straßen Roms. Die Proben seiner Forschungen und einen umfangreichen theoretischen Kontext präsentierte S. bereits vorher in Form von zahlreichen Artikeln⁵.

Die rezensierte Arbeit besteht aus neun Kapiteln mit einer Einleitung und einem Abschluss, Indizes, einem Quellenverzeichnis und Plänen Roms. Im Kapitel I (*Consensus and Conflict*) präsentiert S. die Typologie der besprochenen Zeremonien und beschreibt kurz ihren Charakter und die Evolution, die sie in den Zeiten der Republik durchgemacht haben. Die Beobachtung der Geschichte der Zeremonien lässt keine Zweifel darüber, dass die Kommunikation zwischen den Eliten Roms und dem Volk nie in eine Richtung verlaufen ist. Oft sind auch zusätzliche „Spannungen“ aufgetreten, da während der Zeremonien nicht nur der Dominanzwille der Elitvertreter mit der Notwendigkeit der Einhaltung der Souveränität des Volkes aneinander gerieten, sondern auch der Ruhm des Staates mit den individuellen Erfolgen exzellenter Heerführer.

Im Kapitel II (*Dictator perpetuo*) wurden Aktivitäten von Iulius Caesar dargelegt, der öffentliche Zeremonien zur Präsentation eigener Erfolge und des Umfangs seiner Macht sowie zum

³ G.S. Sumi, *Public Performances and Political Symbols: The Rise of Octavianus in 44 B.C.*, Diss. University of Michigan 1993.

⁴ Vgl. z. B. J.A. North, *Politics and Aristocracy in the Roman Republic*, P&P CXXVI 1990, S. 3–21; F. Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, Ann Arbor 1998; H. Mouritsen, *Plébs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2001.

⁵ *Power and Ritual: The Crowd at Clodius' Funeral*, *Historia* XLVI 1997, S. 80–102; *Spectacles and Sulla's Public Image*, *Historia* LI 2002, S. 414–432.

Aufbau persönlicher Relationen mit dem römischen Volk geschickt nutzte. Diesem Ziel diente auch der Umbau Roms: die architektonische Trennung der *comitia* vom Senatsgebäude beendete den Prozess der Separation der Aristokratie vom Volk, die Errichtung der Venus-Genetrix-Tempel mit einer Rednerbühne bedeutete die Übertragung eines Teils politischer Aktivitäten des Volkes vom Forum zum Forum Iulium. Zeremonien, die in dieser neuen architektonischen Szenerie stattfanden (*Parilia, Ferae Latinae, Lupercalia, comitia, ludi, ovatio* und Triumphe), platzierten, durch die neue Interpretation der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart, entsprechend die Person Caesars in der römischen Geschichte. Die begleitenden Verteilungen von diversen Gütern und prächtige Bankette betonten seine Position im Zentrum des gesellschaftlich-politischen Lebens Roms.

In den Kapiteln III (*Standing in Caesar's Shadow*) und IV (*Caesar ex machina*) bespricht S. den Kampf um die Macht in Rom nach dem Tod des Diktators und betont, dass dies gleichzeitig ein Kampf um die Form des Gedenkens an Caesar war. Brutus, Antonius, Lepidus und Cicero, später auch Oktavian, versuchten das römische Volk zur Realisierung eigener Ambitionen zu gewinnen, indem sie über Caesar eine öffentliche Diskussion mittels zahlreicher *contiones* führten. Letztendlich wurde das Konzept Caesars als das eines Tyrannen im Kontext seines Testaments vom Volk abgelehnt. Seine Beerdigung wurde für die Einwohner Roms zu einer Gelegenheit, über das aristokratische Ritual Kontrolle zu übernehmen und Caesar durch eine spontane Schaffung seines Kults zu ehren.

In den Kapiteln V (*The Arrival of Octavian and the Ascendancy of Antonius*), VI (*Politics and Public Entertainment (July 44 BC)*) und VII (*Rivalry and Reconciliation*) beschreibt S. die weitere Entwicklung der Ereignisse (u. a. weitere *contiones*, das Sponsoring von *Ludi Apollinares* durch Brutus, die „Triumphprozession“ des Cicero), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rivalität zwischen Antonius und Oktavian bis zum Abschluss einer Vereinigung, die zweites Triumvirat bezeichnet wird. Die Ausreisen und Ankünfte aus und nach Rom, Anlassreden und Feste (*Ludi Victoriae Caesaris, Ludi Romani*) wurden immer eine Gelegenheit zum Wettstreit, der letztendlich mit der Übernahme des Amtes des Konsuls durch Oktavian, der Sanktionierung der im Testament durch Caesar erfolgten Adoption und mit der Verurteilung der Verschwörer endete.

Im Kapitel VIII (*The Performance of Politics in the Triumviral Period*) präsentiert S. ausgewählte öffentliche Zeremonien (u. a. Reisen nach Rom, Triumphe und Ovationen) bis hin zur Schlacht bei Actium. In dieser Zeit zeigten sich die Triumvirn öffentlich und rühmten sich der Einigkeit sowie unternahmen Versuche, ihre Macht durch ein Netz traditioneller öffentlicher Zeremonien von politischem Charakter zu legalisieren. Nicht desto trotz blieben die Theater und Straßen Roms weiterhin ein populärer Raum für Proteste. Mit der Zeit wurden diese Möglichkeiten drastisch eingeschränkt, und die Reanimation der alten Zeremonien (Riten der Fetialen, Abschließen der Janus-Tür, *augurium salutis, Lusus Troiae*), begleitet durch Modifikation einiger Zeremonien (z. B. des Triumphs), wurden in den Dienst des neuen Regimes gestellt.

Im Kapitel IX (*Princeps as Performer*) analysiert S. die modifizierten Zeremonien, die in der neuen politischen Wirklichkeit dem neuen System und seinem Anführer, Princeps, entsprechen mussten. Infolge dieser Veränderungen wurden die republikanischen Institutionen, durch die sich der Wille des Volkes und seine Macht äußerten, zum Element des „Hofzeremoniells“ des Prinzipats. Statt wie bisher ein Forum für Auseinandersetzungen darzustellen, begannen die Zeremonien die gesellschaftliche Verständigung auszudrücken; statt der gesellschaftlichen Diskussion dienten sie der Selbstpräsentation der Caesarfamilie und der Reinterpretation der römischen Geschichte. Das beste Beispiel dafür war das Bestattungsritual von Augustus, das ein Vorbild für nachfolgende Caesarzeremonien wurde.

Im Abschluss (*Conclusions*) weist S. darauf hin, dass – nach seiner Ansicht – die Zeremonien, mit denen er sich befasste, als gesellschaftliche Institutionen zu betrachten sind, die ihre eigene Tradition und Geschichte haben. Aus diesem Grunde ist ihre Analyse nur in einem konkreten, geschichtlichen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Kontext möglich. Es dürfen also die Zeremonien selbst nicht betont werden, sondern man muss sich auf ihre Bedeutung im breiten kulturellen Kontext konzentrieren, der zwei wesentliche Bereiche berücksichtigt: die Zeit und

den Ort. Darüber hinaus darf nicht vergessen werden, dass die öffentlichen Zeremonien nicht nur einen symbolischen, sondern auch einen emotionellen Charakter hatten, die oft sogar durch Gewaltausbrüche zum Ausdruck kamen.

Obwohl die durch S. durchgeführte Analyse der römischen öffentlichen Zeremonien eine sehr interessante und inspirierende Arbeit ist, darf nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass sie auch einige Mängel aufweist. Bei vielen Ereignissen stehen uns keine Informationen über wesentliche Elemente der Analyse, nämlich über die Motivation und Reaktion des römischen Volkes, zur Verfügung. Die Geschichte Roms – grundsätzlich wegen des Charakters der Quellen – lernen wir durch Ambitionen und Handlungen der bedeutendsten historischen Personen kennen. Die eingeschränkte Quellenbasis führt dazu, dass beim Leser des öfteren der Eindruck entstehen kann, dass einige Teile der Arbeit keine genaueren Konklusionen enthalten. Darüber hinaus lässt S., der oft auf die Bedeutung des breiteren kulturellen Kontextes der Zeremonie hinweist, manchmal eine tiefere Analyse begleitender Ereignisse aus. Dies war der Fall u. a. bei der von Appian übermittelten, intrigierenden Episode betreffend die Intervention der Frauen bei den Triumvirn⁶. Statt sich auf den historischen Kontext (Chaoszeit) zu beziehen, wäre es sicher günstiger sich an den literarischen Kontext und auf ein ähnliches Motiv der als eine organisierte Gruppe handelnder Frauen (*ordo matronarum*) bei Livius, Tacitus oder des Autors von der *Historia Augusta* zu beziehen⁷. Es scheint, dass die Wahl des Begriffes „Zeremonie“ und der Verzicht auf die Bezeichnung „Ritual“ dazu führte, dass S. fast die gesamten religiösen Aktivitäten aus der Sicht verloren hat. Die Einschränkung auf nur „profane“ Akte scheint eine künstliche Trennung der Bereiche Politik und Religion zu sein, insbesondere wenn man die vor vielen Jahren von Simon Price durchgeführte ausgezeichnete Analyse des „Caesarkultes“ bedenkt, die gesellschaftliche, rituelle und architektonische Aspekte berücksichtigt⁸. Religiöse und politische Angelegenheiten haben sich in Rom gegenseitig beeinflusst. Das beste Beispiel dafür war die Prozedur des Wahrsagens, die als eine Institution zur Behandlung politischer Entscheidungen interpretiert werden könnte⁹. Trotz einiger dieser kritischen Anmerkungen muss festgestellt werden, dass sich die Analysen von S. ausgezeichnet lesen lassen, insbesondere die Teile, die sich auf die Zeit zwischen Caesars Tod und dem Abschluss des zweiten Triumvirats sowie auf die im Kontext der Siegesideologie des Augustus, des Projektes des Forum Augustum und anderer neuer Objekte in Rom gezeigte Bestattungszereemonie, beziehen.

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⁶ App. *B. Civ.* IV 32–34; Val. Max. VIII 3, 3; s. J.P. Hallet, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society. Women and the Elite Family*, Princeton 1984, pp. 58 f.

⁷ Liv. V 25, 8; XXXIV 1, 2; 2–8; s. M.R. Lefkowitz, *Influential Women*, in: A. Cameron, A. Kuhrt (Hrsgg.), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, Detroit 1983, S. 60 f.; Tac. *Ann.* III 33 f.; s. F. Santoro L’Hoir, *Tacitus on Women’s Usurpation of Power*, CW LXXXVIII 1994, S. 12–17; *HA Heliog.* 4, 1–4 u. *Aurel.* 49, 6; s. J.S. Straub, *Senaculum, id est mulierum senatus*, Bonner *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* III 1966, S. 221–240.

⁸ S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984.

⁹ J. Rüpke, *Divination und politische Entscheidungen in der Republik*, in: ders., *Fasti sacerdotum. Die Mitglieder der Priesterschaften und das sakrale Funktionspersonal römischer, griechischer, orientalischer und jüdisch-christlicher Kulte in der Stadt Rom von 300 v. Chr. bis 499 n. Chr.*, Teil III: *Quellenkunde und Organisationsgeschichte, Biographie, Register*, München 2005, S. 1441–1456.

