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# E O S

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REMEMBERING EUMOLPUS: THE INTERTEXTUAL  
AND ITS IMPORT IN THE *PHOENISSAE*\*

By

JOANNA KOMOROWSKA

Among the many surprises awaiting the Athenian public gathered to watch the Euripidean *Phoenissae*<sup>1</sup>, a drama dated somewhere around 411 BC<sup>2</sup>, one notices the relatively short mention of Eumolpus' invasion of Attica (ll. 852–857). The mention emerges in the central episode of the drama, an episode memorable e.g. for the fact that no central personage seems to grace the stage, while those present prove not to be what they are expected to be. Further, the mention contributes to the picture one forms of Teiresias as this latter appears in the drama; his advice, we are told, was of fundamental importance in the recent war, deciding the fight in the Athenians' favour. To quote the exact wording of the passage in question, the words being spoken by the seer himself:

κόπωι παρεῖμαι γοῦν Ἐρεχθιδῶν ἄπο  
δεῦρ' ἔκκομισθεῖς τῆς πάροιθεν ἡμέρας·  
κάκεϊ γὰρ ἦν τις πόλεμος Εὐμόλπου δορός  
οὗ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ·  
καὶ τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὡς ὄραϊς, ἔχω  
λαβῶν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

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\* Throughout the essay the Greek is of the J. DIGGLE edition (OCT 1994) for the surviving plays, of F. JOUAN and H. VAN LOOY (Budé 2000) for the fragments of the *Erechtheus*. The English translation is that of E.P. COLERIDGE as available on the Perseus Project website (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>) for the *Phoenissae* and Martin CROPP's (after CROPP 2009) for the *Erechtheus*. The Perseus database was also employed for the translations of Thucydides, orators, and others. A shortened version of this article was presented at the University of Málaga; hence, I would like to thank Prof. Aurelio PÉREZ-JIMÉNEZ and other participants in the discussion for their remarks. Also, I thank the anonymous reader for "Eos" for all the care employed in the reading of the manuscript and for all the suggestions that contributed to its present shape.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the innovations introduced into the mythical fabric of the plot, cf. e.g. MASTRONARDE 1994: 25–30; SAID 1985.

<sup>2</sup> For the overview of the dating problem, cf. BRUSEWICZ 2003: 11.

I am indeed worn out, for I arrived here only yesterday from the court of the Erechtheidae; they too were at war, fighting with Eumolpus. I gave the victory to Cecrops' sons, and I received this golden crown, as you see, the first-fruits of the enemy's spoils.

Now, what is known is that traditional chronology linked the Septem expedition with Theseus' rule in Athens: a pairing best attested in Euripides' *Supplices* where the Athenian ruler intervenes on behalf of the fallen Argive champions and in defence of panhellenic customs; yet, in the *Phoenissae* this dating is rejected in favour of the far less popular version which transfers the siege of Thebes to the period of Erechtheus' rule, and, furthermore, puts Teiresias in Athens for the time of Eumolpus' attack on the latter city<sup>3</sup>. Certainly, the anachronism would be surprising – and there are credible reasons for assuming that at least a part of original Euripidean audience would be vastly interested in such an innovative or at best untypical approach to the mythical matter<sup>4</sup>. Should we assume the existence of such a 'learned' interest, it seems worth considering the possible consequences of introducing such a mythical variation and the intended meaning of the mention of Eumolpean conflict within the story of fallen hopes and fratricidal strife that forms the *Phoenissae*.

#### EUMOLPUS AND ATHENS

To attempt an exegesis of the passage, we need to realize the importance of the Eumolpus' myth and remember its basic elements as embedded in the Athenian legend: Eumolpus is supposed to have invaded Attica, the Athenian city asserting its superiority only after the sacrifice of king Erechtheus' virgin daughter(s) and after the king himself had died in battle<sup>5</sup>. The defence of Athens

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<sup>3</sup> The change was duly noted in modern scholarship, cf. e.g. O'CONNOR-VISSER 1987: 74; MASTRONARDE 1994: 28 f.

<sup>4</sup> MICHELINI 1998: 70–94 (still, her emphasis is on Euripides' relationship with his audience); one may also invoke the somewhat less flattering, though hardly detracting, opinion of LUSCHNIG 1995: 222: "Euripides can be a 'fact bully' at times, slapping us with some obscure ritual, relationship, mythical paragon"; still, the scholar emphasizes that Euripides' cavalier approach to mythical matter is by no means devoid of intent. For the 'learned' quality of Euripides' mythological references, cf. also ROBINSON 2006.

<sup>5</sup> The sources vary in their account of the details: for some, two daughters of the king were sacrificed, for others only one died in the sacrificial rite (either the youngest or the eldest); in the best known versions the oath taken by all siblings resulted in suicidal death of the surviving sisters (thus Apollodorus and Hyginus, *Fab.* 46); significantly, in the *Ion*, Creusa is the only surviving daughter (she was in infancy during the war). Similar problems concern the details of the sacrifice itself; thus, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 46, 3), the girl Chthonia was a conciliatory victim, sacrificed only after the death of Eumolpus, while her father perished immediately after the ritual by Zeus' thunder. For an extensive overview of the attested variants of the Eumolpus legend, cf. SIMMS 1983; for an abbreviated version, JOUAN, VAN LOOY 2000: 96–98.



remains, nevertheless, a courageous and godly act that shaped the political identity of the *polis*, a tale bearing witness to the valour and devotion of the citizens who fought to secure the supremacy of their *polis*.

Certainly, the allusion to the Athenian history can be interpreted as being somewhat general in character, as a straightforward reference to the famous battle of the audience's own past, to that the glorious moment when the city confirmed its allegiance to Athena and reaped due rewards for its righteousness and virtue. Indeed, that such were the straightforward associations of this particular episode, can be easily inferred from references in Athenian oratory: paired with the war against the Amazons, the fight against Eumolpus, or against the Eleusinians, as it is also known<sup>6</sup>, seems to form a *locus communis* of political rhetoric. Admittedly, the sources we possess, with the notable exception of Thucydides, are posterior to the Euripidean drama, yet one cannot help but notice that the very brevity of the Thucydidean mention clearly indicates that the story was commonly known to the Athenian public. Indeed, the text of the *Peloponesian War* reads as follows:

καί τινες καί ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καί Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα (II 15, 2).

Some of them at times even went to war with him, as the Eleusinians under Eumolpus with Erechtheus (transl. B. Jowett).

The author locates the war in the period preceding Theseus' rule, and associates the invasion of Eumolpus with the period of unrest and disorder predating the organization of Attic state. Yet, the lack of detailed description suggests that he expects his reader to be acquainted with the basic features of the story. Something similar occurs in Isocrates, Demosthenes, and, possibly even more tellingly, Plato – all three seem to mention the war “in passing”, this time together with the Amazonian conflict. In Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, in spite of the author's reticence where the details of the fighting are concerned, the two wars serve as a prefiguration of the great conflict with the Persae, the gruesome fate of Amazons and Thracians standing as an evil omen for any subsequent invaders of Greece (IV 68–70). In turn, in the *Panathenaicus*, the war against the Thracians, mentioned under the summary heading “three wars fought with the barbarians” is hailed as being a manifestation of Athenians' care for their city<sup>7</sup>, while in the

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<sup>6</sup> That the Thracians came to Attica at the Eleusinians' urging is maintained e.g. by Apollodorus (III 15, 4); for the overview of the related myth, cf. SIMMS 1983. For Pausanias, the leader is not Eumolpus himself, but his son, Immaradus (I 15, 2; I 27, 4). Still, it needs to be stressed that the association was by no means stable in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>7</sup> Isocr. 12, 189: “For in the three wars, apart from the Trojan war, which were fought by the Hellenes against the barbarians – in all these they placed our city in the forefront of the fighting” (trans. by G. NORLIN).

funeral orations of Plato and Demosthenes, the brief mention seems intended to remind the audience of the past glory of Athens, thus contributing to the laudation of past generations obligatory in the genre – symptomatically, Plato emphasizes the attraction that the fight held for poets<sup>8</sup>. Manifestly, none of the three authors saw a need to elaborate: the invasion, forming a part of ancient, pre-Thesean history, was, even in spite of certain variability of details, a well-known fact of local mythology. Hence, it is to be expected that Euripides' audience would immediately recognize the allusion he makes, and would, moreover, recognize its anachronistic nature – the Septem come with Theseus, not before, while Eumolpus is most certainly part of much anterior past.

There is yet another point to be noted: judging from our sources, we may reasonably assume that the story of Erechtheus' fight against Eumolpus was considered of particular importance for Athenian propaganda – one can hardly ignore the context in which it is mentioned. The *epitaphios* and the *panegyricus* are genres of particular political importance, genres essential for the self-promotion of a city: hence, the fact that mentions of the Eleusinian war appear in these particular kinds of oratory cannot be dismissed as purely accidental or meaningless<sup>9</sup>. Indeed, what we can safely assume is that the story would not only be recognizable but also recognizable as politically charged – and this is a circumstance hard to ignore in our attempt to uncover Euripides' original intent. Indeed, one may quote the somewhat symptomatic opinion of Lycurgus, who, in the course of recounting the story praises Euripides for his choice of subject:

...apart from his other merits as a poet, he chose this subject for a play, believing that in the conduct of those people the citizens would have a fine example which they could keep before them and so implant in their hearts a love of their country (*Leocr.* 100).

Manifestly, the story is thought to constitute an example, an example, one may add, endowed with certain psychagogic or adhortatory power: it encourages emulation, thus contributing to the improvement of political life. It seems significant that the principal advantage lies in the propagation of the attachment to one's country. The subsequent quotation from Praxithea's famous monologue

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<sup>8</sup> Dem. 60, 8 (“They so prevailed over the invading host of the Amazons as to expel them beyond the Phasis, and the host of Eumolpus and of many another foeman they drove not only out of their own land but also from the lands of all the other Greeks – invaders whom all those dwelling on our front to the westward neither withstood nor possessed the power to halt”, trans. by N.W. DEWITT, N.J. DEWITT); Pl. *Menex.* 239b (“The story of how they repulsed Eumolpus and the Amazons, and still earlier invaders, when they marched upon our country, and how they defended the Argives against the Cadmeians and the Heracleidae against the Argives, is a story which our time is too short to relate as it deserves, and already their valour has been adequately celebrated in song by poets who have made it known throughout the world”, trans. by W.R.M. LAMB).

<sup>9</sup> One may invoke at this point the observations of WILSON 1998: 313 f.

provides us with a clearer understanding of Lycurgus' meaning: the queen expresses here her acquiescence with the plan to sacrifice her own daughter, openly acknowledging both her own obligation to the city and the priority of communal interests over any claims of the *genos*, an attitude probably most strikingly in ll. 19–21:

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν οἶδα καὶ τοῦλάσσονος  
τὸ μείζον, οὐνὸς οἴκος οὐ πλέον σθένει  
πταίσας ἀπάσης πόλεος οὐδ' ἴσον φέρει.

If I can count and distinguish larger from smaller †one person's† family does not lament more if it falls than a whole city, nor does it suffer an equal affliction.

The interest in the communal, the pride of citizenship – all would be reflected in the tale of Eumolpus' invasion: manifestly, the Euripidean allusion referred the public to the high point of the Athenian history.

#### THE EURIPIDEAN VERSION

The above remarks bring us to yet another circumstance that may have played on the imagination of the Athenian audience, namely to the hardly negligible fact that the author of the *Phoenissae* had previously composed a play based on the events of the war against Eumolpus<sup>10</sup>. Should we accept the traditional dating, the *Erechtheus* was staged around 423/422 BC, although the metrical analyses carried out by CROPP and FICK locate the play in a somewhat later period, or, to be more precise, in 416 BC<sup>11</sup>. This latter dating, one should note, puts the play relatively close to the probable date of the *Phoenissae* (ca 411 BC), a fact giving considerable support to the assumption that an allusion to Eumolpus at *Phoen.* 852–857 would be considered by the majority of the audience to relate to the widely known story from the past, but also, at least for some, it would refer to the earlier Euripidean drama<sup>12</sup>. Certainly, what we do know – owing, among other witnesses, to Lycurgus – the *Erechtheus* was a relatively well known play, a fact probably due to two major factors: its being thematically unique (as far as

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<sup>10</sup> One should note that based on the surviving fragments, the plot of the play is reconstructed as dealing with the divinely inspired conflict, with no political issues concerning the Eleusinians' fight against the Athenian ambitions; the firm focus on the rivalry of Athena and Poseidon, the thwarted ambitions of the latter motivating his support of the Thracian invasion would necessarily highlight the legitimacy of the Athenian stand and, hence, victory. On the matter, cf. e.g. HALL 1989: 105 f.

<sup>11</sup> CROPP, FICK 1985: 78–80.

<sup>12</sup> The possibility gains additional support once we remember that at least one Euripidean drama, namely the *Orestes*, is known for its frequent allusions to the earlier works of the poet (for an extensive discussion of the issue, cf. ZEITLIN 1980).

we know no other dramatist risked turning the story into a tragic plot<sup>13</sup>) and its profoundly pro-Athenian character<sup>14</sup>; hence one may expect that an allusion to this particular work would be recognizable even several years afterwards<sup>15</sup>. Still, in accepting 416 BC as its date, we locate the two plays within the same decade, making the legibility of an intra-Euripidean allusion somewhat more likely.

According to the reconstruction provided by the Budé edition of 2000<sup>16</sup>, the plot of Euripides' drama revolves around Apollo's oracle which made the ultimate salvation of the city dependent on the sacrifice of Erechtheus' daughter<sup>17</sup>. Legitimacy of the Athenian position in the fight having been defended in the *agon* with Eumolpus' envoy<sup>18</sup>, possible vacillations of the king are cut short by his spouse, whose resolve would eventually gain such praise from Lycurgus. The scarcity of fragments does not allow us to form any detailed picture of the further developments, but we do know that Erechtheus departs for battle (from which he will not return) having left some state-related instruction to his successor and that two sisters of the girl destined for sacrifice commit suicide and all three bodies are present onstage in the closing part of the *exodos*. At the very end the incipient earthquake is stopped by Athena, who puts an end to Poseidon's vengeful activities and institutes commemorative rites for the three aether-transported girls who are henceforth to be known under the name Hyacinthides as well as for their father, killed in the battle that sealed Athenians' victory.

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<sup>13</sup> On this cf. CROPP 2009: 155.

<sup>14</sup> Still, it must be said that CROPP's reconstruction of the play suggests that the development of action entailed the major denouement as Praxithea's patriotic zeal was contrasted with the utter destruction of her family (CROPP 2009: 154 f.). On Euripides' taste for 'local' colouring and on the importance of the scenery for the reception of the tragedy, cf. BASSET 1910 or EASTERLING 1994.

<sup>15</sup> The issue of the *Erechtheus*' popularity and its later reception (mostly in mythographers) receives brief attention in CROPP 2009: 155. Yet, notwithstanding the poor transmission, the tragedy seems likely to have influenced the Athenian mentality at the point when Attic mythology was still very much fluctuant (compare the unclarity of the Ericthonius/Erechtheus issue or the number/identity of daughters sacrificed, as discussed respectively by PARKER 1983: 201 with notes, and JOUAN, VAN LOOY 2000: 97 f.).

<sup>16</sup> JOUAN, VAN LOOY 2000: 100–109. The reconstruction, benefiting from the findings of AUSTIN (1967, 1968), relates to the post-Austinian editions of the play (MARTÍNEZ-DÍEZ 1976, CARRARA 1977, and CROPP 2009).

<sup>17</sup> We are told that the king sought the oracular response from Delphi: there is no indication that Teiresias featured in the *Erechtheus* at all, though suggestions have been made that he may be the unnamed interlocutor of the protagonist in the reconstructed prologue (against this supposition, cf. JOUAN, VAN LOOY 2000: 101).

<sup>18</sup> A solution bringing to mind that employed in the *Supplices* (Theseus vs. Theban herold), a drama staged around 420 BC according to ZIMMERMANN 1998, or in 424 BC according to LESKY, who, interestingly, considered the *Suppl.* to constitute a part of trilogy that contained the *Erechtheus* as well.

## THE CONTEXT

It seems logical to consider, albeit briefly, the precise location of the passage under discussion, i.e. the *Phoen.* 852–857: as it was signalled above, it comes at the beginning of Creon's meeting with Teiresias, a meeting staged with the intention of uncovering the possible means to help the besieged city<sup>19</sup>. It seems therefore important to note what would be known to the audience at the moment Teiresias enters the scene. First, as far as the military setting is concerned, we know that the Thebans are sadly outnumbered, their sole hope of survival being the strongly defensive tactics advocated by Creon himself in his altercation with Eteocles 737–750<sup>20</sup>. Second, we are aware of the nature of the intrafamilial rift that led to the present conflict, with its additional complications (i.e. the Apolline prophecy, Oedipus' curse, Iocaste's failed attempts at reconciliation, complete indifference to the welfare of both the royal house and the Theban city as displayed by Oedipus' sons). Third, the choral odes have hitherto provided the audience with a wider framework of the events portrayed in the play, hinting at the complex nature of the Theban legacy, starting with the foreign origins of the ruling family, and then, moving onwards to describe the glorious deeds of Cadmus and the birth of the Spartoi<sup>21</sup>. Necessarily, it is against this intricate background that one views Teiresias' mention of Eumolpus and his attack on Athens.

Yet, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at the more immediate context, namely at the central, Creon–Teiresias episode, an episode which was in a way opened with the mention of the Erechthidae: throwing further light on the legitimacy of Eteocles' rule, it focuses on the interrelated issues of divine wrath and ritual crisis that threatens Thebes. It is Ares' vengeful nature that calls for appeasement for the blood of his serpentine descendant, the dragon so valiantly slain by the city-founder, Cadmus. A sacrifice is needed to save the city, the necessary victim being Menoeceus, Creon's younger son, the last pure-blooded descendant of the original dragon-warriors, and the only acceptable victim in ritual terms, Haemon being bound by marriage contract<sup>22</sup>. Thus, Eteocles' uncle is faced by a clear-cut dilemma, explicitly put forward by the blind seer:

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<sup>19</sup> As suggested by Eteocles, cf. *Phoen.* 766–770.

<sup>20</sup> That the number of the Argive army is in itself intimidating is manifest in the first description of the enemy provided by Antigone, as she mentions the whole plain sparkling with reflexes of armour and weaponry (ll. 110 f.). The fact gains further importance in l. 715 as Creon expressly compares the scarcity of defenders with the number of enemy soldiers.

<sup>21</sup> For the comprehensive analysis of the choral songs of the *Phoenissae*, cf. e.g. ARTHUR 1977.

<sup>22</sup> It seems worth remembering that the sacrifice motif was in all likelihood Euripides' invention (cf. MASTRONARDE 1994: 28 f.; indeed, the scholar suggests that the mention of the Erechthidae could have been an ingenious intertextual device aimed at providing the audience with a clue as to the possible inspiration source).

...τοῖνδ' ἔλοῦ δυοῖν πότμοιιν  
τὸν ἕτερον· ἢ γὰρ παῖδα σῶσον ἢ πόλιν (951 f.).

Choose one of these two destinies: either save the city or your son.

What follows the revelations of Teiresias is a complete *volte-face* of the hitherto model citizen, Creon. Faced with the unenviable choice between preserving his own child and saving the *polis* (the seer leaves no doubt that the city cannot be saved unless Menoeceus dies), the former regent loses all interest in his fatherland's welfare, as manifested in his outcry: οὐκ ἔκλυον, οὐκ ἤκουσα· χαίρῃ τω πόλις ("I did not hear; I never listened; I renounce my city!"; 919)<sup>23</sup>. What he will effectively invoke in support of his choice is the universal nature of the individual's love for his or hers progeny. Indeed, he renounces all claims to fame and recognition should he agree to the sacrifice:

πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φιλότεκνος βίος  
οὐδ' ἂν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδά τις δοίη κτανεῖν.  
μὴ μ' εὐλογεῖτω τὰμά τις κτείνων τέκνα (965–967).

...for all men love their children, and no one would give his own son to die. Let no man praise me, and kill my child at the same time.

Consequent to his priorities, as Teiresias leaves to divulge the cure for communal predicament to the citizens of Thebes, Creon prepares to ensure the survival and possible well being of his son<sup>24</sup>. The decision to perform the sacrifice, albeit in a vastly untraditional form<sup>25</sup>, belongs to the youth himself – it is he alone who chooses to die for his country, one of the foremost reasons for his choice being shame:

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<sup>23</sup> One may also refer to l. 921, dismissive of Teiresias himself: χαίρων ἴθ'· οὐ γὰρ σῶν με δεῖ μαντευμάτων ("Go in peace; it is not your prophecy I need"). Line 919 is all the more striking as its tone unintentionally echoes the import of Eteocles' ἐρρέτω πρόπας δόμος ("May destruction seize our whole house!", 624). Symptomatically, a point rightly stressed by RAWSON (1970: 118), he also echoes the gnomic nature of Polyneices' statements about the universality of human love for fatherland (358) in claiming that all men love their children (965).

<sup>24</sup> Still, there is little doubt that the emphasis laid by Menoeceus upon the intended travel route and upon everyday necessities that need to be secured in his journey may be intended to remind the audience of the bitterness of Polyneices' experiences as an exile (388–407): after all, Creon's actions would effectively condemn his son to the sort of life which his cousin (in a significant agreement with the Greek literary tradition) found so unrewarding and humiliating.

<sup>25</sup> The convergence of *sphagion* and *sphageus* goes contrary to the rules of sacrificial ritual, a point rightly stressed by GARRISON 1995: 142–144; for the ritual cf. also WILKINS 1990. The un-conventionality of the suicidal sacrifice rings true in the play: the rulers display such a manifest disinterest in state matters that the rite that is to secure the survival of the country must be performed in a secret, being facilitated by deceit, *mechanema* – significantly, in spite of Euripides' acclaimed liking for the motif of human sacrifice, the setting of the *Phoenissae*, with Menoeceus misleading the ruler in order to perform the rite, remains unique.

αἰσχρὸν γάρ: οἱ μὲν θεσφάτων ἐλεύθεροι  
 οὐκ εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένοι  
 σάντες παρ' ἄσπίδ' οὐκ ὀκνήσουσιν θανεῖν,  
 πύργων πάροιθε μαχόμενοι πάτρας ὕπερ (999–1002).

For it is shameful: those whom no oracles bind and who have not come under divine necessity, stand there, shoulder to shoulder, with no fear of death, and fight for their country before her towers.

Manifestly, he is ashamed to remain unscathed when other citizens, unnamed by the oracle and hence, free from the cultic obligation, die for their land on the battlefield. Hence, he prefers valiant death and the glory of being a saviour to what he perceives (and expects to be perceived, cf. 1005, κακὸς φανήσομαι) as cowardice (δειλία, 994) and betrayal (προδοτήν, 996) in the face of danger. Having divulged his actual decision, the boy, all alone save for the Chorus<sup>26</sup>, departs for the city ramparts, the actual place of his death<sup>27</sup>. His loneliness in that touching moment bears testimony to the extraordinary talent of Euripides – with no other Theban in view, the youth stands as a rarity in the tainted world of Cadmeia, his nobility acclaimed by foreigners alone.

#### POSSIBLE MEANING

Having considered the textual and conceptual background of the Euripidean allusion, it is time to turn our attention to the purpose that may have possibly motivated the mention of Eumolpus in the *Phoenissae*, the mention that plays havoc with the traditional chronology so successfully implemented in the composition of the *Supplices*<sup>28</sup>. To achieve this, one must trace the various possible layers of connotations invoked by both Eumolpean conflict alone, and by the implicit juxtaposition of the Athenian and Theban realities. Two reasons, e.g. the wish to pander to the Athenian self-esteem and the intention of anticipating the forthcoming disclosure concerning Menoeceus' person, seem manifest enough<sup>29</sup>. Still, one may wonder whether the two exhaust the list of possible connotations the allusion was intended to evoke.

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<sup>26</sup> His untypical loneliness at the turning point of his life receives some attention in FOLEY 1985: 133–135 or MASTRONARDE 1994: 393.

<sup>27</sup> One may notice that very much like the defenders of the city (or, indeed, some of its attackers), Menoeceus meets his end on the ramparts (ll. 1009, 1091), his fall being paralleled by that of Capaneus, as this latter is struck by Zeus' thunder (ll. 1180–1186).

<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, LESKY dated the two plays for the same year, namely 424 BC.

<sup>29</sup> Symptomatically, the two appear in MASTRONARDE's commentary on the play (1994: 399). For PAPAPOPOULOU, Teiresias reference to Athenian history comes as a confirmation of his unquestionable authority (2001: 22).

First, given the strictly Theban context in which the reference appears even if this latter is interpreted along the general lines outlined above, we may assume that in invoking (albeit implicitly) the glory of Athens, the recollection of the war past would simultaneously emphasize (at least as taken within the ramifications of the plot) the basic injustice of the “present”, fratricidal conflict, the precarious position of Thebes as ruled by faithless Eteocles. Thus, the possible reflection would concern both the conflict itself and the city it endangers, necessarily influencing the audience’s perception of both: the gruesome fight stemming from a petty quarrel of two brothers will hence be revealed for what it is, a bloody outcome of an intrafamilial squabble that spread to threaten the existence not only of the *genos* itself, but also of the land its members inhabit and rule<sup>30</sup>. It may be significant that Creon’s response to Teiresias’ words makes use of the same metonymiae: the mention of *δορὸς Δαναιδῶν* in 860 may be seen as evoking that of *Εὐμόλπου δορός* in 854, the *καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη* in 858 echoing both the *καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας* in 855 and the *χρυσοῦν στέφανον* in 856<sup>31</sup>. The hope is certainly for victory, yet the very juxtaposition of the situation tends to set off what is troubling in the present conflict, a conflict, one may add, that is to be decided so soon after the former<sup>32</sup>. The issue is particularly important should we assume that the allusion is intra-Euripidean, that the intended reference is to the *Erechtheus*: after all, we know that this particular play was acclaimed (and remembered) for its very imposing female character (the queen Praxithea), and, quite importantly, seems to have served as a goldmine for war-related *gnomai* – several surviving fragments deal with the justice of war, luck in battle as related to the soundness of cause, etc. The war fought by Erechtheus and his subjects in defence of their land was a war against the invading army and the fragments seem to suggest a certain confidence in the claims of justice and divine help. One of the surviving fragments, attributed to the Athenian king himself and located in the opening part of the drama, suggests that any military success is dependent upon divine will:

ὡς σὺν θεοῖσι τοὺς σοφοὺς κινεῖν δόρυ  
στρατηλάτας χρή, τῶν θεῶν δε μὴ βία  
(Fr. 6 JOUAN, VAN LOOY = 352 CROPP).

<sup>30</sup> The reality and closeness of danger is manifest both in the teichoscopy scene, particularly ll. 180–192 (cf. KOMOROWSKA 2008) and in Creon’s rejection of Eteocles’ proposed strategies of combat in ll. 710 f.

<sup>31</sup> For an exhaustive list of the instances of the adjective as it emerges in the *Phoenissae*, cf. LUSCHNIG 1995: 222, n. 155.

<sup>32</sup> It seems significant that Teiresias emphasizes that he is only recently returned from Athens and *still* wears the crown awarded in recognition of his merits (*δεῦρ’ ἐκκομισθεὶς τῆς πάροιθεν ἡμέρας*, 853; *τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὡς ὄραξ, ἔχω*, 856). For the contrast between Creon’s reaction to Teiresias’ ‘triumph’ and the reality of the prophecy, cf. LUSCHNIG 1995: 222 (“Creon takes the crown as a good omen (858), not knowing what it cost the Athenians and what this little consultation with Teiresias will cost him”).



Wise generals should mobilize in concord with the gods, not in defiance of them.

while another expresses profound doubts where any profits of unjust war are concerned:

οὐδείς στρατεύσας ἄδικα σῶς ἦλθεν πάλιν  
(Fr. 7 JOUAN, VAN LOOY = 353 CROPP).

No one campaigning unjustly returns in safety.

Now, while it would be hard to argue that an Athenian audience thought of these precise lines whenever the Eumolpean conflict would be mentioned, it seems likely that a reference would evoke something of the general feeling associated with the war: the Athenians fought having secured divine favour. Even if their line of thought were more general, it seems important to note that the author of the *Erechtheus* seems to have “barbarized” the enemy (Eumolpus invades Attica with his Thracians alone, not as an Eleusinian ally), hence changing the possible evaluation of war, which was manifestly portrayed as a fight against foreign (and wild/uncivilized) invaders<sup>33</sup>. Meanwhile, onstage are portrayed the events and side effects of the internal conflict – it seems highly likely that this difference would be highlighted as an effect of the mention of Eumolpean war.

This is certainly a promising track, yet the difference between external and internal feud is hardly the only one to be brought to audience’s attention in 852–857: it may also appear that Teiresias’ reference to his involvement in the defence of Athens is intended, very much like the Servants’ words in the Prologue, to remind us of yet another aspect of this particular war, a war so different from the one fought on the Attic plain. Contrary to this later, there is, after all, no justice on either side, any potential claims to justice Eteocles may have had as the defender of the town being belied by the ruthlessness and indeed callousness so manifest in the agon scene<sup>34</sup>. One would remember the pregnant words of the old retainer in the *teichoscopya*:

...σὺν δίκῃ δ’ ἦκουσι γῆν  
ὃ καὶ δέδοικα μὴ σκοπῶσ’ ὀρθῶς θεοί (154 f.).

...but they have come here with justice, and my fear is that the gods will take the rightful view.

In fact, there seems to be little piety in both brothers: Teiresias explicitly denounces Eteocles as unworthy receiver of divinely inspired truth (865 f.), and

<sup>33</sup> On this cf. CROPP 2009: 152 f.; HALL 1989: 105 f.

<sup>34</sup> There is no place for an extended analysis of his attitude in this essay; for a short, yet comprehensive study of his character and claim, cf. PAPAPOPOULOU 2008: 61–63.

in spite of all sympathy the dramatist musters for the second brother one may wonder whether Polyneices is so different from his kinsman<sup>35</sup>. Teiresias is venerated for his wisdom, but not by the Theban ruler, who, as we learn from Eteocles himself, had previously insulted the seer (and, we will soon learn, not by Creon himself) – his golden wreath comes from the Athenians, a fact that may serve twofold purpose of highlighting both the sobriety and the piety of the citizens of Athens and, conversely, the negligence and the disregard displayed by their Theban counterparts. It is not that the Athenians are praised at the cost of the Thebans, at least not only that; it is that the Thebans are shown for what they are by contrast with the Athenians. Teiresias' presence in Athens, in all likelihood an innovation of the *Phoenissae*<sup>36</sup>, may thus constitute a reminder of his somewhat precarious position at the Theban court.

Next, while the city of Cadmus (the heroic founder repeatedly mentioned in the play<sup>37</sup>) traditionally stands for anti-Athens, the inverse image of the town of Theseus<sup>38</sup>, yet one wonders whether it is this fundamental contrast alone that was in the mind of the dramatist as he introduced the passage into the play. What he did introduce was an image of Athens at war, moreover, one of Athens at war that was of particular importance for its history. The Athenian piety, the selfless sacrifice of the king and that of his family made the glory of present Athens possible, a victory facilitated by their devotion yet grounded in the very original legitimacy of the Athenian rule<sup>39</sup>. Meanwhile, onstage we have portrayed the wilful disobedience to divine will, unfounded disregard for the claims of both kinship and justice. Hence, once again to invoke the testimony of Lycurgus, if Euripides' wrote the *Erechtheus* with an implicit purpose to provide the people of Athens with an example of civic virtues, one may wonder whether he did not compose the *Phoenissae* to furnish an example of what happens should civic virtues fail. If we interpret the allusion as a reminder of the ruthless subjugation of the generic claims to the good of the *polis* that was so magnificently manifested

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<sup>35</sup> For an analysis of Polyneices' character, cf. e.g. RAWSON 1970: 115 f.; LUSCHNIG 1995: 198–213; PAPADOPOULOU 2008: 57–61. Certainly, there is one explicit reference to shared disregard both for the divine and for the family duties (ll. 868–880), but it should be stressed that the authenticity of the passage is controversial, being contested by FRAENKEL (1963: 37–45) and hence bracketed in DIGGLE'S edition.

<sup>36</sup> Lycurgus, whose *In Leocraten* makes considerable use of Euripides' play, quoting the entire monologue of Praxithea (Fr. 14 JOUAN, VAN LOOY), mentions that the Athenian king himself consulted the Delphic oracle – had Teiresias figured in the *Erechtheus* also, it seems highly unlikely that the rhetorician would omit his contribution to the victory. Still, a point well noted by JOUAN, VAN LOOY (101 f.), the field is widely open to speculation.

<sup>37</sup> On Cadmus cf. e.g. ARTHUR 1977.

<sup>38</sup> A fact made particularly manifest by its portrayal in the Euripidean *Supplikes* 399–597; for an extended analysis of the problem, cf. ZEITLIN 1986 and SAID 1993.

<sup>39</sup> That aspect of the *Erechtheus* is particularly emphasized in the some modern commentaries, cf. HESK 2007: 78 f.

by Praxithea, it cannot escape our notice that in Thebes the *polis–genos* relations seem particularly un-exemplary, one character after another failing to recognize the true nature of his obligations, both toward the city and toward the *oikos*. Polyneices' strife against his brother blinds him to the wider consequences of the feud, Eteocles expressly renounces the claims of kinship but fails to recognize the needs of state, and, finally, Creon's seemingly stalwart allegiance to the *polis* collapses once his family is endangered. Certainly, it is Creon that constitutes the most manifest contrast to Praxithea's example – confronted with the oracle, he reverses the queen's choice in putting his son's life above the survival of his city. His outcry in 919, quoted above, seems to constitute an accurate reversal of the words uttered in a very similar situation by the Athenian queen, most importantly of her crucial statement:

...εἰ γὰρ αἰρεθήσεται  
 πόλις, τί παίδων τῶν ἐμῶν μέτεστί μοι;  
 (Fr. 14, 39 f. JOUAN, VAN LOOY = 360 CROPP).

If the city is captured, what share in my children have I then?

Teiresias having left the scene, Creon will return to the dilemma, this time phrasing his feelings in even more succinct terms:

ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐποτ' ἐς τόδ' εἶμι συμφορᾶς  
 ὥστε σφαγέντα παῖδα προσθεῖναι πόλει (963 f.).

For I will never come to such misfortune as to devote my son to death for the city.

Manifestly, the setting in both the *Erechtheus* and the *Phoenissae* is the same, yet the overall result contrary, the catastrophe being averted only by Menoeceus' noble disobedience to which I will return below. Still, one needs to note that certain disregard for the state is widespread in the Theban drama, that it reaches far beyond Creon, spreading from Laius onward, over the whole royal family; after all, the reasons Eteocles professes for denying the throne to his brother constitute a manifest contradiction of the principles one attributes to Erechtheus, for the young king expressly renounces claims of justice in the name of power:

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρεῖ, τυραννίδος πέρι  
 κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν (524 f.).

For if we must do wrong, to do so for tyranny is the fairest cause, but in all else piety should be our aim.

Similarly, the fratricide is motivated by lust for power and revenge, not by what is right and just – yet, while Eteocles makes his choice obvious, Polyneices seems to masquerade under the guise of justice till the final stage of the *agon* prompts

him to profess the explicit desire for the death of his kinsman. Significantly, in the battle he will wish for victory over his brother, not for vindication of truth and justice<sup>40</sup> – if we compare this behaviour to the reconstructed attitude of the Athenian ruler, the difference emerges all the more strikingly. Hence, the reference to the Eumolpean invasion may justifiably be taken as a reminder of certain profound deficits manifest within the Theban society, of their basic inability to rule themselves or the country, thus anticipating – on the most general lines of interpretation – not only the introduction of human sacrifice, but also, in possibly more implicit manner, the *dénouement* concerning Creon's adequacy as political and military leader, and discovery of his inability to bear political responsibility for his people<sup>41</sup>, and, finally, a certain ambivalence of the ultimate outcome of the scene, i.e. the actual sacrifice itself.

As it was signalled above, in spite of the relative popularity of the sacrificial motif in Euripidean drama, Menoeceus seems untypical because of the unusual circumstances of his death, most of all because his choice is expressly contrary to that made (on his behalf) by his father: in fact, he does not even attempt to persuade Creon to change his will. Moreover, the youth's words bear witness to the fact that he conceives of death as an act of courage linking him to those fighting for the survival of Thebes and, simultaneously, as a fulfilment of civic/ritual obligation imposed on him by the revealed will of gods (see ll. 999–1005). The parallel between death on the battlefield and death in a conciliatory sacrifice is relatively well known from the other plays of Euripides: in the *Heraclidae* Macaria sees her death as particularly appropriate because she cannot fight for Athens' survival (her blood-kin is in much similar situation), hence she conceives of death as the fulfilment of an obligation to Demophoon and his people, claiming she would be cowardly to renege on it (*Heracl.* 500–534); in the *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, the heroine, firm in her choice of death, claims for herself the title of ἐλέπτολις, thus claiming glory of conqueror because of her willing contribution to the military enterprise (*IA* 1476). Even when we consider the *Hecuba* with its description of Polyxene's death (owing to the fall of Troy and change in her own status the girl is no position to make claims similar to either Macaria or Iphigenia), we note that it is partly motivated by the aristocratic desire to avoid shame which would be incurred through the fall to slavery (*Hec.* 345–378, most expressly 347 f., 372–375). Also, one may note that the idea of surrogacy (death in sacrifice as parallel of death in battle) is clearly formulated in the *Erechtheus*:

εἰ δ' ἦν ἐν οἴκοις ἀντὶ θηλειῶν στάχυς

<sup>40</sup> On the issue of Polyneices' and Eteocles' prayer, compare MIKALSON 1989.

<sup>41</sup> For the motif of child sacrifice as linked to the concept of leadership, cf. MASARACCHIA 1983. For the completeness of Creon's *volte-face*, cf. GIBERT 1995: 20.

ἄρσιν, πόλιν δε πολεμία κατεῖχε φλόξ,  
οὐκ ἄν νιν ἐξέπεμπον εἰς μάχην δορός,  
θάνατον προταρβοῦσ’;

(Fr. 14 JOUAN, VAN LOOY = 353 CROPP, 22–25).

If our family included a crop of male children instead of females, and the flame of war was gripping our city, would I be refusing to send them out to battle for fear of their deaths?

Indeed, for Praxithea, glory achieved by sacrificial death appears superior to that found on the field of combat:

καὶ μὴν θανόντες γ’ ἐν μάχῃ πολλῶν μετὰ  
τύμβον τε κοινὸν ἔλαχον εὐκλείαν τ’ ἴσιν  
τήμῃ δε παιδί στέφανος εἰς μιᾶ μόνῃ  
πόλεως θανούσῃ τήσδ’ ὕπερ δοθήσεται

(Fr. 14 JOUAN, VAN LOOY = 353 CROPP, 32–35).

And sons, if they die in battle, earn a common tomb and equal glory shared with many others; my daughter, though, will be awarded one crown for herself alone when she dies for this city.

Significantly, Menoiceus’ final words, pronounced as he leaves the stage, portray the fortunes of the city as dependant on the fulfilment of civic obligations by its people – in this, they bear a certain similarity to the concluding part of Praxithea’s great speech, a point duly noted by MASTRONARDE<sup>42</sup>. The similarity, however, may be seen as enhancing his estrangement from the Theban context within the play, and furthermore, as highlighting the unique nature of his sacrifice as seen against the whole Euripidean corpus. Indeed, the whole speech marks him as alone: alone because of the secrecy and the deception he chooses to execute his plans, and alone because deception and secrecy make him an untypical sacrificial victim in the tragic literature. After all, is it not significant that the ritual so beneficial to the city demands secrecy when carried out in Thebes?

The peculiar nature of Menoiceus’ sacrifice is further stressed by certain additional circumstances: first, a fact noted above, at the turning point of his life he stands alone, his decision kept from his kin – this is certainly striking, once we realize that other surviving plays portray an intended victim (save for the *Phoenissae*, a female) surrounded by family or friends, who at least attempt to influence her decisions. Here, Creon is never openly contradicted, for his young son waits for his departure to announce his will. His wilful deception<sup>43</sup> endows the whole affair with certain furtiveness which seems consonant with the apparent

<sup>42</sup> MASTRONARDE 1994: 434 *ad loc.*

<sup>43</sup> Menoiceus himself admits the deception when stating: ὡς εἶ πατρὸς ἐξεῖλον φόβον / κλέψας λόγοισιν, ὥσθ’ ἂ βούλομαι τυχεῖν (“How cleverly, ladies, I banished my father’s fears by crafty words to gain my end”, 991 f.).

loss of interest in this noble death, the neglect that led some critics to remark on the purely episodic character of the entire plot<sup>44</sup>. After all, it is more usual in the tragic genre to have a courageous victim of sacrifice praised (one may invoke the highly complimentary terms bestowed on Iphigenia or, possibly even more tellingly, Polyxene<sup>45</sup>), even to have honorary ceremonies instituted in her honour (the case of *Erechtheus*) – here, however, Menoeceus leaves the stage to be nearly forgotten. Forgotten by everybody save for two significantly brief mentions: the short reference to his death as preliminary to the battle in 1090–1092, and line 1310 which brings onstage Creon carrying the lifeless corpse of his son<sup>46</sup>. The leader who left plotting to save the child at the cost of the entire community returns lamenting his loss. Moreover, he returns to learn that the battle will bring further losses to his nearest. The presence of the dead body of his son, the body he himself brought onstage, is soon to be eclipsed by the arrival of other corpses – the corpses that will prove the focal point of universal attention.

Also, as signalled above, in a vivid contrast with other sacrificial victims known from Euripides' plays, Menoeceus leaves alone, hailed by the Chorus alone – there is no cortege of attendants parallel to that in the *IA* or, should we follow the 2000 reconstruction, that in the *Erechtheus*<sup>47</sup>. He leaves alone and, in a vivid perversion of ritual norms, he stands alone in the moment of the sacrifice. The Messenger's report seems to mention his death only in passing while the pace and the matter-of-factness of the report seems to suggest that the public witnessing the actual sacrifice was somewhat accidental – there is no sense of

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<sup>44</sup> For the apparent lack of continuity, cf. CONACHER 1967: 241 f. For a brief outline of the discussion, cf. MASTRONARDE 1994: 392 f. One may note, however, that even those accepting the essential indispensability of the scene for the general meaning and structure of the play are prone to note that the sacrifice appears to some degree inefficient (thus, e.g. DUNN 1996: 187 f., 192).

<sup>45</sup> In the *IA* the report from the ceremony stresses the virtuous character of Iphigenia in quoting her final words (1552–1560) and highlights the universal admiration the Argive army had for her valour (1561 f.). Similarly, in the *Hecuba* victorious soldiers are filled with admiration for Polyxene's resolve and beauty (*Hec.* 571–582).

<sup>46</sup> Almost ironically, the phrase employed by both the Messenger (1090) and Creon (1313) to describe Menoeceus is identical: he is ὁ γῆς ὑπερθανών, “one who gave his life for the city”. Yet, for the lack of further interest, this recognition appears as if void of deeper meaning – indeed it may be symptomatic that the body of a conciliatory victim, whose death secured the Theban victory, is returned to his nearest kin for the preparations of patently private funeral (1315–1319).

<sup>47</sup> Indeed, even the choral song was perceived as somewhat distanced from his sacrifice by an ancient critic, who noted: πρὸς οὐδὲν ταῦτα· ἔδει γὰρ τὸν χορὸν οἰκτίσασθαι διὰ τὸν θάνατον Μενοικέως ἢ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν εὐψυχίαν τοῦ νεανίου (Σ). For the actual staging of the scene in the *Erechtheus*, cf. CROPP 2009: 150 f., with its suggestion of the necessity of ‘glad farewell scene’. One may also invoke the testimony of Aelius Aristides (I 87) who suggests that the girl left for the sacrifice adorned for festivities (“Erechtheus is said in this war against Eumolpus to have given his daughter in behalf of the city because of the God's oracle; and her mother is said to have led her forth after adorning her as if for a festival”, trans. by C.A. BEHR).

anticipation, no triumph on the fulfilment of the terms of oracle, no admiring glances, finally, no aesthetic dimension<sup>48</sup>.

Next, should we allow for the purely Euripidean subtext, the mention of Eumolpus and the implied hint at the human sacrifice that served to resolve the conflict may stress certain similarities between female characters of the two dramas: Iocaste and Praxithea both display noteworthy level of civic awareness together with commendable rhetorical skills<sup>49</sup>. It is interesting that each of them indulges in a moment of oratorical glory, each delivering a speech that would be perceived as politically charged: Iocaste's subject is *isotes*, Praxithea's a citizen's duty toward the land. Exponents of political concepts much treasured by the Athenians themselves, the two women operate in male-dominated world, yet their respective universes seem to be vastly different: after all, the Athenian royal family does not shrink from their royal duties, even though it is likely that Erechtheus originally does harbour considerable doubts concerning the sacrifice<sup>50</sup>. Instead, the catastrophe is in all likelihood due to a certain patriotic/familial overzealousness, albeit laudable and stemming from the noblest motive<sup>51</sup>. Meanwhile, the crisis of the *Phoenissae* has its roots in the basic lack of regard for the political consequences of private actions, or in the even more terrifying failure to recognize the political consequences of private actions. Furthermore, while Iocaste assumes the role of conciliator, trying to work out a way out of the impending military clash, and hence, employs her oratory in such a way as to enable the solution that would avoid the actual bloodshed, Praxithea aims at facilitating military victory, her skill being employed to justify, indeed, to extol the choice in favour of the *polis*. Ironically, their actions seem to bring about the direst possible results.

Apart from certain structural parallels that may explain the presence of the allusion, one has to admit a possibility that the mention of Eumolpus and his invasion would remind the audience of the autochthony issue. The figure of the earth-born Erichthonios/Erechtheus<sup>52</sup> remains a straightforward reminder of the Athenian claim to their land, and thus, a figure essential to Athenian political my-

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<sup>48</sup> The latter seems particularly important in the *Hecuba*, where the death of Polyxene, witnessed by the assembled Achaian army, takes on the features of the spectacle (*Hec.* 518–582).

<sup>49</sup> One may recall that another literary parallel has been suggested for the Euripidean Iocaste, namely Aristophanes' crafty heroine, Lysistrata (SCHARFFENBERGER 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Compare CROPP 2009: 149 as referring to Fr. 14, 1–3, 36 f. JOUAN, VAN LOOY, with reference to Fr. 12–15.

<sup>51</sup> Indeed, CROPP 2009: 155 suggests that the tragic tone of the play originates in the basic incompatibility of the respective claims of the individual and the political sphere, with the ruthless subjugation of the private to the public.

<sup>52</sup> Once again, it is useful to remember that there was some confusion as far as the identity/diversity of the two was concerned (compare the *Ion*, staged ca 413 BC).

thology<sup>53</sup>. By reminding his audience of the existence of the earth-born king, the poet may wish to highlight the complexity of a similar issue where the Thebans are concerned: after all, the citizens of Cadmeia are both foreign (the Chorus is a living proof of this) and autochthonous, indeed earth born, very much as Erechtheus himself was. Moreover, their autochthony remains somewhat tainted, if not openly menacing – the continuing survival of the Spartoi, we learn only some lines after the mention of Eumolpean war, stimulates divine wrath. Certainly, the assumption that the autochthony issue may have played some part in Euripides' choice of Eumolpus gains support from the overall prominence of the motif in the scene: the epode of the preceding stasimon mentions the Spartoi, this κάλλιστον ὄνειδος (821) of the land, Teiresias elaborates on the Ares' ire aroused by their very existence (931–941); finally, as Menoeceus departs to meet his destiny, the Chorus sings of yet another earth-born wonder, the bloodthirsty Sphinx. It is strange creatures, it seems, that the Theban soil breeds... Strange, dangerous, and – one cannot fail to notice – hungering after violence and bloodshed, with no respect for what would be respected in Athens.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Coming to an end of the present analysis, it seems important to stress the likely semiotic polyvalence that the relatively short mention of Eumolpus carries. Certainly, at its most manifest, the allusion prefigures the ritual crisis about to be mentioned, at the same moment underlining the important differences between Thebes and Athens. Yet, when considered more attentively, it reveals a wealth of possible semiotic strata, emphasizing Menoeceus' loneliness in his devotion to the *polis*, the unique nature of his send-off, hinting at the darkness surrounding the Theban origins, and underlining the many complications related to the fratricidal conflict. In reminding the audience of the glorious, even if costly, victory achieved by the Athenian armies, it stresses the ultimate cost of Polyneices' ill-starred expedition, an expedition that ends with piles of dead bodies in both on- and offstage space<sup>54</sup>. Symptomatically, no divinity makes its appearance at the end of this grim play, the concluding prophecies being put in the mouth of blind, wraith-like Oedipus. There will be no glory, no honours for the young Menoeceus, no consolation for the long-suffering Oedipus, except for the promise of Colonian death, indeed, if we accept the authenticity of the surviving *exo-*

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<sup>53</sup> One may invoke the case of the last of the Erechthidae, Creusa, in the *Ion*, cf. ROSIVACH 1987. For the importance of the autochthony myth in the Athenian propaganda, cf. Thuc. 1.2. On the prominence of the autochthony issue in the *Erechtheus*, one may compare HESK 2007: 78 (“In this tragedy [...] it is not so much the Athenians' democratic identity that is at stake; rather, their male-biased and mythological claim to be ‘aboriginal’ is authorized and celebrated”).

<sup>54</sup> On the violence of the drama, cf. KOMOROWSKA 2006.



*dos*<sup>55</sup>, the tragedy ends with a bitter squabble concerning the fates of the living Antigone and the dead Polyneices' body. Manifestly, there will be no recognition for the fallen champions. By alluding to a glorious, albeit costly, moment of the Athenian past, Euripides reveals the ugly and disastrous nature of the dramatic reality, thereby demonstrating the multiple dangers to the survival of both *oikoi* and *polis* that may originate in individual nature, should it fail to recognize its duties. Neither Menoeceus' noble self-sacrifice nor the valiant death of those slain on the battlefield herald the birth of either might or greatness – to the contrary, opening the way to further fighting, they leave the bereaved and orphaned (as exemplified by Creon) to contemplate the unclear future (symptomatically, the only personage to have an idea of the future to come, Oedipus, is about to leave the city<sup>56</sup>). At the conclusion of the dramatic action, there remains a certain feeling of waste and hopelessness – there will be no *kallinikoi stephanoi* for the Theban victors, no pride in vanquished enemy, no assertion of superiority. Indeed, the glory that was Athens seems very far from the tainted world of the Cadmeia.

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<sup>55</sup> As suggested by MASTRONARDE 1994: 591–594 and defended by DUNN 1996: 181–202.

<sup>56</sup> If we accept the authenticity of the present 'open' ending, the instability of the future is all the more manifest in the ambivalence concerning Antigone's fate.

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE CHARACTER AND SCOPE  
OF THE POWER OF PROCONSULS DURING THE TIME OF THE  
REPUBLIC: *IMPERIUM CONSULARE* OR *PROCONSULARE*?

By

PAWEŁ SAWIŃSKI

The rapid expansion of Rome during the time of the Republic led to a huge increase in the number of military campaigns being waged. Consequently, consuls, who were entrusted with leading the vast majority of wars, were no longer able to fulfil all the military duties as required of them by the Republic. As a result, a new category of commanders who would relieve the magistrates of this function emerged. One such category were the proconsuls, who from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> were entrusted with the command of many wars<sup>2</sup>. In attempting to formulate a precise definition of the authority of various Republican commanders difficulties are encountered due to the available source material, usually laconic and imprecise. Such a situation is hardly surprising, especially as the ancient authors did not pay attention to rigid terminology as modern historians do. In this context the precise definition of the character of the authority of the proconsuls is of fundamental importance. In recent years, in historiography, the use of the notion of *imperium proconsulare* in relation to the prerogatives of Republican proconsuls has been viewed rather negatively. According to some historians, these commanders held *imperium consulare*, which was above all military in nature (*imperium militiae*). *Imperium proconsulare*, as a distinct model of power during the Republican period, did not exist at all<sup>3</sup>. This opinion is primarily based on the interpretation of a number of passages by Cicero,

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<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all the dates in the text refer to the period before Christ.

<sup>2</sup> On the genesis of the proconsulship, cf. JASHEMSKI 1950. On the subject of the praetorship during the Republic, cf. BRENNAN 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GIRARDET 1990: 92; GIRARDET 1992a: 179; BLEICKEN 1993: 122 f.; GIRARDET 2001: 158. See also RODDAZ 1992: 189–211.

who writes that provincial governors and commanders acting outside of Rome held *imperium consulare*, and is also based on the lack of the notion of *imperium proconsulare* in Republican sources<sup>4</sup>. This term appears for the first time in Valerius Maximus, writing during the reign of Tiberius<sup>5</sup>. In my view, this opinion is controversial and requires fundamental verification. The notion of *imperium consulare militiae*, particularly evident in the work of K.M. GIRARDET, in relation to proconsular authority during the Republic, raises some grave concerns<sup>6</sup>. If we were to accept this interpretation, it would mean that the proconsuls were vested with the same *imperium* outside of Rome as the consuls and were of equal status to commanders. This assumption is obviously unacceptable. Sources show numerous examples of the higher status of consular *imperium* over the authority of the proconsul<sup>7</sup>.

As I mentioned earlier, GIRARDET's concept is based above all on a number of remarks by Cicero who writes that proconsuls held the same *imperium* as consuls (*imperium consulare*). A confrontation of Cicero's evidence with other sources from the Republican era and the beginnings of the Principate indicates a lack of precision on his part. An analysis of the writings of Caesar and Livy proves that these authors were aware of the fundamental differences in the scope and nature of the *imperium* of proconsuls and that of consuls<sup>8</sup>. Likewise, Cicero is inconsistent in this matter. A passage of the *Fourth Philippic* shows that he too noticed certain differences between the status of consuls and proconsuls, evident in the superiority of the consul's authority, in whose charge all the provinces were placed<sup>9</sup>. This is an important argument against the use of the same term (*imperium consulare*) to describe two different models of authority. Furthermore, in neither Sallust nor Caesar there are any indications suggesting that proconsuls held consular authority. What is more, the term *imperium consulare* appears only once in Sallust and it refers there to the consul's authority held within Rome<sup>10</sup>.

A further argument meant to justify not using the term *imperium proconsulare* in relation to the Republican era is the fact that it does not appear in Republican sources. Although Republican authors do not use the phrase *imperium proconsulare* itself, the expression *imperium pro consule* is nevertheless attested in their

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 85 (Lucullus in Asia); Cic. *Prov.* 15 (Gabinus in Syria); Cic. *Phil.* XI 5 (Trebonius in Asia).

<sup>5</sup> Val. Max. VI 9, 7; VIII 1 *amb.* 2.

<sup>6</sup> GIRARDET 1992b: 214.

<sup>7</sup> The issue is more comprehensively discussed later on.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Caes. *Gall.* VI 1; Liv. XXVI 9, 10; XXVI 21, 1; XXXVI 39, 3–5. The question is analyzed in detail in the later part of the paper.

<sup>9</sup> “Omnes enim in consulis iure et imperio debent esse provinciae” (Cic. *Phil.* IV 9). I refer to this passage below.

<sup>10</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 55.

writings<sup>11</sup>. I do not believe these terms are diametrically different in meaning. It seems that we are dealing with the same model of authority, expressed only in slightly different words. The justification for such an assumption can be the fact that in sources dating back to the Empire both terms are used interchangeably to describe the prerogatives of the proconsuls. In the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, written during the rule of Tiberius, the prerogatives of Germanicus, who was delegated to the East as a proconsul, were described as *imperium pro consule*<sup>12</sup>. Valerius Maximus, writing in the same period, uses the notion of *imperium proconsulare* in his description of the authority of P. Cornelius Dolabella, who in 43 was proconsul of Asia<sup>13</sup>. However, when referring to the prerogatives of Pompey, who in 77 was delegated proconsul and sent to oppose Sertorius, he uses the term *imperium pro consule*<sup>14</sup>. This statement by Valerius Maximus should be read side by side with Livy who writes that Pompey was sent to Spain *cum imperio proconsulari*<sup>15</sup>. These two examples clearly show that both terms possessed the same meaning. The fact that both Livy and Valerius Maximus use the term *imperium proconsulare* when referring to the situation under the Republic is crucial. Taking into account the fact that these authors were writing during the principates of Augustus and Tiberius, therefore in a period not so far removed from the events described, it is difficult to maintain that we are dealing with an anachronism<sup>16</sup>. In this context the mentions in Livy and Valerius can be a further argument to confirm that the use of the term *imperium proconsulare* is justified in the description of the prerogatives of the proconsuls during the Republic.

In my opinion, the most important argument against the concept put forward by K.M. GIRARDET and J. BLEICKEN are the fundamental differences in the scope of the *imperium* of the consuls and proconsuls. During the Republic consuls held *imperium domi et militiae*<sup>17</sup>. The military authority they exercised outside of

<sup>11</sup> Sall. *Hist. fr.* 7; Caes. *Bell. Afr.* 97; Cic. *Phil.* XI 30.

<sup>12</sup> *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* 33 f.

<sup>13</sup> Val. Max. VIII 1 *amb.* 2.

<sup>14</sup> Val. Max. VIII 15, 8.

<sup>15</sup> “Cn. Pompeius cum adhuc eques R. esset, cum imperio proconsulari adversus Sertorium missus est” (Livy. *Per.* XCI). I rely on the Teubner edition by O. ROSSBACH (Stuttgart 1959: 94) and the Budé edition by P. JAL (Paris 1984: 22). The Loeb edition by T.E. PAGE (Cambridge, MA–London 1959: 114) adopts *consulare*, a reading of one of the manuscripts.

<sup>16</sup> In fact, the *Periochae* are dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, but we cannot exclude that the term *imperium proconsulare* was known to Livy, as it is used (in Greek version) by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who was a contemporary of Livy (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XVII/XVIII 4, 4). The Greek historian uses the phrase ἀνθύπατος ἀρχή which in Greek sources, together with the term ἀνθύπατος ἐξουσία, is used as a synonym for *imperium proconsulare*. Cf. Cass. Dio LIII 32, 5; LV 13, 5. Cassius Dio was taking advantage of both terms in reference to Augustus’ proconsular power.

<sup>17</sup> It is worth mentioning at this moment that the term *imperium* has recently appeared in the literature only in the context of military power. Cf. DROGULA 2007: 419–452. The author’s thesis is

Rome came to an end the moment they crossed the *pomoerium*. Having said that, it is worth pointing out here that circumstances did exist in which magistrates could exercise *imperium militiae* within the *pomoerium*. This was possible if Rome was exposed to a threat from external enemies or in response to internal unrest within the city, which was frequently precipitated by the civil wars during the late Republic<sup>18</sup>. Under such circumstances the Senate would declare a “state of emergency”, which the Romans called *tumultus*<sup>19</sup>. An example of such a situation are the events of 211 when Rome was under threat from Hannibal’s army and the right to exercise *imperium militiae* within the *pomoerium* was granted to the current consuls and one proconsul called to the defence of Rome<sup>20</sup>. In 121 the right to exercise *imperium militiae* within the *pomoerium* on the basis of *senatus consultum ultimum* was granted to the then consul L. Opimius in order to enable him to wage a campaign against C. Gracchus and his supporters, and in 63 to Cicero, when he was consul, in connection with the Catiline conspiracy<sup>21</sup>. The right to exercise military power within the *pomoerium* was also conferred on the dictator<sup>22</sup>. The *pomoerium*, however, essentially constituted a border the crossing of which resulted in the loss of *imperium militiae*. From Livy we can see that consuls returning from military campaigns summoned the Senate to the temple of Bellona which was located outside of the *pomoerium* so as not to lose *imperium militiae* and the right to celebrate a triumph, which they would have lost had they entered the city. Here commanders also reported on their military achievements<sup>23</sup>. Within Rome they could, however, exercise *imperium domi*, which included the right to convene the Senate and other assemblies, and to implement resolutions<sup>24</sup>. The proconsuls, on the other hand, could only exercise their authority outside of Rome and it was extinguished when they crossed the *pomoerium*<sup>25</sup>. The case of Pompey, who as proconsul, remained outside of Rome in order not to lose his *imperium*, is a good example here. Nevertheless, the Senate granted him a hearing beyond the *pomoerium*<sup>26</sup>. Like the consuls, proconsuls returning from war, if they wished to be granted a triumph, reported on their achievements to the

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strongly controversial. In the present article however, I do not take up the polemic with the author as it has no significant meaning for the issues I am going to discuss.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. RÜPKE 1990: 55 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cic. *Phil.* VIII 1, 3; Liv. XXVI 9 f.

<sup>20</sup> I write more on the subject below.

<sup>21</sup> DROGULA 2007: 447 f.

<sup>22</sup> RÜPKE 1990: 55; DROGULA 2007: 445–447.

<sup>23</sup> Liv. XXXVI 39, 3–5.

<sup>24</sup> Polyb. VI 12; Sall. *Cat.* 55; Liv. XXVIII 9, 4 f.; XXXVI 39, 5.

<sup>25</sup> Cass. Dio XXXIX 63, 4; Cf. also RÜPKE 1990: 45 f.; GIRARDET 1992a: 183; BLEICKEN 1993: 119.

<sup>26</sup> Caes. *Gall.* VI 1; Cass. Dio XLI 3, 3.



Senate which convened at the temples of Bellona or Apollo, both of which were located beyond the *pomoerium*, in the *circus Flaminius*<sup>27</sup>. It is worth noting that a proconsul, unlike a consul, could not personally summon the Senate in this situation. In each instance this was performed on his behalf by a praetor who was present in Rome<sup>28</sup>.

As I pointed out earlier, consuls additionally held *imperium maius* in relation to the *imperium* of the proconsuls<sup>29</sup>. Contrary to clear references in the source material, not all historians share this opinion. According to E.S. STAVELEY, consuls and proconsuls were granted equal military authority<sup>30</sup>. This historian, in my view, has over-interpreted the sources. The examples he refers to, which are intended to prove the equality of both categories of commanders, are not particularly convincing. In the following I would like to refer only to a few of the most important arguments which STAVELEY calls on in support of his theory<sup>31</sup>. STAVELEY mentions, amongst others, a passage by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which refers to the conflict which occurred between L. Postumius, the consul in 291, and the proconsul Q. Fabius during the Third Samnite war<sup>32</sup>. According to Dionysius the consul ordered the proconsul to resign from his position of command and leave the arena of war. Under pressure from the consul, Fabius ultimately agreed to his conditions. After Postumius had completed his term as consul he was ordered to appear before court and was fined<sup>33</sup>. According to STAVELEY, the fact that Postumius was brought before the tribunal indicates that the consul could not give orders to the proconsul because as they were equals in terms of the authority they possessed he did not have the right to do so<sup>34</sup>. However, the analysis of the Dionysius passage as well as of a papyrus text, discovered in the 1980s by Polish archaeologists working in Egypt, containing most probably a fragment from book nine of Livy, permits fundamental verification of STAVELEY's conclusion<sup>35</sup>. In the light of the account of Dionysius we can assume that the

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<sup>27</sup> Liv. XXVI 21, 1; XXVIII 38, 2; XXXVIII 44, 9; XXXIX 4, 1 f.; On the localization of the Bellona and Apollo temples cf. ZIÓLKOWSKI 1992: 18 f.; 284 f.; 290.

<sup>28</sup> Liv. XXVI 21, 1; XXXVIII 44, 9.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. among others Polyb. VI 12; Cic. *Phil.* IV 9; Liv. XXIII 48, 1 f.; XXV 15, 18–20; XXVI 9, 10; XXXVI 37, 6; Cass. Dio XXVII 91.

<sup>30</sup> STAVELEY 1963: passim; similarly KLOFT 1977: 72–76; HÖLKESKAMP 1987: 139, n. 89. However, the opinion that the consul had at his disposal *imperium maius* in relation to the *imperium* of the proconsul is held among others by LAST 1947: 160, 162; EHRENBURG 1953: 115 f.; BLEICKEN 1993: 119 f.

<sup>31</sup> For detailed argumentation cf. STAVELEY 1963: 472–478.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. BROUGHTON 1951: 182 f.

<sup>33</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XVII/XVIII 4 f.

<sup>34</sup> STAVELEY 1963: 475.

<sup>35</sup> For the philological and historical analysis of the text of this papyrus see BRAVO, GRIFFIN 1988.

proconsul's refusal to carry out the consul's orders was caused by the decision of the Senate, which obliged Fabius to remain on the war front in order to assist the consul and entrusted to him the command of part of the army operations. In this context he refused to accept the consul's orders not because he felt he possessed equal authority but because of his interpreting these orders as contrary to the decision of the Senate<sup>36</sup>. Additional information on the subject of the possible cause of this conflict can be found in the passage by Livy mentioned above. It permits the assumption that the Senate made the prorogation of Fabius' *imperium*, and therefore his presence on the Samnite front, dependent on Postumius' approval, who as consul was commander-in-chief of the whole campaign. Postumius' determination could therefore have stemmed from his strong conviction that it was within his remit to decide whether the proconsul could continue to lead military operations at his side, and that as consul he had the unquestionable right to issue the proconsul his directives (*mandata*)<sup>37</sup>. The aforementioned sources also provide reasons as to why the consul was brought before court by the tribunes. It was not due to an abuse of power by Postumius in relation to the proconsul, but it was the result of his activities as a whole, such as discharging the army before the arrival of his successor, the triumph he carried out without the approval of the Senate, his arrogant attitude towards the Senate and the fact that he used legionaries to work on his own private property<sup>38</sup>. In sum, it is necessary to emphasise that in the light of the available sources it is not possible, on the basis of the conflict between the consul L. Postumius and the proconsul Q. Fabius, to draw any conclusions about the equal status of both categories of commanders.

STAVELEY'S further argument is based on a passage of Livy referring to events during the Second Punic war<sup>39</sup>. Livy describes an episode connected to the election of the commander-in-chief who was to be sent to Africa in 202. The Tribal Assembly decided that P. Scipio, who had been proconsul for this region since 204, should remain in the position of commander in Africa<sup>40</sup>. The Senate however voted to send to Africa Tiberius Claudius, one of the consuls, instead. Livy writes that Tiberius was delegated, by force of the Senate's resolution, *parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperator*<sup>41</sup>. According to STAVELEY, this passage reflects "the normal relationship existing between consul and proconsul outside Rome"<sup>42</sup>. In my opinion, and I agree on this point with V. EHRENBERG, we are dealing here

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<sup>36</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. XVII/XVIII* 4, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. BRAVO, GRIFFIN 1988: 511–513.

<sup>38</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. XVII/XVIII* 5, 3; Liv. *Per. XI*. See also BRAVO, GRIFFIN 1988: 507–511.

<sup>39</sup> STAVELEY 1963: 476.

<sup>40</sup> BROUGHTON 1951: 308.

<sup>41</sup> Liv. XXX 27, 1–5.

<sup>42</sup> STAVELEY 1963: 476.

with a specific situation which was recorded by the Roman historian because of its unique nature<sup>43</sup>. In Livy we can find a number of examples which prove that under normal conditions, when confrontations between the two categories of commanders occurred, the proconsuls were subordinate to the consuls<sup>44</sup>. The arrival of a consul in the territory where P. Cornelius Scipio was proconsul would have thus entailed the loss of Scipio's position as chief-in-command. Taking into account the position of Scipio in the Roman political arena, his popularity and military experience, such a situation would most certainly not have been desirable. The regulation mentioned above, which was connected *de iure* with the diminution of consular authority, was to prevent this from occurring. It also constituted a compromise between the wishes of the people, who wanted Scipio as commander-in-chief, and the intentions of the Senate, who desired this position for one of the consuls.

According to STAVELEY, the fact that consuls and proconsuls had the same number of lictors to assist them was also proof of their equality. Expanding on Th. MOMMSEN's statements, STAVELEY assumes that during the Republican era they had the right to twelve lictors<sup>45</sup>. This opinion is in effect primarily based only on a passage of Plutarch regarding L. Aemilius Paulus being delegated to Spain in 191. Plutarch writes that Paulus was delegated as praetor, but rather than the six lictors who were usually assigned to such a position he gained the right to twelve lictors, which, as the Greek biographer notes, gave him consular status<sup>46</sup>. In reality, this passage tells us only about the number of lictors who assisted praetors and consuls; it does not permit any conclusions about the number of lictors assigned to a proconsul. Furthermore, there are certain notices which indicate that the number of lictors did not always reflect the scope of a given official's *imperium*. From Cassius Dio we learn that during the time of Augustus proconsuls in the public provinces had different numbers of lictors<sup>47</sup>. This depended on their previously holding the office of consul or praetor. Ex-consuls had the right to twelve lictors, ex-praetors to six<sup>48</sup>. Despite this difference, all proconsuls held proconsular authority<sup>49</sup>. In this instance a higher number of lictors was rather an indication of the greater prestige awarded to provincial administration positions

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<sup>43</sup> EHRENBERG 1953: 115 f.

<sup>44</sup> Liv. XXIII 48, 1 f.; XXV 15, 18–20; XXXVI 37, 6; XLI 18, 5 f.

<sup>45</sup> MOMMSEN 1876: 366; STAVELEY 1963: 478; similarly KLOFT 1977: 68.

<sup>46</sup> Plut. *Aem.* 4, 2.

<sup>47</sup> The provinces which were not under Augustus' rule after 27 are most often referred to in literature as the Senate's provinces; however, MILLAR 1989 has proved the term to be incorrect.

<sup>48</sup> Cass. Dio LIII 13, 4. See also MILLAR 1966: 157; RICH 1990: 144.

<sup>49</sup> It is confirmed by Tacitus who states that proconsuls of Achaia and Macedonia, chosen from ex-praetors, had proconsular power, the same as the proconsul of Asia, chosen from ex-consuls. Tac. *Ann.* I 76; III 58.

reserved for ex-consuls (proconsulship of Asia and Africa), rather than the different legal status of the proconsuls.

Particularly important in the discussion of the superiority of consul over proconsul in relation to *imperium* is, in my view, a passage of Cicero and a number of passages in Livy. In the *Fourth Philippic* Cicero states explicitly that all the Roman provinces remain under the undisputed authority and jurisdiction of the consuls<sup>50</sup>. According to M. GRIFFIN, this passage shows only a lack of territorial limitations in the *imperium* of the consuls, giving them the right to enter each province. It is not an indication of the superior nature of *imperium consulare* in relation to the *imperium* of provincial governors (including the proconsuls)<sup>51</sup>. It is difficult to agree with GRIFFIN who reduces the interpretation of the Ciceronian passage to the territorial extent of consular authority, thus overlooking the fact that Cicero clearly highlights the specific rank of the consul in relation to other provincial governors. More convincing is G. MANUWALD's assertion that Cicero reveals the superior position of the consul in the provinces, which is due to the *imperium maius*, which included giving him the right to intervene in the affairs of all the provinces<sup>52</sup>. However, this does not obscure the fact that in practice consuls rarely took advantage of this privilege.

Strong arguments in favour of the superiority of the consul in relation to the *imperium* of the proconsul can be found, as I mentioned earlier, in a number of passages of Livy. One of them refers to a situation in 215 when both the then consul Q. Fabius Maximus and the then proconsul M. Claudius Marcellus were active in the territory of Campania. Livy's account shows unequivocally that the consul held chief command and had the indisputable right to give orders to the concurrent proconsul<sup>53</sup>. We encounter a similar situation in reports of the events of 212. In this instance the consuls gave an order to the proconsul Tiberius Gracchus forcing him to transfer his armies to the defence of Beneventum<sup>54</sup>. In 209 the proconsul M. Claudius Marcellus was ordered by the consul Q. Fabius Maximus to undertake an intensive campaign against Hannibal<sup>55</sup>. Particularly significant is the description in Livy regarding the preparations for the defence

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<sup>50</sup> Cic. *Phil.* IV 9.

<sup>51</sup> BRAVO, GRIFFIN 1988: 520, n. 38.

<sup>52</sup> MANUWALD 2007: 512.

<sup>53</sup> Liv. XXIII 48, 1 f.

<sup>54</sup> Liv. XXV 15, 18–20; App. *Hann.* 35.

<sup>55</sup> Liv. XXVII 12, 7. According to KLOFT (1977: 74), the directives given to Marcellus by Fabius were not the effect of wielding superior authority but of his *auctoritas* being the result of his experience and impressive political career (holding five consulates). Taking into account the fact that Marcellus had similar experience and an almost equally impressive political career (four consulates), this interpretation does not seem persuasive. An episode from 207 may be decisive in that context, when the consul Claudius Nero ordered the proconsul Fulvius Flaccus to arrive with his army in Lucania in order to defend the region (Liv. XXVII 42, 17). Taking into account the fact that Claudius

of Rome against the expected attack of Hannibal in 211. Livy notes that in order to strengthen the city's defensive forces, the Senate decided to call upon the help of one of the proconsuls, who at that time were involved in the siege of Capua. The task fell on Q. Fulvius Flaccus<sup>56</sup>. Because of the fact that he was to enter Rome, "cui ne minueretur imperium si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset"<sup>57</sup>. According to the majority of historians, this regulation was to prevent Flaccus from losing his *imperium* after crossing the *pomoerium*<sup>58</sup>. Yet this interpretation overlooks one important detail. From the Livy text it is obvious that by entering Rome the proconsul's *imperium* would not cease but only be diminished through confrontation with the higher *imperium* of the consuls present in the city. It seems that the very fact that one of the proconsuls was summoned to Rome by the Senate in order to defend the city from Hannibal's armies was equivalent to awarding him the right to cross the *pomoerium*. Thus further regulations were not necessary. Fulvius Flaccus, who undertook this task in place of his colleague who was unwell, could thus freely enter Rome with his army. A similar dispensation was also applied to consuls who, as I mentioned earlier, could exercise only *imperium domi* when in Rome<sup>59</sup>. In this instance, because of the threat to Rome, armies were led into the city and consuls were allowed to exercise *imperium militiae* within the *pomoerium*<sup>60</sup>. Hence the aim of the regulation mentioned by Livy was primarily to make the proconsul's *imperium* equal to that of the consul, thanks to which Flaccus was given the rank of commander equal to the other consuls<sup>61</sup>. This situation was of course exceptional, but it does show that in normal situations the proconsuls held *imperium minus* in relation to the *imperium* of the consuls<sup>62</sup>. It is worth remembering that despite the superior rank of the consuls, situations in which they exercised their *imperium maius* to intervene in the activities of the proconsuls were rare. This was due to their having their own concerns in separate territories<sup>63</sup>. The

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Nero during his first consulate gave an order to an experienced commander, previously four times consul, it is difficult to assume it was the result of *auctoritas*.

<sup>56</sup> Liv. XXVI 8, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Liv. XXVI 9, 10.

<sup>58</sup> BROUGHTON 1986: 95; STAVELEY 1963: 476; WEINRIB 1968: 55, n. 88; BLEICKEN 1993: 126.

<sup>59</sup> See also HURLET 1994: 256, n. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Liv. XXVI 8-10.

<sup>61</sup> We may assume that the Senate wanted this way to avoid a situation when the militarily experienced Flavius Flaccus, having a firm position on the Roman political stage (three consulates) would be subordinate to less experienced consuls. It is necessary to remember that Cn. Fulvius Centumalus and P. Sulpicius Galba held in 211 their first consulates and had not led any military operations before. Cf. BROUGHTON 1951: 272, 274. Moreover, when it comes to Sulpicius Galba it is known that it was his first curule office. Cf. Liv. XXV 41, 11.

<sup>62</sup> See also EHRENBERG 1953: 115.

<sup>63</sup> LAST 1947: 160, 162; EHRENBERG 1953: 115.

Second Punic war stands out as a period when confrontations between the two categories of commanders were quite common.

Continuing with the differences in the scope of the authority of the consuls and proconsuls, it is worth pointing out the information from Livy regarding the right to celebrate a triumph. The Roman historian writes that this privilege was initially reserved exclusively for magistrates. Livy notes that Scipio, on his return from Spain, had little chance of being granted a triumph as he had commanded the army there as proconsul<sup>64</sup>. Elsewhere Livy relates how the proconsul L. Cornelius Lentulus requested a triumph on his return from Spain in 200. He too was denied this right by the Senate which justified this decision on the basis that triumph was reserved only for a commander who had been successful as consul, praetor or dictator. In the end Lentulus had to be content with a mere ovation<sup>65</sup>. On the basis of the events recorded by Livy we can assume that the proconsuls were viewed only as substitutes for the consuls and were not of the same rank.

Another aspect which I would like to consider when discussing the scope of the authority of the proconsuls during the Republic is the question of the right to take auspices<sup>66</sup>. Sources reveal conclusively that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries proconsuls had such a privilege<sup>67</sup>. So in this respect they were no different from the magistrates leading war campaigns<sup>68</sup>. This fact is corroborated by Cicero, who clearly states that in the past Romans did not begin any public undertaking, including military, without first taking auspices<sup>69</sup>. According to N. ROSENSTEIN, the right of promagistrates to take auspices in this period was a consequence of their holding the office of a particular magistrate in the preceding year. A magistrate leaving for war was granted the right to auspices as a result of a resolution passed by the assemblies (*lex curiata*), which somewhat legitimized his command. After the term of office had passed, the *imperium* of consuls and praetors was often extended (*prorogatio imperii*), so that they could continue to wage frequently unfinished military campaigns as proconsuls or propraetors. Thanks to the fact that their *imperium* continued uninterrupted these commanders also retained the

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<sup>64</sup> Liv. XXVIII 38, 1–4; see also DEVELIN 1977: 58.

<sup>65</sup> Liv. XXXI 20, 1–5.

<sup>66</sup> On the subject of the *auspicia* and relations between *imperium* and *auspicium*, cf. MAGDELAIN 1968; BLEICKEN 1981: 259–278; LINDERSKI 1986: 2146–2312; RIVERO GRACIA 2004.

<sup>67</sup> Liv. XXVIII 16, 14; XXVIII 38, 1 (Scipio in Spain); XXXI 4, 1 (Scipio in Africa); XLI 17, 3; XLI 28, 8 (Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in Sardinia in 176); XLI 28, 1 (Ap. Claudius Centho in Spain in 174). The proconsul's right to take auspices is also confirmed by epigraphic sources (*CIL* I 2, 2662).

<sup>68</sup> *CIL* I 2, 626; Liv. XXIII 36, 9 f.; XXXVIII, 26, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Cic. *Div.* I 3: “Deinde auguribus et reliqui reges usi, et exactis regibus nihil publice sine auspiciis nec domi nec militiae gerebatur”.

authority to take auspices<sup>70</sup>. ROSENSTEIN's interpretation seems to be correct, but it cannot be applied to all cases. We do know that not all proconsuls held this position directly following a praetorship or consulship. We also know of cases where proconsuls had not previously held any position of a magistrate *cum imperio*. It is enough to refer to the case of Scipio Africanus, who as proconsul in Spain had the right to take auspices, despite never having held previously any office *cum imperio*<sup>71</sup>. He had held only the aedileship in 213<sup>72</sup>. These rights were probably granted to Scipio by the people's resolution entrusting him with the position of the proconsul in this territory<sup>73</sup>. In as much as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries the issue of proconsuls taking auspices seems to be unquestionable, this situation changes diametrically in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Cicero in his treaty *De divinatione* writes that in his time promagistrates did not have the right to take auspices<sup>74</sup>. In his work *De natura deorum* he attributes the disappearance of military auspices (*auspicia militaria*) to neglect on the part of commanders, who, when departing for war, did not concern themselves with obtaining the right to take auspices<sup>75</sup>. This passage would therefore suggest that we cannot speak of a withdrawal of the privilege of auspices from the promagistrates but rather of their conscious resignation from this prerogative. The report of Caesar in which he mentions praetors heading off for their designated provinces without their leadership being confirmed by the people supports Cicero to a significant extent<sup>76</sup>. On the basis of the information from Cicero and Caesar we can accept that when auspices were not taken by military campaign commanders in the 1<sup>st</sup> century it was not the result of a specific legal regulation which denied them this right but the result of the conscious neglect of procedures. The commanders heading out into the provinces

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<sup>70</sup> ROSENSTEIN 1990: 205.

<sup>71</sup> Liv. XXVIII 16, 14; XXVIII 38, 1

<sup>72</sup> BROUGHTON 1951: 263; RIDLEY 1981: 281.

<sup>73</sup> Liv. XXVI 18, 9.

<sup>74</sup> Cic. *Div.* II 76 f.: "Bellicam rem administrari maiores nostri nisi auspiciato noluerunt; quam multi anni sunt, cum bella a proconsulibus et a propraetoribus administrantur, qui auspicia non habent? Itaque nec amnis transeunt auspiciato, nec tripudium auspiciantur. Ubi ergo avium divinatio? Quae, quoniam ab iis qui auspicia nulla habent bella administrantur, ab urbanis retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata". ROSENSTEIN (1990: 205) believes that the quoted words refer only to those proconsuls who held extraordinary commands (Pompey in Spain) or had the post after some time since holding the magistrate. In my opinion, however, Cicero does not make any distinction and he writes about all the commanders being proconsuls and propraetors.

<sup>75</sup> Cic. *Nat. deor.* II 9: "An Atti Navi lituus ille, quo ad investigandum suem regiones vineae terminavit, contemnendus est? Crederem, nisi eius augurio rex Hostilius maxima bella gessisset. Sed negligentia nobilitatis augurii disciplina omissa veritas auspiciorum sprete est, species tantum retenta; itaque maximae rei publicae partes, in is bella quibus rei publicae salus continetur, nullis auspiciis administrantur, nulla perennia servantur, nulla ex acuminibus, nulli viri vocantur, ex quo in procinctu testamenta perierunt; tum enim bella gerere nostri duces incipiunt, cum auspicia posuerunt".

<sup>76</sup> Caes. *Civ.* I 6, 6.

did not wait for the authorisation of their *imperium* by the Curiate Assembly (*lex curiata*), which was necessary in order to be granted the right to take auspices. This situation led to the decline of the meaning of *leges curiatae* and the disappearance of military auspices towards the end of the Republican era<sup>77</sup>.

Finally I would like to discuss the term *privatus cum imperio* as used in reference to a certain category of proconsuls. In modern historiography this notion is often used regarding those *proconsules* who had not previously held any office *cum imperio* (e.g., the proconsulship of Scipio in Spain 210–206), or who had taken up this post after a certain time had elapsed since completing their term as consul during which they did not take the office of provincial governor with the title of proconsul (e.g., Pompey during the war against the pirates in 67)<sup>78</sup>. It is my belief that this term, apart from the fact that it does not appear in ancient sources, is unfortunate and raises serious concerns. The context in which the notion of *privatus* appears in ancient sources indicates serious opposition to the term *imperium*. Sources show that a public person becomes *privatus* after *imperium* ceases, not at the moment when it is gained. It is worth looking here more closely at a few passages from Livy. The Roman historian describes an episode from 216 when the consul C. Terentius Varro nominated M. Fabius Buteo for the position of dictator. He in turn, after completing the constitution of the Senate, resigned from office and dismissed his assisting lictors. Resignation from the dictatorship automatically led to Fabius Buteo becoming a private individual<sup>79</sup>. At the end of 202 the Senate did not extend the *imperium* of the consul T. Claudius Nero. Livy writes that Nero returned to Rome at the head of the fleet as a *privatus*<sup>80</sup>. At the end of 199 the proconsul L. Manlius Acidinus returned to Rome from Spain. The Senate gave its permission for his ovation which did not actually take place because of opposition from one of the tribunes. Acidinus therefore entered the city as a private individual<sup>81</sup>. In this case the loss of *imperium* was connected to the proconsul crossing the *pomoerium*. Two passages from Cicero and Suetonius serve to support Livy. Cicero mentions the declaration of Antonius of his readiness to resign from his designated provinces and dissolve his legions. This move would have meant that Antonius would become a private person<sup>82</sup>. Suetonius writes of Cato's threats that he would sue Caesar after his

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. DEVELIN 1977: 63, 65; BLEICKEN 1981: 270–273; RÜPKE 1990: 49–51; ROSENSTEIN 1990: 205.

<sup>78</sup> JASHEMSKI 1950: 21; KLOFT 1977: 29 f.; RIDLEY 1981: 280 f., 286 f.; BLEICKEN 1993: 121; GIRARDET 1992a: 181.

<sup>79</sup> Liv. XXIII 23, 7.

<sup>80</sup> Liv. XXX 39, 3 f.

<sup>81</sup> Liv. XXXII 7, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Cic. *Phil.* VIII 25.



becoming a private individual on his resignation from command<sup>83</sup>. The examples mentioned here show clearly that for the holder of *imperium* its loss implied the gain of the *privatus* status<sup>84</sup>.

We also have firm source evidence indicating that the granting of *imperium* to an individual not holding a position in office means that this person ceases to be *privatus*. Here we can refer to the example of T. Manlius Torquatus, who was entrusted with command in Sardinia in 215 because of the indisposition of the praetor Quintus Mucius who was already active there<sup>85</sup>. The fact that Livy does not use the term *privatus cum imperio* when referring to Torquatus is important. Livy writes only that he was sent *cum imperio*<sup>86</sup>. He mentions elsewhere that Torquatus conducted the military campaigns in Sardinia as praetor<sup>87</sup>. Of course, this does not mean that he held the office of praetor during his mission. The description of Torquatus as praetor would have rather stemmed from the fact that he had been granted the *imperium* of praetor, thanks to which he obtained the rank of praetor or, as W. JASHEMSKI writes, *propraetor*<sup>88</sup>. We encounter a similar situation in the case of Pompey in 67, whom Cassius Dio describes as proconsul even though he only held *imperium proconsulare*<sup>89</sup>. Both cases are particularly interesting examples of the separation of power from office which is its natural carrier<sup>90</sup>. Especially significant is the case of Octavian, who in 44 illegally assembled an army which he planned to use against Antonius, consul at that time. Until this undertaking was legalised by the Senate Octavian was acting as *privatus*. Only when he was granted the *imperium* of propraetor together with the assistance of lictors in early 43 – which amounted to the authorisation of his earlier activities – did the status of the young Caesar fundamentally change<sup>91</sup>. It was no coincidence that Octavian later treated this moment as his *dies imperii*, a kind of “birth” into the Roman public arena<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Suet. *Caes.* 30.

<sup>84</sup> See also *Caes. Civ.* II 32, 9.

<sup>85</sup> Manlius Torquatus held a consulate in 235 and 224. Cf. BROUGHTON 1951: 223, 231.

<sup>86</sup> Liv. XXIII 34, 13–15.

<sup>87</sup> Liv. XXIII 40, 1.

<sup>88</sup> JASHEMSKI 1950: 24.

<sup>89</sup> Cass. Dio XXXVI 37, 1.

<sup>90</sup> We encounter a similar situation with relation to *sacrosanctitas*, traditionally connected with the office of the people’s tribune. In 44, 36 and 35 the following people received it consecutively (apart from the office): Caesar, Octavian, Livia and Octavia. See Cass. Dio LXIV 5, 3; XLIX 15, 5 f.; XLIX 38, 1; see also BAUMAN 1981: 166–183. The practice will later be meaningful for the model of holding the authority developed by Augustus.

<sup>91</sup> *RGDA* 1; Tac. *Ann.* I 10.

<sup>92</sup> KIENAST 1996: 61.

In the context of the present considerations, a remark made by Caesar may also be of some interest. In a passage of the *Civil War* he discusses the political situation shortly before the outbreak of the civil war with Pompey and complains about the deterioration of public life. According to him, one of the symptoms of such deterioration is the public appearance of lictors attending private citizens in Rome<sup>93</sup>. For Caesar, seeing lictors, a visual aspect of an official's authority, accompanying a private individual is an anomaly, contradictory to the traditional Roman view of authority.

To summarise, it is necessary to highlight the fact that the scope of the authority of the proconsuls was subject to clear evolution during the Republic. Initially, it was the commanders acting as deputy consuls (*pro consule*) who took on this position directly after consulship, by way of *prorogatio imperii*. The case of Scipio Africanus initiated the creation of a new category of *proconsules*. The Roman political arena witnessed the appearance of commanders acting as proconsuls, who had not previously held any office *cum imperio*. Particularly important in the development of the proconsulship was the dictatorship of Sulla, during which the final division between the promagistrate and magistrate emerged, and proconsuls became a somewhat separate category of officials, who were entrusted with the management of the most important Roman provinces<sup>94</sup>. The most discernible change in the scope of the authority of the proconsuls was most certainly the loss of the right to take auspices in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, which was the result of intentional procedural neglect. The differences which existed between consular and proconsular *imperium*, to which we should include above all the superiority of the authority of the consul in relation to that of the proconsul and the exclusively military character of the proconsul's *imperium*, which was lost at the moment of crossing the *pomoerium*, indicate clearly the existence of two separate models of power, both of which, in my opinion, deserve a separate name. In this context I do not see any premise which would not permit the use of the notion of *imperium proconsulare* when referring to the authority of proconsuls during the Republic. I therefore support the Republican origin of this model of power, which at the time of the Principate became the basis for the authority of the Princeps and the members of the *domus Augusta* in the provinces<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>93</sup> Caes. *Civ.* I 6, 7.

<sup>94</sup> EHRENBURG 1953: 116; BLEICKEN 1993: 119.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. JASHEMSKI 1950: 95–99; BRINGMANN 1977: 219–238; HURLET 1997: 38–51; 63–65; 86–89; 129–133; 144–146; 156–162; 172–174; 215 f.; 222; SAWIŃSKI 2005: 22–36.

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MARIAGE DE SEPTIME SÉVÈRE AVEC JULIA DOMNA.  
AU FOND DES STRATÉGIES MATRIMONIALES  
DES FAMILLES SÉNATORIALES ROMAINES  
À LA CHARNIÈRE DES II<sup>E</sup> ET III<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES

Par

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En 187, un sénateur né à Leptis Magna, légat de la province de Gaule lyonnaise, Septime Sévère épousa Julia Domna, originaire de la cité d'Émèse, fille du grand prêtre du dieu Élagabal. Personne à cette époque-là ne se rendait compte que c'était une union qui deviendrait dans peu de temps le fondement d'une nouvelle dynastie, c'est pourquoi le petit nombre de mentions sur sa conclusion n'est pas étonnant. Leur lecture attentive apporte pourtant beaucoup d'informations intéressantes.

L'auteur de la biographie de Septime Sévère dans le recueil de *Historia Augusta* a noté:

Cum amissa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituras sponsarum requirebat, ipse quoque matheseos peritissimus, et cum audisset esse in Syria quandam, quae id geniturae haberet, ut regi iungeretur, eandem uxorem petit, Iuliam scilicet, et accepit interventu amicorum. Ex qua statim pater factus est (*HA Sept. Sev.* 3, 9).

Devenu veuf et désireux de se remarier, il faisait prendre l'horoscope des fiancées possibles – il était lui-même très versé en astrologie –; ayant entendu dire qu'il y avait en Syrie une jeune fille dont l'horoscope prédisait qu'elle épouserait un roi, il la demanda en mariage – elle se nommait Julia – et des amis s'entremirent pour lui obtenir sa main. Elle lui donna aussitôt un fils (trad. par A. CHASTAGNOL).

L'extrait ci-dessus est extrêmement intéressant parce qu'il donne comme cause de la conclusion du mariage par le futur empereur (qui régnait dans l'Empire romain dans les années 193–211) l'horoscope royal de la fiancée. Chez un chercheur attentif, donner seulement ce mobile-là, doit éveiller de l'intérêt et le besoin de le vérifier à la base d'autres sources. Il faut remarquer que l'explication donnée est conforme à la réalité de cette époque-là où l'astrologie était ainsi que la magie un moyen populaire et apprécié de la connaissance de l'avenir. Aussi

bien Dion Cassius dans les livres LXXII, LXXIV et LXXVI de son *Histoire romaine* qu'Hérodien dans le deuxième livre de son *Histoire après Marc* informent sur la croyance de Septime Sévère en rêves, présages et prédictions, et citent, appartenant aussi à cette catégorie, *omina imperii*, c'est-à-dire les signes prédisant son règne<sup>1</sup>. Une question s'impose de savoir pourquoi le biographe de l'empereur dans le recueil de *HA* a considéré qu'il fallait expliquer au lecteur les raisons du mariage d'un sénateur africain, alors légat de Gaule, avec Julia Domna, la fille du grand prêtre riche Iulius Bassianus d'Émèse. Un petit conte astrologique prédisant une excellente future vie d'un nouveau couple (connue de l'auteur) répond à la convention générale, mais il n'est pas à exclure que c'était un évident *vaticinium ex eventu*, où le présage après le fait et les motifs réels de la décision de Sévère n'ont pas été bien approfondis par l'historiographe.

Septime Sévère, comme le mentionne explicitement le biographe de *HA*, était veuf. Il épousa en secondes noces Julia Domna, et sa première femme était Paccia Marciana, représentante de l'ordre équestre, mentionnée non pas seulement dans la biographie du *princeps*<sup>2</sup>, mais aussi dans les inscriptions d'Afrique (à savoir celles de Leptis Magna et de Cirta<sup>3</sup>) érigées par son ordre. La localisation des inscriptions et les données onomastiques permettent de dire qu'elle était originaire de cette province-là, elle était donc compatriote (et peut-être une proche voisine) du futur empereur. Il est difficile de définir l'âge des époux au moment de la conclusion du mariage. Nous savons que Septime Sévère est devenu veuf à l'âge de quarante ans à peu près (en 186 environ<sup>4</sup>), mais cela ne suffit pas pour établir la date du *matrimonium*, et encore moins, pour préciser l'âge de Marciana<sup>5</sup>. Probablement, elle était plus jeune que son mari (peut-être, beaucoup plus jeune), ce qui était tout à fait ordinaire dans les couples romains parce que la loi permettait de conclure un mariage avec une jeune fille de 12 ans (bien qu'au III<sup>e</sup> siècle les jeunes filles se mariassent plutôt à 16 ans). Elle serait morte à l'accouchement – statistiquement, la cause la

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<sup>1</sup> Cass. Dio LXXII 23, 1 suiv.; LXXIV 3, 1 suiv.; LXXVI 11, 1; Herod. II 9; aussi *HA Sept. Sev.* 2, 8; 15, 5; *Get.* 2.

<sup>2</sup> *HA Sept. Sev.* 3, 2 (comme Marcia).

<sup>3</sup> *IRT* 410; *IRT* 411; *CIL* VIII 19494 = *ILS* 440 = *ILAlg* II 1, 565.

<sup>4</sup> Les sources ne sont pas unanimes quant à la date de naissance de Septime Sévère et elles indiquent le 11 avril 145 (Cass. Dio LXXVI 17, 4) ou bien le 8 avril 146 (*HA Sept. Sev.* 1, 3). GUEY 1956: 34, à la base des indications de l'horoscope de Septime Sévère, a proposé d'accepter la date du 11 avril 145.

<sup>5</sup> M. HEIL dans *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 487 suggère que le mariage avec Marciana a été conclu quand Septime Sévère était légat de son oncle, proconsul d'Afrique (en 173–174) et séjournait justement dans sa province (voir aussi *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 485). Le mariage avec Domna a été conclu au plus tard en juin–juillet 187 parce que le 4 avril 188 est né le fils aîné du couple, Septimius Bassianus. Il en résulte que Septime Sévère est devenu veuf en 186 ou en début de 187 parce qu'il faut inclure le temps nécessaire aux négociations menées en Syrie par les intermédiaires. Dans ce cas-là, le premier mariage aurait duré 12 ans et il est fort probable que les deux filles mentionnées par le biographe de *HA* (*Sept. Sev.* 8, 1 suiv.) sont issues de ce mariage.

plus fréquente de la mort des jeunes filles à cette époque-là<sup>6</sup>. Le biographe attribue à Septime Sévère deux filles nées de ce mariage (*HA Sept. Sev.* 8, 1 suiv.), ce qui n'est pas exclu et ce qui suggérerait sa volonté d'avoir un fils comme la raison de ses secondes noces. Les historiographes antiques admettent que Septime Sévère, alors légat de la province de Gaule lyonnaise (il n'avait donc pas une autonomie totale d'agir), a mené des examens attentifs et détaillés des candidates à sa femme successive et c'est pourquoi son choix était sûrement bien réfléchi. Les négociations avec la famille de l'élue étaient difficiles parce qu'il les menaient «par des amis», voir des intermédiaires de confiance. S'il avait décidé de négocier à distance et d'aboutir à la conclusion du mariage, il devait être convaincu de son bon choix et décidé en même temps. Probablement «les amis» ont rédigé pour lui le contrat de mariage et, probablement aussi, l'un d'eux représentait Sévère au cours de la cérémonie des fiançailles, ayant offert à la fiancée une bague de fiançailles – le présent du futur mari. Il est possible qu'il était alors convenu que la cérémonie du mariage aurait lieu en Gaule parce que Sévère ne pouvait pas quitter la province gouvernée et que la cérémonie rituelle aurait la forme de *confarreatio*, c'est-à-dire très solennelle, propre au rang des deux familles. La question de savoir si au cours de la cérémonie certains rituels d'Orient ont été appliqués, typiques du culte d'Élagabal, faute de données, doit rester sans réponse<sup>7</sup>.

Nous ne connaissons pas non plus l'importance de la dot de Domna. Elle aurait pu être constituée aussi bien de propriétés foncières que de biens meubles précieux dont le père aurait doté sa fille s'installant en Gaule; nous pouvons supposer que dans la dot, il y avait une certaine somme d'or qui pourrait être destinée à l'acquisition, par exemple, d'un patrimoine en Occident.

Il faut souligner que Septime Sévère connaissait personnellement sa future épouse, ce qui n'était pas nécessaire à la conclusion d'un mariage dans la Rome antique. Ayant séjourné quelques années auparavant (dans les années 179–182) en Syrie en tant que légat de la légion III Scythica<sup>8</sup>, il a sans doute visité la province dans laquelle il stationnait, c'est pourquoi nous pouvons supposer qu'il était aussi allé à la cité d'Émèse se trouvant sur son territoire. Hérodien a attesté qu'il y avait un grand nombre de militaires qui visitaient la ville<sup>9</sup> parce qu'elle était connue dans

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<sup>6</sup> Comme l'a remarqué SUDER 2003: 45, le taux de mortalité des femmes entre 15 et 35 ans était le plus élevé, il s'agit donc des femmes à l'âge de procréation.

<sup>7</sup> Je ne prends pas en considération l'affirmation dépourvue de fondements, avancée par GOLFETTO 2002: 27 suiv., qui écrit que Septime Sévère épousa Domna en Syrie selon le rituel du culte de Baal.

<sup>8</sup> Cela vaut la peine de présenter ici le *cursus honorum* sénatorial de Septime Sévère du moment de sa proclamation impériale: *quaestor Sardiniae, tribunus militum, legatus proconsulis Africae, tribunus plebis candidatus imp. M. Aurelii, praetor, in ipsa praetura in Hispaniam missus (iuridicus Asturiae et Gallaeciae?), legatus legionis III Scythicae, legatus pro praetore provinciae Lugdunensis, proconsul Siciliae, consul suffectus, legatus Pannoniae.*

<sup>9</sup> Herod. V 3, 8–10.

toute la région comme lieu du culte d'Élagabal, dieu de la montagne, vénéré sous forme de pierre noire se trouvant au temple, apparemment tombée du ciel.

Le grand prêtre du temple était alors Iulius Bassianus, citoyen romain et chevalier. Il est fort probable qu'il a accueilli dans sa maison le sénateur romain visitant le temple. Théoriquement, c'est alors qu'il aurait pu connaître les deux filles de Bassianus – l'aînée Maesa et la cadette Domna<sup>10</sup>. Maesa était sans doute déjà mariée et donc Domna était l'unique jeune fille à marier dans la maison du grand prêtre, bien qu'elle n'ait pas encore atteint l'âge légal pour se marier. Pourtant, quelques années plus tard, quand elle épousa Septime Sévère, elle était sûrement majeure selon la loi romaine, c'est-à-dire, elle avait au moins 12 ans (alors que son élu avait dépassé la quarantaine).

L'élue de Sévère était jeune, riche et belle dont de nombreux portraits qui se sont conservés sont la preuve; les sources écrites disent aussi qu'en tant qu'impératrice, elle montrait de larges intérêts culturels<sup>11</sup> qui sans doute la caractérisaient déjà dans sa jeunesse. Le célèbre sophiste Flavius Philostrate l'appelle même philosophe, ce qui est très significatif de l'intelligence de Domna<sup>12</sup>. Vu toute ses qualités, on peut s'étonner que le biographe a donné un motif supplémentaire de Sévère, c'est-à-dire l'horoscope mentionné ci-dessus impliquant la conclusion que le choix du légat de Gaule nécessitait des explications.

Cherchant une explication possible de ce fait, il faut préciser que sur 65 mariages des sénateurs conclus à la charnière des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles, dans lesquels l'origine territoriale de deux époux est connue, 57<sup>13</sup> ont été conclus entre les personnes originaires de la même région, de la même province ou de la même ville, seulement 8 mariages (ci-dessous décrits) peuvent être définis comme unions «interrégionales».

Le petit nombre d'unions de deuxième genre, nous permet de les qualifier d'exceptionnelles. Parmi ces mariages se trouve aussi celui de Sévère avec Domna et c'est pourquoi cela vaut la peine de comparer et d'étudier les données concernant les sept autres couples pour établir leurs traits communs possibles et décisifs et pour trouver ainsi une explication du choix inhabituel du fondateur de la dynastie des Sévères.

### 1. L. Alfenus Avitianus et Viria

L. Alfenus Avitianus était consul suffect dans les années 210–220. Avant le consulat, il exerçait la fonction de légat de la province d'Arabie, après quoi, il obtint la gouvernance de la Pannonie inférieure. Il appartenait aussi au collège religieux

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<sup>10</sup> La discussion sur le prénom porté par la fille cadette de Bassianus rapporte de manière synthétique KETTENHOFEN 1979: 76–78.

<sup>11</sup> P.ex.: Cass. Dio LXXV 15, 7; LXXVII 18, 3; Philostr. *VA* I 3; *VS* II 30.

<sup>12</sup> Philostr. *VS* II 30.

<sup>13</sup> Voir l'annexe.



élitaire des *fratres Arvales*<sup>14</sup>. Il était originaire d'Acci en Espagne et les surnoms de ses fils – L. Alfenus Virius Iulianus et L. Alfenus Virius Avitus Avitianus – indiquent le mariage avec une femme de la famille des *Virii*. La *gens Viria* italienne était représentée à cette époque-là par: Virius Lupus, consul suffect avant 196, L. Virius Agricola, consul ordinaire en 230, L. Virius Lupus Iulianus, consul ordinaire en 232, Q. Virius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus, consul suffect sous Septime Sévère, elle appartenait donc, ce qui mérite d'être souligné, au cercle d'excellentes et d'influents familles (mais non pas à celles les plus anciennes) de l'Empire. Puisque Avitianus était le premier consul (et peut-être sénateur) dans sa famille, le mariage avec Viria était pour lui décidément un bon parti, ce qui explique les raisons de son choix. Nous pouvons admettre qu'il devait sa carrière politique, au moins en partie, à son épouse et aux influences de sa *gens*.

## 2. Cn. Pompeius [...] et Viria Valeria

Cn. Pompeius [...] appartenait à une famille sénatoriale d'Éphèse dont la généalogie est reconstruite de manière différente à la base d'une inscription lacunaire d'Éphèse (*IvEph* 710 b). Selon l'opinion de K. WACHTEL, il était marié à Viria Valeria<sup>15</sup> de la *gens Viria* italienne, ci-dessus mentionnée. L'acceptation de l'hypothèse du chercheur allemand signifierait l'acceptation du fait que plus ou moins en même temps, deux représentantes de la même famille ont été mariées aux sénateurs, respectivement, de provinces d'Espagne et d'Asie Mineure, ce qui permet de caractériser la politique matrimoniale des *Virii* comme très expansive.

## 3. L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus et la fille de L. Alfenus Avitianus, légat d'Arabie

Le sénateur en question est le premier des maris analysés dont le *cursus honorum* détaillé a été transmis par les sources épigraphiques. Il commença sa carrière comme tribun de la légion X Gemina (*tribunus laticlavius legionis X Geminae*), ensuite, il a été inscrit aux anciens questeurs (*adlectus inter quaestorios*), après quoi, il exerçait la fonction de secrétaire du sénat (*praepositus actis senatus*), d'édile curule (*aedilis curulis*), de préteur (*praetor*), de légat de la province de Belgique (*legatus Augusti vice quinque fascium provinciae Belgicae*), de légat de la légion I Adiutrix (*legatus legionis I Adiutricis*), de légat de la province de Galatie (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Galatiae*), de légat de la province de Numidie et en même temps celui de la légion III Auguste (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Numidiae* ou *legatus legionis III Augustae Severianae et provinciae Numidiae*), pour, à la fin, devenir consul suffect<sup>16</sup>. Sa

<sup>14</sup> Pour sa carrière, voir *CIL* III 3637 = *RIU* 800; *CIL* VI 2104 = *ILS* 5039; *CIL* VI 2108; *IGR* III 1371; *AE* 1939, 255.

<sup>15</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 579.

<sup>16</sup> Pour sa carrière, voir *CIL* III 14184<sup>27,30</sup>; *CIL* VIII 18270 = *ILS* 1196; *CIL* VIII 19131 = *ILAlg* II 6518; *CIL* VIII 8782 = 18081; VIII 17639; *AE* 1917/18, 51; 1973, 646.

carrière, et surtout son *adlectio* (inscription) à la liste d'anciens questeurs et les fonctions de secrétaire du sénat et d'édile curule suggèrent sa bonne position au sénat, ce qui est surprenant dans le cas d'un nouveau sénateur. Une explication peut être la personne de son épouse – la fille du sénateur L. Alfenus Avitianus<sup>17</sup>. La suggestion de J. Fitz, selon laquelle Salamallianus était tribun de la légion X à Vindobona en Pannonie inférieure à l'époque où le légat de cette province était justement L. Alfenus Avitianus<sup>18</sup> semble justifiée. Il est possible que c'était alors que le mariage du jeune tribun avec la fille du légat eut lieu. À son beau-père, un sénateur actif dans l'administration de l'Empire sous le règne de Sévère, et ensuite de Caracalla, Salamallianus devait sans doute un appui au sénat et une carrière politique dynamique.

Les deux sénateurs ont conclu par leur mariage une importante alliance «impériale», Alfenus Avitanus était originaire d'Espagne, par contre son gendre de l'Empire romain d'Orient. Il faut rappeler qu'Alfenus conclut à son tour un mariage avec une représentante de la famille italienne des *Virii*, et à travers cette famille il s'est apparenté à les *Cn. Pompeii* d'Éphèse – cela veut dire que ses alliances familiales dépassaient considérablement les frontières régionales.

#### 4. Ti. Claudius Cleobulus et Acilia Frestana

Ti. Claudius Cleobulus est certifié dans les sources comme consul suffect au début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, par contre, sa carrière (à part le consulat) est complètement différente. Le *cognomen* Cleobulus (ou bien Cleobules) indique explicitement que le sénateur était de la partie hellénophone de l'Empire, et les personnes du même nom qui apparaissent dans le matériel épigraphique d'Asie Mineure (par ex. dans les villes comme Éphèse et Kidyessos) permettent de supposer qu'il pouvait venir aussi de ces environs-là. Ses enfants étaient sans doute: Claudius Acilius Iulius et Claudius Acilius Cleobulus, dont les surnoms suggèrent qu'il conclut le mariage avec une Acilia<sup>19</sup>, appartenant à la vieille famille italienne ayant une origine républicaine, les *Acilii Glabriones*. Sa femme était probablement la sœur de M'. Acilius Faustinus, consul en 210, la fille de M'. Acilius Glabrio, deux fois consul (consul suffect en 173 et consul en 186), la petite-fille de M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul en 152<sup>20</sup>.

La magnificence de la famille de l'élue explique tout à fait la décision de Cleobulus, mais pose par contre la question de savoir quels étaient les motifs de la famille des *Acilii Glabriones*. Grâce aux magnifiques traditions de sa *gens*, Acilia aurait pu épouser les meilleurs sénateurs de l'Empire. Ce n'est pas sans raison qu'après la mort de l'empereur Commode, son successeur, P. Helvius

<sup>17</sup> Ce qu'indiquent les prénoms du fils aîné du sénateur – L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Avitianus (*CIL* VIII 18271).

<sup>18</sup> FITZ 1993–1995: 1062–1063.

<sup>19</sup> Peut-être le *cognomen* Frestana, comme le suggérait p.ex. E. GROAG dans *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 57.

<sup>20</sup> CHAMPLIN 1979: 288 suiv.

Pertinax, voulait donner le pouvoir à son père, la personne qui en était la plus digne à Rome. Nous pouvons présumer qu'à la base du mariage d'Acilia avec Cleobulus se trouvait l'amitié avec le père ou le frère de l'élue, mais il est possible aussi que ce mariage inattendu devait résoudre des problèmes de famille que nous ne connaissons pas.

### 5. **P. Attius Pudens Rufinus Celsianus et Claudia Maria Maxima Martia Secunda**

P. Attius Pudens Rufinus Celsianus, *clarissimus vir*, appartient au cercle de nombreux sénateurs dont les carrières constituent pour nous un mystère. Nous connaissons par contre ses liaisons familiales – il était le fils de P. Attius Pudens, sénateur d'Éphèse et de Carminia Liviana Diotima, représentante de la célèbre famille des *Carminii* d'Attuda en Asie Mineure. Lui-même, il épousa Claudia Maria Maxima Martia Secunda, dont les *nomina* indiquent les liens de parenté avec les *Marii Maximi* d'Afrique. À l'époque, cette famille était représentée par: L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, consul suffect vers 199 et consul II ordinaire en 223, L. Marius Perpetuus, consul suffect avant 203–205, L. Marius Maximus, consul ordinaire en 232, L. Marius Perpetuus, consul ordinaire en 237. Faire alliance avec cette *gens* était sans doute pour Attius Pudens une opportunité politique, mais il faut souligner que les *Marii Maximi* étaient une nouvelle (mais particulièrement puissante) famille sénatoriale, lui-même était le fils d'un sénateur et le neveu de deux consuls. Il est probable que la famille de l'élue ait connu le jeune sénateur à la curie du sénat ou bien dans sa patrie au cours de l'expédition en Orient de Septime Sévère, à laquelle participèrent L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus et L. Marius Perpetuus. Puisque tous les deux étaient soutenus (y compris leurs enfants et leurs parents) dans leur carrière par la dynastie au pouvoir, l'union avec leur parente était pour Attius très favorable.

### 6. **[L. Allius ...] et Vedia**

La carrière de [L. Allius ...] ne nous est que partiellement connue. Il l'a commencée de manière atypique parce qu'il exerça deux fois le vigintivirat – chargé de l'entretien des rues (*III vir viarum curandarum*) et chargé de contrôler la frappe des monnaies (*III vir aere argento auro flando feriundo*), ensuite, il devint tribun de la légion III Cyrenaica et questeur (*L[iciae?]*<sup>21</sup>). Le manque d'informations sur les échelons successifs de sa carrière peut suggérer qu'il est mort jeune, bien qu'il eût des enfants: L. Allius F[lavius?...] et [Alli]a Flavia Salv[ja...]. Ce sénateur d'Italie (plus précisément d'Étrurie) épousa une femme d'une famille sénatoriale illustre, originaire d'Éphèse, les *Vedii Antonini*. Il l'avait probablement rencontrée ayant exercé sa fonction en Orient où il a sympathisé avec les membres de sa famille qui ont décidé de cette relation. Faute de données complètes concernant la famille d'Allius, nous ne pouvons pas avancer des hypothèses plus développées au sujet du

<sup>21</sup> Voir *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 542.

mariage en question. Une distance considérable entre les patries de deux familles nous autorise à dire que son histoire était peu commune.

### 7. **L. Marius Vegetinus Marcianus Minicianus Myrtilianus et Claudia Artemidora**

Le dernier des sénateurs présentés était consul au tournant des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles. Sa carrière préconsulaire est bien connue. Il était successivement vigintivir (*vir kapitalis auro argento aere flando formando* [sic!]), questeur urbain (*quaestor urbanus*), tribun de la plèbe (*tribunus plebis*), préteur (*praetor*), légat du proconsul de la province de Bétique (*legatus (proconsulis) provinciae Baeticae*), légat de la légion XXII Primigenia (*legatus legionis XXII Primigeniae*), préfet de l'annone (*praefectus frumenti dandi*) et consul suffect (*consul (suffectus)*)<sup>22</sup>. Il a rapidement atteint la préture, sa carrière était tout à fait normale parce qu'après la préture, et avant le consulat, il assumait trois fonctions, ce qui était un nombre moyen pour un sénateur romain, suggérant son appartenance à une nouvelle famille au sénat. Il venait probablement d'Hispanie, d'une région difficile à établir<sup>23</sup>. Sa femme Claudia Artemidora était sûrement originaire de la partie de l'Empire où l'on parlait grec; ses *nomina* indiquent un lien de parenté avec Ti. Claudius Artemidorus, sénateur et consul d'Éphèse. Les enfants de ce couple étaient: Maria Rufina et L. Marius Vegetinus Lucanus Tiberianus. Il est difficile de dire comment ce mariage du sénateur espagnol avec une habitante d'Éphèse a été conclu. Marius n'a pas fait son service en Orient de l'Empire, les *Claudii Artemidori* n'avaient pas de propriétés en Hispanie, c'est pourquoi diverses explications sont possibles, y compris les connaissances nouées au sénat ou bien pendant les voyages à travers le pays.

Il faut mettre en relief encore une fois qu'indépendamment des circonstances, les mariages «interrégionaux» certifiés par les sources n'étaient pas nombreux. Le nombre des mariages conclus entre les personnes originaires de la même région (et, en partie, de la même province ou de la même ville)<sup>24</sup> était sept fois plus grand. Cette disproportion ne peut donc pas expliquer les lacunes de nos connaissances. Il faut admettre que les unions entre les représentants de différentes régions de l'Empire étaient effectivement rares et conclues principalement pour d'importants avantages politiques. Les mariages «interrégionaux» ci-dessus décrits, dans la plupart des cas s'inscrivaient dans un schéma dans lequel les maris appartenaient aux familles moins distingués que celles de leurs épouses, alors leurs mariages ne pouvaient que leur apporter des profits bien concrets. Le mariage du sénateur Septime Sévère avec Julia Domna ne s'inscrivait pas à cette norme, ce qui est surprenant et attire l'attention. Il est vrai que Sévère conclut

<sup>22</sup> *CIL* VI 1455 et 1456.

<sup>23</sup> À ce sujet, voir CASTILLO 1982: 517.

<sup>24</sup> Voir l'annexe.

son premier mariage aussi avec une représentante de l'ordre équestre, mais dans le cercle de mariages régionaux de telles différences d'ordres n'étaient pas rares, vu surtout une importante dot de la mariée.

À mon avis, cela vaut la peine d'analyser le mariage de Sévère et de Domna pour établir toutes les conditions possibles et voir si la politique matrimoniale antérieure de leurs familles dépassait les tendances générales, servant d'inspiration aux idées matrimoniales audacieuses postérieures.

Septime Sévère est né dans une famille de chevaliers en tant que fils de P. Septimius Geta et de Fulvia Pia. Ses parents étaient originaires de Leptis Magna et avaient la même position sociale, leur mariage n'était pas donc surprenant. De leur mariage sont issus, à part Septime Sévère, P. Septimius Geta et Septimia Octavilla. Dans le cas du frère de l'empereur, nous ne disposons pas de renseignements sur le mariage qu'il aurait conclu. C'est une question intéressante parce qu'il était si longtemps membre de la famille impériale que nous pourrions nous attendre à ce que des informations sur son éventuelle épouse se soient conservées. Le manque de données dans les sources permet de suggérer que la femme de Geta est morte plusieurs années auparavant sans avoir laissé des descendants, ou bien que le frère de l'empereur ne s'est jamais marié (ce qui serait anormal pour un sénateur romain et c'est pourquoi peu probable).

La sœur de l'empereur, Septimia Octavilla s'est mariée sans doute avant que son frère eût devenu empereur. Ses descendants (comme l'indiquent les *nomina*) étaient confirmés dans les sources épigraphiques: L. Flavius Septimius Aper Octavianus et Flavia Neratia Septimia Octavilla<sup>25</sup>. Malgré ces données apparemment détaillées, il est impossible d'établir l'identité du mari de la sœur de l'empereur. Selon l'opinion d'A.R. BIRLEY, elle épousa L. Flavius Aper. Leur fils était sénateur mentionné ci-dessus L. Flavius Septimius Aper Octavianus (dans lequel le chercheur voit L. Septimius Aper, consul ordinaire en 207), et la petite-fille, Flavia Neratia Septimia Octavilla<sup>26</sup>. Les fondements de cette hypothèse ont été pourtant contestés par M. TORELLI, qui a indiqué les débuts modestes et le statut plébéien du présumé neveu de l'empereur, L. Flavius Septimius Aper Octavianus, comme argument contre la thèse selon laquelle il était un parent tellement proche de l'empereur<sup>27</sup>.

Il faudrait mentionner ici un passage de *HA (Sept. Sev. 15, 7)*, selon lequel la sœur de Septime Sévère est venue chez lui (au cours de l'expédition parthe comme le dit le récit) de Leptis Magna et lui demandait *latus clavus* pour son fils, c'est-à-dire son accès à l'ordre sénatorial, ce qu'elle obtint («dato filio eius lato clavo») avant le retour accéléré chez elle. T.D. BARNES a considéré cette anecdote comme peu fiable parce que selon l'inscription conservée de Septimia Octavilla

<sup>25</sup> Voir par exemple *CIL VI 1415 = 31648*.

<sup>26</sup> BIRLEY 1971: 294 suiv.

<sup>27</sup> TORELLI 1973: 379 suiv.

de Leptis Magna (*AE* 1950, 161 = *IRT* 417), elle porte le titre de *clarissima femina* qui appartient aux matrones de l'ordre sénatorial auquel elle est entrée probablement par son mariage<sup>28</sup>. Dans ce cas-là, son fils serait sénateur depuis sa naissance et cette histoire aurait été inventée de toutes pièces. Il est pourtant possible que Septimia Octavilla épousa un chevalier qui a été admis au sénat plus tard, peut-être aussi grâce à son beau-frère impérial. Leur fils serait né et atteindrait la majorité avant cette promotion, il serait chevalier et alors le récit de *HA* sur les démarches de sa mère deviendrait compréhensible<sup>29</sup>.

Indépendamment de nombreuses données contradictoires, il faut admettre que nous ne sommes pas toujours capables de dire qui était le beau-frère de l'empereur. Si c'était en réalité un certain Flavius, il pouvait être originaire aussi bien de Leptis Magna que de Gaule par exemple, où était installée à cette époque-là la famille des *Flavii Apri*. L'hypothèse selon laquelle Sévère lui-même a trouvé un mari pour sa sœur au cours de son séjour en Gaule est bien attrayante, pourtant si son fils était majeur au cours de l'expédition parthe de l'empereur, il devrait être né vers 180, alors beaucoup plus avant la légation gauloise de son oncle. Il serait donc plus raisonnable d'admettre que cette question doit rester non élucidée.

Nous nous heurtons aussi à de nombreuses difficultés quand nous essayons d'établir l'histoire des mariages des filles de Septime Sévère. Comme je l'ai déjà dit plus haut, selon la *HA* (*HA Sept. Sev.* 8, 1 suiv.), l'empereur avait deux filles issues de son premier mariage. Toutes les deux étaient mariées et leurs maris, la première année du règne de leur beau-père, étaient nommés consuls. Grâce à la même source, nous connaissons les noms des beaux-fils de l'empereur – Aetius et Probus. Th. MOMMSEN a déjà remarqué que le *nomen* Aetius est absent de nos sources jusqu'à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>30</sup>. E. GROAG a par contre remarqué qu'aux temps de Septime Sévère vivait Aetrius Severus<sup>31</sup>. Si c'était lui Aetius, l'un des beaux-fils de Septime Sévère, ce serait pour nous une indication très intéressante parce que sa famille était une famille italienne – ce qui voulait dire que dans le choix du mari pour sa fille, le futur *princeps* ne s'inspirait pas de patriotisme local. Le sénateur Aetrius Severus, au début du règne de Septime Sévère apparaît pourtant comme préteur (*tutelar*)<sup>32</sup>, ceci ne s'accorde donc pas à l'information de *HA*, d'après laquelle le beau-fils de l'empereur fut nommé consul déjà en 193. Mais nul besoin d'écarter la conception entière, il suffit peut-être de modifier la chronologie des événements.

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<sup>28</sup> BARNES 1967: 94 suiv.

<sup>29</sup> Je partage à ce sujet l'avis d'BIRLEY 1971: 300 suiv.

<sup>30</sup> MOMMSEN 1909: 346 suiv.

<sup>31</sup> E. GROAG dans *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 434.

<sup>32</sup> *Digesta* IV 4, 11, 2.

Le deuxième beau-fils de Septime Sévère était Probus. Il aurait pu être le sénateur homonyme qui selon Dion Cassius, contemporain de ces événements-là, commandait des troupes militaires de Septime Sévère dans la guerre en Orient contre les Parthes<sup>33</sup>. L'idée d'identifier ces deux personnes est extrêmement tentante, mais à mon avis elle est dépourvue de fondements solides. L'identité du *cognomen* (autrement que dans le cas du nom de famille ou *gentilicium*) ne constitue pas de base suffisante pour avancer une telle thèse, d'autant plus que Dion Cassius n'a pas du tout mentionné que le commandant était le beau-fils ou un parent de l'empereur. Si, entre l'empereur au pouvoir et le commandant de l'armée, il y avait eu en effet des liens de parenté, l'historien grec n'aurait pas manqué à les mentionner. Il faut souligner l'absence de mentions à ce sujet aussi dans d'autres sources historiographiques, ce qui rend l'identification très douteuse.

Il faudrait peut-être identifier le beau-fils de l'empereur à M. Maecius Probus, consul et légat de la province d'Hispanie tarraconaise<sup>34</sup>. Le légat est pourtant mort durant sa mission (vers 209), et l'inscription funéraire (*CIL* II 4124 = *RIT* 142) mentionne sa femme Pomponia Arria et son fils M. Pomponius Maecius Probus. Il semble que ceci rend impossible son identification au beau-fils de l'empereur, mais il ne faut pas oublier que les filles de Septime Sévère ne sont pas citées dans d'autres sources que la *HA* (y compris celles particulièrement importantes comme les inscriptions). C'est pourquoi nous pouvons supposer qu'elles sont mortes jeunes. Pomponia Arria aurait pu être la deuxième femme de Probus, et lui-même un parent de la famille impériale. Cette hypothèse peut être appuyée par le fait que le légat d'Hispanie en tant que descendant de Maecius Probus, centurion de Lambaesis, venait d'Afrique. Il serait donc un compatriote de Septime Sévère, ce qui, pour un père à la recherche de beaux partis pour ses filles (comme nous l'avons déjà dit), serait un avantage très important.

Il faudrait mentionner à cette occasion un mariage organisé par l'empereur. Il s'agit de son fils aîné et le successeur de Bassianus, plus tard nommé M. Aurelius Antoninus et, de manière non officielle, Caracalla. Son père le maria à l'âge de 14 ans à Fulvia Plautilla, la fille de son ami et collaborateur et, ce qui est le plus important, son cousin maternel, C. Fulvius Plautianus. La jeune impératrice reçut une énorme dot, bien qu'il faille souligner que l'empereur ne prenait pas en considération uniquement la question financière dans son choix. Ses liens personnels avec Plautianus étaient aussi importants, ce que de nombreuses sources mettent en relief<sup>35</sup>. D'ailleurs, l'amitié des pères n'était pas la garantie d'une

<sup>33</sup> Cass. Dio LXXV 3, 2.

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* II 4124 = *RIT* 142; *CIL* X 3805 = *ILS* 2997.

<sup>35</sup> Dans les sources épigraphiques, Plautianus porte les titres de: *clarissimus vir, comes Augusti, socer Augusti, adfinis Augustorum* (p.ex. *CIL* VIII 25526; XIV 4392; VI 1074 = *ILS* 456), et les auteurs antiques comme Dion Cassius (LXXV 14, 6 suiv.; 15, 2), Hérodien (III 10, 6 suiv.; 11, 1-3) et la *HA* (*Sept. Sev.* 14, 5-7) parlent de sa haute position auprès de l'empereur.

union heureuse de leurs enfants parce que le jeune empereur ne supportait pas sa femme et était la cause de son malheur ainsi que de celui de son beau-père et de son beau-frère. Ce qui est étonnant, le père ne se maria plus (peut-être à cause de sa forte opposition), il n'a pas choisi la femme pour son deuxième fils, P. Septimius Geta. Ce fait est d'autant plus surprenant qu'il suggère que la continuité de la dynastie n'était pas assurée. Il faudrait donc admettre plutôt que les deux jeunes empereurs avaient des fiancées choisies par leur père qu'ils n'avaient pas épousées après sa mort. Geta est mort assez jeune et la cause du célibat de Caracalla pouvait être une rancune qu'il avait gardée après son premier mariage malheureux.

Ce qu'on vient d'établir permet de constater que la famille des *Septimii Severi* menait une politique matrimoniale commune, c'est-à-dire qu'ils concluaient des mariages dans le cercle de proches voisins et personnes connus. Il serait intéressant, à titre de comparaison, de vérifier si la famille de Julia Domna (bien que d'origine syrienne) menait une stratégie matrimoniale aussi conservatrice que cela.

Nous savons que le père de l'impératrice s'appelait Iulius Bassianus (ou Bassus), le prénom de la mère ne nous est malheureusement pas connu. La famille appartenait à l'ordre équestre, bien qu'apparentée peut-être à la famille de Iulius Sohaemus, le roi d'Émèse du I<sup>er</sup> siècle, qui reçut les *ornamenta consularia* (ce qui ne correspondait pas automatiquement au changement de sa position ni de celle de sa famille). D'autre part, il ne faut pas oublier la mention dans le *Digeste* XXXII 38, 4, relative à Julia Domna (peut-être la femme de Septime Sévère) et son beau-père paternel, Iulius Agrippinus, primipile, ou le premier centurion de la légion. Si cette mention se rapporte en effet à la future impératrice, alors il faudrait souligner qu'elle n'appartenait pas à une vieille famille sénatoriale et le rang équestre de sa *gens* était très récent. Nous attirons l'attention sur le fait que l'apparition dans la famille de Domna des prénoms propres aux familles royales d'Émèse ne prouve pas du tout l'appartenance de Bassianus (et de ses filles) à une *gens* illustre. Ceci peut être aussi bien le résultat des efforts pour créer, à travers les *nomina*, les apparences de l'appartenance à la famille royale.

Iulia Maesa, la sœur aînée de Domna, fut mariée par son père à C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus, chevalier, son compatriote originaire d'Émèse. Avitus, au début du règne de Septime Sévère exerçait encore des fonctions équestres (il était respectivement [*praef(ectus) coh(ortis) Ulp(iae) Petraeorum, [trib(unus) leg(ionis) ...], praef(ectus) [eq]uitum [alae..., procurator] ad anno[nam] Augg. Ostis] sexagenarius*), mais bientôt il devint *adlectus in amplissimum ordinem* et après la préture, la légation de la légion (*III[I Fl(aviae)]?*) et la légation de province, il obtint le consulat. Après le consulat, il occupait des postes responsables auprès de Septime Sévère et de son fils Caracalla, il était entre autres leur *comes* dans l'expédition britannique, préfet de l'annone (deux fois), *comes* dans les expéditions germanique et persane de Caracalla, et ensuite, gouverneur de deux



et même de trois (si nous l'identifions à Avitus, gouverneur de Chypre mentionné par Dion Cassius<sup>36</sup>) provinces<sup>37</sup>. Le fait qu'il était marié à la sœur de l'impératrice a considérablement influé sur son *cursus honorum*. Avant la prise du pouvoir par Septime Sévère, il n'assumait que des fonctions équestres. Il est donc possible qu'il serait resté chevalier jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, si un changement brusque de sa situation de famille ne s'était pas produit.

Nous pouvons admettre qu'une situation semblable se rapportait aux maris de deux nièces de Julia Domna: Iulia Soemias Bassiana et Iulia Avita Mamaea. Toutes les deux étaient adultes et mariées au moment de la prise du pouvoir par Septime Sévère. Le mari de l'aînée, Sex. Varius Marcellus, était chevalier d'Apamée en Syrie, il était donc originaire de la même province que sa femme. Son statut social demeurait inchangé assez longtemps: Marcellus a exercé les fonctions équestres de curateur des eaux (*procurator aquarum*), procurateur de la province de Bretagne (*procurator provinciae Britanniae* – en 197), curateur du trésor privé de l'empereur (*procurator rationis privatae*) ainsi que substitut du préfet des prétoriens et du préfet de la ville (*vice praefectorum praetorio et urbi*<sup>38</sup>). En 204, pendant les *ludi saeculares*, il était toujours chevalier. La date de sa promotion sénatoriale est inconnue, les chercheurs hésitent entre les années 204 et 212<sup>39</sup>. Marcellus servait fidèlement Sévère et ensuite Caracalla; après 212 il devint légat de la légion III et de la province de Numidie, et peut-être aussi préfet du trésor militaire (*praefectus aerarii militaris*)<sup>40</sup>. Il est mort avant 218, c'est-à-dire avant que son fils qu'il eut de Soemias, Varius Avitus Bassianus, eût pris le pouvoir.

La nièce cadette de Julia Domna, Iulia Avita Mamaea, était mariée deux fois. Son premier mari (complètement inconnu) était sénateur et consul, après sa mort elle épousa Gessius Marcianus, chevalier d'Arca Caesarea en Syrie, donc un représentant de sa province natale. Nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi elle a choisi un chevalier parce que son choix l'a dégradée sur le plan social. Le *Digeste* I 9, 12 inclut l'information d'après laquelle son cousin Caracalla l'a autorisée à garder son statut de *consularis femina*, bien qu'elle dût le perdre

<sup>36</sup> Cass. Dio LXXVIII 30, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Pour sa carrière, voir *AE* 1962, 229; 1921, 64 = 1963, 42 = 1979, 450.

<sup>38</sup> PFLAUM 1960–1961: 640 suiv. a suggéré que Sex. Varius Marcellus remplaçait les préfets des prétoriens et celui de la ville au cours de l'*expeditio Britannica* de 208–211. BIRLEY 1971: 305 et CORBIER 1974: 410 suiv. s'accordent que ceci eut lieu au cours du séjour de la famille impériale à Leptis Magna. HALFMANN 1982: 226 suiv. et après lui CHRISTOL 1987: 493 suiv. datent le remplacement à l'année de la purge après l'assassinat de Geta, c'est-à-dire 212.

<sup>39</sup> BIRLEY 1971: 305 suggère *adlectio* en 204, CORBIER 1974: 410 suiv. en 206; PFLAUM 1960–1961: 642 suiv. vers 212. HALFMANN 1982: 226 suiv. a considéré que cette promotion eut lieu pendant les répressions de 212 et était un élément de la politique de l'empereur qui consistait à gagner des partisans après le meurtre de son frère.

<sup>40</sup> Pour sa carrière, voir *CIL* X 6569 = *ILS* 478 = *IGR* I 402.

dans un nouveau mariage. Gessius Marcianus était probablement veuf et il eut une fille de son premier mariage. Elle a été assassinée avec son mari par les soldats de l'usurpateur Macrin en 218. De son deuxième mariage, il eut un fils de Mammaea – Iulius Gessius Bassianus, qui grâce à sa persévérance et ses influences ainsi qu'à l'appui de sa grand-mère Iulia Maesa, devint empereur en 222. Il est intéressant que les sources ne mentionnent pas le rôle de son père dans son avènement. Il faut donc supposer qu'il est mort avant cet événement.

Ce qui est important et digne d'être souligné, c'est le fait que les trois maris connus des femmes syriennes appartenant à la famille de Julia Domna étaient eux aussi originaires de Syrie. Ils s'inscrivaient donc parfaitement dans le cadre des stratégies matrimoniales, qui fonctionnaient pourtant à travers tout l'Empire, de choisir l'époux parmi ses compatriotes. C'était ainsi dans cette famille aussi bien avant le mariage de Domna avec Sévère que plus tard, pendant le règne de ce couple. Il est étonnant que le changement de statut familial et l'appartenance de certains de membres de cette famille au cercle impérial n'ont pas modifié les coutumes matrimoniales.

Il en résulte que ni la famille de Septime Sévère ni celle de Julia Domna avant leur mariage ne cherchaient les maris pour leurs filles en dehors de leur région natale, c'est pourquoi il faut constater que leur mariage était vraiment exceptionnel.

Remarquons que la plupart des chercheurs n'attachent pas une grande attention à toutes les circonstances du mariage du futur couple impérial et n'analysent pas leur union en le comparant à d'autres mariages de sénateurs. F. GHEDINI, dans la biographie de Julia Domna, cite brièvement le récit de l'horoscope et dit que dans la question du mariage de Sévère et de Domna il y a plus de questions que de réponses<sup>41</sup>. T. KOTULA dans la biographie de Septime Sévère a mis en relief la beauté de Domna et le fait que Sévère l'avait connue avant la prise de la décision de l'épouser<sup>42</sup>. Des aspects semblables sont pris en considération par J. SPIELVOGEL qui a traité l'horoscope de Julia Domna comme un présage *ex post* et a mis l'accent sur la connaissance antérieure des époux, une belle apparence de Julia Domna et «une attraction charnelle» (*körperliche Anziehung*) présentes dans cette union<sup>43</sup>. A. DAGUET-GAGEY, dans la plus récente biographie française de Sévère, inclut l'histoire de l'horoscope de Julia Domna, comme d'autres, à la catégorie de *vaticinationes post factum*, il souligne pourtant à chaque occasion la beauté et les capacités intellectuelles de l'élue ainsi que les aspirations de Sévère au pouvoir<sup>44</sup>. E. KETTENHOFEN a considéré (après R. SYME) l'horoscope comme

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<sup>41</sup> GHEDINI 1984: 5.

<sup>42</sup> KOTULA 1987: 30 suiv.

<sup>43</sup> SPIELVOGEL 2006: 49, 53.

<sup>44</sup> DAGUET-GAGEY 2000: 169–173.

fruit de la propagande de Sévère<sup>45</sup>. A.R. BIRLEY, bien qu'il croie au message de l'horoscope de Domna, souligne en même temps que la prudence dans son choix de l'épouse était provoquée par l'ambition de Sévère<sup>46</sup>. Il faut remarquer que parmi les biographes de Domna et de Sévère, un historien polonais, T. KOTULA, et l'auteur de la plus récente biographie anglaise de Julia Domna, B. LEVICK, signalent encore un éventuel motif du choix de la candidate au mariage par le futur empereur, à savoir sa dot<sup>47</sup>.

À mon avis, le choix de Septime Sévère résultait sans doute de sa connaissance de Bassianus, il est difficile de dire pourtant que le fait qu'il avait connu personnellement l'élue était décisif pour l'épouser parce qu'au moment de sa visite à Émèse, elle était probablement encore enfant. Ce fait n'était pas un obstacle pour Sévère pour remarquer la beauté de l'enfant et la prendre en considération dans ses plans de remariage. Les historiographes antiques ne parlent pas (parce qu'il est évident) de l'élément, d'après moi décisif, c'est-à-dire de la dot de la future épouse. En tant que la fille du grand prêtre d'un dieu très populaire, elle a certainement été richement dotée. Les sources mentionnent qu'après la mort de Caracalla et de Domna sa sœur, Iulia Maesa, s'est rendue avec ses filles dans les propriétés familiales à Émèse et que, plus tard, en faisant l'usage de son patrimoine elle a réussi à soulever les troupes qui stationnaient en Syrie et à faire nommer empereur son petit-fils. À cette époque-là, c'était Macrin qui exerçait le pouvoir, hostile à la famille des Sévères. Les propriétés de la dynastie furent confisquées et Maesa pouvait utiliser seulement sa part des biens. Dans ce cas-là, nous pouvons supposer que la dot de Domna (comme celle de sa sœur) était tellement importante et attrayante pour un sénateur romain qu'elle pouvait le satisfaire financièrement. Il n'est pas exclu que Septime Sévère exerçait sa fonction de consul en 189 ou 190 grâce à la dot de sa femme parce qu'il est fort probable qu'il dût payer pour ce privilège à Cleander, le tout puissant alors partisan de Commode. Les sources mentionnent le matérialisme de Sévère (mais comme l'empereur)<sup>48</sup>, bien qu'il ne soit pas sûr que c'était son trait de caractère inné, ou bien provoqué par les circonstances (plus précisément par le besoin de remplir le trésor vide). Le pragmatisme de l'empereur et la conscience de l'importance de l'argent apparaissent dans les derniers mots adressés à ses fils, cités par Dion Cassius: ὁμοιοεῖτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας πλουτίζετε, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονεῖτε («vivez en bonne intelligence, enrichissez les soldats et méprisez tous les autres»)<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> KETTENHOFEN 1979: 77.

<sup>46</sup> BIRLEY 1971: 115–123.

<sup>47</sup> KOTULA 1987: 31; LEVICK 2007: 31.

<sup>48</sup> Herod. III 8, 7 suiv.; *HA Sept. Sev.* 12.

<sup>49</sup> Cass. Dio. LXXVI 15, 2.

Nous pouvons en déduire que les raisons de la conclusion du mariage de Septime Sévère avec Julia Domna étaient tout à fait typiques de cette époque-là: une dot importante et la volonté de faire durer la famille. Les circonstances qui accompagnaient le choix de l'élue – le fait de la faire venir d'un pays lointain, la candidate issue de la famille du grand prêtre et chevalier, et non pas de celle sénatoriale – ont sans doute provoqué le biographe de *HA* à donner une mention intéressante «astrologique» sur ce mariage et par conséquent la rédaction du présent article.

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Traduit par Bernadeta Pyśk

#### ANNEXE

#### MARIAGES DE SÉNATEURS À LA CHARNIÈRE DES II<sup>E</sup> ET III<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES, CONCLUS DANS LA MÊME RÉGION

1. Agrius et Aelia Celsinilla
2. Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus et Danacia Quartilla Aureliana
3. Q. Anicius Faustus et Vesia Rustica
4. (Sex?) Anicius Faustus Paulinus et Cocceia
5. L. Annius Italicus Honoratus et Gavidia Torquata
6. (P?) Aradius Paternus et Furcilia Optata T[iberia?]na
7. L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus et Furcilia Optata T[iberia?]na
8. Q. Aradius Rufinus et Iunia Aiacia Modesta
9. Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus et Calpurnia Ceia Aemiliana
10. C. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus et Oscia Modesta[...]ia[...]ia Cornelia Patruina Publina
11. Ti. Attius Iulianus et Attia Pia
12. P. Attius Pudens et Carminia Liviana Diotima
13. Au[r(elius)] Polemo et Claudia Tlepolemis
14. C. Caerellius Sabinus et Fufidia Pollitta
15. [Cadius Lepi]dus et Publicia Quarta
16. M. Censorius Paulus et Claudia Varenilla
17. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Attalus et Ti. Claudia Arsinoe Telemachis
18. Tib. Claudius Hermias (Theopropus) et Aelia Pithias
19. M. Claudius Macrinus Vindex Hermogenianus et Laberia Pompeiana
20. Ti. Claudius Severus et Caninia Gargonilla
21. Ti. Claudius Telemachus et Ti. Claudia Arsasis
22. T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher Maximus et Tineia
23. Cornelius Repentinus et Didia Clara
24. L. Cossonius Eggus Marullus et Cornelia
25. A. Egnatius Proculus et Laberia Galla
26. Q. Egnatius Proculus et Maria Aurelia Violentilla
27. M. Flavius et Arria
28. T. Flavius Damianus et Vedia Phaedrina
29. L. Flavius Hermocrates et Aelia, la fille de P. Aelius Zeuxidemos Aristus Zeno

30. T. Flavius Hermocrates et Aelia, la fille d'Aelius Antipater
31. Flavius Philostratos et Aurelia Melitine
32. Flavius Pollio Flavianus et Rania Flavia Iuliana Optata
33. Flavius Rufinianus et Claudia Callisto
34. T. Flavius Stasicles Metrophanes et Claudia Capitolina
35. T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus et (Flavia?) Pasinice
36. C. Fufidius Atticus et Neratia Marullina
37. Fulvius Faustinus et Naevia Naevilla
38. Gabinius Asper et la fille de M. Cl. Vindex Hermogenianus
39. Gessius Marcianus et Iulia Avita Mammaea
40. Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus et Claudia Sestia Cocceia Severiana
41. Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus et Plautia Servilla
42. (Hedius Lollianus) Terentius Gentianus Bassus et Pomponia Paetina
43. C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus et Iulia Maesa
44. C. Iulius Philippus et la fille de Flavius Damianus (Flavia Phaedrina ou Flavia Lepida)
45. M. Iuventius Secundus et Postumia Paulla
46. Licinius Valerianus signo Colobius et Egnatia Mariniana
47. C. Maesius Aquillius Fabius Titianus et Fonteia Frontina
48. Nonius Arrius Mucianus Manlius Carbo et Sextia Asinia Polla
49. M. Nummius Senecio Albinus et Attidia
50. Petronius Iunior et Publilia
51. Q. (Pompeius) Sosius Falco et Sulpicia Agrippina
52. C. Sallius Aristaenetus et Aelia Heraïs
53. L. Septimius Severus et Paccia Marciana
54. M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus et Flavia Appia
55. M. Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus et Vibia Salvia Varia
56. Q.(? – ou C.) Valerius Rufrius Iustus et Rufria Claudia Euboule
57. Sex. Varius Marcellus et Iulia Soemias Bassiana

## ABRÉVIATIONS

- IGR* R. CAGNAT, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1906–1927.
- ILAlg* S. GSELL, H.-G. PFLAUM, X. DUPUIS (et al.), *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, t. I–IV, Paris 1922–2003.
- IRT* J.M. REYNOLDS, J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome–London 1952.
- IvEph* H. ENGELMANN, R. MERKELBACH, H. WANKEL (et al.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, Bonn 1979–1984.
- RIT* G. ALFÖLDY, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin 1975.
- RIU* L. BARKÓCZI, A. MÓCSY, B. LÖRINCZ (et al.), *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, t. I–VI, Amsterdam–Budapest–Bonn 1972–2001.

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COINAGE AND IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA IN THE THIRD  
CENTURY ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE USURPER IULIANUS'  
ISSUES (283?)

By

ROBERT SUSKI

ABSTRACT: In modern historiography there is an argument between supporters and opponents of perceiving imperial coinage as rulers' propaganda. The present paper analyzes Iulianus' coinage in Carinus' times. A programme presented in his coinage is quite deliberate and does not seem to be coincidental. In such a case it is hard to imagine that the emperor's milieu would not be interested in contents of his coinage.

We do not know very much about the usurper Iulianus who lived in the first half of the 280s and tried to seize power<sup>1</sup>. The main sources of information about him are Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* (39, 1), *Epitome de Caesaribus* (38, 5 f.), and *Historia Nova* of Zosimus (I 73, 3). Unfortunately, their accounts of Iulianus' usurpation are laconic (the most extensive comprises only three sentences) and contain numerous contradictions. Sometimes modern scholars differentiate between the Iulianus referred to in Aurelius Victor and the Sabinus

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<sup>1</sup> It is hard to determine where our sources draw information on Iulianus from. The author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* used Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus*. The main source of Aurelius Victor was the *Kaisergeschichte*. Other works which drew from this source (Eutropius, Festus, Jerome) do not mention Iulianus. Perhaps there was no mention of this usurper in the *Kaisergeschichte*. Nicomachus Flavianus' *Annales* have been proposed as a potential source of information about Iulianus in the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (FESTY 1999: 170). This hypothesis seems hardly probable. It is not certain whether Nicomachus Flavianus' *Annales* (we know practically nothing about the work, it is mentioned only in two inscriptions) could be the source for the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (JANISZEWSKI 1999: 71). Most probably, the information about Iulianus in the *Epitome de Caesaribus* comes from a Greek source (BIRLEY 1996: 81). For Zosimus the main source was Eunapius of Sardes. The latter's work is preserved only in a few fragments, and it is impossible to determine whether he wrote about Iulianus. Besides Iulianus and Sabinus Iulianus, referred to in the *Epitome de Caesaribus* and Aurelius Victor, as well as Zosimus, there also appears a mysterious usurper Iulianus (*Epit. de Caes.* 39, 3) who usurped power in Africa under Diocletian during the war against Persia. The other Iulianus commanded the Berber Quinquegentiani confederation and fought against Maximian in March 297 in Mauretania.

Iulianus mentioned by Zosimus<sup>2</sup>. I do not agree with this standpoint. Inaccuracies in sources concerning posts held by usurpers before they tried to seize power are common. For example Saturninus is described either as the governor of Syria (Zosim. I 66,1; Zonar. XII 29) or *magister exercitus* (Hier. *Chron.* 224; Syncell. *Chron.* 471). Additionally, the usurper could take control over Pannonia or Northern Italy. Probably Sabinus Iulianus in Zosimus is identical with Iulianus and Sabinius Iulianus mentioned, respectively, by Aurelius Victor and the author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*<sup>3</sup>.

It is more problematic to determine when Iulianus made his attempt to seize power. According to Aurelius Victor, Iulianus was proclaimed emperor after Carus' death, and soon afterwards he was defeated by Carinus (39, 10). On that basis, the usurpation can be dated at the fall of 283<sup>4</sup>. Zosimus' *Historia Nova* presents the events in a different way. The rebellion was preceded by Numerian's death. And because the acclamation of the emperor Diocletian took place on 20 November 284<sup>5</sup>, Iulianus should have declared himself emperor not earlier than in December 284<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, Zosimus tells the story of a tribune who assassinated Carinus in the act of vengeance for seducing his wife during the chase after Iulianus' defeated army (I 73, 3). If Zosimus was right, then the suppression of the usurper's revolt would take place in early summer 285<sup>7</sup>. However, his passage on Iulianus is hardly credible in that regard. According to the majority of sources drawing from the *Kaisergeschichte*, Carinus' died during the war against Diocletian<sup>8</sup>. Eutropius mentions the betrayal of Carinus' army, and Aurelius Victor tells the story of the emperor being assassinated by

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<sup>2</sup> A.H.M. JONES, *PLRE I, Iulianus* 38, pp. 474, 480; DUFRAIGNE 1975: 182; EDGEWORTH 1992: 507 f.; KIENAST 1996: 263; FESTY 1999: 174. Some researchers do not assume any standpoint in the discussion on the number of Iuliani. See BOWMAN 2005: 69.

<sup>3</sup> BARNES 1982: 143; WILLIAMS 1985: 38; PEACHIN 1990: 50; BIRLEY 1996: 78; SOUTHERN 2001: 331; DRINKWATER 2005: 58.

<sup>4</sup> The date of Carus' mysterious death is not precisely known. There are very few available dated papyrus documents from the times of the rule of Carus and his sons, which renders establishing the date of his death impossible. For these reasons some researchers cautiously date Carus' death at either summer (July–August) 283 (BIRD 1976: 125; POTTER 2004: 279; DRINKWATER 2005: 57) or September 283 (RATHBONE 1986: 127).

<sup>5</sup> *P. Beatty Panopolis* II 162–164; 170; 187 f.; 199; 260 f. Diocletian's acclamation date was long in dispute (it was dated either September or November 284). See BARNES 1982: 49; RATHBONE 1986: 129; THOMAS 1999: 161–164.

<sup>6</sup> WILLIAMS 1985: 38; SOUTHERN 2001: 134 f.; KREUCHER 2008: 422; SPEIDEL 2008: 666.

<sup>7</sup> BIRD 1976: 130. According to BASTIEN (2000: 15), Iulianus' usurpation took place in December 284. He was defeated by Carinus in March 285, and the battle of the Margus took place in August 285. Others date the usurper's fall at early 285 (DRINKWATER 2005: 58; BOWMAN 2005: 69).

<sup>8</sup> Aur. Vict. 39, 9–11; Eutr. IX 20, 1 f.; *Epit. de Caes.* 38; Hier. *Chron.* 225b; *HA Car.* 18, 2; *Itinerarum Burdigalense*, p. 89. On the location of the decisive battle between Carinus and Diocletian's forces, see FESTY 2002: 243–252.



jealous officers who took vengeance upon their commander for seducing their wives. The story in the *De Caesaribus* differs from the one given by Zosimus in the fact that the usurper against whom Carinus was fighting was not Iulianus but Diocletian<sup>9</sup>. Our sources speak about highly intensive struggle between Diocletian and Carinus with numerous battles, and the final battle took place in the valley of the Margus River. The passage from Zosimus' *Historia Nova* concerning circumstances of Iulianus' defeat is implausible. Perhaps it constitutes propaganda in favour of Diocletian, the creator of tetrarchy, which on the one hand slanders Carinus, and on the other relieves Diocletian of responsibility for the death of the rightful ruler. That is why I would not connect Iulianus' defeat to the civil war between Diocletian and Carinus. Moreover, it is more probable that Iulianus' rebellion broke out upon receiving the news of Carus' death rather than that of Numerian. The new emperor was very young and lacked authority, and the attempt to defeat him was a less risky undertaking than standing up to Diocletian, an experienced and charismatic officer. For these reasons I prefer to date Iulianus' usurpation according to Aurelius Victor rather than Zosimus. Most probably, Iulianus' usurpation took place in the fall of 283 and not in 284<sup>10</sup>. If we take into consideration how sparse were issues of *antoniniani* minted by Iulianus, then a quick defeat of the usurper is very probable. Perhaps it happened even in 283 (or in early 284). Zosimus' passage on Iulianus and the death of Carinus has provoked researchers to speculate about the existence of a group of officers who sympathized with Iulianus and who after his defeat betrayed Carinus for Diocletian<sup>11</sup>. This hypothesis is not based on facts. Originating from the Balkans, the officers supported Diocletian because they had served as *protectores* under his command. We know nothing about their relations with Iulianus. If Iulianus' revolt took place after Numerian's death (as suggested by H.W. BIRD himself), then his usurpation would be directed against both Carinus and Diocletian.

It is not clear what was Iulianus' rank before his usurpation. According to Aurelius Victor, he was a *corrector* (of Italy?)<sup>12</sup>. Zosimus' version is different: Iulianus was supposed to be Praetorian Prefect (I 73, 2)<sup>13</sup>. Some scholars does not accept either testimony. According to H.W. BIRD, Iulianus was a military

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<sup>9</sup> BIRD 1976: 131.

<sup>10</sup> POND 1970: 50; PEACHIN 1990: 50; BIRLEY 1996: 78.

<sup>11</sup> BIRD 1976: 131.

<sup>12</sup> On the discussion about Iulianus' title (*corrector Italiae* or *Venetiae et Histriae*), see PASCHOUD 1971: 179. Supporters of the hypothesis that Iulianus was a *corrector* are: CHASTAGNOL 1963: 351; PINK 1963: 49; PEGAN 1968: 46; BARNES 1982: 143; CHRISTOL 1986: 57; AUSBÜTTEL 1988: 90; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 1142; SOUTHERN 2001: 134; PORENA 2003: 60–67; SPEIDEL 2008: 666. The title *corrector Venetiae et Histriae* is anachronistic for the times before Diocletian when Italia was divided into provinces (BARNES 1982: 218 f.).

<sup>13</sup> POTTER 2004: 280; BOWMAN 2005: 69; KREUCHER 2008: 422; BANCHICH 2009: 133 f.

commander in Pannonia Superior<sup>14</sup>. It is doubtful whether Iulianus was *corrector Italiae*. It was an honourable position which at that time was connected with commanding an army without which it is hard to imagine an effective attempt to seize power. Moreover, Iulianus did not control Rome. The usurpation was not approved by the Senate, in Roman mint Numerian's posthumous coins were issued<sup>15</sup>, and in Rome and Ticinum the usurper's issues were not stuck. It is hardly probable that *corrector Italiae* would take control of Pannonia but not of Italy. More credible is the piece of information in Zosimus rather than in Aurelius Victor. Admittedly, after Carus' death, praetorian prefects were Aper (under Numerian) and Aristobulus (under Carinus)<sup>16</sup>, but we do not know when the latter took office. If Iulianus was defeated in 283, then he could have been replaced as praetorian prefect by Aristobulus<sup>17</sup>. This hypothesis may be supported by an honorary inscription discovered in Brixia, dedicated to the prefect of the praetorium Aurelius Iulianus (*CIL* V 4323 = *ILS* 1333). It is not clear whether the prefect referred to by the inscription is identical with the usurper in Carinus' times but it is not impossible<sup>18</sup>. That is why, most probably, Iulianus was the praetorian prefect.

While it is not clear what function Iulianus played before his usurpation, establishing his sphere of power is definitely less controversial. He took control of Pannonia and died in the vicinity of Verona, trying to conquer (northern part of) Italy (*Epit. de Caes.* 38, 6). He occupied the mint in Siscia and a few issues of coins were minted there under the usurper's name<sup>19</sup>. Here is a catalogue of his coins:

1. gold *aureus* (*RIC* V 2, M. Aurelius Iulianus, n. 1; PINK 1963: 49)  
A: *IMP C IVLIANVS P F AVG* – Laureate, draped and cuirassed, bust r.  
R: *LIBERTAS PVBLICA*. Libertas stg. 1. holding pileus and cornucopiae, usually with star in field
2. *antoninianus* (*RIC* V 2, M. Aurelius Iulianus, n. 2; PINK 1963: 49)  
A: *IMP C AVR IVLIANVS P F AVG* – Radiate, draped and cuirassed, bust r.

<sup>14</sup> BIRD 1994: 163. See WILLIAMS 1985: 38; LEADBETTER 1994: 54–59; KUHOFF 2001: 24.

<sup>15</sup> *RIC* V 2, Carus and his family, n. 424–426.

<sup>16</sup> According to the *Historia Augusta*, the praetorian prefect was a certain Matronianus (*HA Car.* 16, 4). We know nothing about him; most probably, it is a fictitious character (HOWE 1942: 115; BARNES 1972: 163 f.; BIRLEY 1996: 78). Perhaps the reference is to Matronianus *comes Isaurae* in 382 (PASCHOUD 2001: 383).

<sup>17</sup> BIRLEY 1996: 78.

<sup>18</sup> BIRLEY 1996: 79 f.

<sup>19</sup> Most probably, Iulianus' coins were issued in a very small number. They are discovered very seldom in treasures stashed in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century in northern Italy or Pannonia. For example, in a great treasure discovered in Venèra there were only six coins issued by Iulianus. See GRICOURT 2000: 201 f.

- R: *FELICITAS TEMPORVM* – Felicitas stg. l. holding short caduceus and resting on sceptre, XXI in exergue, mint and officina marks S-B in field
3. *antoninianus* (RIC V 2, M. Aurelius Iulianus, n. 3)  
 A: *IMP C AVR IVLIANVS P F AVG* – Radiate, draped and cuirassed, bust r.  
 R: *IOVI CONSERVAT* – Jupiter stg. r. holding thunderbolt and sceptre
4. *antoninianus* (RIC V 2, M. Aurelius Iulianus, n. 4; PINK 1963: 50)  
 A: *IMP C AVR IVLIANVS P F AVG* – Radiate, draped and cuirassed, bust r.  
 R: *PANNONIA AVG* – The two Pannoniae stg., one looking r., one l., r. hands outstretched l., she on r. holding ensign, XXI followed by officina mark Γ in exergue, mint mark S in field or ex.
5. *antoninianus* (RIC V 2, M. Aurelius Iulianus, n. 5; PINK 1963: 50)  
 A: *IMP C AVR IVLIANVS P F AVG* – Radiate, draped and cuirassed, bust r.  
 R: *VICTORIA AVG* – Victory stg. or walking l., holding wreath and palm, XXI in exergue, mint and officina marks S-A in field

The significance of Pannonia was emphasized in Iulianus' coinage. It is not unusual as the army stationed there was the main military force under the usurper's command. Moreover, the emperor was presented as a victor who gave Rome freedom and a bringer of happiness and prosperity. He could achieve his successes as he was supposed to be under the protection of Jupiter. The above mentioned propaganda programme is clear. However, a question arises whether it is possible to get to know the usurper's propaganda on the basis of his coinage? Numismatists and historians argue about the role of presentations and legends which are depicted on coins issued by emperors. It is not clear whether rulers influenced the propaganda present on imperial issues<sup>20</sup>. Some researchers share this scepticism<sup>21</sup>. Others do not agree with the above standpoint. They point to classical texts which confirm emperors' intervention in the process of choosing representations on coins<sup>22</sup>. Here, I would like to deliberate whether Iulianus' coinage can allow us to find another argument in favour of the hypothesis on the deliberate shaping of propaganda on coins by emperors.

Some slogans that appeared on Iulianus' coins played an important role in the propaganda of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. It concerns references to Victoria and Jupiter. Emperors often presented themselves as chosen by Jupiter. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> JONES 1956: 13–33.

<sup>21</sup> WALLACE-HADRILL 1981: 308; LEVICK 1982: 104–116; CRAWFORD 1983: 59; WALLACE-HADRILL 1986: 66–87; LEVICK 1999: 41–60.

<sup>22</sup> PRICE 1979: 278 f.; PEACHIN 1990: 10; CHEUNG 1998: 53–61; LEGUTKO 2000: 15–29; HEDLUND 2008: 27–32. For a discussion about the influence of emperors on contents presented in coinage, see HOWGEGO 1995: 70–73.

centuries the following emperors referred to Jupiter as their protector: Hadrian, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Macrianus, Alexander Severus, Gordian III, Aemilianus, Gallienus, Aurelian, Probus, Carus and Carinus. Pointing to the emperor's divine investiture and emphasizing Victoria's protection over him was one of the basic ways of legitimizing imperial authority. Thanks to the protection of the highest god of the Roman pantheon, the emperor ensured the Roman state success and victories<sup>23</sup>. It is interesting that Jupiter enjoyed special attention in the Danubian provinces. It is clearly shown by epigraphic sources. If we take into consideration all references to gods attested on inscriptions from the whole *Imperium Romanum*, then 9% of them are to Jupiter. In the Danubian provinces the percentage of references to this god is higher, namely 22% in Noricum, 27% in Pannonia, and 30% in Dalmatia<sup>24</sup>. The appearance of both legends in Iulianus' coinage is hardly surprising. The motif of Jupiter's election of the emperor and a prediction of his military successes belonged to standard elements of imperial propaganda in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Presentation that can be seen on Iulianus' issue is not innovative either; it was used on the *antoniniani* of his almost direct predecessor, Probus (*RIC* V 2, Probus, n. 172–176; 315; 384). It is impossible to determine whether in the case of Iulianus' issue referring to Jupiter as the emperor's protector we deal with conscious propaganda or mechanical repetition of earlier motifs presented on coins. The same applies to the issue with the legend *VICTORIA AVG*. Reference to this personification was frequent in imperial coinage<sup>25</sup>. The way Victoria was depicted on Iulianus' coins was a standard one too.

Also *felicitas* (wealth, prosperity, fertility) belonged to personifications which were often used in imperial propaganda<sup>26</sup>. *Felicitas* was connected with affluence which gods bestowed on the Roman Empire and was associated with peace, thus the personification had a military undertone<sup>27</sup>. *Felicitas* portended the economic restoration of provinces which had been destroyed by barbaric

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<sup>23</sup> For the role played by references to Jupiter's divine investiture in legitimizing imperial power in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, see FEARS 1977: 256–297; TURCAN 1978: 1028–1030; MARTIN 1998: 49–69; LEGUTKO 2000: 215–231; SUSKI 2008a: 259–264; SUSKI 2008b: 1–16.

<sup>24</sup> ALFÖLDY 1989: 387.

<sup>25</sup> KLUCZEK 2000: 137. On the role of Victoria in Roman propaganda, see BELLINGER, BERLINCOURT 1962; STORCH 1968: 197–206; FEARS 1981: 736–826; BALBUZA 2005: 198–233; HEDLUND 2008: 50–90; KLUCZEK 2009: 233–295. During the reign of Probus, Iulianus' almost direct predecessor, innovative issues were struck which showed connection between victory and the emperor (legends: *VICTORIA PROBI AVG* or *VICTORIOSO SEMPER*); see KACZANOWICZ 1997: 97–100. On *cognomina ex virtute* in Probus' titulature, see KREUCHER 2003: 77–89. Also in Carus' propaganda Victoria played a significant role; see CHRISTOL 1997: 67.

<sup>26</sup> WAGENVOORT 1954: 300–322; WISTRAND 1987. *Felicitas* already played a significant role in the propaganda of Augustus and Tiberius; see FISHWICK 1991: 459–472; ANDO 2000: 283–291.

<sup>27</sup> MÉTHY 1999: 139; KLUCZEK 2006: 60 f.

invasions. The catchword sounded promising to the inhabitants of such regions as Pannonia which were badly struck in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The Danubian army was mostly recruited in nearby regions. The personification of *Felicitas* had been also appearing on coins since the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and the prediction of happy times had been present on them since Antoninus Pius' times<sup>28</sup>. Issues with the legend *felicitas temporum* appear on the coinage of Antoninus Pius (*RIC* III, Antoninus Pius, n. 857, 859, 961), Marcus Aurelius (*RIC* III, M. Aurelius, n. 12, 718, 804, 805, 1300), Commodus (*RIC* III, Commodus, n. 209, 382, 383, 418, 566, 567), Pescennius Niger (*RIC* IV 1, Pescennius Niger, n. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17), the Severan dynasty (*RIC* IV 1, Septimius Severus, n. 353, 354, 372–376, 619–621; *RIC* IV 1, Caracalla, n. 126, 153, 233a; *RIC* IV 1, Geta, n. 1, 2, 22, 102a, 109; *RIC* IV 2, Elagabalus, n. 148–150, 188, 217, 274; *RIC* IV 2, Severus Alexander, n. 179, 661, 682, 692, 693), Macrinus (*RIC* IV 2, Macrinus, n. 57–63), Gordian III (*RIC* IV 3, Gordian III, n. 140–142, 328–330), Philip the Arab (*RIC* IV 3, Philip I, n. 31, 87, 169), Valerian (*RIC* V 1, Valerian, n. 259), Postumus (*RIC* V 2, Postumus, n. 269, 301, 339), Laelianus (*RIC* V 2, Laelianus, n. 1), Marius (*RIC* V 2, Marius, n. 11), Victorinus (*RIC* V 2, Victorinus, n. 123), Claudius II (*RIC* V 1, Claudius Gothicus, n. 31, 145–147, 192), Quintillus (*RIC* V 1, Quintillus, n. 4, 74–77), Aurelian (*RIC* V 1, Aurelian, n. 327), Tacitus (*RIC* V 1, Tacitus, n. 6, 7, 18, 19, 140), Florian (*RIC* V 1, Florian, n. 11, 63) and Probus (*RIC* V 2, Probus, n. 24–26; 51–52; 73–77; 102–108, 117; 129; 262–264, 355–357; 539; 598). A laurel, cornucopia, caduceus, fruit bowl or a ship were among attributes with which *Felicitas* was presented<sup>29</sup>. In that respect Iulianus' issue was not innovative and was similar to his predecessors' coins, those of Probus in particular. It is impossible to determine whether the appearance of *felicitas* on Iulianus' coins was a manifestation of the usurper's propaganda policy or whether it was a result of copying his predecessors' issues in the mint in Siscia.

Liberty (*libertas*) was not often present in Roman coinage of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>30</sup>. It appeared on coins issued by the Severan dynasty: Septimius Severus and his sons (*RIC* IV 1, Septimius Severus, n. 132; 280; 507; *RIC* IV 1, Caracalla, n. 221; 460), Elagabalus (*RIC* IV 2, Elagabalus, n. 105–118a; 355–361) and Severus Alexander (*RIC* IV 2, Severus Alexander, n. 155; 156; 285–288; 373, 374, 581–583). Then Gordian III (*RIC* IV 3, Gordian III, n. 318), Trebonianus Gallus (*RIC* IV 3, Trebonianus Gallus, n. 9–11; 20; 21; 24; 37–39; 50; 70, 114),

<sup>28</sup> KLUCZEK 2006: 60.

<sup>29</sup> KLUCZEK 2006: 71–73.

<sup>30</sup> *Libertas* appeared in Roman propaganda during the crisis of the republic and the rivalry between the populares and the optimates (WIRSZUBSKI 1968: 31–87; STYLOW 1972: 20–28). *Libertas* was also used by the assassins of Caesar (WIRSZUBSKI 1968: 90 f.; ZANKER 1988: 49). Augustus referred to the idea of liberty during his confrontation with Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and when taking advantage of his success in the battle of Actium (STYLOW 1972: 28–33).

Volusianus (*RIC* IV 3, Volusianus, n. 148; 149; 188–190; 210, 255), Gallienus (*RIC* V 1, Gallienus joint reign, n. 85; *RIC* V 1, Gallienus sole reign, n. 231, 232), Regalianus (*RIC* V 2, Regalianus, n. 6), and Postumus (*RIC* V 2, Postumus, n. 356) all referred to *libertas*. Calling on the idea of restoring liberty to the Roman state could be an element of ideological struggle between Gallienus and his political rivals<sup>31</sup>. After Gallienus' death Liberty sporadically appeared on his successors' coinage: Quintillus (*RIC* V 1, Quintillus, n. 65, 66), Claudius II (*RIC* V 1, Claudius Gothicus, n. 60–63), Aurelian (*RIC* V 2, Aurelian, n. 206), and Tacitus (*RIC* V 2, Tacitus, n. 91). The personification was absent from coin issues during the reigns of Probus, Carus and his sons. After eight years of absence on imperial coins it reappeared on Iulianus' coinage. It is noteworthy that the personification of liberty was particularly emphasized by those emperors who came into power by overthrowing the preceding dynasty; the emphasis placed on *libertas* was probably supposed to strengthen their legitimization. *Libertas* played a huge role on the coinage of Galba<sup>32</sup> and Nerva<sup>33</sup>. This can suggest Iulianus' intention to stress the tyrannical character of the rule of Carus and his sons and to consolidate the legitimization of his authority<sup>34</sup>.

Another interpretation of the issue of coins showing the *LIBERTAS PVBLICA* legend has been proposed by W. SESTON. According to the French researcher, the usurper tried to obtain by means of this issue the support of the Senate (not unlike Tacitus)<sup>35</sup>. Obviously, almost all emperors tried to have good relations with the Senate. Nevertheless, we know too little about Iulianus' attempt to seize the imperial throne to determine whether SESTON's theory is plausible. Besides, the connection between issuing coins with the legends *LIBERTAS PVBLICA* or *LIBERTAS AVG* and relations of emperors with the Senate in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century are dim. In the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century personifications of liberty played the biggest (which does not mean significant) role in the coinages of Septimius Severus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus and Trebonianus Gallus. Among these, only Alexander Severus was perceived by the pro-Senate historiography as a ruler who favoured the Senate. Septimius Severus' *libertas* issues appeared after his purges of senators who had supported Clodius Albinus (issues were struck after 198, and in the preceding year 64 senators were accused of supporting Clodius Albinus and 29 of them were executed)<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, *libertas* was not referred to by emperors in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century who were considered pro-Senate (Gordian I

<sup>31</sup> KLUCZEK 2004: 206–227; GRANDVALLET 2007: 337–351.

<sup>32</sup> STYLOW 1972: 48–52; HOWGEGO 1995: 73; BORUCH 1996: 104–108.

<sup>33</sup> STYLOW 1972: 54–57; MORAWIECKI 1994: 117 f.; BENNETT 1997: 133; GRAINGER 2003: 47.

<sup>34</sup> SOUTHERN 2001: 135.

<sup>35</sup> SESTON 1946: 52.

<sup>36</sup> Cass. Dio LXXV 8, 4; Hdn. III 8, 6; *HA Sept. Sev.* 12, 9–13, 9. On the war between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus and on Septimius Severus' move against the Senate, see ALFÖLDY

and his son, Pupienus and Balbinus). The lack of the connection between coin issues featuring liberty and historiographical perception of rulers' relations with the Senate does not have to be a significant factor. Emperors who took measures against individual senators (e.g. Septimius Severus) did not fight against the Senate as a whole<sup>37</sup>. The image of particular emperors drawn by our sources is sometimes very distorted and can have little in common with reality. Such is the case with Alexander Severus<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, pro-Senate historiography could underestimate positive signals sent by emperors to the Senate. Finally, while it is hard to find a key factor which determined issuing coins with the legends in question, it is important to bear in mind that *libertas* appears only seldom on imperial coinage. If concepts evoked by coins did not play an essential role in imperial propaganda, then there would be no reason why the chief of the mint in Siscia had decided to put precisely *libertas* on one of the first issues of the pretender to the throne. However, it is difficult to draw far-reaching hypotheses on the basis of this issue of the *antoniniani*.

We should take into consideration another possible reason for the appearance of the legend *LIBERTAS PVBLICA* in Iulianus' propaganda. Eunapius, Zosimus, Eutropius and the *Historia Augusta* present Carinus as a tyrant. According to them, he acted shamefully, had bad counsellors, sentenced innocent people to death, and conducted a lifestyle unworthy of a ruler<sup>39</sup>. The *Historia Augusta* gives the most vivid description of Carinus' wicked ways, and presents the emperor as a new Elagabalus<sup>40</sup>. According to Zosimus, Iulianus' usurpation was a reaction to Carinus' cruelty (Zosim. I 73, 1). The question arises as to whether Iulianus' *LIBERTAS PVBLICA* issue can refer to Carinus' way of ruling the empire? It is hardly probable. Accusations against this ruler are highly stereotypical and can be made against any wicked emperors. All cited above sources describing his reign originated many years after the events. The more they criticize Carinus, the more they praise Diocletian, his successor and rival<sup>41</sup>. That is why the negative image of Carinus can result from Diocletian's propaganda. Additionally, presenting one's predecessor as a tyrant strengthened and legitimized a new ruler's authority. Thus, there are no grounds for regarding Carinus as an emperor perceived by his contemporaries as a tyrant who threatened Roman freedom. However, we know too

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1968: 112–160; KOTULA 1986: 89–95; BIRLEY 1999: 121–128; HEIL 2006: 55–85; OKOŃ 2009: 55–60; JANISZEWSKA 2010: 89–94.

<sup>37</sup> ALFÖLDY 1968: 112–160; BIRLEY 1999: 195.

<sup>38</sup> CHASTAGNOL 1994: 559–561; LINDERSKI 1995: 215.

<sup>39</sup> Eunapius of Sardes, fr. 4; Zosim. I 72, 1; Eutr. VIII 19; *HA Car.* 16, 1–17, 7.

<sup>40</sup> CHASTAGNOL 1976: 84–90; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 1141 f. PASCHOUD 2001: 380 notices that the author of the *Historia Augusta* has shaped his images of wicked emperors (Aelius Caesar, Commodus, Elagabalus, Gallienus) on the basis of Suetonius' description of Domitian.

<sup>41</sup> BIRD 1993: 146; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 1141 f.

little about the situation in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to formulate unequivocal opinions. Besides, in the imperial period, the *libertas publica* catchword became associated with emperors' social initiatives. It was emperors' generosity that guaranteed liberty to the Roman people<sup>42</sup>. It is probable that the issue of Iulianus was meant to announce some future goods distributions.

Among the legends appearing on Iulianus' issues, the one referring to Pannonia was the most rarely evoked by other emperors. References to individual provinces of the empire were not common (only a few rulers made them)<sup>43</sup>. Curiously enough, they concerned only the the Danubian and Rhine regions<sup>44</sup>. For the first time the personification of the Pannonian provinces appeared on Aelius Caesar's coinage (*RIC* II, Hadrianus, n. 1059, 1060, 1071–1073). The reverse showed a woman wearing chiton and himation in *corona muralis*. She was holding *vexillum* in her hand. The legend was *TR POT COS II PANNONIA SC*. Before Aelius Caesar became adopted by Hadrian, he held the post of imperial legate to Pannonia (*HA Hadr.* 23, 13; *HA Ael.* 3, 2). Attributes presented with this personification referred, on the one hand, to the Roman legions stationed there (*vexillum*), and, on the other, to the development of cities in the Pannonian provinces (*corona muralis*)<sup>45</sup>. Another emperor who emphasized the role of Pannonia in the Roman Empire was Decius. The aurei issued by Decius showed the same images as Aelius Caesar's coins (*RIC* III 4, Trajan Decius, n. 5, 20), and a new one, where two women wearing chitons are standing, looking at each other, and holding legion symbols (*RIC* III 4, Trajan Decius, n. 21a, 21b, 22–26, 41, 124). The reverse of all these aurei showed the legend *PANNONIAE*. Interestingly, personifications of more than one province appeared very seldom on Roman coinage<sup>46</sup>. Successive emperors who referred to the Pannonian provinces referred to the iconography depicted on Aelius Caesar's coins. Such was the case with Herrenianus Etruscus (*RIC* IV 3, Trajan Decius, 158a–159), Quintillus (*RIC* V 1, Quintillus, n. 60–61) and Aurelian (*MIR* XLVII 22; *MIR* XLVII 22a = *RIC* V 1, Aurelian, n. 113). Aurelian's successors did not issue coins featuring personifications of Pannonia. Thus for over a decade between Iulianus' usurpation and Aurelian's issue, the legend in question had been absent from imperial propaganda. The presentation which appeared during Iulianus' attempt to seize power had been used over thirty years earlier. It is hard to perceive it as a banal association to Decius' coins. Treasures hidden in Aurelian's, Probus' or the Tetrarchs' times contain very few

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<sup>42</sup> STYLOW 1972: 70–88; KUNISZ 1993: 62 f.

<sup>43</sup> NOREÑA 2001: 155.

<sup>44</sup> KACZANOWICZ 1996: 98 f.

<sup>45</sup> OSTROWSKI 1990: 194.

<sup>46</sup> Besides Pannonia, Spain was presented in a similar way in M. Minatius Sabinus' coinage of 46/45 BC, and (the three) Gauls during Galba's rule (*RIC* I, Galba, n. 110, 111). See OSTROWSKI 1990: 194.



coins dated before 251. This phenomenon can be observed in deposits stashed during the last twenty years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the Balkans, Britain, Germany and Gaul<sup>47</sup>. Apparently, during Iulianus' usurpation, Decius' issues were no longer in circulation. Additionally, during the rule of Decius and his sons, the legend *PANNONIAE* was coined in the mints in Rome, Milan and Antioch (Rome: *RIC* IV 3, Trajan Decius, n. 5, 20–26, 124; Milan: *RIC* IV 3, Trajan Decius, n. 41; Antioch: *RIC* IV 3, Trajan Decius, n. 158, 195). Also successive rulers issued coins with this legend outside the Balkans, namely in Milan (both Quintillus and Aurelian). Thus, the issue of Iulianus cannot be a replication of older issues from Siscia. In the case of Iulianus, the reference to the Pannonian provinces was strongly substantiated. Emphasizing the ruler's relations with Pannonia was a gesture directed at the legions stationed there. For Iulianus, the forces in the Pannonian provinces constituted the core of his army. His fate was in their hands. And coin propaganda reached legionaries very effectively<sup>48</sup>.

If emperors had not been interested in the propaganda aspect of coin issues, then one could expect no connections between images or legends showed by coins and rulers' current propaganda<sup>49</sup>. Their set should have been trite. On Iulianus' coinage the most common motifs used on Roman coins in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century appear (Victoria and the emperor being protected by Jupiter). Issuing these coins was to legitimize Iulianus' usurpation. In the case of the reference to prosperity (*felicitas*) it is impossible to determine whether we deal with intentional propaganda or a coincidence. Most noticeable and significant is the reference to the personification of the Pannonian provinces (Pannonia Inferior and Superior). This reference was quite important for Iulianus. The programme presented in his coinage is quite deliberate and does not seem to be coincidental. Obviously, it is impossible to determine whether the programme was invented by the emperor and his advisers or the chief of the mint (my conclusions are based on a few types of coin issues made in the name of Iulianus). However, one thing is certain. If emperors had not cared about images and legends depicted on coins, then one could expect a more banal set of them. However, the usurper was able to issue coins with legends which were quite rare on imperial coinage (and presentations appearing on those issues were even rarer). It is hard to believe that propagating attachment to Pannonia was a coincidence. That is why it seems that we deal with a well thought out programme. In such a case it is hard to imagine that the emperor's milieu would not be interested in contents of his coinage.

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<sup>47</sup> SUSKI 2008a: 341–345.

<sup>48</sup> JONES 1956: 14 f.

<sup>49</sup> According to LEVICK 1982: 104–116, the use of the term propaganda in regard to ancient minting is anachronistic. It is a very controversial thesis.

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## TIME SERIES MODELLING IN THE ANALYSIS OF HOMERIC VERSE

By

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**ABSTRACT:** Among other techniques of oral composition, the rhythmicity of hexameter seems to play a role in memorising and re-composing in performance long sections of Greek epic poetry. The article attempts to explain what feature of hexameter makes it rhythmical and thus suitable as an epic meter. Homeric verse was analysed using the ARIMA method. Roughly a hundred ten-verse samples from the *Iliad* were coded as binary sequences of two types. In one type of coding, verses were represented as sequences of long and short syllables, while in the other type, assuming the existence of *ictus* (metrical stress), as series of dynamically stressed and unstressed ones. The results, obtained using estimated linear models of stochastic processes, clearly suggest that the stress-based series are more rhythmical than the quantity-based series. This can be taken as an argument in favour of the reality of *ictus* in Greek hexameter.

### INTRODUCTION

Homer's poems, and early epic poetry in general, cannot be described as typical written poetic output. They belong to archaic oral tradition of epic singing, which means that they were not composed as fixed texts but re-composed in performance. Nevertheless, they were not totally improvised: epic singers were assembling their poems using some techniques of oral composition, such as formulaic structure, fixed epithets of gods and heroes, traditional phraseology, theme patterns, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of text variations and singers' freedom of choice in performance, there is something incredible in the fact that the ancient Greeks could re-compose from memory long sections of Homer's poems. Some claimed to have memorised the whole *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which amounted to almost 30,000 lines. To achieve this impressive feat, excellent memorisation techniques were not enough. In terms of textual organisation, the epic poems must have displayed features that aided memorisation. These certainly included formulaic structure, the frequent occurrence of fixed epithets, etc., and probably *rhythmical patterning* as well.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g., PARRY 1971; LORD 1960; 1991; NAGY 1979; 1996; FOLEY 1993.

Hexameter, the main epic metre, was quite flexible in rhythm shaping; among other ancient verse types it was probably the most dependent on the author's freedom of choice. Nevertheless, though each line of hexameter could be realised, theoretically, in thirty-two ways, the authors favoured some patterns<sup>2</sup>. The formulaic structure preferred fixed rhythmical schemes, and the authors were aware of it when choosing fixed epithets and other formulas<sup>3</sup>. The rhythm of hexameter is also shaped by another feature: rhythmically justified line endings<sup>4</sup>. When taking those facts into account, it is possible, and probable, that the rhythmicity of hexameter played an important role in the oral composition as one of the techniques supporting memorisation. In other words, it is probable that the epic singers were re-composing their poems on the basis of some repeating rhythmical patterns which can be discovered in analysis.

Like any binary phenomenon, rhythm can be described by means of quantitative methods. Existing research has largely confirmed the insufficiency of conventional statistics in modelling versification and/or prosody. Methods defined as conventional are based on the presumption that a text can be treated as a typical statistical population, or a set of elements in which the sequential order of units is not a relevant feature ("language in the mass")<sup>5</sup>. It may be asked, however, whether the kind of text segmentation that disregards the sequential order of units will prove effective in research on prosody and versification ("language in the line")<sup>6</sup>. In general, the rhythmical structure of a text depends on the linear order of marked and unmarked syllables (long/short, dynamically stressed/unstressed, high/low) that make up superordinate units, such as metrical feet or rhythmical groups. The regularity of a sequence may vary, and there can also be strong relationships between units that are not adjacent, but distant from each other at a fixed interval (e.g. the length of a single verse).

Statistics offers a number of sequential analysis methods that allow us to measure the linguistically relevant features of a text in the line<sup>7</sup>. They are e.g. Shannon's theory of information, the theory of Markov chains, spectral analysis and time series analysis. In the present study, we apply the time series analysis in the time domain. This methodology has been so far very efficient in the research of text rhythm and versification. The objects of analysis have usually in-

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<sup>2</sup> FOLEY 1993: 73.

<sup>3</sup> PARRY 1971: 8–21.

<sup>4</sup> FOLEY 1993: 71.

<sup>5</sup> HERDAN 1966: 423.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. GOTTMAN 1981; 1990; PAWŁOWSKI 2005.



cluded such units as series of sentences<sup>8</sup>, lexemes<sup>9</sup>, syllables<sup>10</sup>, letters<sup>11</sup>, segments in Chinese<sup>12</sup>, and intervals between the consecutive occurrences of lexemes and morphemes<sup>13</sup>.

In a subsequent study, time series analysis was also used to examine the rhythmical organisation of Latin hexameter<sup>14</sup>. Based on a substantial corpus of Horace's, Ovid's and Virgil's texts, Latin samples coded as stress sequences were shown to be considerably more rhythmical than the same samples coded with regard to quantity. This observation permitted us to conclude that, in spite of its fundamental dependence on quantity, Latin hexameter also displayed metrical stress. A successful application of time series analysis in the study of Latin hexameter has encouraged our interest in epic memorisation with reference to Greek metre.

The authors are aware of the complexity of Greek verse types (both stichic and non-stichic) as well as versification patterns. In the present study, we focused only on Homeric hexameter, without taking into account the presumably older verse forms. Although the results of the analysis suggest some linguistic features of Greek metre in general, the conclusions do not apply to other verse forms than epic hexameter.

#### QUANTITY AND *ICTUS* IN GREEK VERSIFICATION

Rhythm in language is a binary phenomenon or – in other words – it consists in the opposition of marked and unmarked linguistic units. The basic factor of rhythm, or the relevant metrical feature is either word stress (in stress-based versification) or syllable length (in quantity-based versification)<sup>15</sup>. In classifying a versification system as stress- or quantity-based the question has to be answered as to which prosodic feature is most important in text creation and recitation.

In the case of ancient Greek the decisive feature is doubtless quantity, or the phonological opposition of long and short vowels, as in words [*lĕgo*] – ‘to pick out’ and [*lēgo*] – ‘to stay, abate’. As syllable peaks in terms of loudness, vowels also lend their relevant characteristics to the syllables they constitute. A long vowel always generates a long syllable while a short one may constitute either

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<sup>8</sup> OPPENHEIM 1988; PAWŁOWSKI 1998: 124–153; ROBERTS 1996; SCHILS, DE HAAN 1993.

<sup>9</sup> CORDUAS 1995; PAWŁOWSKI 1998: 96–111.

<sup>10</sup> AZAR, KEDEM 1979; BRATLEY, ROSS 1981; PAWŁOWSKI 1999; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2004.

<sup>11</sup> PETRUSZEWCZYK 1981.

<sup>12</sup> DREHER, YOUNG, NORTON, MA 1969.

<sup>13</sup> PAWŁOWSKI 1998: 113–124.

<sup>14</sup> PAWŁOWSKI, EDER 2001.

<sup>15</sup> KURYŁOWICZ 1975: 241 f.

a short or a long syllable (when the vowel is a short one, syllable length depends on whether it is open or closed). An ordered sequence of long and short syllables generates verse rhythm. Greek metre is therefore an example of typically quantitative versification.

Syllable length is then a basic factor of rhythm, but there may be others to consider as well. For several scholars, an ordered sequence of long and short syllables is sufficient to make a text sound rhythmical in performance. However, this condition does not seem sufficient to the relatively few proponents of a special dynamic stress called *ictus*, which may partially overlap with word stress depending on the genre of the poem. A sample line from Homer's *Iliad* I 2 (οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε) can be marked for quantity as follows:

[oūlōmēnēn hē mūrī' Āchaīōīs ālgē ēthēkē]

Proponents of quantity view the rhythmical quality of the verse above as generated exclusively by the sequential order of syllables: ××××××××××××××××. Adherents of the *ictus* hypothesis argue on the other hand that rhythm will gain prominence when some syllables are foregrounded through metrical stress assignment:

[oūlōmēnēn hē mūrī' Āchaīōīs ālgē ēthēkē]

Placed in strictly defined positions within the series, *ictus* makes the line more rhythmical, so that it eventually takes the form: ××××××××××××××××. It has to be emphasised that *ictus* is a verse transposition of word stress, which does not imply that both should always coincide:

[oūlōmēnēn hē mūrī' Āchaīōīs ālgē ēthēkē]

In this series, only one stressed syllable additionally receives *ictus*: in word [ālgē].

The majority view among scholars is that rhythm was based on quantity both in Latin and Greek metre. The historical connections between the two systems of versification cannot of course be denied. Latin versification was *de facto* an implementation of Greek principles, and it is common knowledge that Greek metrical forms had effectively ousted the indigenous Saturnian verse by 240 BC. Given these links, it will be natural to appeal in our discussion to indirect judgements about Greek metre in passages that were explicitly concerned with its Latin incarnation.

The main argument against *ictus* is that ancient writers are consistently silent about it<sup>16</sup>. The concepts of *arsis* and *thesis*, now applied to strong and weak syllables respectively, were used in antiquity with reference to dancing only, and cannot be cited as evidence in the present context. Similarly, the task of sorting out the *ictus* controversy is not made any easier by consulting ancient grammarians, metre theorists, and musicologists, whose observations are generally of limited value due to terminological fuzziness<sup>17</sup>. Apart from the argument from silence, *ictus* has also been attacked on other grounds. F. NIETZSCHE was the first writer aesthetically to challenge the *ictus* hypothesis from a subjectivist point of view<sup>18</sup>, taking issue with the standard theory as developed in G. HERRMANN'S groundbreaking study<sup>19</sup>.

After NIETZSCHE'S spirited attack further scholarly criticisms followed. Research on rhythm in general has suggested that there can be purely quantitative rhythm, though it is less prominent than dynamic rhythm<sup>20</sup>. This abstract thesis is corroborated by the rhythmical qualities found in musical instruments such as the organ or bagpipe, in which rhythm cannot begin to arise out of changes in volume (counterpart to expiratory *ictus*)<sup>21</sup>.

Opponents of *ictus* have often realised that quantitative rhythm can occasionally be strengthened by pitch, as evident from the Delphic hymns of the second century BC<sup>22</sup>. Some scholars take it to have been a deliberate poetic device<sup>23</sup>, while others regard it as an insignificant accidental coincidence<sup>24</sup>. Without trying to resolve the debate, it is necessary to emphasise that Greek tonal accent had nothing to do with the dynamic *ictus*.

Whether *ictus* really existed is also questioned by phoneticians on the one hand and students of Greek drama in performance on the other. Phonetics experts have wondered why there is no evidence of any effects of the allegedly salient *ictus* on poetic language, such as reduction of syllables without *ictus*. Historians of ancient drama have maintained that a Greek spectator would have been confused at hearing two phonetic realisations of the same word, not too distant from each other in the text and pronounced differently as a result of *ictus* placement. To take an example from Euripides's *Hecuba*, for instance, the spectator would have

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<sup>16</sup> SICKING 1993: 11.

<sup>17</sup> ALLEN 1973: 275 f.

<sup>18</sup> NIETZSCHE 1912: 336.

<sup>19</sup> HERRMANN 1816.

<sup>20</sup> MEILLET 1923: 10.

<sup>21</sup> SONNENSCHNEIDER 1925: 24 f. and 203.

<sup>22</sup> DEVINE, STEPHENS 1994: 168 f. and 173; cf. WACKERNAGEL 1896: 204 f.; COMOTTI 1989: 91–108.

<sup>23</sup> SNELL 1982: 6, n. 11; ZAYTSEV 1994: 21.

<sup>24</sup> SICKING 1993: 64.

heard, within a space of only two lines, the same form ἐνεγκοῦσαι pronounced as [enenkoúsai] and [enénkousaf]<sup>25</sup>. In sum, the majority opinion is that *ictus* was invented by modern scholars<sup>26</sup> and can be traced to the classroom tradition. In this school of performance, Greek and Latin poems are still recited in such a way that heavy dynamic stress is put emphatically on syllables with *ictus*<sup>27</sup>.

However, there are also convincing claims of a more general scope, frequently made in metre theory and structuralist linguistics, that allow us to argue in favour of a non-quantitative stress. Especially significant in this respect are the findings of J. KURYŁOWICZ. Drawing on a remarkable variety of material, he has demonstrated that the presence of quantity as a phonemic feature in a given language system is not a sufficient condition for quantitative versification to arise in that language<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, the intricate ordering of long and short syllables does not itself make for a quantitative metre, as evident from the example of Russian versification<sup>29</sup>. According to KURYŁOWICZ, there are two necessary conditions for a quantitative metre to emerge: the phonemic status of quantity and the possibility of shifting and blurring word boundaries. It is precisely the phonetics of the word boundary, or metrical *sandhi*, that makes the opening of the *Iliad* (Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος):

[*Menin aeide thea Peleiaedeo Achilleos*]

sound as follows in performance:

[*Menina eidethe ape leia deoachi leos*]

When recited, the line above becomes a unit of an entirely different order, composed not of semantic words but asemantic syllables. Consequently, word pitch does not count as a rhythmic factor: as word boundaries are no longer relevant, word pitch cannot perform a demarcative function. The metric units (feet) formed by *sandhi* are still in need of foregrounding. The culminative function of word pitch in verse must be taken over by a different characteristic of syllabic groups, namely metrical stress, or *ictus*<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> ZAYTSEV 1994: 32.

<sup>26</sup> KORZENIOWSKI 1998: 34–39; LEONHARDT 1989: 14 (n. 12); STROH 1989: 62–89; 1990: 87–113; WEST 1982: 196.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. recordings on the CD attached to: GLAU 1998.

<sup>28</sup> KURYŁOWICZ 1975: passim.

<sup>29</sup> ZAYTSEV 1994: 6.

<sup>30</sup> KURYŁOWICZ 1950: 37; 1972: 3 f.

Versification is never disengaged from ordinary language. Several features of the Greek language system have their exact counterparts in Greek versification<sup>31</sup>, some of which are instances of prosodic equivalence. The post-accentual tail of a Greek verbal form may consist of a long syllable e.g. [el<sup>i</sup>pū], or two short syllables [le<sup>i</sup>pōmēn], or else a long-short syllabic complex [le<sup>i</sup>pōmēn]. In terms of the stress placement in Greek verbal inflection, it is then possible for equivalence  $\bar{x} = \breve\breve x$  to obtain in a post-stress position. A syllabic correspondence of the same sort is possible in a post-ictus position in Greek metre as well<sup>32</sup>. This sort of equivalence between accentuated vowels obtains not only in metre but also beyond verse in Greek in general. In this broader context, it is not limited to verbal accentuation, but concerns the familiar phenomenon of two short syllables blending into a single long one, e.g. [perikall<sup>e</sup>ōs] = [perikal<sup>o</sup>ūs]. In versification, this corresponds to response in ictus-positions  $\acute{=} = \acute{=}^{33}$ .

A number of specific arguments and hypotheses have also been advanced in favour of *ictus*. It was essential, some have claimed, for when a song composed of specific metrical measures was performed during a procession, metrical stress must have coincided with instances of downbeat, or the performer's putting his foot to the ground<sup>34</sup>. Given the alleged absence of *ictus*, there would be no room for rhythm in a verse line which consisted exclusively of long syllables. A sample line from Homer's *Iliad* XXIII 221: ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο can be represented as follows: [- - - - -]. It should be clear that, as it is, there can be no rhythmical effect in this verse. It is only by placing *ictus* on the first syllables of the particular feet that the line becomes properly rhythmical: [˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ -].

Another argument in favour of *ictus*, though an indirect one, has been supplied by R. SCHMIEL<sup>35</sup> who developed the seminal concept of correspondence of *ictus* and word stress in Vergil's *Aeneid* proposed by W.F. JACKSON KNIGHT<sup>36</sup>. Having examined a total of twelve books from the *Iliad*, SCHMIEL found a significant nearly thirty-percent "coincidence between the six regularly-recurring heavy syllables and acute and circumflex accents", which occurred much more frequently in dialogues than in narrative sections<sup>37</sup>. This deliberate patterning would not be noticeable if *ictus* were merely a scholarly fiction. SCHMIEL's findings allowed him to assert boldly that "we must give up our neat, water-tight

<sup>31</sup> Cf. DEVINE, STEPHENS 1994: 102–117.

<sup>32</sup> KURYLOWICZ 1961: 88 f.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 88; cf. KURYLOWICZ 1976: 65 f.

<sup>34</sup> ZAYTSEV 1994: 34 f.

<sup>35</sup> SCHMIEL 1981.

<sup>36</sup> JACKSON KNIGHT 1939: 12–14.

<sup>37</sup> SCHMIEL 1981: 5.

categories of stress, quantity, dynamic and pitch-accent, and we may conclude that in both Greek and Latin poetry, as in the poetry of other languages, the linguistic phenomena stress, quantity, and accent are correlated<sup>38</sup>.

Neither the theoretical observations about the nature of rhythm as such, nor the specific comments on Greek epic poetry – contrary to the contemporary view of *ictus* as a modern invention (*ictus fictus*) – have helped us reach a convincing solution to the problem.

### HYPOTHESIS

In view of all the facts discussed thus far, it was hypothesised that the rhythm of the orally transmitted Homeric epics may have been generated by the non-random ordering of long and short syllables and/or dynamic metrical stress. The authors are aware of different nature of both prosodic features. However, as they may coexist and overlap in a metrically organised text, they can undergo contrastive analysis. We also assumed that it was possible to code any poetic text as two different time series: one generated with respect to quantity, the other with respect to *ictus*. If the stress-based series turns out to be more rhythmical than the quantity-based one, and the sequence of long and short syllables proves only weakly rhythmical, we will then have an important empirical argument in favour of the existence of dynamic metric stress in Greek epic poetry as recited in performance.

### DATA AND QUANTIFICATION

To verify the hypothesis, we chose one of the Homeric poems, the *Iliad*. It represents the classical measure of Greek epic poetry as well as the most popular and best preserved form of Greek versification in general: dactylic hexameter. It may be the case that some inherent features of hexameter naturally facilitate memorisation, thus making it an extremely popular choice as an epic meter.

In its classical form, hexameter is a sequence of six dactylic feet, the last of which is catalectic (incomplete). The last syllable in each verse can be either long or short [˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘]. Writers usually replace some (or all) dactyls [˘˘˘] with spondees [˘˘]. Thus, theoretically there are thirty-two possible realisations of the hexametric line. In practice, however, some of them are very rare (e.g. a spondee as the fifth foot). Consequently, the rhythmical structure of epic verse is to some extent irregular: neither fully deterministic, nor completely devoid of any formal determinants of rhythm.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 25. Similar statements with reference to Greek dance in performance – cf. DAVID 2006: 66 f.

We coded 96 samples from the *Iliad* (four randomly chosen ten-verse excerpts per book)<sup>39</sup>. The average length of a sample was 167 syllables. The quantification procedure was as follows. For each sample we generated a time series based on quantity, assigning [1] to long syllables and [0] to short ones, e.g. a dactyl was coded as [1,0,0] and a spondee [1,1]. A parallel time series was generated for each sample based on metrical stress, where syllables with *ictus* were represented by [1] and those without ictus by [0]. Now a dactyl was still [1,0,0], but a spondee changed to [1,0]. Irrespective of its phonetic quality, the last syllable in a line was regarded and coded appropriately as long and unstressed<sup>40</sup>.

A sample verse from the *Iliad* mentioned in the previous sections would be coded as follows:

[oũlǒmĕnĕn hĕ mŭrĭ Āchaĩoĩs ālgĕ ěthĕkĕ]  
 {100111001110011} for quantity and  
 {100101001010010} for metrical stress.

#### THE METHOD OF MODELLING

The method of modelling applied in this study, widely used within the field of the social sciences, is rather sophisticated and far from being intuitive. However, it provides reliable and credible results. Readers who are less acquainted with mathematics can skip this part and just assume that the coefficient  $V_c$  is a quantitative measure of text rhythmicity, while graphs with ACF and PACF functions display the depth and strength of sequential relations in verse.

To model empirical data, the ARIMA method was used as elaborated by G. BOX and G. JENKINS<sup>41</sup>. The method has already been discussed in the literature with a view to possible applications in sociology and psychology<sup>42</sup>. The linguistic

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<sup>39</sup> A list of samples analysed: Hom *Il.* I 59–68, 164–173, 310–319, 407–416; II 41–50, 182–191, 592–601, 832–841; III 149–158, 228–237, 315–324, 404–413; IV 159–168, 278–287, 433–442, 465–474; V 150–159, 506–515, 663–672, 875–884; VI 81–90, 185–194, 302–311, 520–529; VII 13–22, 70–79, 254–263, 412–421; VIII 141–150, 198–207, 284–293, 448–457; IX 61–70, 182–191, 405–414, 492–501; X 113–122, 206–215, 429–438, 519–528; XI 87–96, 241–250, 398–407, 677–686; XII 117–126, 171–180, 227–236, 351–360; XIII 32–41, 195–204, 405–414, 722–731; XIV 187–196, 421–430, 459–468, 507–516; XV 263–272, 441–450, 656–665, 708–717; XVI 363–372, 527–536, 761–772, 841–850; XVII 53–62, 134–143, 492–501, 698–707; XVIII 190–199, 333–342, 409–418, 601–610; XIX 7–16, 338–347, 393–402, 411–420; XX 80–89, 157–166, 391–400, 454–463; XXI 142–151, 320–329, 386–395, 533–542; XXII 14–23, 80–89, 196–205, 273–282; XXIII 369–378, 442–451, 611–620, 789–798; XXIV 41–50, 345–354, 509–518, 574–583.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. WEST 1982: 4 f.

<sup>41</sup> BOX, JENKINS 1976.

<sup>42</sup> BROCKWELL, DAVIES 1991; 1996; CHAGHAGHI 1985; COUTROT, DROESBEKE 1984: 67–76; GLASS, WILSON, GOTTMAN 1975; GOTTMAN 1981; MCCLEARY, HAY 1980; MONTGOMERY, JOHNSON 1976: 188–240; NURIUS 1983; PAWŁOWSKI 1998; STIER 1989; WHITELEY 1980.

implementations of the ARIMA method have been discussed by A. PAWŁOWSKI<sup>43</sup>. A brief introduction to the formal basics of the method will be given here insofar as it is necessary to follow the inference presented below.

A time series  $\{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n\}$  is defined as a series of realisations of a random variable. The independent variable  $t$ , which traditionally stands for *real time*, is replaced in textual research by *syntagmatic time*, which corresponds to the sequential order of linguistic units<sup>44</sup>. The notion of an instant on the axis of real time thus finds its counterpart in the notion of a position in the linear arrangement of text. The interval between two realisations of a series at  $t_i$  and  $t_j$  is referred to as the *lag* and marked as  $k = t_j - t_i$ .

An important feature of time series generated from texts is their *stationarity*. A stationary series is stable in showing no tendency and having fixed positional parameters (e.g. statistical moments), regardless of which sections of the series have been taken into account<sup>45</sup>. Since linguistic units such as word length are quantitatively stable, time series obtained by means of text quantification may *a priori* be regarded as *stationary*.

The basic parameters of stationary time series include:

– the *arithmetic mean* ( $\mu_x$ ), which is estimated by means of:

$$m_x = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{t=1}^N x_t \quad (1)$$

where:

$N$  – the length of the series;

$x_t$  – the value of the series at instant or position  $t$ ;

– the *variance* ( $\sigma_x^2$ ) of time series, which, granted that notation remains consistent throughout, is estimated by means of:

$$s_x^2 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{t=1}^N (x_t - m_x)^2 \quad (2)$$

– the *autocovariance* of time series at lag  $k$  ( $\gamma_k$ ), which is estimated as follows:

$$c_k = \frac{1}{N-k} \sum_{t=1}^{N-k} (x_t - m_x)(x_{t+k} - m_x) \quad (3)$$

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<sup>43</sup> PAWŁOWSKI 2001; 2005.

<sup>44</sup> PAWŁOWSKI 1998: 4.

<sup>45</sup> PRIESTLEY 1981: 112.



– the *autocorrelation* of time series at lag  $k$  ( $\rho_k$ ), which is estimated by means of the function:

$$r_k = \frac{c_k}{c_0} = \frac{c_k}{s_x^2} \quad (4)$$

The basic time series models are presented below, each of them being a special instance of the *general linear* model. These models are called linear, because each value in the series ( $x_t$ ) is a linear combination either of series values or of realisations of a random process at the preceding positions. A special type of time series is a purely random process.

A *random series*  $\{e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots\}$  is defined as the series of statistically independent realisations of a random variable. By way of an analogy with the light spectrum, the series of  $e_i$ -values with normal distribution  $N(0,1)$  is referred to as *white noise*.

An *autoregressive series* of the  $p$ -th order, marked as  $AR(p)$ , is defined as the series of  $x_t$ -values that are describable in terms of the model given below:

$$x_t = a_1 x_{t-1} + a_2 x_{t-2} + \dots + a_p x_{t-p} + e_t \quad (5)$$

where:

$a_i$  – coefficients of the model;

$e_i$  – random values with normal distribution  $N(0,1)$ .

In linguistic terms, the order of a series corresponds to contextual depth or *text memory*. For any given syllable, the order of the series specifies how many preceding syllables have to be considered in predicting its phonetic (phonological) quality.

A *moving-average series* of the  $q$ -th order, marked as  $MA(q)$ , is defined as the series of  $x_t$ -values that are describable in terms of the model given below:

$$x_t = e_t - b_1 e_{t-1} - b_2 e_{t-2} - \dots - b_q e_{t-q} \quad (6)$$

where:

$b_i$  – coefficients of the model;

$e_i$  – random values with normal distribution  $N(0,1)$ .

The  $MA(q)$  model is harder to interpret linguistically than the  $AR(p)$  one. The preceding realisations of the series are not directly salient in the model, however, and more interestingly, equation 6 is a linear filter that transforms random  $e_i$ -values into an ordered and partially deterministic series  $\{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n\}$ . To be sure, there is some link between the series values and the preceding context, as the

same combination of model coefficients  $b_i$  recurs for every  $x_t$ . Mathematically, realisations of the moving-average series are related to the history of the series because the AR and MA models are *invertible*. By virtue of invertibility, for every AR( $p$ ) process there is a corresponding MA( $\infty$ ) process, and for every MA( $q$ ) process there is a corresponding AR( $\infty$ ) process.

A *seasonal series* is defined as the series in which realisations show periodic regularity at fixed intervals  $s$ . Seasonal models are used in econometrics, where several market phenomena, such as prices, reveal regularity within monthly or annual cycles. Such models have proved to be an effective instrument in analysing textual data. They permit us empirically to examine versification, which consists in the repetition of chunks of text that are rhythmically and/or metrically equivalent.

A series is called seasonal of the type SARMA( $P, Q$ ) $_s$  if it is describable in terms of the model given below:

$$x_t = a_s x_{t-s} + a_{2s} x_{t-2s} + \dots + a_{ps} x_{t-ps} - b_s e_{t-s} - b_{2s} e_{t-2s} - \dots - b_{qs} e_{t-qs} + e_t \quad (7)$$

where:

$a_i$  – coefficients of AR;

$b_i$  – coefficients of MA;

$s$  – seasonal lag;

$e_i$  – random values with normal distribution  $N(0,1)$ .

The notation might be simplified by means of operators. Thus, a back-shift operator of the  $s$ -th order is defined as follows:

$$B_s x_t = x_{t-s} \quad (8)$$

In this notation, the general model of the seasonal stationary process SARMA( $P, Q$ ) $_s$  can be represented as follows:

$$x_t(1 - a_s B^s - a_{2s} B^{2s} - \dots - a_{ps} B^{ps}) = e_t(1 - b_s B^s - b_{2s} B^{2s} - \dots - b_{qs} B^{qs}) \quad (9)$$

Up until now, quantitative research on versification has usually discovered combinations of simple and seasonal processes, the seasonal interval  $s$  being equal to the length of a verse or a sequence of verses<sup>46</sup>. In general, models of such processes are represented as SARMA( $p, q$ )( $P, Q$ ) $_s$ , where  $p$  and  $q$  stand for the respective orders of the normal components of autoregression and the moving

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<sup>46</sup> PAWŁOWSKI 2001.

average, while  $P$  and  $Q$  signify the respective orders of the seasonal components. According to this convention, a typical model containing a seasonal component, such as  $SARMA(1,0)(0,1)_s$ , would be represented as:

$$(1 - a_p B)(1 - a_s B^s)x_t = e_t \tag{10}$$

The most effective model is selected on the basis of the shape of the functions of autocorrelation (ACF) and partial autocorrelation (PACF). In statistics, PACF is used for the study of systems with multiple random variables when the object of inquiry is the direct correlation between two selected variables independently of interference from other variables. An advantageous characteristic of PACF is that it truncates at lag  $p + 1$  for an  $AR(p)$  series, and dies out as an exponential function or dying-out sinusoid for an  $MA(q)$  series. Given the directly opposite behaviour of ACF, the method for identifying a series can be described by means of a simple diagram<sup>47</sup>:

	ACF	PACF
$AR(p)$	dies out	truncates at lag $p + 1$
$MA(q)$	truncates at lag $q + 1$	dies out
$ARMA(p,q)$	dies out	dies out

Table 1. Identification of simple linear models

In the last stage of the research procedure, the goal is to estimate the goodness of fit of the model. The decisive variable here is the percentage of the original variance explained by the model. In order to calculate it, a residual series is generated that consists of the respective differences between the values observed and those predicted by the model. The variance of the residual series is then compared with that of the series under analysis. It is to be expected that an effective model will yield a residual series with very little variance. If the original variance is symbolised as  $s_{obs}^2$  and the variance of the residual series as  $s_{res}^2$ , the goodness of fit of the model ( $V_e$ ) can be expressed as:

$$V_e = 100\% \left( 1 - \frac{s_{res}^2}{s_{obs}^2} \right) \tag{11}$$

It is assumed that the better the goodness of fit, the higher the value of  $V_e$ .  $V_e$  also provides insight into an important quality of a text: as rhythmic series

<sup>47</sup> CRYER 1986: 106.

are easier to model than non-rhythmic ones, the higher the value of  $V_e$ , the more likely a text is to be rhythmical. By virtue of the same fact, the higher the percentage of the original variance explained by the model, the more regular or rhythmical the series under analysis. Consequently,  $V_e$  is a linguistically relevant *comprehensive measure of the sequential orderedness of a text*. A separate question, and one which, in our view, cannot be answered by scholarship, is whether and, possibly, how to interpret this index of orderedness in aesthetic categories.

### CASE STUDY

As an example of detailed analysis we chose one of 96 coded samples from the *Iliad* (III 258–267). The section concerns a future duel in which the fate of Troy is to be decided. The sample is composed almost exclusively of dialogue parts, and contains ten verses and 168 syllables. The Greek text is presented below alongside the sequences coded with regard to quantity and stress.

Ἄργος ἐς ἰππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιΐδα καλλιγύναικα.	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ᾠς φάτο, ῥίγησεν δ' ὁ γέρων, ἐκέλευσε δ' ἑταίρους	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ἵππους ζευνύμεναι· τοὶ δ' ὄτραλέως ἐπίθοντο.	⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ἄν δ' ἄρ' ἔβη Πρίαμος, κατὰ δ' ἠνία τεῖνεν ὀπίσσω·	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀντήνωρ περικαλλέα βήσето δίφρον·	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
τῷ δὲ διὰ Σκαιῶν πεδίονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους,	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκοντο μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιοῦς,	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ἐξ ἵππων ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν	⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ἐς μέσσον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐστιχόωντο.	⋄ - ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄
ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,	⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ - ⋄ ⋄ ⋄ ⋄

quantity:

```
{1001001001001001110011100100100111110011100100111001001001001001
110011100100100111001110010010011100111001110011111001001001001111
1110011100111001001001110011}
```

metrical stress:

```
{100100100100100101001010010010010101001010010010100100100100100100
101001010010010010100101001001001010010100101001010010101001001001001
0101010010100101001001001010010}
```

The analysis of data starts with presenting the functions of autocorrelation (Fig. 1) and partial autocorrelation (Fig. 2) for the quantity-based series.

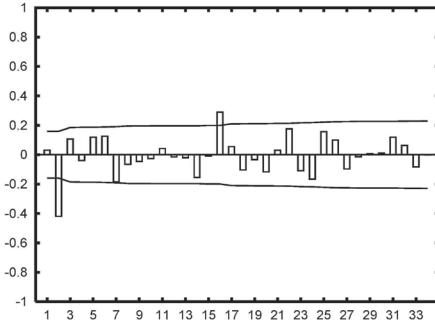


Fig. 1. ACF for the quantity series

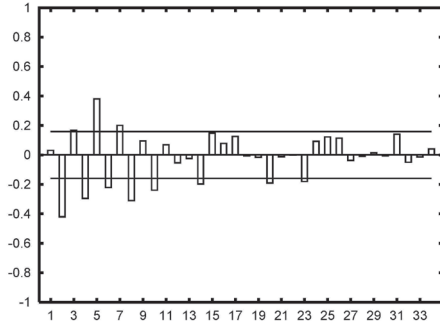


Fig. 2. PACF for the quantity series

On Fig. 1 and 2, as well as on the subsequent ones, ACF and PACF values are represented by vertical bars, while the confidence interval (so called Bartlett band) is marked with horizontal lines. The bars which exceed the confidence interval are significant: they suggest the presence of a deterministic component in data. The higher they are (in absolute value), the more predictable is the time series under analysis.

The shape of both graphs indicates the presence of a deterministic component, but fails unambiguously to suggest any particular type of model. As PACF consists of dying-out sinusoids, and ACF contains significant bars at lags 2 and 16, this is most likely to be some kind of a moving average model, possibly with a seasonal component. The first step in identifying the type of model is to estimate the MA(2) model:

$$x_t = (1 + 0.34B^1 - 0.63B^2)e_t \tag{12}$$

where:

$x_t$  – series value at moment or position  $t$ ;

$e_t$  – random values with normal distribution  $N(0,1)$ ;

$B$  – back-shift operator.

As can be seen from Fig. 3, the residual series created by filtering out the deterministic component from the original data is not a random one, for there are significant correlations at lags 3 and 16. Because MA(2) proved to be unsatisfactory for our purposes, MA(4) was also estimated:

$$x_t = (1 + 0.65B^1 - 0.83B^2 - 0.11B^3 + 0.44B^4)e_t \tag{13}$$

The ACF of the residual series contains a significant bar only at lag 16. It follows from this that the seasonal model SARMA( $p,q$ )( $P,Q$ )<sub>s</sub> can be applied

at  $s = 16$ . Fig. 4 shows the ACF of the residual series, which was obtained by filtering out the data generated by  $SARMA(0,4)(1,0)_{16}$ :

$$(1 - 0.32B^{16})x_t = (1 + 0.6B^1 - 0.83B^2 + 0.44B^4)e_t \tag{14}$$

This series contains no significant values and model 14 can be considered satisfactory.

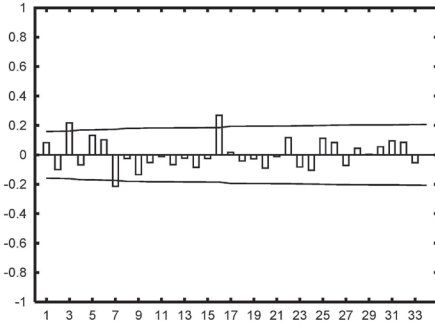


Fig. 3. ACF of the residual series for quantity, MA(2) model

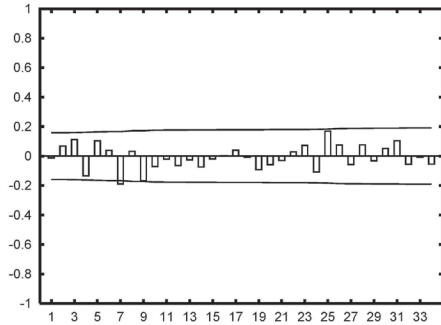


Fig. 4. ACF of the residual series for quantity, SARMA model

Table 2 shows the values of  $V_e$  that were calculated for the estimated models (for the original series  $s^2 = 0.251$ ). The quality of the model can be observed to increase in proportion to the number of parameters. It is worth noting, however, that the seasonal component is only responsible for four percent of the total variance of the series. Interestingly, the bar at lag 16, though relatively low here, appeared regularly in most of the samples, both for the quantity- and stress-based series. This will be taken up again when we come to discuss the results.

	MA(2)	MA(4)	SARMA(0,4)(1,0) <sub>16</sub>
$s_2$	0.154	0.128	0.117
$V_e$	39%	49%	<b>53%</b>

Table 2. The goodness of fit of the models estimated for quantity series

Exactly the same procedure was followed in estimating the model for the stress-based sequence. This time, however, the author of the *Iliad* proved much more obliging to us, since the shapes of the ACF graph (Fig. 5) and the PACF graph (Fig. 6) clearly suggest a process of the AR(2) type.

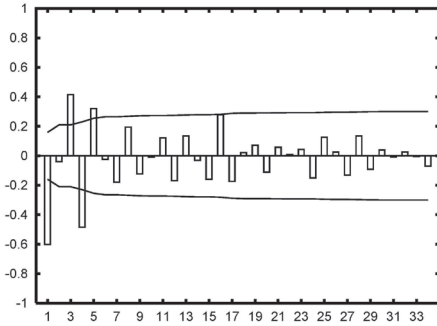


Fig. 5. ACF for the stress series

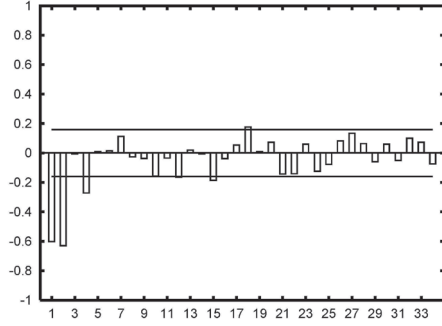


Fig. 6. PACF for the stress series

As a consequence, the first model to be estimated was the AR(2) as defined below:

$$(1 + 0.99B^1 + 0.63B^2)x_t = e_t \tag{15}$$

The autocorrelation of the residual series obtained by filtering out the series was found to contain two significant values at lags 5 and 16 (Fig. 7). As the value at lag 5 turned out to be a random one (it failed to pop up regularly in the other samples), an additional SARMA(2,0)(1,0)<sub>16</sub> model was estimated:

$$(1 + 0.99B^1 + 0.63B^2)(1 - 0.32B^{16})x_t = e_t \tag{16}$$

This model proved more effective in filtering out a significant value of ACF at seasonal interval  $s = 16$ . The ACF of the residual series, which was obtained by filtering out the process generated by model 16, displays no significant values apart from the random value at lag 5 (Fig. 8).

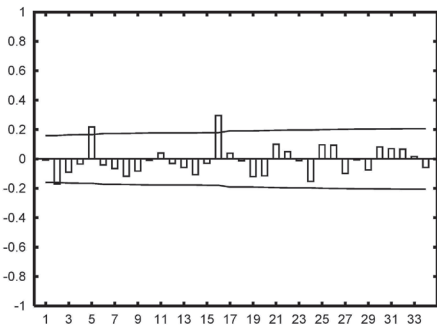


Fig. 7. ACF of the residual series for metrical stress, AR(2) model

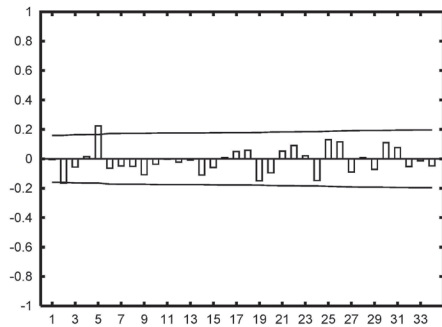


Fig. 8. ACF of the residual series for metrical stress, SARMA model

The values of  $V_e$  calculated for both models turned out to be very high: 62% for AR(2) and 65% for SARMA(2,0)(0,1)<sub>16</sub>. The seasonal lag of sixteen syllables succeeds in explaining merely about 3% of the total variance of the series under analysis. As was the case for the quantity-based series, this value recurred regularly in most of the samples and that was the reason why it was taken into account. The values obtained for the sample under analysis are shown in Table 3 (for the observed series  $s^2 = 0.238$ ).

	AR(2)	SARMA(2,0)(1,0) <sub>16</sub>
$s^2$	0.091	0.082
$V_e$	62%	<b>65%</b>

Table 3. The goodness of fit of the models estimated for metrical stress series

The results clearly indicate that both the quantity series and the stress series constitute realisation of stochastic processes. In both cases, the models identified prove relatively effective in that they manage to explain a considerable percentage of the original variance. The variance of the stress series is explainable to a greater extent (65%) than that of the quantity series (53%). Again, in both cases it was the seasonal models that worked better, although the increase in explanatory power is more considerable for the quantity-based series.

#### SUMMARY RESULTS

Analysis of the other samples corroborates the above findings. The average values of  $V_e$  are 50% for the quantity-based series and 63% for the *ictus*-based series and do not diverge from those obtained in the case study. For the vast majority of the samples, the seasonal models proved more effective than simple ones, especially in the case of the quantity-based series.

Since  $V_e$  can be taken to be a measure of a text's rhythmicity, it is not difficult to arrive at a linguistic interpretation of the results: the stress-based series are more rhythmical than the quantity-based series. This can be taken as an argument in favour of the reality of *ictus* in Greek hexameter.

What is harder to interpret linguistically, however, is the explanatory power of seasonal models for the quantity-based series. Presumably, there is a link between the value of the seasonal component ( $s = 16$ ) and the average length of a line in the sample (16 syllables). This might mean that in Greek hexameter, quantity is a stabilising factor in that it makes equivalent verses roughly equal in length.



## CONCLUSION: GREEK VS. LATIN HEXAMETER

Examination of samples of the *Iliad* corroborated the hypothesis that dynamic metrical stress was probably a real feature of Greek hexameter as well as a major determinant of text rhythm at syllable level. Quantity, on the other hand, has been shown to play an important role in determining text rhythm at verse level. The results suggest that the memorisation and performance of Greek epic poetry were based on these two prosodic features.

Our conclusions will become more convincing if we compare the results with our earlier analysis of Latin hexameter<sup>48</sup>, in which the same method was used to examine samples from Horace, Virgil, and Ovid. The percentage of the original variance explained by the optimal models proved much lower for the Latin samples than for the Greek ones (15% for quantity- and 61% for stress-based series, while in the *Iliad* respectively 50% and 63%).

	quantity	metrical stress
Latin hexameter	15%	61%
Greek hexameter	53%	65%

Table 4. The average rhythm of Latin and Greek hexameter ( $V_e$  values)

Contrary to the results for the Greek samples, no significant improvement in effectiveness was noted when seasonal models were used to analyse Latin material. This means that the rhythmicity of the Latin samples (with regard to the quantity) was much less noticeable than that of the *Iliad* samples. Such a wide divergence may have at least three explanations. On the one hand, the Latin verse (and the Latin language in general) is very rich in long syllables, as compared with Greek<sup>49</sup>, and this fact may influence rhythmicity of hexameter. On the other hand, the obtained results seem to reflect the fact that the Latin hexameter, and Latin versification in general, was an implantation of Greek verse system: being quite natural within the cultural and linguistic context of Greek, the prosody of hexameter would lose much of its inherent rhythmical properties in Latin. Last but not least, the divergence may also provide a clue that rhythmicity of Greek hexameter appeared in a natural way as an aid to memorisation of oral texts, but it played a lesser role in Latin epic poems, which belonged initially to the written register. To test this conjecture, further research is needed in two areas: the

<sup>48</sup> PAWŁOWSKI, EDER 2001.

<sup>49</sup> RAVEN 1998: 31.

comparative study of oral texts in Greek and Latin, and the contrastive analysis of Greek oral and written texts.

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TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE THROUGH LITERATURE:  
THE LITERARY FRAMES OF THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN  
*SIRR AL-ASRĀR* AND *KITĀB AL-TUFFĀHA*

By

REGULA FORSTER

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-Asrār* presents itself as an epistle from the old Aristotle to his pupil Alexander. It contains chapters on behaviour, warfare, medicine, astrology etc. The work seems to have been composed in Arabic in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. It seems to have spread widely<sup>2</sup> and was translated into several Oriental and European languages, including the vernaculars of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>3</sup>. Compared to the *Sirr al-Asrār*, the *Kitāb al-Tuffāha*, in which a dying Aristotle instructs his students not to be afraid of death, was much less successful<sup>4</sup>: Composed in Arabic some fifty or so years earlier<sup>5</sup>, it was translated into some

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<sup>1</sup> A Greek or Syriac original seems improbable to me; more recently, a Middle Persian original has been argued for (cf. VAN BLADEL 2004), but I find it difficult to assume a single source for this work. For problems of the text's dating and original language, cf. FORSTER 2006: 11–19. There are two Arabic versions, a long and a short form: whether one of them developed out of the other or whether they both go back to a common archetype is yet to be established, cf. FORSTER 2006: 20–30. The edition by BADAWI 1954: 67–171, gives a version of the long form, but some mss. of the short form were used. I shall speak of “the Arabic version” all the same, as short and long form have very much in common, but shall note differences where they are important.

<sup>2</sup> Some 75 mss. are extant, and the work was cited by several Arabic authors, cf. FORSTER 2006: 12–14 and 30–38.

<sup>3</sup> There are at least two Persian and two Turkish translations from the Arabic (cf. FORSTER 2006: 44–47); for the Hebrew, the Castilian, and the Latin versions, all of them translated directly from the Arabic, see below sections 1.2, 1.3, 1.5 and 1.6; for the Iberian vernacular translations from the Latin see below section 1.4.

<sup>4</sup> I know of 10 (or 11) mss., seven of them already mentioned by SEZGIN 1970: 50, one by BIELAWSKI 1974: 128; to these can be added Teheran, Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh, 1035 (cf. DĀNISH-PAZŪH 1332sh: 274 f., no. 288) and Teheran, Majlis-i shūrā-yi millī, no. 3455 (cf. ḤA'IRI 1348sh: 1385 f.) and perhaps Teheran, Majlis-i Sanā, 14'986 (cf. Dānish-pāzūh, [ca. 1359sh], vol. 1, 384, no. 595, though this possibly is in Persian).

<sup>5</sup> As the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (an encyclopaedia which can be dated to sometime between 940 and 960, cf. FORSTER 2006: 18 f.) contain a reference to the *Kitāb al-Tuffāha*, this dating can

Oriental and European languages, but only into one European vernacular, namely Catalan<sup>6</sup>.

Though both texts were probably composed in the Islamic East, they seem to have arrived in the Iberian Peninsula relatively early and were translated here. As both works offer a rather basic level of knowledge, I shall argue that their success was not so much due to their contents, but to two literary factors: to the connection with the name of the “first teacher”, Aristotle, and to their literary *mise en scène*. My analysis shall focus on the literary frames of the two texts in their different linguistic disguises.

## 1. THE *SIRR AL-ASRĀR*

### 1.1. The Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār*

The Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār* starts with two prefaces, one attributed to the alleged translator from Greek into Arabic, the other to Aristotle himself<sup>7</sup>. Aristotle explains that he composed the epistle after having been urged by Alexander to come to Persia. He feels he is too sick to travel and instead writes a book that will take his place as Alexander’s counsellor:

So I wanted to make for you a canon (*qānūn*) that you could take as a measure for all your wishes and put in my place, so that it would take up my position in all your affairs. But you have to know that I do not stay away from you because I am indifferent to you, but only because of my old age and my feeble strength<sup>8</sup>.

The epistle is presented in a typically hermetic way: as a secret that should be hidden, written down only in symbols, and revealed only by one chosen to another<sup>9</sup>:

What you have asked me about, the living hearts do not know, even less so the dead sheets of paper. But I am forced by your asking me to help you, even though you must not burden me with revealing more of this secret than what I put down in this book. As I have reached the far limit in this, I wish that there shall not be

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claim some probability, cf. MARGOLIOUTH 1892: 188; KRAEMER 1956: 487. – As there is no evidence whatsoever for a Greek or Syriac original, I should be careful to say there ever was one; but that the work draws heavily upon Greek material, especially on Plato’s *Phaedo*, is obvious, cf. KRAEMER 1956: 500–506; BIELAWSKI 1974: 129–134.

<sup>6</sup> For the Persian version by Bābā Afḍal ad-Dīn Kāshānī (d. 1213) cf. MARGOLIOUTH 1892 (with edition and English translation; a new edition is to be found in the collected works, ed. MĪNŪWĪ 1366sh: 113–144), CHITTICK 1989. For the Hebrew version, see below section 2.2, for the Latin section 2.3 and for the Catalan section 2.4.

<sup>7</sup> This is true for both Arabic versions, but the sequence of sections within the prefaces is slightly different, cf. FORSTER 2006: 48–50.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. BADAŪI 1954: 70 (my translation).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. FORSTER 2006: 54 f.

a curtain between you and it, thanks to the understanding God has formed you in and thanks to the outstanding knowledge He has granted you. [...] I have only put the forbidden secrets into symbols and have put the secret meanings deep down, so as to prevent this our book from falling into the hands of corrupt tyrants and pharaohs who behave in a powerful way so that they would get insight into something God did not make them the people to know and did not want them to understand. I have just broken the agreement I had accepted and am opening a secret God revealed to me. I impose upon you to keep it, just as it was imposed upon me<sup>10</sup>.

In the second preface, we again have a ruler and a learned man: this time an anonymous caliph and someone called Ibn al-Biṭrīq<sup>11</sup>. This is a well-known translator from Greek into Arabic who serves as a straw man for the pseudo-Aristotelian text here<sup>12</sup>. His account of his troublesome search for the book<sup>13</sup> is again typical of hermetic writings<sup>14</sup>. The whole set-up is structured as to give the reader the impression of being reading something hitherto unknown, precious and arcane. Pseudo-Ibn al-Biṭrīq's preface also gives the full title of the book: *Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa al-ma'rūf bi-Sirr al-Asrār* ("The book of politics on the administration of governance, known as 'Secret of Secrets'")<sup>15</sup>. This title reflects the hybrid character of the text: the fashionable rhyming main heading alluding to the "mirror for princes" genre, the subheading to the occult sciences also present in the work<sup>16</sup>.

The well-developed frame of the beginning is sometimes referred to in the rest of the text, especially when Alexander is addressed by name or by the use of the second person, but not at the end: We get no information about the anonymous caliph's or Alexander's reaction to the book, and it is up to the reader and his knowledge about Alexander's success to assume that the *Sirr al-Asrār* was the main reason for it.

This literary set-up teases the reader and points him in a certain direction: He should be convinced that this book will provide the very essence of knowledge. It is a pity that this expectation is most likely to be disappointed: The *Sirr al-Asrār* contains hardly anything secret, but a lot of the commonplace material so typical for medieval mirrors for princes<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Ed. BADAWI 1954: 70 f. (my translation).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. BADAWI 1954: 69, cf. FORSTER 2006: 50–54.

<sup>12</sup> For the historical person, cf. DUNLOP 1959, ENDRESS 1966, MICHEAU 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. BADAWI 1954: 69.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. FORSTER 2006: 52 f.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. BADAWI 1954: 67.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. FORSTER 2006: 50 f.; differently BUSI 1990: 166.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MANZALAOUI 1961: 83.

## 1.2. The Latin translation by John of Seville

The oldest translation relevant to the Iberian Peninsula<sup>18</sup> is a partial Latin translation by John of Seville, dating from around 1120 and dedicated to a Lady T., probably Theresa, Queen of Portugal<sup>19</sup>. John explains in his preface that the queen wanted him to compose a treatise on medicine but he remembered having read the *Sirr al-Asrār* in Arabic and therefore did not write a book of his own, but rather translated from the Arabic:

To Lady T., by the grace of God Queen of the Spains, John of Seville, greeting.  
When we were once discussing the use of the body and Your Nobility was asking from me, as if I were a doctor, a brief little book on the observation of a dietary regimen or about bodily continence, that is, how those ought to discipline themselves who wish to preserve the health of their bodies, it happened that there suddenly occurred to my mind, which was thinking about obeying your command, an example of this thing, edited by Aristotle the philosopher for Alexander. I excerpted this from the book that in Arabic is called *Cyralacerar*, that is, the *Secret of Secrets*, which, as I have said, Aristotle the philosopher made for Alexander, the great king, concerning the disposition of the kingdom, in which many things useful for kings are contained<sup>20</sup>.

The way John presents his text as well as the bits he chooses to translate, change the character of the book from an encyclopaedic mirror for princes to a comprehensive “Very short introduction to dietetics”<sup>21</sup>. Its epistolary form is typical for the medical writings of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup>, and its content must have been attractive enough for the experts of the time, as it made its way to the renowned school of Salerno<sup>23</sup>. Its popularity is also attested by some 150 extant Latin manuscripts<sup>24</sup> and

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<sup>18</sup> It might be the oldest translation at all, but one of the Persian versions could be slightly older (cf. FORSTER 2006: 45).

<sup>19</sup> Editions: SUCHIER 1883: 473–480; BRINKMANN 1914: 39–46; preface only: FOERSTER 1888: 40 f.; STEELE 1920: XXVII f.; BURNETT 1995, 255–257 (with English translation: 257 f.); WILLIAMS 2003a: 353–357 (with English translation: 357 f.). – John uses an Arabic short form as the basis of his translation (this was already realised by STEINSCHNEIDER, cf. 1889–1893: 81, § 40c and 1893: 250, § 133).

<sup>20</sup> Ed. SUCHIER 1883: 473 f. = BURNETT 1995: 255 f. = WILLIAMS 2003a: 354 f.; translation: WILLIAMS 2003a: 357 (for a slightly different rendering cf. BURNETT 1995: 257).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the end of John’s preface, in which he stresses that the queen will benefit from following the book’s advice (cf. ed. SUCHIER 1883: 475 = BURNETT 1995: 257 [Engl. 258] = WILLIAMS 2003a: 357 [Engl. 358]).

<sup>22</sup> BAADER 1987: 254.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. WILLIAMS 2003a: 184.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. SCHMITT, KNOX 1985: 57–75; WILLIAMS 2003a: 368–388. Only three mss. seem to be kept in Spanish libraries: Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1230; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2241; Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 47–15 (also contains a Philip of Tripoli translation, cf. n. 29). Two mss. also contain the Latin *Liber de pomo* (cf. ROUSSEAU 1968: 43). The text was printed once before 1500 (cf. SCHMITT, KNOX 1985: 56; WILLIAMS 2003a: 428).



translations into quite a few European vernaculars<sup>25</sup>, though it seems not to have been translated into any of the vernacular languages of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>26</sup>. John's version might indeed have brought something new to 12<sup>th</sup> century Europe, but it should be noted that the text enjoyed a considerable popularity for a long time after its novelty must have worn off<sup>27</sup>.

### 1.3. The Latin version by Philip of Tripoli

About a hundred years after John, when the interest in Aristotle's moral writings was increasing, a second Latin translation of the *Sirr al-Asrār* was undertaken, this time in the Holy Land, by a cleric known to scholars as Philip of Tripoli. Philip's complete translation<sup>28</sup> became a medieval bestseller<sup>29</sup>. A new preface gives details about the translator, his translation and his patron:

To his most excellent lord Guido, originally from Valence, glorious pontiff of the city of Tripoli, most strenuous in the cultivation of the Christian religion, from Philip, the least of his clerics, in the faithful service of devotion. [...] When then, I was with you in Antioch and this most precious pearl of philosophy was discovered, it pleased Your Lordship that it be translated from the Arabic language into Latin<sup>30</sup>.

Philip says he was urged to translate this text by his superior, Bishop Guido, whom he praises a great deal, comparing him with Moses, David, Solomon and the like. Philip wanted his translation to be complete – for him, the book was of encyclopaedic character, containing something useful about more or less

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<sup>25</sup> Dutch, English, French, German and Provençal (cf. BRAEKMAN 1975; FORSTER 2006: 134–166; KEIL 1992; KEIL, BRIESEMEISTER, BITTERLING 1995; ZAMUNER 2005: 55–60).

<sup>26</sup> The ms. London, British Library, Harley 7403 seems not to contain a Catalan version as stated by FOERSTER 1889: 75, but a Provençal one (cf. ZAMUNER 2005: 58 and 116).

<sup>27</sup> For the reception of John's version in the Latin speaking world, cf. WILLIAMS 2003a: 183–190.

<sup>28</sup> Philip uses an Arabic long form as his textual basis, but for the medical section, he incorporates John's older Latin translation, cf. WILLIAMS 2003a: 167 f. and FORSTER 2006: 123–126. – Editions: STEELE 1920 (critical edition of Roger Bacon's text which did not influence the text's further reception); MÖLLER 1963 (based on one ms. of the so-called vulgate form); FRENZ, HERDE 2000 (based on one particularly old ms.); preface only: WILLIAMS 2003a: 359–363 (with English translation 363–365).

<sup>29</sup> More than 350 mss. are extant, cf. SCHMITT, KNOX 1985: 55–75; WILLIAMS 2003a: 388–413. Quite a few mss. are kept in Spanish libraries: Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio, II-914 (*olim* 1948); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9594 (*olim* Ee. 43) and Va 25-7 (*olim* B.19); San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, f.III.1 and I.I.27; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7.6.2; Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública/Provincial, 44 (*olim* 201) and 108; Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 9-4, Ms. 17-25, Ms. 47-15 (cf. above n. 24), Ms. 94-19, Ms. 96-32 and Ms. 98-28. – Twenty of the mss. extant also contain the Latin *Liber de pomo* (cf. ROUSSEAU 1968: 43). – In addition, there are 17 early prints (between ca. 1472 and 1555), two of them from Spain (Salamanca and Burgos), cf. WILLIAMS 2003a: 427–430.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. ed. STEELE 1920: 25 f. = MÖLLER 1963: 1 f. = FRENZ, HERDE 2000: 259–261 = WILLIAMS 2003a: 360 f.; translation: WILLIAMS 2003a: 363 f.

everything<sup>31</sup>. He was not dealing with a mirror for princes, but with the essence of knowledge.

#### 1.4. Vernacular versions of the Philip text on the Iberian Peninsula

Philip's text was translated into most European vernaculars during the Middle Ages<sup>32</sup>. Five of these vernacular translations originated on the Iberian Peninsula: two are Catalan<sup>33</sup>, one is Castilian<sup>34</sup>, one Aragonese<sup>35</sup>, and one Portuguese<sup>36</sup>. I shall restrict myself to the two versions of which I have been able to locate editions, the first being the Castilian *Secreto de los secretos*, the second the Aragonese version commissioned by Juan Fernández de Heredia.

##### 1.4.1. The Castilian *Secreto de los secretos*

The older one, the Castilian *Secreto de los secretos*, was written probably during the reign of Alfonso X (ruled 1252–1282)<sup>37</sup>. This is quite a short version; its abbreviations are probably not due to the Castilian translator, but to a Latin redactor who was mainly interested in the mirror material<sup>38</sup>. The version misses out on most of the medical and occult parts. The very short new preface declares that this book contains Aristotle's teachings to King Alexander, adducing some of them in the form of maxims like "be honest", "be merciful" or "To women and servants do never reveal your secrets because women and servants [only]

<sup>31</sup> Ed. STEELE 1920: 26 = MÖLLER 1963: 1 = FRENZ, HERDE 2000: 261 = WILLIAMS 2003a: 361.

<sup>32</sup> Aragonese, Castilian, Catalan, Czech, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, cf. FÉRY-HUÉ 1994: 1368 f.; WILLIAMS 2003b; ZAMUNER 2005: 50–54, 61–107; FORSTER 2006: 166–237.

<sup>33</sup> The older Catalan version dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. it. 147), the younger from the 15<sup>th</sup> (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 1474), cf. WILLIAMS 2003b: 480; ZAMUNER 2005: 69–91 and 111 f. – Another Catalan version of the *Sirr al-Asrār* goes back to the Castilian version, the *Poridat de las poridades*, not to Philip's Latin (cf. below section 1.5).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. section 1.4.1. – Additionally, there is an early modern Castilian version, written by Juan Bautista de Herrera and dedicated to Philip IV of Spain (ruled 1621–1665), cf. JONES [1995?]: 29; ZAMUNER 2005: 62 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. section 1.4.2.

<sup>36</sup> Called *Segredo dos Segredos*, dating from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and sometimes attributed to Henrique the Navigator (d. 1460), son of king Duarte, though that is probably not correct, cf. WILLIAMS 2003b: 479; ZAMUNER 2005: 64–66. I have not been able to check a copy of the critical edition: A. MOREIRA DE SÁ, *Segredo dos segredos*, Lisbon 1960.

<sup>37</sup> Extant in the unique ms. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9428. Editions: JONES [1995?]; BIZARRI 1991. Cf. WILLIAMS 2003b: 480; ZAMUNER 2005: 61 f. and 111.

<sup>38</sup> ZAMUNER 2005: 62, suggests that the abbreviations could also be due to the Castilian redactor and the text therefore might be later, but as similar abbreviations are rather common in the Latin tradition (cf. WILLIAMS 2003a: 261 f.), I consider a deviating Latin *Vorlage* more probable. An interesting example of a "mirror version" of the Latin *Secretum Secretorum* is Engelbert of Admont's text of ca. 1285 (cf. WURMS 1970: 109–111; FOWLER 1977–1978 [with edition]; WILLIAMS 2003a: 257 f. and 389).

conceal what they do not know”<sup>39</sup>. The *Secreto de los secretos* does not give us any clear hints about its intentions, but it looks much more like a mirror than like an encyclopaedia.

#### 1.4.2. The Aragonese version

The second Spanish translation of Philip’s text is Aragonese, a late 14<sup>th</sup> century version<sup>40</sup>. It was commissioned by Juan Fernández de Heredia (1310–1396), grand master (from 1377) of the Hospitallers (Knights of St John of Jerusalem) and one of the most influential persons at the courts of Aragon and Avignon<sup>41</sup>. This version – conserved in a single folio manuscript (written between 1385 and 1393) of expensive decoration – does not give us a new preface or any clearer indication of its intended use, but as it is a complete text and bound together with other texts from or about the East<sup>42</sup>, we might assume that Fernández de Heredia wished to collect information about the East in one volume. It is obvious that this collective volume was an ideal encyclopaedia for the grand master with his wide scholarly interests<sup>43</sup>, but we should also consider the idea that *Secretum Secretorum* probably appealed to Fernández de Heredia because it was – at least in theory – useful for conquering and ruling the East<sup>44</sup>, as had been proven by Alexander’s success; so the grand master might have been hoping for similar consequences of his own reading it.

#### 1.5. The *Poridat de la poridades*

Already in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Sirr al-Asrār* was translated from Arabic into Castilian, under the title *Poridat de las poridades*, commissioned by either Fernando III (ruled 1217–1252) or Alfonso X (ruled 1252–1284); most probably sometime before 1276<sup>45</sup>. The text itself gives no information whatsoever about its actual addresses, we only learn about Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Aristotle, and Alexander, but not about 13<sup>th</sup> century Castile. As a Catalan version of the text was inserted

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<sup>39</sup> Ed. JONES [1995?]: 69 (my translation).

<sup>40</sup> Extant in the unique ms. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Z.I.2. For a description of the ms. cf. KASTEN 1999: IX; CACHO BLECUA 2002b: 713. Edition: KASTEN 1999. Cf. WILLIAMS 2003b: 480; ZAMUNER 2005: 63.

<sup>41</sup> On the life of Juan Fernández, cf. GEIJERSTAM 1964: 15; CONERLY 1979: IV f.; VONES 1989; CACHO BLECUA 1991: 171–176. – On his role as a patron for students, cf. LUTTRELL 1987. CACHO BLECUA 2002a sadly does not deal with the *Secretum* translation.

<sup>42</sup> *Libro de la flor de las ystorias de orient; Libro de Marco Polo; Dichos de santos y filosofos para el gobierno de la Republica y del hombre particular*, cf. KASTEN 1999: IX.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. GEIJERSTAM 1964: 15–23; CONERLY 1979: V–XII.

<sup>44</sup> Fernández de Heredia undertook some actions against the Turcs, therefore his idea of fighting in the East cannot said to be purely literary, cf. CONERLY 1979: V; VONES 1989; CACHO BLECUA 1991: 175.

<sup>45</sup> Five mss. extant. Edition: KASTEN 1957. Cf. WILLIAMS 2003b: 479; ZAMUNER 2005: 60 f.

into the *Llibre de doctrina del rei En Jaume*, a mirror for princes from the time of king Jaime I of Aragon (ruled 1213–1276)<sup>46</sup>, we may assume that the *Poridat* really did circulate at the courts of medieval Spain, being one of the many books of counsel so important for the Spanish literature of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>47</sup>.

### 1.6. The *Sod ha-Sodot*

The last medieval translation of the *Sirr al-Asrār* relevant to the Peninsula is into Hebrew<sup>48</sup>. Attributed by some scholars to Yehudah al-Ḥarizi, it probably dates from the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>49</sup>. Neither its translator nor its provenance is known, but the number of extant manuscripts (ca. 30) as well as a Russian translation from the Hebrew proves that the text was widely read<sup>50</sup>. Though usually following the Arabic closely<sup>51</sup>, it adds a couple of lines as a preface, addressing an educated audience, but not rulers, who would obviously not have read Hebrew. The focus is less on the possibility of acquiring power through reading, and more on that of acquiring wealth and wisdom:

O ye men of knowledge and who understand riddles, who search by means thereof for precious objects; lift up your eyes on high and read the book that is called the “Privy of Privies”, wherein there is contained the direction in the governance of the kingdom which Aristotle wrote for the great king Alexander<sup>52</sup>.

At the same time, the book is presented as something “high”, for the readers have to raise their eyes to get its content. In making this point, the translator of the *Sod ha-Sodot* again presents the secret – and not the counselling – as the essence of the book.

## 2. THE *KITĀB AL-TUFFĀḤA*

### 2.1. The Arabic *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*

The Arabic *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, the “Book of the Apple”, is a dialogue between the dying Aristotle and his pupils<sup>53</sup>. Aristotle is so ill, that only the scent of an ap-

<sup>46</sup> Cf. ZAMUNER 2005: 61 and 67.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. BERGER 1989.

<sup>48</sup> Edition with English translation: GASTER 1907–1908. GASTER 1908: 1071, already noted that the Hebrew text is a rendering of an Arabic short form and therefore different from Philip’s Latin text.

<sup>49</sup> The attribution is upheld by GASTER 1908: 1071–1073, but cf. SPITZER 1982: 35 f.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. SPITZER 1982: 36 f.; BUSI 1990: 167–169. For the Russian version, cf. RYAN 1982.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. GASTER 1908: 1083; SPITZER 1982: 34 and 41–43; BUSI 1990: 169 f.

<sup>52</sup> Ed. GASTER 1907: 912; translation: GASTER 1908: 111.

<sup>53</sup> There is no satisfactory edition of the Arabic text which seems to be transmitted in very variant versions; I have used the edition by KHAYRALLĀH 1919–1920 (after a ms. from the Greek-Orthodox patriarchate of Damascus, with Socrates instead of Aristotle) and compared it with ms.

ple in his hand keeps him alive and able to talk. The students who gather around him are surprised to see him quite at ease<sup>54</sup>:

Then they saw that his body had decayed and his strength had become weak, and the signs of death had become obvious on him; this cut their hopes that he might live. But at the same time, they became aware of his joy, because of his approaching the life in the other world, and of the soundness of his reason, which they hoped to be accompanied by the powers of his soul (*nafs*) contrary to the weakness of his body that was obvious to them<sup>55</sup>.

Aristotle explains that he feels well, not because he hopes to survive, but because he is not afraid of death:

Concerning my joy that appears to you, this is not because I wish to stay in this present life, but because of my conviction that the spirit (*rūh*) is everlasting after death<sup>56</sup>.

The following dialogue states as its target that the students will become certain of the immortality of the soul and will be consoled by this knowledge at Aristotle's death. But we are not told whether they are convinced in the end:

And when he [Aristotle] had come to this point in his talk, his powers faded (*nukihat?*), his hands trembled and the apple fell from his hand. And those philosophers who were around him got up to him and kissed his head and his eyes. And they blessed him and praised him. And Socrates [read: Aristotle] took Crito's hand and put it on his face, then he [Aristotle] said: "I surrender my soul (*nafs*) to the one who receives the souls of the philosophers", then he died<sup>57</sup>.

It is Aristotle who has the final say: His students react before he is really dead, by kissing, blessing and praising him, but their immediate reaction to his death is not reported. Nor do we learn anything of the deeds or works of the pupils allowing us to judge them and their reactions and whether they indeed have learnt their lesson and become convinced of the immortality of the soul. By contrast

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Istanbul, Köprülü, 1608 (for a description of this ms., cf. KRAEMER 1956: 490). I have not been able to get hold of a copy of the following edition: *Faydūn wa-kitāb al-tuffāha al-mansūb li-Suqrāt*, ed. 'Alī Sāmī AL-NASHSHĀR and 'Abbās AL-SHIRBĪNĪ, Cairo <sup>3</sup>1965.

<sup>54</sup> BIELAWSKI 1974: 130, remarks that this is the same reaction as shown by Socrates' students in Plato's *Phaedo*.

<sup>55</sup> Ed. KHAYRALLĀH 1919: 476 (my translation); the ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1608 does not have anything similar.

<sup>56</sup> Ed. KHAYRALLĀH 1919: 476 (my translation); the phrasing in ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1608, fol. 170v, is very similar, though slightly shorter.

<sup>57</sup> Ed. KHAYRALLĀH 1920: 221 (my translation); the phrasing in ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1608, fol. 181v, is considerably shorter. – That Aristotle in his last action takes Crito's hand (and nobody else's) is, as pointed out by BIELAWSKI 1974: 130, another parallel to Plato's *Phaedo*, where Crito is the last pupil Socrates talks to.

with the reader of the *Sirr al-Asrār*, who might assume that Alexander was so very successful precisely because he had read the work, the reader of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, cannot assume that this text (or rather, the talks reported in it) really affected the life and deeds of its primary public.

## 2.2. The Hebrew version

The Hebrew translation of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*<sup>58</sup> was produced by Abraham ibn Ḥasday in Barcelona around 1235–1240<sup>59</sup>. This text is quite different from the Arabic texts that have come down to us, but it is rather difficult to judge whether this is due to the specific source used by Abraham, or whether he really translated it in a very free way<sup>60</sup>. In any case, he added a preface of his own which gives us more information about the usefulness of the book and why Abraham chose to translate it. He explains that the translation is meant for weak people who do not believe in a life after death and for heretics who try to destroy the faith:

When I reflected upon this book and its contents, composed by the Sages of Greece, I thought that it might be of service in the interests of our Faith to strengthen the hands of the weaklings among our people. By weaklings I mean those who meditate upon the words of the heretics, who aver that, after the dissolution of the body, man has no real existence, and that man lives solely by reason of bodily existence, whereas, at his death, nothing remains<sup>61</sup>.

Abraham therefore connects the philosophical background of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* with a religious discourse: not believing in the afterlife is not just unworthy of a philosopher, but also a sign of unbelief.

Furthermore, the setting of the dialogue is presented with more depth than in Arabic. While we learn nothing about the reaction of the pupils to Aristotle's death in the Arabic version, we get a very human reaction in the Hebrew:

Now it came to pass, when the Philosopher had ceased speaking these words, that his hands grew weak, the apple dropped from his hand, his face changed colour, and he died. His disciples fell upon him and kissed him; and they lifted up their voices together and wept bitterly, exclaiming: May He who gathers the souls of the "Lovers of Wisdom" gather unto Himself thy spirit, placing thee among His secret

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<sup>58</sup> There seems to be no modern edition of the text; I have consulted the following two prints: Venice 5279 [1519] and Frankfurt (Oder) 5560 [1800]. English translation: GOLLANZ 1908: 91–117.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 24; CIFUENTES I COMAMALA 2001: 181. According to ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 24 (with reference to STEINSCHNEIDER 1893 and HERTZ 1905) there exist quite a lot of Hebrew mss.; but neither STEINSCHNEIDER nor HERTZ mention more than half a dozen. An evaluation of the ms. tradition of the *Sefer ha-Tapuah* remains to be undertaken.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 26 f.

<sup>61</sup> Venice 5279 [1519], fol. 1a = Frankfurt 5560 [1800], fol. B; translation: GOLLANZ 1908: 91.

treasures, as it beseemeth a perfect and upright man like thee!<sup>62</sup>

In this version, it is not Aristotle who has the final say, but his disciples. Like in Arabic, they kiss him, but they do so when he is already dead. And while the Arabic version lets them bless and praise him, the Hebrew version gives us a much more emotional reaction: the students start lamenting, crying, expressing their loss, finally praying for Aristotle's soul. This passage somewhat contradicts the whole dialogue: We have been taught by very wise arguments that one should not be afraid of death and should not be bothered by losing somebody – and now we see that even if we are Aristotle's favourite disciples, we will always react to death in an emotional, not in a rational way<sup>63</sup>.

### 2.3. The Latin *Liber de Pomo*

The Latin *Liber de Pomo*<sup>64</sup> starts with a new prologue inserted instead of the one by Abraham. The alleged translator from Hebrew, King Manfred of Sicily (ruled 1258–1266)<sup>65</sup>, explains that he once was sick to death, but was not afraid of dying, because he had enjoyed a good philosophical education at the court of his father, Frederick II:

But a group of venerable teachers at the court of the imperial, divine, august, and most serene emperor, our lord and father, had presented theological and philosophical documents about the nature of the world, the flux of bodies, the creation of souls, their eternity and perfection, and the instability of material things and the stability of forms, which are not affected by disaster or deficiency in their matter. Bearing these teachings firmly in mind, we were not so saddened at our dissolution as they thought, even though we could not in justice rely on our own merits for possessing the perfection which is our reward, but solely on the Creator's mercy<sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> Venice 5279 [1519], fol. 2b = Frankfurt 5560 [1800], fol. D; translation: GOLLANCZ 1908: 117.

<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of this scene in the Latin version, cf. FORSTER 2008: 249 f.

<sup>64</sup> More than hundred mss. extant, cf. SCHMITT, KNOX 1985: 52. Five mss. are kept in Spanish libraries: Barcelona, Biblioteca Universit aria, 573 (cf. HEUSCH 1992: 140, n. 4; not in SCHMITT, KNOX); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 225; Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 8 (cf. PLEZIA 1960: 75); Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7.6.2 and 82.1.5. 22 mss. also contain a version of the Latin *Secretum secretorum*, cf. ROUSSEAU 1968: 43. There are four prints of the text before 1500 (cf. MAZZANTINI 1964: 30). – Editions: PLEZIA 1960 (Latin text reprinted in: ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001); MAZZANTINI 1964. English translation: ROUSSEAU 1968.

<sup>65</sup> As SCHMITT, KNOX 1985: 51, put it, it is “unlikely that he [Manfred] could have had an adequate command of Hebrew and, in all probability, the help of a Hebrew-speaking intermediary was secured”. Cf. also ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 11 f. Differently for example ROUSSEAU 1968: 39.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. PLEZIA 1960: 40 f. (ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 72) = MAZZANTINI 1964: 38 f.; translation: ROUSSEAU 1968: 49.

His courtiers do not understand why their king is not afraid. So, when recovered from his illness, he translates (or rather: commissions the translation of) the *Liber de Pomo* from Hebrew into Latin, so that they might attain the same attitude towards death as he does, for it is a book in which “he [Aristotle] shows that wise men do not sorrow over the death of their vile lodging, but joyfully run to the reward of perfection”<sup>67</sup>. While the Hebrew translator puts the *Sefer ha-Tapuah* within a religious discourse, fear of death being a sign of unbelief, Manfred clearly sees it as a philosophical book that gives rational reasons why one should not be afraid of death.

#### 2.4. The Catalan version

The only translation of the *Liber de Pomo* into a European vernacular is a Catalan version from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>68</sup>. The translation does not have a preface of its own and also leaves out King Manfred’s explanation. All we get is the general setting of the dying Aristotle and his pupils. This version shortens the Latin text considerably, but I have not been able to detect a clear idea behind these abbreviations. Therefore, the only way so far suggested for explaining this translation is the general literary context in 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain: a time when the interest in texts about the immortality of the soul and in consolation literature in general was very much increasing on the Peninsula<sup>69</sup> – as it did in other European countries at that time<sup>70</sup>.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The *Sirr al-Asrār* in most of its forms has a strong connection with rulers and courts: The Arabic talks about Aristotle and Alexander and about Ibn al-Biṭrīq and an anonymous caliph; John of Seville adds Queen T., Philip of Tripoli his bishop. For the Spanish vernacular versions, it is somewhat more difficult to judge, but for all of them an origin within a court or a similar context has been suggested. The exception is the Hebrew version, addressed to the learned, not the rulers, and stressing the occult and arcane character of the text. As for the content, the different versions stress different aspects: in Arabic, the book is presented as a hermetic text functioning as mirror for princes, in Latin either as a medical treatise suitable for a ruler or as an encyclopaedia. While the Hebrew

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<sup>67</sup> Ed. PLEZIA 1960: 41 (ACAMPORA-MICHEL 2001: 74) = MAZZANTINI 1964: 39; translation: ROUSSEAU 1968: 49.

<sup>68</sup> Ed. HEUSCH 1992. I have not been able to consult the following edition: Jaume RIERA I SANS, *La mort d’Aristòtil: versió quatre-centista del ‘Liber de Pomo’*, Barcelona 1981. – The translation is preserved in a unique ms. that also contains a Catalan version of the *Sirr al-Asrār* (cf. n. 33).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. HEUSCH 1992: 141.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. AUER 1928: 238–291; KIENING 1997.



translator stresses the hermetic character, most of the Spanish vernacular versions are intended as mirrors, but in the case of Juan Fernández de Heredia, we might see the double function of a mirror and an encyclopaedia again.

For the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, we have only once a clear connection to a court, as King Manfred of Sicily claims to have it translated for his courtiers. All versions obviously were meant for an audience interested in philosophy, though probably not in a form that would have been taught at the universities: the Hebrew version stresses the religious relevance of the text, the Latin that it should be read by the courtiers. The Catalan version finally *per se* cannot have been addressed to the university philosophers of the time as they would certainly have preferred a Latin text, but that the vernacular was seen as capable of rendering philosophical contents is typical of the Iberian Peninsula as opposed to most other European regions<sup>71</sup>.

The *Sirr al-Asrār* and the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* both transmit a rather basic knowledge, not so much original material, but contents and arguments known from other sources. But they connect it to the name of the “first teacher”, Aristotle, who gives it a new significance: knowing Aristotle’s teaching must have been very appealing to most medieval readers, speaking any of the languages involved. Both books choose literary forms that are meant to be easily accessible to a general public: the form of an epistle to Alexander suggests that the book was read and understood by him, who was not a philosopher, and the dialogue between Aristotle and his pupils encourages the reader to identify himself with the students and follow their arguments more closely by doing so<sup>72</sup>.

But while the *Sirr al-Asrār* succeeded and was eventually read widely in non-scholarly contexts, the impact of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* was much more restricted: it left out both the arcane elements and the general information associated with mirrors for princes, and its philosophical argumentation was not particularly appealing to a wider public, even given the dialogue-form and the connection with the name of Aristotle. Still, we may conclude that the authors, translators and redactors of both texts had a pretty good idea about marketing: knowing that their products were not attractive *per se* and offered only a rather general level of information, they therefore decided to use a well-developed literary frame to promote their products and their knowledge.

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<sup>71</sup> Cf. for example BRIESEMEISTER 1997.

<sup>72</sup> For this function of dialogues, cf. MITTELSTRASS 1984: 23; HILSENBECK 1990: 120; LUFF 1999: 35 and 82.

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**Felix BUDELMANN (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric***, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. XXII + 457, ISBN 978-0-521-84944-9 (hb.), ISBN 978-0-521-61476-4 (pb.), hb. £ 66.00, pb. £ 23.99.

The Cambridge Companions to Literature and Classics aim at introducing selected subjects to non-specialists. Felix BUDELMANN (henceforth B.), the editor of the volume under review, defines it (p. XV), somewhat enigmatically, as “intended for anybody with a serious interest in Greek lyric”, meaning perhaps also advanced undergraduate and graduate students. I would not hesitate to include therein professional classicists, given that this book does not fail to keep the initial promise of presenting new approaches and new philological work both on the lyrical corpus and the socio-cultural contexts in which lyric pieces were created, performed and transmitted. B.’s *Companion* succeeds in meeting the needs of its diverse audience: it can serve as a useful guide, a rich source of knowledge, and a stimulus to further critical discussion.

The volume is divided into three parts typically featured in this series: I. Contexts and Topics (pp. 19–146), II. Poets and Traditions (pp. 147–294) and III. Reception (pp. 295–370). This is, however, only a general scheme to be filled with relevant contributions. In order to give an outline of its scope and specific character let me enumerate the titles of the essays included together with the names of their respective authors.

Part I: Chris CAREY, *Genre, Occasion and Performance* (pp. 21–38); Simon HORNBLLOWER, *Greek Lyric and the Politics and Sociologies of Archaic and Classical Greek Communities* (pp. 39–57); Eva STEHLE, *Greek Lyric and Gender* (pp. 58–71); Mark GRIFFITH, *Greek Lyric and the Place of Humans in the World* (pp. 72–94); Barbara GRAZIOSI and Johannes HAUBOLD, *Greek Lyric and Early Greek Literary History* (pp. 95–113); Giovan Battista D’ALESSIO, *Language and Pragmatics* (pp. 114–129); Luigi BATTEZZATO, *Metre and Music* (pp. 130–146).

Part II: Chris CAREY, *Iambos* (pp. 149–167); Antonio ALONI, *Elegy: Forms, Functions and Communication* (pp. 168–188); Eveline KRUMNEN, *Alcman, Stesichorus and Ibycus* (pp. 189–203); Dimitrios YATROMANOLAKIS, *Alcaeus and Sappho* (pp. 204–226); Felix BUDELMANN, *Anacreon and the Anacreontea* (pp. 227–239); Hayden PELLICCIA, *Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides* (pp. 240–262); Dimitrios YATROMANOLAKIS, *Ancient Greek Popular Song* (pp. 263–276); Eric CSAPO and Peter WILSON, *Timotheus the New Musician* (pp. 277–293).

Part III: Silvia BARBANTANI, *Lyric in the Hellenistic Period and Beyond* (pp. 297–318); Alessandro BARCHIESI, *Lyric in Rome* (pp. 319–335); Pantelis MICHELAKIS, *Greek Lyric from the Renaissance to the Eighteenth Century* (pp. 336–351); Margaret WILLIAMSON, *Sappho and Pindar in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (pp. 352–370). This part is followed by Epilogue (Michael SILK, *Lyric and Lyrics: Perspectives, Ancient and Modern*, pp. 371–385).

The above-listed impressive array of scholars and topics requires an introduction to clarify the likely problems that a potential reader may immediately encounter. B. begins with a chapter entitled *Introducing Greek Lyric* in which he discusses such important (and sometimes much debated) issues as the meanings and history of “lyric”, a varied and ill-defined corpus, an incomplete record, genres and categories, reconstruction of texts and contexts, Greek vs. Latin and modern lyric, performance, and the lyric “I”. He ends with a passage on “Further reading” (a routine final section in all the contributions). B.’s lucid preliminaries serve in fact a double purpose: on the one hand they provide basic information, on the other they delineate the area to be explored in more detail by other contributors (who are allowed to take one step beyond summarising the current state of play),

and conveniently anticipate some of the book's outcomes. In the section devoted to further reading, as expected, B.'s close predecessor, GERBER's Brill companion of 1997<sup>1</sup>, is mentioned. That book is described as "structured around individual poets", which is partly unjust, since two of its chapters (of four in total) – those devoted to *Iambos* and *Elegy* – are preceded by thorough introductions to the respective genres. The whole Part II of B.'s companion is, evidently, structured along quite similar lines. That said, however, one should emphasise essential differences between the two companions, which undoubtedly work to the advantage of the recent one. Firstly, B.'s book contains stimulating chapters on contexts and topics; secondly, it provides a valuable part on reception.

The eight essays of Part I situate poets and genres within the relevant social, historical, literary, and intellectual contexts obtained in antiquity. Inevitably, some issues (notably *symposion*) keep recurring. The contributions bristle with important points and make up a multidimensional analysis of Greek lyric poetry. For obvious reasons, it is not possible here to go into details about each essay. Therefore, I confine myself to the statement that each of them is valuable and illuminating. Two chapters are especially welcome as a novelty in the field: STEHLE's *Greek Lyric and Gender*, and D'ALESSIO's *Language and Pragmatics* (by the way, gender studies are a popular trend in Applied Linguistics nowadays). The latter scholar looks at the vexed problem of the lyric "I" from a different perspective than that of SNELL, repeatedly referred to by other contributors. D'ALESSIO's insightful observations on the communicative strategies to be found in Greek lyric poems could be perhaps extended to include such instances of the transpositional use of the grammatical person as "he" equalling the authorial "I" (e.g. Alcman, fr. 38 f.).

I have reservations, however, about the idea of introducing the piece on metre (by Luigi BATTEZZATO) in its present form. Its author seemed to find himself between Scylla and Charybdis: he had at his disposal but a few pages to present a vast and complicated material, which was bound to result in occasional cursoriness or even oversimplification. In one case (after presentation of spondee, dactyl, cretic, molossus, iamb, trochee, ionic, dochmiac, anapaest) the reader will be misled by the author's assertion (p. 131) that "The metra listed above combined into larger structures, called cola", which is true only to a certain extent. What about, say, glyconic or reizianum? Are they supposed to be analysed in terms of metra? The author himself does not do so on p. 134. The section in question ("The basics") is clearly intended for beginners, so while discussing the repartition of consonants in a line of Greek verse (p. 130) it would have been better not to confine oneself to simple one-word examples, but also add a sequence of several words providing a longer stream of sounds in "synapheia".

In Part II, generally of a very high standard, two chapters (*Iambos* by CAREY and *Elegy* by ALONI) skilfully combine the description of the genre and poems composed by the representatives of that genre. CAREY, persuasively, sustains his old (1986) view on the historicity of Lycambes and his family in Archilochus. ALONI deserves our gratitude for taking up, among other things, the problem of the interrelation between elegy and epigram, usually neglected by scholars. All the contributors of this part of the volume, understandably, are interested in the performance contexts. This is certainly the right perspective – provided, however, that such perspective does not dominate over the other possible ones. A drawback of preferring this very approach is particularly visible in the chapter on Sappho by YATROMANOLAKIS where, additionally, important and famous songs receive either marginal (e.g. fr. 31) or none (fr. 1) interpretation. This is not to say that YATROMANOLAKIS does not offer valuable insights into various aspects of Sappho's poetry.

The part of the volume dealt with here provides a discussion of key poets of the archaic and classical periods. These poets are sensibly grouped together, but this necessity, caused by the limits of space accorded to individual contributors, puts them in an extremely difficult position; PELLICIA, to quote but one example, is confronted with an almost impossible task of discussing Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides within twenty pages. He is to be congratulated on finding, successfully,

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<sup>1</sup> D.E. GERBER (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*, Leiden 1997.



a common level and choosing illustrative material which clearly differentiates the three poets. The final chapter of Part II (*Timotheus the New Musician* by CSAPO and WILSON) is masterly written in every respect; I was particularly impressed by their sensitive analysis of the *Persians*.

Part III shows the long and varied reception of Greek lyric (up to the twentieth century), shaped in different epochs by contemporary perceptions of its role and nature. All chapters are excellent, as well as informative and problem-oriented. The last chapter (WILLIAMSON on Sappho and Pindar in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) is consciously focused on English and American authors, which symbolically reminds the reader of the main addressee of the volume, although as a whole it is certainly aimed at international audience. Nevertheless, the editor feels obliged to write in the Preface (p. XV): “The policy adopted here is to provide for all topics sufficient references to English-language work but not to *shy away* [my italics] from pointing to material in other languages where relevant”.

The volume is brought to a close by SILK’s brilliant essay that offers a look at the poetic engagements with Greek lyric poems over the centuries. The scholar comes to the conclusion that “[t]here is no later equivalent to Greek lyric poetry as such, and in particular there is no equivalent to it in the Romantic and post-Romantic world”.

In sum, this is an impressive and inspiring collection, worth recommending both to experts who wish to receive a state-of-the-art account of the studies of Greek lyric poetry and to any other readers interested in the subject.

P.S. In the second edition of the book the following misprints should be corrected (I give only the correct forms): p. XIX *Aesopicarum*, p. 168 τὰ ἐλεγεία, p. 174 μέλη, p. 177 Χαλκοῦς, p. 223 *epithalamia*.

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**Susanne CARLSSON, *Hellenistic Democracies: Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010 (Historia Einzelschriften 206), 372 pp., ISBN 978-3-515-09265-4, € 66.00.**

This book, a revised version of CARLSSON's (further C.) 2005 Uppsala dissertation, is the latest in a quite abundant scholarly production of recent years concerned with ancient democracy and polis government outside of Athens or, to be more precise, outside the narrow bounds of the strictly Athenocentric convention long dominating in the study of Greek constitutional history. C. approaches here a pivotal question of the meaning, let alone the very existence of democracy in the Hellenistic age. Since this period lacks literary sources typical of classical-age Athens, constitutional scholars have to rely on epigraphic evidence oftentimes assailed as allegedly reflecting only outward appearances of democracy while concealing the rule of the privileged elite.

C. devotes much of chapter one ("Setting and sources") to methodological issues of employing epigraphic evidence to the study of Hellenistic constitutional history. To those who question the validity of inscriptions as evidence in the study of the Hellenistic age democracy, C. offers a somber remark: "if the democratic formulas in the classical period revealed democratic government, how can we know that this was not also the case in later periods" (p. 17), and indeed she proceeds to use formulae of decrees and shifts in the epigraphic habit as the evidence of the transformation from democracy to more oligarchic forms of government later in the Hellenistic period. Throughout her book C. shows that the name *demokratia* known from scores of Hellenistic inscriptions was not an empty word. It abounded at times when democracy and freedom of a polis was under threat. C. adheres, for good reason, to the notion of democracy as a widespread and desired form of constitution of Hellenistic poleis.

In the initial section of chapter two ("Democracy then and now") C. dissects from Aristotle criteria upon which a polis can be called democratic professing to apply them to the study of Hellenistic constitutional history. One criterion which C. believes to be of importance is the freedom of a polis to conduct its foreign policy.

Throughout her book C. makes a strong connection between sovereignty and democracy, devoting chapter three ("Autonomy and sovereignty") to defining these notions. She correctly takes the now increasingly popular view that a large proportion of Greek poleis were not fully politically independent even prior to Chaeronea and that the Hellenistic epoch did not bring much change in this respect until at least the consolidation of the Roman power in the East (pp. 61–65). On many an occasion C. states that in the Hellenistic period poleis were able to keep their freedom to conduct foreign policy by manoeuvring between kings competing for power.

In chapter four ("*Autonomia* in practice") C.'s analysis of the reference made to *autonomia* and *eleutheria* in inscriptions from Asia Minor shows the importance of these slogans in the self-representation of Hellenistic poleis, especially when they felt that their freedom was threatened (pp. 84–99). Her handling of the restoration of democracy in Asia Minor under Alexander the Great is less impressive to the degree of taking an antiquated view of Alexander's alleged war aim of integrating Greek cities in Asia Minor into the Corinthian League (p. 81). Indeed, a large proportion of C.'s book is devoted to the international relations of poleis of Hellenistic Asia Minor. Besides discussing issues of *autonomia* and *eleutheria* in chapter four, C. writes extensively on foreign policy matters in chapter five. She shows convincingly the growing emphasis on arbitration and mediation as the preferred way of handling inter polis relations in this period. Chapter five of her book contains an interesting case study of inter polis relations. C.'s analysis of long territorial conflict between Samos and Priene convincingly demonstrates the preoccupation of Hellenistic

poleis with local issues sometimes harking a few centuries back and their ability to get major powers, be it Hellenistic kings or the Roman Senate, entangled in them. There can be little doubt as to the validity of the point she makes of the freedom most Hellenistic poleis enjoyed in foreign policy matters. One of the fundamental hypothesis of C.'s book is that decrees of a free, i.e. democratic polis have a high contents of foreign policy issues while a non-democratic or democratic in the name only polis of the late Hellenistic / imperial times produced only "simple honorific decrees" (passim, verbalized on p. 155). A question needs to be asked, however, whether honorific decrees, especially for prominent foreign dignitaries, could be seen as means by which a decidedly democratic polis conducted its foreign policy.

Chapters six ("Constitutional studies – methods and quandaries") and seven ("Modes of government – the cases") are the core part of the book in which C. propounds her methodological principles on working or the very existence of democracy seen in the light of decrees and tests them in chapter seven on four case studies of Miletus, Iasus, Cos and Calymna. This chapter, the longest and the most important of the book, is organized in four case study sections followed by a summary on Hellenistic democracies. In each of this four initial sections C. presents geographical background, history of each of the four poleis down to the times of Augustus, offices and then a brief analysis of important features of decrees, legislative procedures and working of assembly. She tries to establish how democratic each of these poleis was by analyzing the usual formulae of prescript, enactment, proposer, motivation, motion and provisions for recording a decree. For lack of evidence far more difficult and less convincing are her eight central aspects of democracy, from the openness of the assembly, to voting figures, to the assembly pay and the prosopography of proposers of decrees. Since e.g. the assembly pay is attested epigraphically only in Iasus, it is not a good criterion by which to gauge the democratic credentials of Hellenistic poleis. Similarly scarcely anything can be extracted from inscriptions on most of other C.'s central aspects of democracy (p. 277), attractive as they may seem in theory of ancient democracy. A clear tendency shown by C. is the growing importance of boards as the proposer of decrees and the disappearance of individual movers in the third c. BC and later which may indicate a progressive narrowing of Hellenistic democracy (pp. 281 f.).

C. tries to show a clear link between a polis' independence and its democratic constitution exemplified by number of surviving decrees. Hence she explains the declining number of extant decrees later than c. 130 BC by the changed political circumstance when the Roman rule was solidified over the western Asia Minor and islands. To strengthen her position C. uses the example of Calymna which almost ceased to legislate even earlier when in 215–205 it was annexed by Cos (p. 202). There is certainly much validity in this, although the situation of Calymna differed much from that of Miletus, Iasus and Cos: while the polis of Calymna ceased to exist at the Coan annexation, the poleis of Miletus, Iasus and Cos existed and fared well under the Roman rule. Conversely they did not cease to legislate after 130 BC, although the number of regular decrees with the full set of formulae recorded in stone declined markedly. This holds even in the case of Cos, a free city, not incorporated into the province of Asia until Augustus. C. shows that out of 90 extant decrees of Cos, only six postdate 100 BC. There is certainly a connection, in terms of chronology if not in substance, between the Roman rule in Asia and recording decrees of Greek states and C. is very right in showing it. What she perhaps fails to do is to indicate that what changed under the Roman rule was the epigraphic habit: as I tried to show elsewhere (*Boule and Demos in Miletus and its Pontic Colonies from Classical Age until Third C. A.D.*, Wrocław 1999) after 130 BC at least the Milesians legislated applying the same procedures as earlier but recording in stone only the essence of their decrees in the form of *tituli honorarii*. C. correctly perceives the grants of privileges to foreigners as a means of conducting foreign policy by a polis (p. 279) and in the case of Cos she acknowledges recording the grants of honours acted upon by the *boule* and *demos* under the Roman Empire (pp. 237 f.), but on the whole she rarely takes into consideration public documents other than decrees with the full set of formulae, i.e. *tituli honorarii* and abbreviated decrees. This contributes to overstating the difference in legislative practice and procedure caused by the advent

of Rome in the East, e.g. although C. notices (p. 253) that the Milesians were recording the grants of *politeia* and *proxenia* in the form of ‘dated lists’ making reference to *psephismata* (i.e. abbreviated decrees) well into the first c. BC, she does not modify her view as to the importance of 130 BC in the history of Greek legislation.

One worrisome feature of C.’s writing is her penchant for quoting opinions of previous scholarship, not trying to ascertain their validity. A good example is her handling of the issue of fortifications in Asia Minor. She claims for instance after A.W. LAWRENCE that “[t]he Persians had forbidden the Greek cities in Asia Minor to build walls, but Alexander proclaimed that they were free to do so” (p. 114). For none of this statements there is any evidence and the very existence of city walls in 334 BC and their good state of repair is very well attested in Alexander historians and in archaeological evidence e.g. from Miletus. What is even more questionable is C.’s overenthusiastic borrowing from political scientists including those who, based on cavalier reading of myth and epics, maintain that democracy was in fact born and widely used in pre-Greek Egypt and in early Mesopotamia (pp. 25 f.). On the whole C.’s summary of selected political scientists’ opinions on the birth and stability of democracy in the modern world (chapter two) is, by her own admission (p. 59), applicable mostly to Europe and North America. If there is any connection between these opinions and the study of ancient democracy, it is limited to rather perfunctory reading of Aristotle in translation by political scholars. Most of chapter two is therefore divorced from C.’s principal sources, Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic age. Dropping this section altogether would have strengthened the book.

On general it is a well written and well researched book; in most cases C. has made a real effort to identify all relevant decrees and to offer reasonable datings. In matter of sources C.’s only major shortcoming is her failure to make use of the newest corpus of Milesian inscriptions (*Milet VI.3* by P. HERRMANN, W. GÜNTHER, N. EHRHARDT, Berlin 2006). Understandably it was not available to her when she was writing her 2005 Uppsala dissertation but the book of 2010 should have accounted for it. With this corpus the total number of Milesian inscriptions (including Didyma) is over 2280, markedly more than the number given in by C., 1720 (p. 247); the new corpus contains a number of newly published public documents of Miletus of importance for a constitutional scholar. C.’s book gives the impression that its author ceased doing serious research at the moment of submitting her doctoral dissertation: the secondary literature quoted here stops at 2005, not taking into account even the most important books published later, e.g. J.W. RIETHMÜLLER, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte*, Heidelberg 2005; V. GRIEB, *Hellenistische Demokratie. Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Großen*, Stuttgart 2008; R.M. BERTHOLD, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, Ithaca–London 2009. For all its shortcomings C.’s book is a valuable and stimulating contribution to the constitutional study of the Hellenistic world. Not only has she shown, as quite a few scholars had done before her, that in the Hellenistic age the democratic, sovereign polis was not a thing of the past, but she has also managed to pinpoint a connection between democracy and sovereignty of a polis.

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**Volker GRIEB, *Hellenistische Demokratie. Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Großen***, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008 (Historia Einzelschriften 199), 497 pp., ISBN 978-3-515-09063-6, € 77.00.

This book is a revised version of GRIEB's (further G.) Hamburg dissertation of 2006. The author perceives it as a contribution to the long and heated discussion of the meaning of the word *demokratia* in the Hellenistic period. He proclaims to distance himself from the prevailing view of *demokratia* being deprived of its original sense and reduced to little more than the traditional republican rule of law combined with the effective government by the wealthy class (*honorati*). Conversely, he attempts to gauge the democratic nature of free Hellenistic poleis by studying both the position of the *demos* in the decision making process and the political praxis of four cities selected for various reasons: Athens, Miletus, Cos and Rhodes, assigning each a chapter in his book. Each enjoys a rigid structure with sections devoted to the study of the *demos*, the political institutions and practice (in a section called *demokratia*, *eleutheria*, and *autonomia*) and then to the changes brought about by Roman influence from the second half of the second c. BC on.

In the first chapter G. asserts the vitality of Athenian democratic institutions in early Hellenistic times (until the mid-second c. BC) and the will of the *demos* of Athens to reinstate them to the fourth c. standards past the periods of the royal ascendancy. The continuity of the fourth c. BC style of democracy is further shown by the exclusivity of the Athenian *demos* of early Hellenistic times testified by the citizenship grants, sparse and based on convincingly demonstrated services to the *demos*. G. shows, in opposition to some, that also demes and *phylai* continued to play their role in the political organization of early Hellenistic Athens. He equates dissolution of *demos*/democracy by regimes of Phocion and Demetrius of Phaleron, as charged by their opponents, with limits to Athens' foreign policy and imposition of census reducing the number of Athenian citizens. In later periods of Macedonian dominance under Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonos Gonatas, neither census nor a royal epistates are attested but the Athenians nevertheless perceived this situation as an encroachment on their freedom / democracy. G. shows that Macedonian supremacy in the third c. BC Athens manifested itself in the blossoming of official careers of known partisans of Antigonos Gonatas on the one hand and by the relegation of the *demos* to passing unimportant routine decrees on the other. G. further demonstrates (pp. 99–102) that for all affinity between freedom and democracy, for the Athenians the word *demokratia* meant a situation in which decision could be taken by the people free of external influence, while the term *eleutheria* applied to independence in foreign policy matters. In G.'s opinion Athens liberated from the Macedonian supremacy exercised vigorous democracy until the late second c. BC when a narrow elite of wealth started to monopolize magistracies and the *demos* agreed to abandon its earlier exclusivity by admitting non-Athenians to the *epehebeia*. G. thus agrees with those (S.V. TRACY, Chr. HABICHT) who see the evolution of the Athenian constitution in the late second–early first c. BC rather than the revolutionary change imposed by Sulla.

In chapters two and three G. investigates the exclusivity of the *demos* of Hellenistic Cos and Miletus and vitality of its institutions: *phylai*, demes and other subdivisions of the citizen body (pp. 147–153, 199–210). Then he proceeds to describe a fairly regular position of the *ekklesia* of Cos as the principal decision-making body of the polis in passing decrees, awarding honours, electing magistrates and debating foreign policy matters. G. shows the probouleutic responsibilities of the Coan council while arguing against the prevailing view (of S.M. SHERWIN-WHITE and P.J. RHODES) of the important role played by the *prostatai* in initiating decrees (pp. 160–163). G. perceives embassies and jury duty on request of another polis as a way of self promotion,

limited however by the powers of the *demos* to appoint citizens to these positions in the well attested circumstances of political competition in the polis. While relating examples of the Milesians active in the courts of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, G. believes, without quoting evidence however, that their influence in the Milesian assembly was quite limited due to their near permanent absence and disengagement from every day politics (pp. 230–233). G. collects evidence proving the existence of open debate in early Hellenistic Cos, arguing against the hypothesis of the prevailing regime of the rich (*honorati*) at this time (pp. 170–174). Despite the prominent role of rich citizens in financial subscriptions and purchasing priesthood, early Hellenistic Cos was, according to G., a stable democracy (pp. 174–177). G. tries to explain a shift in the epigraphic habit in Cos, with the near disappearance of ‘political’ decrees and the proliferation of honorific inscriptions after c. the mid-second c. BC, by the stabilization of the Roman dominance in the East and resultant silencing of foreign policy debate in Cos, which had earlier resulted in a number of decrees marking major stepping stones of Coan foreign policy (pp. 194–197). In the case of Miletus G. returns, although with no fresh evidence, to the old hypothesis of the *prytaneis* as the presiding committee of the *boule* (pp. 216–218) and thus he tries to demonstrate the *boule*’s prominent position in legislation, gliding over the fact that its attested participation in legislative process is scant. G. shows intertwining between the political and the divine in Miletus with a pronounced position of Apollo and his two temples: Delphinion and Didyma (pp. 221–224). G. firmly believes in the existence of open debate and conflicting factions in early Hellenistic Miletus. The very nature of sources, decrees recording the winning position only, makes the evidence scant, but G. manages, nevertheless, to collect some from Milesian decrees (p. 235). G.’s analysis of Miletus’ position in early Hellenistic times leads him to showing Miletus as a basically independent polis manoeuvring between the Hellenistic powers and Rome. Robust democracy, with selection of jurors by lot attested well into the second half of the second c. BC, was underpinning its independent foreign policy (pp. 244–257). G. further believes that the Roman domination in the East in the second half of the second c. BC made a foreign policy debate in Miletus pointless thus leading to restricting democracy by a regime of pro-Roman elite (pp. 257–261). There is however very little, if anything at all, in our sources to support this attractive hypothesis.

In chapter four G. argues strongly again, as in the case of Miletus, in favour of the exclusivity of the *demos* of Hellenistic Rhodes, as opposed to the *plethos*, representing all inhabitants of the island, free and slaves alike (pp. 263–273). Again the evidence is not unquestionable. The unique structure of the polis of Rhodes with three territorial *phylai* springing from three poleis united by *synoikismos* in 408/407 and their locally influential families did not, in G.’s understanding, translate into limiting Rhodian democracy (pp. 273–276). G. shows working of the Rhodian polis which illustrates the vitality of Hellenistic democracy. Quite numerous sources, both literary and epigraphic, on Rhodian foreign policy help him portray the *demos* as the place of debate and decision in foreign policy matters (pp. 280–287). To the decidedly democratic nature of Hellenistic Rhodes attest, on the one hand, the superior position of the *demos* with regard to the *boule* and magistracies and the selection of jurors by lot combined with assembly / dicastic pay on the other (pp. 289–302). G. takes rather formalistic view on the power of the *demos* to control and decide on most issues as attested in decrees of the *boule* and *demos*, claiming, against the majority of scholarship (V. GABRIELSEN most notably), that there was not any aristocracy as the ruling class of Rhodes to speak of at least until the second half of the second c. BC (pp. 316–320). The change came after Pydna when the elite of Rhodes could no longer realize their ambitions in foreign policy, now subservient to Rome and devoid of importance. G. claims that the epigraphic evidence from the second half of the second and the first c. BC indicates a fast growing influence of the rich and the ensuing structural changes in Rhodes (pp. 339–344).

In the last part of the book (“Zusammenfassung und Ausblick”) G. goes beyond summarizing his four case studies, trying to describe the universal developments of the constitutional arrangements of Hellenistic poleis. He offers a classical definition of *demokratia*, as the form of government with universal participation of all citizens in the decision making process. Among the

principal political aims of the *demos* in Hellenistic poleis were the *demokratia* and the sovereignty (*eleutheria*). In his reconstruction the early Hellenistic polis is a democratic state with the central position of the *demos* and subservient that of the *boule* and magistracies. Despite fairly inadequate evidence G. tries to demonstrate that the competition between various factions within the citizen body, fuelled by needs of foreign policy, made the early Hellenistic polis a vibrant democracy. Thus he firmly rejects the notion of the regime of the rich (*honorati*) apparently typical of the Hellenistic polis. Another principal contention of this book is that removing of multifarious impulses from conflicting centres of power brought about by the Roman rule in the East led to the degeneration of Hellenistic democracy from the second half of the second c. BC on.

This book offers a refreshing approach to the constitutional history of the Hellenistic polis, with a commendable effort to disperse the perception of the demise of the democratic government, let alone the independent foreign policy of Greek poleis, after Chaeronea. G. has selected for analysis four major poleis with a comparatively rich source basis and all enjoying independence from kings for most of their early Hellenistic history. G.'s analysis is overwhelmingly based on the study of foreign policy issues, to which, regretfully, few good sources are extant, even in the case of Rhodes, the most active international player of the four poleis considered in this book. G. seems to overlook the fact that the very nature of his sources (decrees of the people) records only the formal outcome of the decision making process, amplifying the position of the *demos* and obfuscating the real position of other actors from among the citizen body. With so much stress put upon the link between independent foreign policy and the democratic nature of constitution, G.'s argument would have been more convincing had he included a case study of a polis which was non free for longer periods, like Ephesus, to check how this influenced its constitutional development. G.'s passing reference to non free cities in the last part of his book does not constitute a proper control group which would be of great importance to test his hypotheses drawn upon the four case studies. Having made most of his argument on foreign policy issues, G. pays much lesser attention as well to the widely discussed issue of euergetism and its consequences for the social fabric and political structure of Hellenistic polis. Nevertheless, every student of the Hellenistic age will certainly appreciate G.'s effort to rehabilitate the study of foreign policy of Hellenistic poleis, not in the shadow of Macedonian kings, but as a valid independent research topic with implication for constitutional history as well.

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**Alison SHARROCK**, *Reading Roman Comedy. Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 321pp., ISBN 978-0-521-76181-9, hb. £ 55.00.

The twenty-first century in classical philology has become an age of renaissance for Roman comedy, and especially for Terence. As the effect of this revival phenomenon we can find not only new commentaries<sup>1</sup> and translations<sup>2</sup> but also a collection of articles<sup>3</sup> and monographs<sup>4</sup> which propose new ways of reading this (until recently) rather underestimated playwright. Those new texts redefine his work which is this time analyzed luckily not in opposition to Plautus. That was an erroneous practice of the earlier periods, and did neither of these authors any good.

Alison SHARROCK's (henceforth S.) book is the best example of this new approach to Plautus' and Terence's work. It brings many fine and, thanks to their freshness, intriguing interpretations. Although the author divides her time among the two playwrights in a just manner, one clearly gets the impression that her main goal – which she boldly admits to – is to “expose Terence as a subtle and playful playwright, self-consciously aware of his place in an established literary tradition” (p. 21). She examines him through and with the help of knowledge gathered by scholars of Plautus to show him (Terence) to the public as “more artful, more artificial, more farcical” than he is generally assumed to be.

The book itself is not a monograph in the strict sense of the word, because it does not deal with every aspect of the authors' plays one after the other in an organized structure, starting with sources of inspiration, masks, motifs, parts of the plays and language up to metre. Nevertheless none of these elements have been omitted, as long as they serve the higher purpose, that is to put finally an end to the opinion that Plautus and Terence, because of “their generic lowness, the immediacy of their performance, their early date in the story of Roman literary culture, the loss of so much other Latin literature from their period and their own self-deprecating self-display”, should be regarded

<sup>1</sup> New commentaries begun to appear towards the end of the twentieth century, the most known being Terence, *The Mother-In-Law*, edited with translation, introduction and commentary by S. IRELAND, Warminster 1990; P. Terentius Afer, *Eunuchus*, Einführung, kritischer Text und Kommentar von L. TOMARAS, Hildesheim 1994; Terence, *The Brothers*, edited with translation and notes by A.S. GRATWICK, Warminster 1999; Terence, *The Eunuch*, edited by J. BARSBY, Cambridge 1999; Terence, *The Eunuch*, edited with translation and commentary by A.J. BROTHERS, Warminster 2000.

<sup>2</sup> In English alone, two new translations were published almost simultaneously: *Terence*, edited and translated by J. BARSBY, London 2001, vols. I–II (The Loeb Classical Library); *The Comedies of Terence*, translated with introduction and notes by P. BROWN, Oxford 2008; a new Polish translation, by this reviewer, was also published: Terencjusz, *Komedie*, vols. I–II, Warszawa 2005–2006.

<sup>3</sup> To list those deserving more notice: A.J. BOYLE (ed.), *Rethinking Terence* = Ramus XXXIII, 2004, 1–2; P. KRUSCHWITZ, W.-W. EHLERS, F. FELGENTREU (eds.), *Terentius Poeta*, München 2007 (Zetemata 127).

<sup>4</sup> A special group of monographs consists of books written by Eckard LEFÈVRE. They take up the analysis of Terence's comedies from the standpoint of their sources and inspirations: *Terenz' und Menanders Heautontimorumenos*, München 1994 (Zetemata 91); *Terenz' und Apollodoros Hecyra*, München 1999 (Zetemata 101); *Terenz' und Menanders Eunuchus*, München 2003 (Zetemata 117); *Terenz' und Menanders Andria*, München 2008 (Zetemata 132). For a monographic treatment of Terence's language and style, see E. KARAKASIS, *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy*, Cambridge 2005. One should also mention the work of P. KRUSCHWITZ, *Terenz*, Hildesheim 2004.



“as fundamentally different from respectable poets like Virgil, or even Ovid, and even as ‘not really literature’” (pp. IX f.).

The book is divided into five main chapters, which in turn are divided into smaller sections, which constitute a coherent, logically ordered argumentation consistent with the topic given in the titles of individual parts. Each chapter begins with sections regarding Plautus and continues with those regarding Terence.

Chapter 1, “Art and Artifice” (pp. 1–21) underlines the relationship which occurs between art and deceit. It is general knowledge that “a trick, a manipulation of identity and disguise is the essence of comedy” (see pp. 2–7). A play does not have to reflect reality in the strictest of senses. It only has to make an impression of being probable, so that the tricks presented on stage are credible. An idea like this can be explained in a short way by saying that art’s relation to reality is a parasitic one, and one has to be (1) naive to believe it to be real, and on the other hand (2) wise, to recognize it is art.

The very interesting second chapter (“Beginnings”, pp. 22–95) points out the role of the prologues, which seems at first sight to be the same in the case of each of the two playwrights, that is to settle the audience, to grab their attention and to engage their good will. But S. shows through an analysis of Plautus’ prologues that although all plays start in the same way and there is a standard formula for an opening, yet there are still very many variations within that formula and there is a great variety of ways of opening a play. It suffices to look through the titles of subsequent sections of this chapter to understand how many different ways Plautus used to open a play – “Plautine Openings”, pp. 27–30; “Exposition: how much is enough?”, pp. 30–41; „*The Prologue*: another try at getting going”, pp. 41–51; “*in medias res*: doing it differently”, pp. 51–56.

S. also shows that the prologues more than any other part of the play clearly indicate the ritual role of performances (“Ritual initiation”, pp. 56–63). When prologue-speaker calls for silence, he uses the metaphor of the ritual “silence” or “good speaking” which accompanies religious observance: *favete linguis*. At the end of a prologue he also uses formulaic ritual and good wishes for divine favour in war and peace, at home and abroad. In this sacral sense the play forms part of the relationship with Roman gods, and could be loosely categorized as “prayer” (pp. 57 f.). S. pays particular attention to *Amphitruo*, which can be also seen as a hymn to Jupiter and Hercules. Without denying the validity of her observations on the special importance of Jupiter in Roman plays presented to the public, one may notice that S. does not take into account in this respect hilarocomic tradition which most certainly was not without influence on Plautus’ choice of this theme (pp. 61 f.).

S.’s analysis of Terence’s seemingly so different prologues points to the use of arrangements similar to those applied by Plautus in his comedies (“Terence”, pp. 63–68; “Plautine elements in Terentian prologues”, pp. 68–75). Both poets refuse to expose the plot in the beginning of the play and both tease the audience with a device of “over-exposition”. This gives a sense of something bigger, something deeper, something that lurks beyond the stage house and beyond the play. This on the other hand creates the illusion that there is enough plot material for a whole new play hidden in the “background” of the text, which one does not see on the stage.

Particularly noteworthy is the section “The intertexts”, pp. 75–83, opening a reflection on the relationship between prologues of Terence and the oratory, comic agonism and Callimachean poetic programme. In the light of S.’s prologue-analysis the conflict between Terence and Luscius Lanuvinus called “the old poet” turns out to be a poetic trick, modelled on well-known literary agons (e.g. that between Euripides and Aeschylus in the *Frogs*). Luscius for Terence is therefore the same poetic rival as Cratinus was for Aristophanes or the half-mythical Telchines for Callimachus. It is hard to deny the validity of S.’s ideas when she points to the relationships of the prologues with the oratorical art (“Oratory: *captatio*, accusation and defence”, pp. 83–87). I am however unconvinced by the assertion that in the story of Luscius (“Prologue to *Eunuchus*”, pp. 87–95), who enters upon the stage during the *Eunuch* rehearsal in order to accuse Terence of theft, lies the promise of Chaerea’s intrusion into the house of Thais in order to rape Pamphila. It seems to me that the associations are farfetched. Furthermore recognizing that the attacking Luscius is

a thematic prototype of Chaerea the attacker raises the question which S. does not answer: has the story of the accusation of theft (*furtum*) actually occurred or was it created by the playwright for the purpose of the prologue to the *Eunuchus*?

In Chapter 3 (“Plotting and playwrights”, pp. 96–162) S. devotes much attention to analyzing the kind of plot which is based on manipulating someone else’s knowledge or belief formed solely on the basis of sensory impressions (“Vision and confusion”, pp. 100–115). She uses the example of comedies like *Mostellaria*, *Miles gloriosus* and *Amphitruo* to show what kind of possibilities of creating an intrigue are given to those who have control over one’s sense of sight. In light of her findings and especially of her brilliant analysis of the comedy *Epidicus* (“Plotting and playwrights in Plautus”, pp. 116–130) one may see that the author of the intrigue, its *spiritus movens*, is the one who reigns over what others see. Such reasoning leads to the suggestion that the playwright and the clever slave are often one and the same person. In view of this interpretation it seems only natural that the next section in this chapter (“Playwright as slave”, pp. 131–140) shows how and why the playwright is identified with his own creation, the slave. The greatest embodiment of this idea, according to S., is Mercury in *Amphitruo*, who is like a god and like a slave, who turns day into night, extends it, controls the world (of comedy), the plot and the genre of the play (changing it from tragedy into comedy). He has therefore the skill and authority of the author. But not always has Plautus entrusted the intrigue into the hands of a slave. In some comedies he establishes another, different controlling character, e.g. *matrona* (*Casina*), *senex* (*Captivi*) or *adulescens* (*Persa*). This ascertainment leads to the examination of some of the ways in which Terence lets his characters share (and denies them) the authorial voice (“Plotting and playwrights in Terence”, pp. 140–162). One might expect that Terence who is known for his double plots would entrust the leading of the intrigue, if not to two slaves, at least to one slave and any other character, doubling the number of *spiritus movens* characters. He does not do so. S. with amazing agility shows and proves that, although Terence plays with Plautus by incorporating into his own comedies the greatest invention of his predecessor, the controlling clever slave, he uses him in such a way that, as it turns out, it is not he who is steering the plot. The presented examples show that Terence puts the intrigue into the hands of many (or even a group), leaving himself the right to intervene.

Everything that is not “planned” and “played out” by the characters would be considered the “truth” of the world shown to us on stage. Therefore the second part of this section is devoted to issues of realism, credibility and theatricality, and above all the ways of manipulations of realism, which become the source of metatheatrical comments.

Chapter 4 (“Repeat performance”, pp. 163–249), no less interesting than the former, seems to be a kind of a patchwork made up of many small pieces which have one common feature, namely *repetitio*. A review of the very choices of titles for individual sections shows that S. intends to point the reader’s attention to the artful usage of repetition as a means of manipulating viewers and above all characters which is a common feature in the plays of the two playwrights.

“Repetition comedy” (pp. 163–167) shows that repetition is hidden everywhere – both in the comedy of twins and in imitation of actions. It manifests itself also on the language level of the texts in the form of alliteration, anaphora, assonance, *geminatio*, homoeoteleuton, polyptoton (“Pitter-patter Plautus”, pp. 167–177). Multiplications of words or a surfeit of language often enhanced by other features of repetition is usually associated with excitement, and often also with food or sex. *Repetitio* includes a situation on the stage in which a character unwillingly repeats the word which has just been said by another character, e.g. by someone speaking on the side (“Comic echo”, pp. 178–190). Of course, humour lies in the fact that the audience hears both and sees a funny repetition. S. argues that this kind of comic device is not limited to only two repeated words or phrases within a single paragraph or scene, but extends to the whole play. Numerous examples taken from *Pseudolus* and *Amphitruo* show that Plautus used this specific “echo” to create a ring-composition.

Another type of repetition is iteration, incongruity and irrelevance, which Bergson in his famous essay about laughter defines as a Jack-in-a-box (“Pop-ups”, pp. 190–193). An excellent example of this type of humour are the repeated intrusions of Parmeno in Terence’s *Hecyra*.

S. devotes the next section (“Sweeping the spiders: *Aulularia*”, pp. 194–201) to discussing replication in *Aulularia* where we can find many repetitions, e.g. the invisible but constantly mentioned pot of gold pops in and out of the stage and Euclio breaks off the conversation four times in order to plunge back into the house and check on his gold. Echoes and dualities link Euclio and Lyconides in their conversation about the crime described as a feeling to *illa* (the pot of gold – *aula* or the daughter – *puella*).

In the following sections S. turns her analysis unto more sophisticated forms of repetition, namely parody and intertextuality (“Parody and intertextuality: the artificial repetition of life and literature”, pp. 201–204). Special attention is paid to parody as a comic mixture of intertextual allusion. As an example of Plautus’ enjoyment of playing with tragedy and tragic parody should suffice his play *Rudens* (“Plautus – Ennius – Euripides: *ut paratragediat carnufex!*”, pp. 204–219). According to S., Terence also, though in a slightly different, unique manner, uses the parody of tragedy. In section “Bacchis revels: intertextuality in Terence’s *Eunuchus*” (pp. 219–233) she points to the scenes strongly reminiscent of the popular tragedies: Parmeno’s idea of disguising his young master makes one recall the scene in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, where Dionysus tempts Pentheus into dressing up as a woman. The famous description of Jupiter “qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit” (*Eun.* 590) which is recognized by Donatus as a parody of a tragedy of Ennius is associated by S. also with a fragment of Naevius’ *Danae*. Further, she compares the scene where the disguised Chaerea enters Thais’ house to Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousae*. Thus Terence does not quote tragedy in a comical way, as Plautus does, but he mimics it in a comical way, as evidenced by quite close verbal connections. An interesting addition in this section (called by S. herself “a coda to the discussion”) is the passage about possible Terentian connections to Sappho.

In the chapter discussing repetitions there is also a section about Terence’s *Hecyra* (“A reading of *Hecyra* through repetition”, pp. 233–249). S. reads the play as a series of failed attempts at marriage, as a ritual which is constantly going wrong, constantly being interrupted, so that it must be repeated – there must occur *instauratio*. Her suggestions that the practice of *instauratio* provides a useful image for coming to terms with this play, and that the principles behind the practice might well have been at the back of the mind of the playwright, seem to me to be an overinterpretation without any justification in the text. It is a brilliant interpretation, impressive, astounding with ingenuity, but unfortunately unconvincing. If that idea really had been based on *instauratio*, Terence would have made sure to emphasize it in the text and to draw the viewer’s attention to these badly begun and “constantly being interrupted” rape, marriage, love/consummation and birth (p. 239). And in particular, he would have emphasized the need for repetition.

Moreover, S.’s argumentation would have to assume that Terence knew from the outset that *Hecyra* would not be put on stage until the third time. S. does not conceal that she sees a neat link between the content of the play and the context of its performance. She stresses that although there is no strong reason to suppose that the entire story of failure and re-performance was invented, it would not be impossible. The lack of the prologue for the first presentation, and the unusual form and shortness of the prologue to the second made the author arrange the sequence: no prologue, a mini-prologue, complete prologue. “The series of prologues has been preserved in this form in order to contribute to making precisely these points about failure and repetition” (p. 247). S. asks the question whether Terence invented the whole story or opportunistically appropriated the situation that really did arise and opts for the second possibility. Approaching the problem in this way opens a long list of questions and concerns which have not been answered: did Terence have something to do with the preparation of the “opportunistic situation” or has he rewritten *Hecyra* for this third staging in such a way as to expose failure and repetition. It is difficult to assume it to be just a happy coincidence. It is also unclear whether the unusual prologue for the second staging attempt (too brief and not in the style of Terence) was designed already in the time of its formation as a prequel to the one written for the third staging. Although S.’s argument appears to be based on many unknowns, her perception of the play brings many new ideas to existing interpretations.

The closing chapter 5 (“Endings”, pp. 250–289) discusses the different types of endings in comedies. S. firstly compares the characters which were assigned the last “*valete et plaudite*” in the comedies (“Having the last word”, pp. 251–258). This leads to the conclusion that this issue is mostly entrusted to the characters of low social status (slave, parasite), but those who played the role of the *architectus* of the plot. If the last word has been given to someone “anti-comic”, e.g. *senex*, it is probably meant to show acceptance of what has happened to him during the play. In the following sections S. discusses the various types of termination, and the titles of subsequent sections clearly show what distinctive features are examined by the author: “A play with moral” (pp. 258–273), “Ending in farce” (pp. 273–277), “Ending in parties” (pp. 277–284), “Ending denied, repeated and foreclosed” (pp. 284–287). These considerations lead to the conclusion that normally endings tend towards the farcical mess, which is not a sign of incompetent dramaturgy or an incomplete transfer of details from a Greek play, but rather it is a joke played on the audience.

S.’s book is a fascinating read, not only because of the interesting proposals of interpretation, but also due to the arrangement of chapters and language. When writing about the playwright S. calls him “uncle Plautus” (p. 68), when quoting him she exclaims, “hey, guys, I’m the poet” (p. 53), when discussing the plot she says keeping the score “one point to Davos” (p. 144), or when she says “Terence kicks Parmeno beneath the belt” (p. 152), one gets the impression that she is standing between them on the stage, fighting for attention and applause of the audience.

S. writes in the foreword: “If the experts also find something here to amuse, I shall be well pleased”. I doubt if I can say about myself that I am an expert, but I can certainly say that I amused myself greatly reading this book.

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**Felix TEICHNER, *Entre tierra y mar. Zwischen Land und Meer. Architektur und Wirtschaftsweise ländlicher Siedlungsplätze im Süden der römischen Provinz Lusitania (Portugal)*, Merida 2008 (Studia Lusitana 3), 2 vols., 666 + 457 pp., ISBN 978-84-612-7893-0.**

A preliminary clarification is in order: why should a hefty German *Habilitationsschrift* on the archaeology of Roman Lusitania earn a place in the review section of a journal that is mainly devoted to literary and linguistic problems? The quality and importance of Teichner's (henceforth T.) work would arguably be sufficient reasons, but the main point of this book to command the attention of a wider audience of classicists is its breadth in scope and its ability to ask general questions on the Roman world by grounding them in the analysis of a specific cluster of material. Readers of all backgrounds and methodological persuasions will find something of direct interest in T.'s elegant and comprehensive discussion. The bilingual title of this work may lead some potential readers to wonder in which language it is written. The bulk of the text is in German, but there is an ample section at the end of the first volume showcasing serviceable summaries in Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French. However, T. has "gone native", in the best sense of the expression. He has an impressive record of publications in Spanish and Portuguese and the splendid bibliography of this volume lists a wealth of contributions in these languages, often published in very obscure venues. The very existence of the archaeological project on which this book is based is deeply rooted in the fieldwork that T. has been doing in the Iberian peninsula over the last two decades. He is an example of how a foreign scholar can set out to work in a different country and make the most of the encounter with a different academic context and tradition: his magisterial overview of the modern scholarship on Lusitania in antiquity at pp. 37–45 is the best testimony to that. It is not misplaced to say that T. takes up and furthers a German tradition on studies on the Iberian peninsula in the ancient world that goes all the way back to Adolf SCHULTEN. The study he has produced may not be always user-friendly, but it will remain a reference point for years to come – and not just to the students of Roman Iberia.

The bulk of the work is a detailed overview of the findings of a sustained archaeological campaign that T. directed since the late Nineties in a number of sites in the south of the territory of the Roman province of Lusitania. All the sites were already known, but T. has delivered an altogether new picture of all of them (see pp. 53–57 for an overview of the aspects in which his organisation of the material differs from that of his predecessors). The first volume consists of the excavations reports and a general historical discussion, while the second features the catalogues of the findings, the bibliography, a handsome set of photographs, and a painstakingly detailed set of drawings of the types of pottery discovered in the sites. There is the risk, at least for the layman, to get lost in the impressive array of detail that T. provides on every page, as he lays out the results of years of excavations and personal inspection of the sites. There is also the slightly impractical consequence of having to deal with two beautifully produced, but very bulky indeed volumes. The need to use them together every step of the way does not make this work an easy read for the train. T., however, is mindful of this risk and he provides the reader with some helpful signposting at various stages.

The fundamental research question of this work is how coastal and inland sites in southern Lusitania compare to each other. Some of the five sites under discussion (Milreu, Cerro da Villa, Abicada, Monte da Nora, and Marmeleiros) show an impressive continuity of settlement, but there are instructive differences upon which T. sheds light. The settlement of Monte da Nora shows continuity of settlement from the late Republican age to the Imperial period; the coming of Rome was marked by the end of the Iron Age of the fortification system. There is a special point of interest for the historian of the late Republic: evidence for the presence of Italian settlers has been found

at Monte da Nora (p. 455), albeit in a context that provides much more evidence for late antique settlements. The immediate consequences of the coming of Rome are more clearly noticeable at sites like Marmeleiros, which was created in the first half of the first century AD but had to be abandoned a couple of generations later because the silting of a neighbouring lagoon gradually cut off its direct access to the sea. Similar cases of relocation of clusters of settlers from a site to another are known elsewhere in Lusitania for this period: local knowledge is not built in one day. Milreu can boast a continuity of settlement of about nine centuries; Marmeleiros lasted only for several decades. The architectural analysis that takes up most of the second part of the first volume (pp. 451–570) is accompanied by a careful discussion of the economic dimension of these sites, which has often been obscured, especially in the case of Milreu, by the impressive mosaics and the decorative elements of the sites. The site of Cerro da Vila enables one to follow developments until the Islamic period and to recognise a well-established activity of sea-food fishing and processing which took place in highly specialised productive settlements in the countryside, rather than in coastal villas.

The study of this material leads to several conclusions of general significance. First and foremost, in Southern Lusitania there is no clear archaeological evidence for the long-term economic crisis that has often been postulated for the third century AD. On the contrary, there is fairly comprehensive evidence for opulence and economic development well into Late Antiquity, and indeed beyond. The ingredients of this sustained phase of prosperity appear to be three: carefully chosen sites; long-term commercial exchanges with North Africa; and relative institutional stability, largely afforded by the existence of the late antique *dioecesis Hispaniarum*. In fact, according to T., the heyday of the Roman *Villenkultur* fell between the first Tetrarchy and the fifth century AD (p. 590). And here we are presented with the main methodological problem raised by this work: how safely can inferences on matters of general significance be drawn from this kind of material? As T. concedes, his conclusions apply only to a specific regional context, that of southern Lusitania, which is all the more peculiar because it is in Western periphery of the empire. While it is possible that more evidence may emerge and modify the picture he has drawn, it is indisputable that T.'s discussion is of unprecedented breadth, since it includes a number of different sites and discusses their typological differences. This is arguably the most instructive point of T.'s work. The study of the ancient economy is shifting from the discussion of wide-ranging models to the discussion of specific contexts and problems, such as the history of the use and circulation of individual commodities. The study of the Roman empire has largely disposed of the category of Romanization, which has been replaced by more nuanced and sensible frameworks, such as the creolisation model outlined by Jane WEBSTER. There is a wider awareness that progress in this field can be ensured by the exploration of specific case-studies. T. has produced an extraordinarily rich and lucid discussion of a regional context that has rewarding evidence to offer. The general significance of his conclusions will be properly assessed only in light of other undertakings in different, but comparable areas. T. has set a superb blueprint.

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## DIVINE CASIMIR AND HIS ENGLISH COSTUME

**Krzysztof FORDOŃSKI, Piotr URBAŃSKI (eds.), *Casimir Britannicus. English Translations, Paraphrases and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski*, London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008 (MHRA Critical Texts, vol. 11), 288 pp., ISBN 98-0-947623-73-9\*.**

“Great works of literature conceal their origins”<sup>1</sup>. This is the first sentence of Marshall BROWN’s essay on Coleridge as translator of Sarbiewski’s ode *Ad suam testudinem*. The scholar asserts that it was just Coleridge’s English imitation that “made the ode speak”, which demanded from the poet-translator an immense labour of re-writing the poem in such a language that “would not be as dead as Sarbiewski’s Latin”<sup>2</sup>. The odes of the “Sarmatian Horace”, in BROWN’s opinion, are “wooden and without music”, “extremely derivative”, and as such “virtually a Horatian cento”. Moreover, as composed in the foreign language, they are mechanical, their Latin being “learned and written”, that is, artificial and lifeless<sup>3</sup>.

However, if one takes into consideration the presence of Sarbiewski’s œuvre in English-language literary tradition, BROWN’s point of view may seem amazing. First of all, Coleridge himself did not try to hide his model nor inspiration<sup>4</sup>. Then, it is difficult to believe that Coleridge’s enthusiastic admiration of Sarbiewski’s ode is to be understood as irony, while his modest apologies for being no match for the original author must be considered as the translator’s coquetry concealing deliberate efforts to relive a rusty poem. Finally, there are numerous authors who dealt with Sarbiewski’s poetry translating it into English verse or, largely, imitating. They labelled their works with Casimir etiquettes, but very often their poems diverge into many directions from the Latin original. Their work testifies to Sarbiewski’s *opus* being something more than a learned exercise; at least a vivid inspiration, which was able to excite imagination of many before and after Coleridge.

A collection of such poems is now available to readers. In 2008 Krzysztof FORDOŃSKI [= F.] and Piotr URBAŃSKI [= U.] edited their anthology of Sarbiewski’s poetry translated into English verse (or largely imitated). U. is a Neo-Latin scholar who worked on Sarbiewski, including his popularity in England, for many years, while F., as English philologist, has discovered there his new area of research. The editors gathered almost 150 poems known as *English Translations, Paraphrases and Emulations of the Poetry of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski* and put them (more or less chronologically) before the reader’s eyes in one volume. “This makes it”, as the editors themselves point out, “the largest collection of Sarbiewski’s poetry in English translation published since the first ever publication of his translations in 1646” (p. 25). We find there about fifty odes and epodes (from

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\* [After the present review had been submitted to “Eos”, a new, revised and expanded edition of *Casimir Britannicus* was published in October 2010 as vol. 25 of the MHRA Critical Texts (ISBN 978-1-907322-12-9, pb. £ 12.99) – the editors].

<sup>1</sup> M. BROWN, *Toward an Archaeology of English Romanticism. Coleridge and Sarbiewski*, in: idem, *Essays in the History of Cultural Expression*, Stanford 1997, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> See ibidem, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> I mean the translation of Sarbiewski’s *Lyr. II 3 (Ad suam testudinem)*, known as *Ad Lyram*; the second poem imitated from Casimire (*Lyr. I 2*) was unacknowledged. It was *To a Friend in Answer to a Melancholy Letter*.

among the one hundred and thirty-three original works) and twenty-three epigrams, imitated by different persons (thirty-four marked with the author's name, and seventeen anonymous).

The poems presented to us date from 1646 (when the first collection of translations, by G. Hills, had been published), to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This signifies more than two centuries of Sarbiewski's popularity in Great Britain. To tell the truth, Casimir in England seems to be more inspiring than Sarbiewski in Poland. As F. and U. emphasize, "[t]he Romantic and early Victorian poets were the last to show an interest in Sarbiewski's poetry" (p. 24), which was connected both with the change of literary taste and with educational reforms, resulting in the Neo-Latin poetical tradition falling into oblivion. As we can notice, in Sarbiewski's homeland the milestone of the poet's Polish imitations was Tadeusz Karyłowski's complete translation of *Lyrical*, finished before World War II, although the printed edition appeared as late as 1980. An interest in Sarbiewski in his native Poland is rather limited, and the latest collection of his poems translated by various authors, since the time of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century edition, was the very thin volume published in honour of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sarbiewski's birth<sup>5</sup>.

Apart from the manifold *Introduction* (containing a short biographical note, the reflections on *Sarbiewski in England* and on editing the texts), *Acknowledgements*, collection of the poems and *Bibliography*, we are provided with a very useful *Index*, namely the list of original Sarbiewski's *Odes*, *Epodes* and *Epigrams* imitated by English authors, with immediate references to those authors who translated or paraphrased each poem (the only thing that seems to be missing are the incipits of the Latin odes). By virtue of this evidence, readers receive a singular "map" of Sarbiewski's poetry; that allows them to see clearly, which regions of this "land" were visited more or less often by English-language poets, and which were scarcely, or never, inspected. Thus, observing the absence of several of Sarbiewski's poems we can speculate on the reasons why those texts were omitted (as, perhaps, manifesting strong Catholic sentiment, having rather a local importance, or related to a private microcosm of the lyrical "I"). Yet, we are not able to fix an ironclad rule in this matter. For example, the opening ode of the first book, a gratulatory poem in honour of Pope Urban the Eighth, has been translated four times. Or, although nobody was, in fact, inspired by *Lyr. II 4 (Ad Stanislaum Sarbievium)*, addressed to the poet's brother, the similarly "local" and "private" Ode 15 of the second book (*Ad Narviam*) had found its imitator<sup>6</sup> in whose work, however, *Narvia* was changed into the River Thames, and the main idea of the poem was largely modified. We can also easily identify the most popular odes, which were translated most often. The unquestionable leadership belongs to *Lyr. II 3 (Ad suam testudinem)*, imitated by eleven poets, including the individualities of such fame as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Burns. In the second position, paraphrased as many as ten times (i. a., by Abraham Cowley and Isaac Watts), is *Lyr. II 5 (E rebus humanis excessus)*, inspiring poems entitled often *Ecstasy* or *Elevation*. Among the poets inspired by Sarbiewski's Muse we can also count some anonymous talents, or, even if the translation is somehow signed, we can merely suppose who the imitator was. Among the translators or emulators we can find also some poets knowing little or no Latin, imitating Sarbiewski's odes on the basis of already existing translations. This seems to confirm the vitality of some mental threads of Sarbiewski's poetry, even if the emulators did not deal with the Latin original and if they, like Caroline de Crespigny, were not fully aware of Sarbiewski's personality, confusing the poet with another famous Pole, John III Sobieski. This vitality emerges clearly also from works of poets who, like Isaac Watts, were able to appreciate the virtues of Sarbiewski's Latin. The most characteristic example may be the imitation of *Lyr. IV 4*, translated "with large additions". It seems very interesting to see how Sarbiewski's imagination fertilizes Watts', and how the latter sets his own imagination upon the former's idea. The subject matter of the ode (the battle of Chocim of 1621)

<sup>5</sup> M.K. SARBIEWSKI, *Wybór wierszy*, oprac. J.Z. LICHAŃSKI, P. URBAŃSKI, Kraków 1995.

<sup>6</sup> In the present collection we find only the initials T.G., but the authors have already managed to identify the imitator as Thomas Gibbons.



was not closely related to Watts' immediate horizon. But the fiction that the Polish Horace had created was transporting the reader some generations after the famous Polish victory. Somewhere in Danubian regions, a peasant named Galesus, ploughing deeply in the ground, quarries heaps of bones, or rusty helmets and shields. Inspired by his discovery, he becomes a bard, improvising a song with historical narration:

Dives Galesus, fertilis accola  
 Galesus Istri, dum sua Dacicis  
 Fatigat in campis aratra  
 Et galeas clypeosque passim, ac

Magnorum acervos eruit ossium;  
 Vergente serum sole sub hesperum  
 Fessus resedissee, et solutos  
 Non solito tenuisse cantu [...]

Sarbiewski's imagination feeds exclusively on literary clichés. The narration of the battle is Vergilian and Horatian, Galesus himself borrows his name from the *Aeneid*, while the situation is copied directly from the *Georgics* (I 490–497), where an *agricola* near Philippi finds some relics of the battle with his plough. This artificial construction, however, became a vivid image for Watts, allowing him to extend his imagination further:

Here an old Thracian lies,  
 Deformed with years and scars, and groans aloud.  
 Torn with fresh wounds; but inward vitals firm  
 Forbid the soul's remove, and chain it down  
 By the hard laws of nature, to sustain  
 Long torment; his wild eye-balls roll; his teeth,  
 Gnashing with anguish, chide his ling'ring fate [...]

...and further:

I mov'd not far, and lo, at manly length,  
 Two beauteous youths, of richest Ott'man blood,  
 Extended on the field; in friendship joined,  
 Nor fate divides them; hardy warriors both.  
 Both faithful: drowned in show'rs of darts they fell.  
 Each with his shield spread o'er his lover's heart,—  
 In vain: for on those orbs of friendly brass  
 Stood groves of javelins; some, alas!, too deep  
 Were planted there, and through their lovely bosoms  
 Made painful avenues for cruel death.

This poem, however, has another English version, composed by the Irish humorist Francis Mahony (whose *nom de plume* was Father Prout). It is rather a close translation in which the imitator tries to display the represented world of the poem in its entirety.

As slow the plough the oxen plied,  
 Close by the Danube's rolling tide,  
 With old Galeski [sic!] for their guide,  
 The Dacian farmer.

His eye amid the furrows spied  
Men's bones and armour<sup>7</sup>...

The editors gathered many poems through which Sarbiewski “speaks English”, and tend towards giving the reader a complete British *opus Sarbievianum*. This enterprise, the fruit of diligent labour as it is, remains in certain points of view an “open work”. First, as the present collection includes three female authors dealing with Sarbiewski’s poetry (Mary Masters, Caroline de Crespigny and Anne Steel-“Theodosia”), it might be augmented with Lucy Hutchinson, because there is evidence that “Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, after grappling with Lucretius and his ‘foppish casual dance of atoms’, Puritan though she was, tried her hand at translating the fashionable Polish Jesuit”<sup>8</sup>. Second, in Watts’ *Miscellanies* we can find the juvenile poem (*Twas an unclouded sky...*), acknowledged to be an “Imitation of an ode of Casimir”<sup>9</sup>. It is, in fact, an imitation of *Lyr.* II 15 (*Ad Narviam*)<sup>10</sup>. If this poem had been included in this collection, it would have provided another variant of this ode’s imitation, apart from the anonymous one from 1745, which appears in the volume as the only version of Sarbiewski’s poem. Finally, the list of the authors may also vary or/and grow, because some of the published poems, e.g. some translations of Casimir from Joseph Hucks’ volume, should in fact be attributed to William Heald; this is the case of at least *Lyr.* II 3. As I am told, the authors of the present collection have already prepared the second edition, in which the list of authors will be extended up to forty-two, and the list of “anonyms” – to twenty-five [see note \* above]. Keeping in mind the possibility of new discoveries, one may suppose that Sarbiewski has not yet uttered his last word in English. Yet the collection in its present shape may be useful to both the readers who know, and who do not know Sarbiewski’s poetry, giving an inspiration for the comparative studies to the former, and outlining his poetical personality to the latter.

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<sup>7</sup> *The Reliques of Father Prout*, London 1860, p. 539. The publication (p. 537) contains also the translation of *Lyr.* I 15 (*Ad Apes Barberinas*), both poems worth being included into *Casimir Britannicus*, if a new volume like *Casimir Hibernicus* is not needed.

<sup>8</sup> F.E. HUTCHINSON, *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation*. Oxford 1947, p. 86. The author means the manuscript inherited by himself. The commonplace book of Lucy Hutchinson contains the translation of *Epigram* 34 (*Fortis est ut mors dilectio*); see S. WISEMAN, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth Century England*, New York 2006, p. 215.

<sup>9</sup> *The British Poets Including Translations, in One Hundred Volumes*, vol. XLVI, Chiswick 1822, p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> See M.M. COLEMAN, *The Polish Land: A Journey through Poland from the Vistula to the Poet's Land of the Eastern Border: The Polish Land, its Legends, Historic Personalities, Poetry: An Anthology*, Cheshire, Conn., 1974, p. 36.

SPRAWOZDANIE ZE CIII WALNEGO ZGROMADZENIA  
SPRAWOZDAWCZO-WYBORCZEGO  
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO  
W POZNANIU W DNIACH 19–20 WRZEŚNIA 2009 R.

CIII Walne Zgromadzenie Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, które miało miejsce w Poznaniu w dniach 19 i 20 września 2009 r., połączone było z sesją naukową zatytułowaną „Komizm w literaturze antycznej”. Uczestników, zebranych w gmachu Collegium Minus Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, powitała Prezes Koła Poznańskiego PTF dr Teodozja Wikarjak, a następnie Dziekan Wydziału Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej prof. dr hab. Józef Tomasz Pokrzywniak. Do zgromadzonych przemówił również Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus oraz Dyrektor Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej UAM prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska. Szczegółowy program sesji naukowej przedstawiał się następująco:

19 września 2009, sobota

Godz. 9:00–14:30

- Dr Iwona WIEŻEL (Lublin), *Oblicza komizmu w „Dziejach” Herodota z Halikarnasu.*
- Dr Anna MARCHEWKA (Gdańsk), *Komizm w „Cyropedii” Ksenofonta.*
- Dr Małgorzata CIEŚLUK (Szczecin), *Komizm w „teorii” i praktyce romansu greckiego.*
- Dr Agnieszka KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA (Wrocław), *Simus ergo hilares. Kilka słów o poematach epickich w interpretacji mimów.*
- Dr Anna LASEK (Poznań), *Elementy parodystyczne w „Dionysiaka” Nonnosa z Panopolis.*
- Prof. dr hab. Hanna ZALEWSKA-JURA (Łódź), *Obyczajowe obrazki z „Philogelosa”.*
- Prof. dr hab. Marian SZARMACH (Toruń), *Elementy komiczne w pismach Filostrata.*
- Dr Mateusz STRÓŻYŃSKI (Poznań), *Poważny czy niepoważny? Płotyński mędrzec w teatrze świata. Topika w „Enneadach” III 2.*

- Dr Przemysław MARCINIAK (Katowice), *Gdzie się podziały tamte dowcipy niezapomniane? Bizantyńskie poczucie humoru i jego antyczne korzenie.*
- Prof. dr hab. Małgorzata BOROWSKA (Warszawa), *Fortunat w Troi. Ostatnie arcydzieło renesansowej Krety.*

20 września 2009, niedziela

Godz. 9:30–14:00

- Dr Rafał ROSÓŁ (Kraków), *Lingua Punica – lingua comica. O języku punickim w „Punijczyku” Plauta.*
- Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta WESOŁOWSKA (Poznań), *Gwałt mniemany, czyli Lotis, Westa i Omfale.*
- Dr Mariusz ZAGÓRSKI (Warszawa), *Komizm słowny i sytuacyjny w „Amores” I, 11–12.*
- Dr Magdalena NOWAK (Toruń), *Multum facetias in dicendo prodesse saepe (Cicero, De oratore II 227) – dowcip w retorycznej teorii i praktyce.*
- Dr Tomasz SAPOTA (Katowice), *Humor w „Saturnaliach” Makrobiusza.*
- Dr Anna Maria WASYL (Kraków), *Marcjalis wśród Wandalów. Epigram skopetyczny Luxoriusa a tradycja gatunku.*
- Prof. dr hab. Andrzej BUDZISZ (Lublin), *„Comoedia tragica, sacra et nova”, czyli łacińska komedia religijna Renesansu.*

Godz. 16:00–19:00

(sesja dydaktyczna)

- Mgr Ewa POBIEDZIŃSKA (Wrocław), *Łacina w czasie marnym czyli rzecz o pigulce homeopatycznej.*
- Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR (Kraków): *Sztuka zaskakiwania. Kultura popularna na lekcjach języka łacińskiego.*
- Mgr Leonarda GOŁĘBIEWSKA, mgr Urszula TYLICKA (Białystok): *Zastosowanie projektu edukacyjnego na lekcji języka łacińskiego.*
- Mgr Danuta SZAROSZYK-SOCHA (Poznań), *Exemplis discamus.*
- Mgr Klaudia PALMAKA (Gdańsk), *Cywilizacja śródziemnomorska w liceum – innowacja programowa.*
- Dr Tamara ROSZAK (Łódź), *Działania na rzecz uatrakcyjnienia dydaktyki języków klasycznych w szkołach ponadgimnazjalnych w regionie łódzkim w latach 2003–2009.*

Ponadto uczestnicy Walnego Zgromadzenia uczestniczyli w otwarciu okolicznościowej wystawy upamiętniającej 90. rocznicę utworzenia Poznańskiego Koła PTF, a także obejrzeli spektakl *Lizystraty* Arystofanesa, wystawionej przez studencki teatr „Sfinga” w Ośrodku Teatralnym Maski w Poznaniu.

Sesja sprawozdawczo-wyborcza Walnego Zgromadzenia miała miejsce w dniu 19 września. Obrady rozpoczęły się o godz. 16:00 i przebiegły według następującego porządku:

1. Otwarcie sesji przez Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
2. Uczczenie pamięci zmarłych członków PTF.
3. Wybór protokolanta obrad.
4. Wybór komisji skrutacyjnej.
5. Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego PTF.
6. Dyskusja i głosowanie w sprawie uchwały o przyjęciu sprawozdania ZG PTF.
7. Sprawozdania z działalności kół terenowych PTF.
8. Sprawozdanie Przewodniczącego Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.
9. Sprawozdanie Redaktora „Eos”.
10. Sprawozdanie z warsztatów dla nauczycieli, zorganizowanych przez Europejskie Centrum Kulturalne w Delfach.
11. Sprawozdanie z działalności Fundacji „Traditio Europae”.
12. Dyskusja nad sprawozdaniami.
13. Wnioski Przewodniczącego Komisji Nagród; głosowania nad wnioskami.
14. Sprawozdanie finansowe Zarządu Głównego PTF.
15. Sprawozdanie Komisji Rewizyjnej; wniosek w sprawie absolutorium dla Zarządu Głównego.
16. Dyskusja i głosowanie nad uchwałą w sprawie absolutorium dla Zarządu Głównego.
17. Wybór przewodniczącego obrad i Komisji-Matki dla przeprowadzenia wyborów władz PTF.
18. Zgłaszanie kandydatur do funkcji Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
19. Głosowanie nad wyborem Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
20. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad wyborem Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
21. Zgłaszanie kandydatur do pozostałych funkcji w Zarządzie Głównym PTF:
  - a) trzech wiceprezesów,
  - b) skarbnika i sekretarza (zamieszkałych w siedzibie Zarządu Głównego),
  - c) przewodniczącego Komitetu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego,
  - d) przewodniczącego Komisji Nagród,
  - e) od sześciu do dziewięciu członków Zarządu Głównego.
22. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do funkcji w Zarządzie Głównym PTF.
23. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad kandydaturami do funkcji w Zarządzie Głównym PTF.
24. Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Zarządu Głównego PTF.

25. Zgłaszanie kandydatur do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF (przewodniczący + 4 członków).
26. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
27. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad kandydaturami do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
28. Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
29. Zgłaszanie kandydatur do Sądu Koleżeńskiego (przewodniczący + 4 członków).
30. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
31. Ogłoszenie wyników i przyjęcie uchwały w sprawie wyboru Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
32. Wystąpienie wybranego Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF; przejęcie przewodnictwa obrad.
33. Przyjęcie uchwały w sprawie zmian w Statucie PTF.
34. Przyjęcie uchwały w sprawie wysokości rocznej składki członków PTF.
35. Interpelacje i wolne wnioski.
36. Zamknięcie obrad przez Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.

Obrady otworzył i przewodniczył im Prezes Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus. Po przywitaniu uczestników Walnego Zgromadzenia poprosił on wszystkich obecnych o powstanie i uczczenie chwilą ciszy zmarłych w ostatnim czasie Członków Towarzystwa. Następnie zwrócił się do członków Zgromadzenia o wybór protokolanta obrad, zgłaszając równocześnie kandydaturę dr. hab. Huberta Wolanina, sekretarza Zarządu Głównego. Przy braku innych kandydatur dr. hab. Hubert Wolanin jednogłośnie został wybrany protokolantem obrad. Zgodnie z porządkiem obrad przewodniczący zarządził następnie wybór komisji skrutacyjnej. Walne Zgromadzenie w skład komisji skrutacyjnej powołało jednogłośnie dra Tomasza Sapotę w charakterze przewodniczącego oraz dra Sławomira Miozgę i mgr Marzenę Tofilską w charakterze członków.

W dalszej części obrad przewodniczący udzielił głosu dr. hab. Hubertowi Wolaninowi, który przedstawił sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego PTF w okresie sprawozdawczym. Po krótkiej dyskusji przewodniczący zarządził głosowanie w sprawie uchwały o przyjęciu sprawozdania Zarządu Głównego. W drodze głosowania jawnego Walne Zgromadzenie podjęło uchwałę o przyjęciu sprawozdania Zarządu Głównego (56 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się). W kolejnym punkcie obrad, dotyczącym sprawozdań z działalności kół terenowych PTF, padł wniosek o przedłożenie sprawozdań jedynie w formie pisemnej i podanie ich do wiadomości w postaci publikacji w piśmie „Eos”. Przy jednym głosie sprzeciwu Walne Zgromadzenie przyjęło ten wniosek.

Następnie przewodniczący obrad udzielił głosu Przewodniczącemu Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, prof. dr. hab. Marianowi Szarmachowi,

który poinformował o rezygnacji dr Władysławy Jamróz z dalszych prac w Komitecie i zwrócił się do członków Walnego Zgromadzenia o zaakceptowanie, na wniosek koła wrocławskiego PTF, kandydatur prof. dr hab. Lucyny Stankiewicz jako nowego członka Komitetu Głównego oraz dr Barbary Hartleb-Kropidło jako sekretarza w okręgu wrocławskim. Walne Zgromadzenie zaakceptowało zaproponowane zmiany. W dalszej części Sekretarz Komitetu Głównego, mgr Anna Górka, przedstawiła sprawozdanie z ostatniej, XXVII Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, która odbyła się w roku szkolnym 2008/2009. W swoim wystąpieniu stwierdziła, iż etap I (szkolny) odbył się dnia 4 listopada 2008 r. Zadanie uczestników polegało na przetłumaczeniu fragmentu tekstu Korneliusza Neposa. Do komitetów okręgowych Olimpiady wpłynęło łącznie 747 prac pisemnych. Etap II (okręgowy) odbył się w siedzibach Komitetów Okręgowych w dniach 29 i 30 stycznia 2009 r. Do eliminacji pisemnych (obejmowały one tłumaczenie fragmentu z dzieła Gajusza Juliusza Cezara *Bellum Gallicum* oraz rozwiązanie testu gramatycznego) przystąpiło 257 osób z grona 356 zakwalifikowanych. Do III etapu Komitet Główny zakwalifikował 47 osób. Etap III (centralny) odbył się w Warszawie w dniach 1–3 kwietnia 2009 r. Zadanie polegało na przetłumaczeniu fragmentu dzieła *De officiis* Cyserona. Spośród uczniów wyłoniono 36 finalistów i 11 laureatów. W dniach 15–17 maja 2009 r. w Arpino (Włochy) odbyła się XXIX edycja Międzynarodowego Konkursu Cyserońskiego *Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas*. W konkursie tym wzięło udział sześciu laureatów tegorocznej olimpiady.

Zgodnie z porządkiem obrad sprawozdanie z prac Redakcji „Eos” przedstawił redaktor naczelny, prof. dr hab. Jakub Pigoń. W swym sprawozdaniu poinformował m.in. o ukazaniu się obu zeszytów tomu 94 (2007); stwierdził ponadto, iż zeszyt pierwszy tomu 95 ukaże się najprawdopodobniej w październiku bieżącego roku, a zeszyt drugi do końca listopada. Pierwszy zeszyt tomu 96 (2009) oddany zostanie do drukarni do końca października, a ukaże się na początku nowego roku. Redaktor „Eos” poinformował również o dofinansowaniu, jakie udało się pozyskać na publikację periodyku z puli środków Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego przeznaczonych na działalność wspomagającą badania. W roku 2007 i 2008 była to kwota w wysokości 19 200 złotych, a w roku 2009 kwota 25 600 złotych.

W kolejnym punkcie obrad wiceprezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, przedstawiła sprawozdanie z seminarium dla polskich nauczycieli języka starogreckiego, które odbyło się z inicjatywy Europejskiego Centrum Kulturalnego w Delfach (European Cultural Centre of Delphi) w dniach 7–18 sierpnia 2009 w delfickiej siedzibie ośrodka. Prof. Bartol stwierdziła, iż w poświęconym greckiej literaturze i kulturze spotkaniu udział wzięło blisko 40 nauczycieli szkół średnich, lektorów, wykładowców i uczących greki doktorantów, w większości członków terenowych kół PTF. Polskimi koordynatorami organizującymi seminarium byli prof. Jerzy Danielewicz i prof. Krystyna

Bartol. Terenowe koła PTF włączyły się w akcję informacyjną dotyczącą tego przedsięwzięcia, co umożliwiło skorzystanie z tej niepowtarzalnej oferty także nauczycielom działającym poza ośrodkami akademickimi. Szczególnie ważne dla praktyków-dydaktyków było spotkanie z prof. Georgią Xanthaki, prezesem Greckiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, odpowiedzialną za programy nauczania języka starogreckiego w greckich szkołach średnich. Ożywiona dyskusja dotycząca miejsca nauczania języka starogreckiego i kultury helleńskiej w systemie edukacji ponadpodstawowej była inspirującą wymianą doświadczeń dla obu stron. Uczestnicy wysłuchali wykładów (w sumie 60 godzin) sześciorga profesorów polskich, dziewięciorga greckich i jednego z Wielkiej Brytanii. Mieli też możliwość zapoznania się z zabytkami delfickimi i skorzystania ze znakomitego komentarza do poszczególnych obiektów, który wygłosiła prof. Rosina Kolonia, była dyrektor Muzeum Delfickiego i autorka nowej ekspozycji muzealnej. Kończąc swoje wystąpienie Pani Prezes podkreśliła, że Delfickie seminarium spełniło również funkcję integrującą polskie środowisko nauczycieli języka starożytnych Hellenów, a ECCD pozostaje otwarte na dalszą współpracę.

Następnie głos zabrał prezes Koła Toruńskiego PTF, dr hab. Przemysław Nehring, który przedstawił sprawozdanie z działalności Fundacji na Rzecz Badań i Promocji Kultury Klasycznej „*Traditio Europae*”, nad którą PTF sprawuje patronat na mocy uchwały Zarządu Głównego, podjętej na posiedzeniu w maju 2008 r. W swym sprawozdaniu mówca stwierdził, iż Fundacja powstała w październiku 2007 z inicjatywy prof. Mariana Szarmacha oraz jego uczniów. Podstawowym celem Fundacji jest działalność naukowa, edukacyjna, oświatowa i kulturalna, mająca na celu badanie oraz popularyzację kultury i tradycji europejskich, zwłaszcza dziedzictwa grecko-rzymskiego antyku oraz działalność na rzecz ochrony dóbr kultury i tradycji europejskich. Od początku swego istnienia Fundacja współpracuje z Kołem Toruńskim PTF. W ramach wspólnych działań corocznie, od 2007 roku, organizowana jest Liga Starożytnicza – specjalnie opracowany program w formie konkursu adresowany do uczniów szkół gimnazjalnych i ponadgimnazjalnych z województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. Program ten cieszy się ogromnym zainteresowaniem. W jego pierwszej edycji (rok szkolny 2007/ 2008) wzięło udział niemal stu uczniów, w drugiej zaś (rok szkolny 2008/2009) stu pięćdziesięciu. Konkurs znalazł również uznanie władz województwa, od których Fundacja otrzymała dotację na jego organizację w roku 2009. Do stałej działalności Fundacji należy także prowadzenie portalu internetowego [www.traditio-europae.org](http://www.traditio-europae.org), który jest skierowany do wszystkich osób zainteresowanych antykiem. Znajduje się na nim stale uzupełniana baza artykułów naukowych poświęconych starożytności i jej recepcji (obecnie jest ich około pięćdziesięciu) oraz informacje o badaczach antyku, jak również informacje o Fundacji i przeprowadzonych przez nią projektach. Ponadto Fundacja zorganizowała dwie edycje konkursu fotograficznego „Antyk w moim mieście” (2008 i 2009 r.), a we współpracy z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UMK



ogólnopolską konferencję naukową zatytułowaną „Grecka proza pochrystusowa” (maj 2008 r.). W roku szkolnym 2008/2009 włączyła się w przeprowadzenie warsztatów retorycznych dla uczestników debat oksfordzkich organizowanych przez VII LO w Toruniu. Obecnie natomiast, we współpracy z Wydziałem Edukacji Urzędu Miasta w Toruniu, jest w trakcie realizacji konkursu mitologicznego dla uczniów szkół podstawowych z Torunia, zatytułowanego „Afrodyta, Apollo, Ares i inni...”. W styczniu 2009 roku Fundacja „Traditio Europae” została wpisana na listę Organizacji Pożytku Publicznego. Kończąc wystąpienie Pan Prezes zaapelował do wszystkich członków Zgromadzenia o wsparcie dla Fundacji oraz aktywny udział w jej działalności.

Po krótkiej dyskusji nad sprawozdaniami przewodniczący obrad udzielił głosu Przewodniczącemu Komisji Nagród, prof. dr hab. Marianowi Szarmachowi, który przedstawił wniosek o przyznanie nagród w wysokości 1500 złotych za wieloletnie i pełne oddanie realizowanie statutowych celów Towarzystwa prof. dr hab. Annie Marii Komornickiej oraz dr Władysławie Jamróz. Uczestnicy Walnego Zgromadzenia przyjęli wniosek przez aklamację.

W kolejnym punkcie porządku obrad Skarbnik Zarządu Głównego, dr Aleksandra Klęczar, przedstawiła sprawozdanie finansowe Zarządu za okres I I 2009 – 31 VII 2009. W swym wystąpieniu dr Klęczar stwierdziła, iż sprawozdanie oparte jest na zestawieniu wpływów i wydatków PTF, przygotowanym przez firmę audytorską Polekspert. Stan finansów PTF na początku roku 2009 wynosił 52466,51 zł. Przychody Towarzystwa wyniosły 41 733,39 złotych, z czego znaczącą większość (31 150 zł) zapewniała obsługa grantów dra Rucińskiego, prof. Mrozewicza i dra hab. Wolanina. Dochody przynosiły Towarzystwu także sprzedaż pisma „Eos” (7 160 zł), składki członkowskie (3 230 zł) oraz oprocentowanie aktywów (193,39 zł). Wśród wydatków PTF (ich łączna suma to 65 132,44 zł) ponownie największą pozycję stanowią granty (prof. Nawotka 5 733,82 zł; dr hab. Wolanin 10 582 zł; dr Ruciński 10 239,60 zł). Druga znacząca pozycja w budżecie PTF to koszty publikacji „Eos” (21 878 zł). Koszty ogólne zarządu wyniosły 9 449,36 zł. Dodatkowo wśród wydatków znalazł się koszt zwrotu części grantu prof. Nawotki do MNiSzW (7 249 zł). Reasumując, stan finansów PTF na dzień 31 VII 2009 r. wynosił 29 067,46 zł. Należy przy tym dodać, że wcześniej Główna Komisja Rewizyjna, działająca pod kierunkiem prof. Ireneusza Mikołajczyka, zatwierdziła sprawozdanie finansowe Zarządu za rok 2007, zamykające się kwotą bilansową 51 040 zł i niedoborami w kwocie 20 095 zł, oraz sprawozdanie za rok 2008, zamykające się kwotą bilansową 78 280 zł i niedoborami w kwocie 2 688 zł, postulując pokrycie niedoborów z wpływów w latach następnych.

W dalszej kolejności prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk przedstawił sprawozdanie Komisji Rewizyjnej. W swoim wystąpieniu przewodniczący Komisji stwierdził m.in., iż po przeprowadzeniu kontroli dokumentów finansowych i ksiąg kasowych Komisja Rewizyjna nie stwierdziła uchybień w dokumentacji.

Równocześnie Komisja wysoko oceniła starania i wysiłki Zarządu Głównego, w tym Prezesa prof. Kazimierza Korusa, podejmowane dla zachowania dobrej kondycji finansowej Towarzystwa oraz realizowania celów statutowych. Za ten trud Komisja składa Panu Prezesowi i Zarządowi Głównemu PTF serdeczne podziękowania. Kończąc wystąpienie przewodniczący Komisji postawił wniosek o podjęcie przez Walne Zgromadzenie uchwały o udzielenie absolutorium ustępującemu Zarządowi Głównemu PTF. W zarządzonym głosowaniu Walne Zgromadzenie przyjęło uchwałę o udzieleniu absolutorium ustępującemu Zarządowi Głównemu Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego (39 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się).

Przewodniczący obrad, Prezes ZG PTF prof. Kazimierz Korus, podziękował zebranych za udzielone absolutorium, a członkom Zarządu Głównego za wspólną pracę i pomoc w kierowaniu Towarzystwem. Następnie zwrócił się do Zgromadzenia o wybór przewodniczącego dalszej części obrad oraz Komisji-Matki dla przeprowadzenia wyborów nowych władz PTF. Przewodniczącym obrad oraz przewodniczącym Komisji-Matki została wybrana dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba, natomiast członkami Komisji-Matki zostali dr hab. Przemysław Nehring i dr Antoni Bobrowski. Przewodnicząca obrad zwróciła się do członków Zgromadzenia o zgłaszanie kandydatur do objęcia funkcji Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF. Ustępujący Prezes, prof. Kazimierz Korus, zgłosił i zarekomendował kandydaturę prof. dr. hab. Andrzeja Budzisa z Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Wobec braku innych kandydatur przewodnicząca obrad zarządziła głosowanie tajne nad zgłoszoną kandydaturą. W głosowaniu tym padły 53 głosy za, 1 głos przeciw i 4 głosy wstrzymujące się. Po odczytaniu protokołu komisji skrutacyjnej przewodnicząca zebrania ogłosiła wybór prof. dr. hab. Andrzeja Budzisa na stanowisko Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.

Następnie przewodnicząca zwróciła się o zgłaszanie kandydatur do pozostałych funkcji w Zarządzie Głównym. Zgłoszone zostały następujące kandydatury: prof. Kazimierz Korus, prof. Jerzy Styka, prof. Krystyna Bartol, dr Iwona Wieźel, dr Agata Łuka, prof. Marian Szarmach, dr Przemysław Marciniak, dr hab. Cyprian Mieleczarski, prof. Elżbieta Wesołowska, dr Rafał Rosół, prof. Krzysztof Głombiowski, dr Krzysztof Morta, prof. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. Sławomir Wyszomirski, dr Tamara Roszak. W głosowaniu tajnym, w którym wzięło udział 58 osób, poszczególne kandydatury otrzymały następującą liczbę głosów:

Kazimierz Korus: za 54, przeciw 4

Jerzy Styka: za 54, przeciw 4

Krystyna Bartol: za 57, przeciw 1

Iwona Wieźel: za 58, przeciw 0

Agata Łuka: za 57, przeciw 1

Marian Szarmach: za 56, przeciw 2

Przemysław Marciniak: za 56, przeciw 2  
Cyprian Mielczarski: za 55, przeciw 3  
Elżbieta Wesołowska: za 57, przeciw 1  
Rafał Rosół: za 53, przeciw 5  
Krzysztof Głombiowski: za 57, przeciw 1  
Krzysztof Morta: za 57, przeciw 1  
Krzysztof Narecki: za 57, przeciw 1  
Sławomir Wyszomirski: za 57, przeciw 1  
Tamara Roszak: za 58, przeciw 0

Po ogłoszeniu wyników głosowania Walne Zgromadzenie przyjęło uchwałę o wyborze Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w następującym składzie:

Prezes Zarządu Głównego:  
prof. dr hab. Andrzej Budzisz

Wiceprezesa Zarządu Głównego:  
prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol  
prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus  
prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka

Skarbnik Zarządu Głównego:  
dr Iwona Wieżel

Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego:  
dr Agata Łuka

Członkowie Zarządu Głównego:  
prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski  
dr Przemysław Marciniak  
dr hab. Cyprian Mielczarski  
dr Krzysztof Morta  
prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki  
dr Rafał Rosół  
dr Tamara Roszak  
prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska  
prof. dr hab. Sławomir Wyszomirski

Przewodniczący Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego i Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród:  
prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach

Zgodnie z porządkiem obrad przewodnicząca zebrania zwróciła się następnie do członków Walnego Zgromadzenia o zgłaszanie kandydatur do Komisji Rewizyjnej. Zgłoszone kandydatury w głosowaniu tajnym uzyskały następującą liczbę głosów:

- dr Barbara Bibik: za 53, przeciw 5
- dr Sławomira Brud: za 46, przeciw 12
- dr Małgorzata Górską: za 53, przeciw 5
- dr Aleksandra Klęczar: za 54, przeciw 4
- dr hab. Tomasz Witzak: za 34, przeciw 24
- dr Mariusz Zagórski: za 55, przeciw 5

Po ogłoszeniu wyników głosowania przez przewodniczącą obrad Walne Zgromadzenie podjęło uchwałę o wyborze Komisji Rewizyjnej Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w następującym składzie:

Przewodnicząca Komisji Rewizyjnej:

dr Aleksandra Klęczar

Członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej:

dr Barbara Bibik  
dr Sławomira Brud  
dr Małgorzata Górską  
dr Mariusz Zagórski

W kolejnym punkcie przewodnicząca zebrania zwróciła się do członków Walnego Zgromadzenia o zgłaszanie kandydatur do Sądu Koleżeńskiego. Zgłoszone kandydatury w głosowaniu tajnym uzyskały następującą liczbę głosów:

- prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz: za 54, przeciw 4
- prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska: za 53, przeciw 5
- prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz: za 54, przeciw 4
- prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański: za 55, przeciw 3
- prof. dr hab. Wanda Popiak: za 50, przeciw 8

Po ogłoszeniu wyników głosowania Walne Zgromadzenie przyjęło uchwałę o wyborze Sądu Koleżeńskiego w następującym składzie:

Przewodniczący Sądu Koleżeńskiego:

prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz

Członkowie Sądu Koleżeńskiego:

prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz  
prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska

prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański  
prof. dr hab. Wanda Popiak

W dalszej części przewodnictwo obrad Walnego Zgromadzenia przejął wybrany Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Andrzej Budzisz. Pan Prezes podziękował wszystkim zebrany za zaufanie i wybór, a także wyraził podziękowanie i uznanie dla ustępującego Zarządu. Poinformował również o podjęciu decyzji mianowania Kanclerzem Towarzystwa dotychczasowego Sekretarza Zarządu Głównego, dr. hab. Huberta Wolanina. Następnie przewodniczący obrad poddał pod głosowanie projekt uchwały zmieniającej treść paragrafu 3 Statutu Towarzystwa, mówiącego o siedzibie Zarządu Głównego. W głosowaniu jawnym Walne zgromadzenie przyjęło uchwałę stwierdzającą, iż par. 3 Statutu PTF otrzymuje brzmienie: „Siedzibą Zarządu Głównego jest Lublin”. Na wniosek Prezesa Zarządu Głównego Walne Zgromadzenie podjęło również uchwałę o pozostawieniu składek członkowskich w dotychczasowej wysokości. Zapraszając wszystkich zebranych do współpracy w realizowaniu statutowych celów Towarzystwa Prezes ZG PTF zamknął obrady Walnego Zgromadzenia.

*Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego  
dr hab. Hubert Wolanin*



SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO  
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO  
W OKRESIE 17 WRZEŚNIA 2007 – 19 WRZEŚNIA 2009\*

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny PTF pracował w następującym składzie:

Prezes Honorowy: prof. dr hab. Maria Cytowska (zmarła 14 XI 2007);

Prezes Zarządu Głównego: prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus;

Wiceprezesa Zarządu Głównego: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka, prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion;

Członkowie Prezydium Zarządu Głównego: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Axer, dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz;

Członkowie Zarządu Głównego: dr Grażyna Czetwertyńska, prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki, ks. prof. dr hab. Augustyn Eckmann, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski, dr hab. Krzysztof T. Witzczak;

Kancelarz: dr Joanna Janik;

Skarbnik: dr Aleksandra Klęczar;

Przewodniczący KG Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród: prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach;

Redaktor „Eos”: prof. dr hab. Jakub Pigoń;

Prezesa Kół Terenowych PTF: dr Tomasz Mojsik (Białystok), dr Zbigniew Brzostowski (Gdańsk), dr Tomasz Sapota (Katowice), dr Antoni Bobrowski (Kraków), dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba (Lublin), dr Joanna Rybowska (Łódź), prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz (Opole), dr Teodozja Wikarjak (Poznań), dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin), dr hab. Przemysław Nehring (Toruń), prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz (Warszawa), dr Małgorzata Wróbel (Wrocław);

Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego: dr hab. Hubert Wolanin;

Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk (przewodniczący), prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski, mgr Hubert Kaczmarek, prof. dr hab. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska, dr Agnieszka Heszen (członkowie);

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\* Sprawozdanie Zarządu Głównego za okres 16 września 2005–16 września 2007 przedstawione zostało na Walnym Zgromadzeniu Sprawozdawczym PTF 16 IX 2007 w Łodzi i opublikowane w „Eos” XCIV 2007, s. 331–336.

Sąd Koleżeński: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz (przewodniczący), prof. dr hab. Ludwika Rychlewska (wiceprzewodnicząca), prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański, prof. dr hab. Andrzej Wójcik (członkowie).

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny Towarzystwa zebrał się na trzech posiedzeniach w Warszawie (w dniach 10 V 2008, 27 IX 2008 i 23 III 2009) oraz na jednym w Poznaniu (18 IX 2009). Na wszystkich posiedzeniach liczba obecnych członków Zarządu stanowiła wymagane *quorum* niezbędne dla podejmowania przez Zarząd prawomocnych uchwał. W posiedzeniach brali także udział członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej, a w niektórych również inni zaproszeni goście.

Wśród kwestii będących przedmiotem troski Zarządu Głównego, jedną z najważniejszych stanowiło nauczanie języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w polskich szkołach oraz status egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. W latach 2007–2008 egzamin maturalny z tego przedmiotu, podobnie jak w latach poprzednich, miał charakter egzaminu dodatkowego, zdanego wyłącznie na poziomie rozszerzonym. W roku 2007 przystąpiło do niego 121 zdających, w 2008 roku 118. W porównaniu z rokiem 2005 i 2006, kiedy to przystąpiło do egzaminu odpowiednio 180 i 166 osób, nastąpił więc pewien spadek zainteresowania absolwentów liceów zdawaniem egzaminu z tego przedmiotu. W roku bieżącym (maj 2009) egzamin po raz pierwszy miał status jednego z egzaminów do wyboru i mógł być zdawany na poziomie podstawowym lub rozszerzonym. Egzamin na poziomie podstawowym zdawało 46 osób, na poziomie rozszerzonym 136 osób; łącznie więc do egzaminu przystąpiło 182 abiturientów, czyli mniej więcej tyle, ile w roku 2005 (180). Średni wynik egzaminu z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w roku ubiegłym (2008) wyniósł 69% maksymalnej liczby punktów i był to wynik stosunkowo wysoki; dla porównania średni wynik egzaminu pisemnego na poziomie rozszerzonym z języka polskiego wyniósł wtedy 59%, z historii 48%, z matematyki 54%, z biologii 51%; na zbliżonym poziomie ukształtowały się natomiast wyniki analogicznych egzaminów z języków obcych nowożytnych (język angielski 70%, niemiecki 72%, francuski 69%, włoski 64% maksymalnej liczby punktów). W roku bieżącym średni wynik egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej na poziomie podstawowym wyniósł 74,76% maksymalnej liczby punktów i był to wynik najwyższy w grupie egzaminów zdawanych na tym poziomie (dla porównania: język polski 52%, historia 53%, matematyka 49%, biologia 44%, język angielski 59%, niemiecki 56%, francuski 61%, włoski 69%). Średni wynik egzaminu z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej na poziomie rozszerzonym wyniósł natomiast 66,45% maksymalnej liczby punktów i był to wynik wyższy niż wyniki analogicznych egzaminów z języka polskiego (65%), historii (47%), matematyki (58%) i biologii (58%), ale nieco niższy niż języków obcych nowożytnych (np. angielski 74%, niemiecki 74%, francuski 73%, włoski 70%). Minimalna liczba punktów uzyskana w roku bieżącym na egzaminie z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej na poziomie podstawowym wyniosła 36, maksymalna 91 (na



100), na poziomie rozszerzonym odpowiednio 10 i 100. Egzamin na poziomie podstawowym zdali wszyscy, którzy do niego przystąpili, egzamin na poziomie rozszerzonym zdało 96% zdających. Przedstawione dane prowadzą do wniosku, że maturzyści lepiej poradzi sobie z egzaminem na poziomie podstawowym, natomiast egzamin na poziomie rozszerzonym, który wybrany został przez większą grupę zdających niż poprzedni, przyniósł wyniki nieco słabsze.

Należy przy tym zaznaczyć, że generalnie liczba osób zdających egzamin maturalny z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej nie jest wysoka, zwłaszcza jeśli uwzględnimy fakt, iż dane dotyczące liczby osób zdających maturę z tego przedmiotu obejmują również finalistów i laureatów Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego (uzyskanie tytułu laureata lub finalisty Olimpiady jest równoznaczne z uzyskaniem najwyższej oceny z egzaminu maturalnego). Wobec ciągle niestabilnej sytuacji w polskim systemie oświatowym mała liczebność abiturientów wybierających ten przedmiot do zdawania na maturze stwarza realną groźbę usunięcia go z katalogu egzaminów maturalnych. Nakłada to na całe nasze środowisko obowiązek podejmowania wszelkich starań, mających na celu zachęcanie i motywowanie uczniów do wybierania języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej jako przedmiotu maturalnego. Mając to na uwadze Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. Kazimierz Korus, w lutym 2008 roku przesłał do Rektorów 24 polskich szkół wyższych pismo, w którym zwrócił się z apelem o uwzględnienie wyniku egzaminu maturalnego z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w postępowaniu rekrutacyjnym na poszczególne kierunki studiów, w szczególności humanistyczne, w kierowanych przez nich uczelniach. W liście tym Prezes wyraził przekonanie, iż w ten sposób polska społeczność akademicka, niewątpliwie dostrzegająca wartość elementów wykształcenia klasycznego dla formowania przyszłych elit kulturalnych naszego kraju, nie tylko spełni elementarny obowiązek docenienia wysiłku włożonego przez kandydatów w opanowanie arkanów łaciny i poznanie cywilizacyjnego dziedzictwa antyku, ale także wypełni ciężący na nas wszystkich nakaz dbania o jakość i intelektualny format naszych studentów i absolwentów. Równocześnie do dziesięciu Dyrektorów Instytutów i Kierowników innych jednostek związanych z kształceniem wyższym Prezes skierował pismo z prośbą o wsparcie tej inicjatywy w swych środowiskach. Wreszcie do kilkudziesięciu dyrektorów liceów ogólnokształcących Małopolski, a na prośbę Koła Katowickiego również Górnego Śląska, Prezes wystosował list, w którym zaapelował o to, by zapewnili uczniom ich szkół możliwość uczestniczenia w lekcjach języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej, a także przygotowania się do egzaminu maturalnego z tego przedmiotu.

Na swych posiedzeniach Zarząd wielokrotnie zajmował się różnymi kwestiami związanymi z nauczaniem języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w ramach ciągle zmieniającego się systemu polskiej oświaty. Wobec konieczności dostosowywania programów nauczania i podręczników szkolnych do wprowadzanych i projektowanych przez resort edukacji reform dyskutowano nad celowością powołania przy Towarzystwie specjalnej rady programowej złożonej

z doświadczonych nauczycieli, której celem byłoby zadbanie o właściwe instrumentarium dydaktyczne, odpowiadające różnym formułom nauczania i różnym ścieżkom edukacyjnym, w ramach których możliwe jest lub będzie przekazywanie treści dotyczących języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w polskich szkołach. Wstępnie zgłoszono kandydatury kilku osób deklarujących chęć udziału w pracach tego rodzaju rady, ale formalnie rada nie została jeszcze powołana. Zarząd Główny udzielił natomiast wsparcia dwóm inicjatywom mającym związek z dydaktyką i popularyzacją wiedzy o antyku.

Na posiedzeniu w maju 2008, na wniosek dr Barbary Bibik, Zarząd podjął uchwałę o objęciu przez Towarzystwo patronatem działalności Fundacji na Rzecz Badań i Promocji Kultury Klasycznej „*Traditio Europae*”. Fundacja powstała w październiku 2007 z inicjatywy prof. Mariana Szarmacha oraz Jego uczniów. Podstawowym celem Fundacji jest działalność naukowa, edukacyjna, oświatowa i kulturalna mająca na celu badanie oraz popularyzację kultury i tradycji europejskich, zwłaszcza dziedzictwa grecko-rzymskiego antyku, oraz działalność na rzecz ochrony dóbr kultury i tradycji europejskich. Z kolei na posiedzeniu we wrześniu 2008 r. Wiceprezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. Krystyna Bartol, poinformowała Zarząd o inicjatywie, z którą wystąpiło Europejskie Centrum Kulturalne w Delfach (European Cultural Centre of Delphi). Instytucja ta, wśród wielu różnych form aktywności, od roku 1995 organizuje coroczne seminaria na temat języka i cywilizacji starożytnej Grecji, przeznaczone dla nauczycieli języka i kultury greckiej szkół średnich całej Europy. Do udziału w seminarium w roku 2009 Centrum zaprosiło nauczycieli polskich. Zarząd Główny PTF zdecydował o udzieleniu wsparcia tej inicjatywie poprzez zaangażowanie się w poszukiwanie kandydatów mogących wziąć udział w seminarium oraz pomoc przy zorganizowaniu wizyty delegatów Centrum w Polsce. W listopadzie 2008 czworo delegatów Centrum złożyło krótką wizytę w Warszawie i Krakowie, m.in. hospitując zajęcia z języka greckiego w tamtejszych szkołach, a w dniach 7–18 sierpnia 2009 w delfickiej siedzibie ośrodka odbyło się seminarium dla polskich nauczycieli. Koszty uczestnictwa w seminarium, z wyjątkiem kosztów podróży, pokryła strona zapraszająca. W poświęconym greckiej literaturze i kulturze spotkaniu udział wzięło blisko 40 nauczycieli szkół średnich, lektorów, wykładowców i uczących greki doktorantów, w większości członków terenowych kół PTF. Polskimi koordynatorami organizującymi seminarium byli prof. Jerzy Danielewicz i prof. Krystyna Bartol.

Przedmiotem starań Zarządu było również realizowanie statutowego obowiązku wspierania i rozwijania prac badawczych nad kulturą antyczną. Podstawowym narzędziem służącym Towarzystwu do realizacji tego celu jest wydawanie czasopisma naukowego „*Eos*”, publikującego wyniki badań prowadzonych przez uczonych w tej dziedzinie. Na wszystkich posiedzeniach Zarządu Głównego Redaktor „*Eos*”, prof. Jakub Pigoń, przedstawiał aktualne sprawozdania z działalności Redakcji nad wydawaniem kolejnych tomów periodyku. Należy stwierdzić,

iz z Redakcją „Eos” współpracują – w charakterze autorów artykułów i recenzji – wybitni uczeni z kraju i zagranicy, w związku z czym publikowane na łamach czasopisma artykuły, obecnie już wyłącznie w językach kongresowych, prezentują bardzo wysoki poziom naukowy, a samo pismo znane jest w wielu ośrodkach naukowych w Europie i na świecie. Mimo wszelkich trudności Redakcji udało się również utrzymać rytmiczność publikacji czasopisma, a nawet w znacznej mierze nadrobić narosłe w poprzednich latach opóźnienia w wydawaniu kolejnych zeszytów. Na posiedzeniu w maju br. Zarząd poinformowany został o wydaniu obu zeszytów rocznika 2007 oraz zapoznał się ze szczegółowym spisem zawartości obu zeszytów rocznika 2008. Dodajmy, że w zeszycie drugim rocznika 2007 opublikowane zostało sprawozdanie ze CII Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF w Łodzi i towarzyszącej mu sesji naukowej pt. „Kategorie i funkcje czasu w ujęciu starożytnych”, oraz sprawozdania Zarządu Głównego i Kół Terenowych z działalności w okresie wrzesień 2005 – wrzesień 2007. Redaktorowi „Eos” regularnie udawało się pozyskiwać dofinansowanie Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego na publikację periodyku z puli środków Ministerstwa przeznaczonych na działalność wspomagającą badania. W roku 2007 i 2008 była to kwota w wysokości 19 200 zł, w roku 2009 kwota 25 600 zł.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne realizowało także własne projekty badawcze, które sfinansowane zostały przez Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z puli środków uzyskiwanych w drodze konkursowej (granty). W roku 2007 kontynuowane były lub dobiegły końca prace nad projektami rozpoczętymi w latach poprzednich, tj. „Ostatnie dwie stylistyki greckie”, pod kierunkiem prof. Henryka Podbielskiego oraz „Pseudo-Kallistenesa *Romans Aleksandra*” pod kierunkiem prof. Krzysztofa Nawotki. W roku 2008 udało się Towarzystwu uzyskać finansowanie dla dwu nowych projektów badawczych: „*Praefectus praetorio*. Dowódca – sędzia – administrator we wczesnym Cesarstwie Rzymskim” (kierownik: dr Sebastian Ruciński), oraz „Gramatyka opisowa klasycznej łaciny w ujęciu strukturalnym” (kierownik: dr hab. Hubert Wolanin). W roku bieżącym (2009) przyznane zostały środki na sfinansowanie projektu promotorskiego pt. „Obraz Hiszpanii w *Naturalis Historia* Pliniusza Starszego” (kierownik: prof. Leszek Mrozewicz) oraz zgłoszony został do konkursu kolejny projekt: „*Studia nad Adversus Nationes Arnobiusza*” (kierownik: dr Anna Kucz). Jako jednostka realizująca wymienione projekty badawcze Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne uzyskało z tego tytułu przychody, które w roku 2007 wyniosły 4 233 zł, w roku 2008 – 6 050 zł, w roku bieżącym – 9 550 zł; w roku 2010 z tytułu kontynuacji rozpoczętych projektów przychody te wyniosą 6 400 zł.

Nie udało się niestety Zarządowi Głównemu PTF osiągnąć w pełni satysfakcjonujących wyników w dziedzinie współpracy międzynarodowej. Decyzją Prezesa współpraca ta ograniczała się w zasadzie do kontaktów czysto formalnych z FIEC (Fédération Internationale d'Études Classiques) i Euroclassica, polegających na wnoszeniu wymaganych opłat członkowskich oraz prowadzeniu

korespondencji. Kontakty bezpośrednie, udział w spotkaniach i konferencjach, czy wreszcie aktywne zaangażowanie się Towarzystwa w projekty realizowane przez ww. organizacje międzynarodowe, okazał się bardzo utrudniony ze względu na ograniczenia finansowe Towarzystwa.

Sprawą wymagającą uwagi ze strony Zarządu Głównego okazały się również kwestie wewnętrzne Towarzystwa, związane ze sposobem jego funkcjonowania. W tej materii udało się doprowadzić do pełnego uaktualnienia zapisów dotyczących Towarzystwa w Krajowym Rejestrze Sądowym. Od 19 czerwca 2008 wszystkie dane dotyczące Towarzystwa, wymagane przez przepisy prawne, są w pełni aktualne i mogą być udostępniane w formie odpisów we wszystkich Oddziałach Centralnej Informacji Krajowego Rejestru Sądowego, działających przy sądach rejonowych na terenie całego kraju. Informacje na temat Towarzystwa są również dostępne w internecie. Dzięki uprzejmości Redakcji „Eos” na stronie [www.eos.wroclaw.pl](http://www.eos.wroclaw.pl) umieszczony został link „PTF”, pod którym znaleźć można podstawowe dane kontaktowe Towarzystwa oraz inne, takie jak numer NIP, REGON, KRS, konta bankowego, a także Statut Towarzystwa, sprawozdania Zarządu oraz informacje na temat składu osobowego władz PTF i organu nadzoru. Mimo trudności udało się Zarządowi zachować względną stabilizację finansową Towarzystwa. Główna Komisja Rewizyjna, działająca pod kierunkiem prof. Ireneusza Mikołajczyka, zatwierdziła sprawozdanie finansowe Zarządu za rok 2007, zamykające się kwotą bilansową 51 040 zł i niedoborami w kwocie 20 095 zł, oraz sprawozdanie za rok 2008, zamykające się kwotą bilansową 78 280 zł i niedoborami w kwocie 2 688 zł, postulując pokrycie niedoborów z wpływów w latach następnych. Na swych posiedzeniach Zarząd podejmował także kwestię zmian w Statucie Towarzystwa, dostosowujących go do wymogów obowiązujących obecnie przepisów i procedur prawnych. Razem z tymi kwestiami dyskutowany był również problem ewentualnego wystąpienia z wnioskiem o wpisanie Towarzystwa do rejestru Organizacji Pożytku Publicznego. W trakcie dyskusji nad tymi zagadnieniami większość członków Zarządu podkreślała niepewność co do wysokości środków, jakie Towarzystwo mogłoby pozyskać na drodze przekazywania mu przez członków i sympatyków 1% podatku dochodowego. Zwrócono również uwagę na niecelowość dokonywania pojedynczych zmian w statucie, które byłyby niezbędne w procesie ubiegania się o status Organizacji Pożytku Publicznego. Wskazano natomiast, iż korzystna byłaby głęboka nowelizacja Statutu PTF, dostosowująca go zarówno do wymogów narzucanych przez ustawę Prawo o Stowarzyszeniach, jak i do wymogów związanych z ewentualnym uzyskaniem statusu OPP. Nowelizacja taka wymagałaby jednak współpracy i konsultacji wykwalifikowanego prawnika. Wobec zbliżającego się końca kadencji Zarząd zdecydował o pozostawieniu decyzji w tych kwestiach nowym Władzom Towarzystwa.

*Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus  
Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego PTF dr hab. Hubert Wolanin*

SPRAWOZDANIA Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI KÓŁ TERENOWYCH  
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO  
W OKRESIE 17 WRZEŚNIA 2007 – 19 WRZEŚNIA 2009

1. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA BIAŁOSTOCKIEGO

Skład Zarządu: prezes – dr Tomasz Mojsik, wiceprezes – dr Joanna Usakiewicz, sekretarz – mgr Urszula Tylicka, skarbnik – mgr Alina Pawłowska, członkowie Zarządu – mgr Leonarda Szumiel, honorowy członek Zarządu – mgr Magdalena Wojciechowska. Aktualnie Koło Białostockie PTF liczy 9 członków regularnie opłacających składki członkowskie oraz uczestniczących w spotkaniach.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się trzy spotkania Koła:

1. Zebranie sprawozdawcze po CII Walnym Zjeździe Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w Łodzi (9 X 2007).
2. Zebranie informacyjne na temat międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej „Paradygmat lingwistyczny XXI wieku”, organizowanej przez Katedrę Anglistyki i Germanistyki oraz Zakład Glottodydaktyki Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych WSiF w Białymstoku (10 I 2008).
4. Zebranie poświęcone dydaktyce języka łacińskiego w szkołach ponadgimnazjalnych, w którym gościnnie uczestniczył dr hab. prof. UwB Mieczysław Mejor, oraz autorskiej prezentacji publikacji *Quid scientia sine usu? Ćwiczenia z języka łacińskiego dla studentów prawa oraz innych kierunków humanistycznych* autorstwa L. Gołębiowskiej, A. Pawłowskiej i U. Tylickiej (3 IV 2008).

Koło Białostockie PTF w okresie sprawozdawczym było współorganizatorem następujących imprez i spotkań:

- przygotowanie i wystawienie na Podlaskim Festiwalu Nauki i Sztuki *Chmur Arystofanesa* w wykonaniu teatru studenckiego Oimoi pod opieką dra Tomasza Mojsika (maj 2008).
- dwa gościnne wykłady dr Jaroslava DANEŠA (Univerzita Hradec Králové, Czechy): (1) *Some remarks about the problem of heredity in ancient Greek philosophy and medicine* (18 III 2008); (2) *Critical discussion about the concept of human nature in Hippocratic writings* (19 III 2008).

## 2. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA GDAŃSKIEGO

Od początku okresu sprawozdawczego trwa kadencja Zarządu Koła w składzie: przewodniczący – dr Zbigniew I. Brzostowski, wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Ewelina Marciniak, sekretarz – mgr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, skarbniczka – mgr Maria Otto, członkowie – dr Bartłomiej Siek, mgr Rafał Szczepkowski.

Koło Gdańskie liczy 39 członków. Członkowie Koła, którzy rezygnują z uczestnictwa w stowarzyszeniu, są zastępowani przez nowych. Dzięki temu liczba członków Koła utrzymuje się od lat na podobnym poziomie.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się jedenaście zebrań. Ich częstotliwość była zatem podobna jak w latach poprzednich. W czasie tych spotkań omawiano sprawy organizacyjne związane z działalnością Koła Gdańskiego PTF oraz przedstawiano referaty przygotowane przez pracowników Katedry Filologii Klasycznej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, innych uczelni wyższych, pracowników Polskiej Akademii Nauk i doktorantów. Kontynuowano także tradycję zapraszania do współpracy środowiska studenckiego. Tytuły wystąpień w kolejności:

1. Dr Aleksander BALIŃSKI, *Persja na Jedwabnym Szlaku* (26 X 2007).
2. Mgr Tytus MIKOŁAJCZAK, *Nowe trendy w badaniach nad Achemenidami* (28 XI 2007).
3. Mgr Maria WUJTEWICZ, *Zarys historii Koła Gdańskiego PTF* (12 XII 2007).
4. Mgr Dominika PIETKIEWICZ, „*Kronika Oliwska*” *opata Stanisława – problemy przekładu tekstu średniowiecznego* (18 I 2008).
5. Dr Bogdan BURLIGA, *Nad problemami przekładu „Obrońcy oblężonego miasta” Eneasz Taktyka* (7 III 2008).
6. Doc. dr Norair TER-GRIGORIAN, *Niektóre zagadnienia leksykografii dwujęzycznej (na materiale słownika ormiańsko-polskiego i polsko-ormiańskiego)* (13 VI 2008).
7. Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga KALINOWSKA OSB, *Postać Stanisława Hozjusza według osiemnastowiecznej edycji oliwskiej „Vita Hosii” Stanisława Reszki* (15 XII 2008).
8. Mgr Rafał SZCZEPKOWSKI, *O przekładzie „Elementów” Euklidesa. Problemy translologiczne* (23 I 2009).
9. *Grecja Pauzaniaśa w oczach studentów z Koła Naukowego Filologii Klasycznej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*. Wprowadzenie: dr Grzegorz KOTŁOWSKI, referaty: Patrycja GOŹDZIK, Katarzyna KUTUZOW, Katarzyna KWAŚNIEWSKA, Aleksandra SZYMLEK, Paweł STUDZIŃSKI (27 V 2009).
10. Dr Aleksander BALIŃSKI, *Wspomnienie Andaluzji czyli legenda o kulturze tolerancji* (19 VI 2009).
11. Mgr Tytus MIKOŁAJCZAK, *Pieczenie na „rejestrach” Archiwum Fortyfikacji Persepolis* (15 IX 2009).

Spotkania odbywały się w różnych miejscach, najczęściej w budynku Wydziału Filologiczno-Historycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego oraz w Bibliotece Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli w Walnym Zgromadzeniu PTF w Łodzi w dniach 14–16 IX 2007, połączonym z międzynarodową konferencją „Kategorie i funkcje czasu w ujęciu starożytnych”, a także w obchodach jubileuszu XXV-lecia Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

W ramach zadań Koła trwają prace nad przekładem i opracowaniem *Philippi Adler Prioris Annales Monasterii Olivensis ab a. 1549–1621*. Pracę tę realizujemy siłami członków Koła – Zbigniewa I. Brzostowskiego, Bogdana Burligi, Romana Dziegielewskiego, Grzegorza Kotłowskiego, Jana Krzemińskiego, Dominiki Pietkiewicz, Jacka Pokrzywnickiego, Anny Szymańskiej.

Zarząd Koła Gdańskiego PTF, na wniosek Komisji Dydaktycznej, na zebraniu w dniu 18 I 2008 r. podjął uchwałę, by zobowiązać Zarząd Główny PTF do zajęcia stanowiska w sprawie sytuacji nauczycieli łaciny, ilości godzin nauczania tego języka oraz dostosowania podręczników do niewielkiej liczby godzin dydaktycznych i możliwości percepcyjnych uczniów. (Zarząd Główny zajął stanowisko w sprawie i przekazał je członkom Koła. Członkowie po zapoznaniu się ze stanowiskiem Zarządu Głównego przyjęli je do wiadomości).

Koło Gdańskie wsparło organizacyjnie i finansowo kilka przedsięwzięć naukowych i popularnonaukowych:

1. Konferencja *Coloquium Neolatinum IV* (16 i 17 X 2008), dofinansowanie w wysokości 300,00 zł.
2. Pokaz kuchni rzymskiej na podstawie tekstów autorów antycznych, w ramach VI Bałtyckiego Festiwalu Nauki (V 2008), dofinansowanie w wysokości 200,00 zł.
3. Wyjazd naukowy studentów filologii klasycznej do Pelplina – „Aten północy” (3 VI 2009), dofinansowanie w wysokości 150,00 zł.

Podjęto też wstępne zobowiązanie o dofinansowaniu konferencji „Ksenofont – literat i człowiek swojej epoki” (22 i 23 X 2009).

### 3. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KATOWICKIEGO

Koło Katowickie liczy 45 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym pracami Koła kierował Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr Tomasz Sapota; wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Grażyna Golik-Szarawarska; skarbnik – dr Anna Szczepaniak; sekretarz – mgr Patrycja Matusiak; członkowie Zarządu – mgr Elżbieta Matykiewicz, mgr Stefania Sobczak; Komisja Rewizyjna – dr Andrzej Trojnar, mgr Kamila Kowalczyk, mgr Janina Wolsza. W tym czasie do Koła zapisało się sześciu nowych członków – w większości absolwentów filologii klasycznej Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się dwanaście zebrań. Referaty wygłosili:

1. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna BARTOL (UAM) *Dramatyczność w antycznej teorii narracji i wybranych gatunkach narracyjnych epoki cesarstwa* (22 X 2007).
2. Dr Dion SMYTHE (Queen's University Belfast), *Looking for pink in the purple and gold: applying Queer Theory to Byzantium* (7 XI 2007).
3. Dr hab. Piotr URBAŃSKI (Uniwersytet Szczeciński) *Łacińska opera „Apollo et Hyacinthus” Mozarta – Widla* (19 XII 2007).
4. Dr hab. Józef BUDZYŃSKI, *Eros bizantyński w recepcji Mikołaja Kopernika i Wawrzyńca Korwina Ślązaka* (20 II 2008).
5. Mgr Agata CIEMPIEL, *Mądra i oddana czy przebiegła i bezwstydna? Prawdziwe oblicze Aspazji z Miletu* (23 IV 2008).
6. Prof. dr hab. Sylwester DWORACKI (UAM), *Mit o Heraklesie w „Bibliotece” Diodora Sycylijskiego* (15 V 2008).
7. Dr Dion SMYTHE (Queen's University Belfast), *Outsiders in eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantium* (13 XI 2008).
8. Dr Jan KUCHARSKI, *Revenge in the law of classical Athens* (25 XI 2008).
9. Dr hab. Tadeusz ALEKSANDROWICZ, *Profesor Andrzej Kunisz (1932–1998). In memoriam* (18 XII 2008).
10. Dr Tomasz SAPOTA, *Makrobiusz* (26 II 2009).
11. Mgr Agata CIEMPIEL, *Od matriarchatu do patriarchatu. Źródła mizoginizmu w starożytnej Grecji* (26 III 2009).
12. Prof. dr hab. Michał BEDNARSKI, *Początki języka greckiego* (28 IV 2009).

Troje naszych członków uczestniczyło w sierpniu 2009 r. w warsztatach dla nauczycieli, zorganizowanych przez Europejskie Centrum Kulturalne w Delfach.

#### 4. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KRAKOWSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym pracami Koła kierował Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr Antoni Bobrowski; wiceprezes – dr hab. Tomasz Polański; sekretarz – dr Michał Bzinkowski; skarbnik – dr Agnieszka Wojtylak-Heszen; członkowie – dr Krystyna Woś, dr Anna Wasyl, dr Anna Brzózka.

W okresie od IX 2007 do IX 2009 roku członkowie Koła spotkali się na 13 posiedzeniach, podczas których wygłoszono i przedyskutowano następujące referaty naukowe:

1. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław STABRYŁA, *Dzieje Apostolskie w poezji Prudencjusza* (23 X 2007).
2. Dr Joanna PYPLACZ, *Estetyka wstępu w tragediach Seneki* (27 XI 2007).
3. Prof. dr hab. Józef KORPANTY, *Eneasz – bohater poematu Wergiliusza* (22 I 2008).



4. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *Aleksander Wielki jako bohater wyobraźni masowej* (18 III 2008).
5. Dr Anna WASYL, *Postać Medei w VII księdze „Metamorfoz” Owidiusza i „Romulea” X Drakoncjusza – propozycja lektury porównawczej* (15 IV 2008).
6. Dr Kamilla TWARDOWSKA, *Męczeństwo św. Cypriana według cesarzowej Atenais Eudokii* (6 V 2008).
7. Dr Krystyna WOŚ, *Akcent, iloczys, iktus w lekturze tekstu łacińskiego* (10 VI 2008).
8. Dr Aneta KLISZCZ, *„Alkestis” Eurypidesa we wczesnej nowożytności* (25 XI 2008).
9. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław STABRYŁA, *Historia rzymska w poezji Prudencjusza* (16 XII 2008).
10. Dr Sławomir MIOZGA, *Ideologia obrony religii tradycyjnej u Kwintusa Aureliusza Symmachusa* (13 I 2009).
11. Dr Rafał ROSÓL, *Wczesne zapożyczenia semickie w języku greckim* (10 III 2009).
12. Dr hab. Marek HERMANN, *Pytania retoryczne w rzymskiej teorii wymowy* (21 IV 2009).
13. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *Attis Katullusa: między Wschodem a Zachodem* (19.05.2009).

Członkowie Koła Krakowskiego PTF zajmowali się, jak co roku, organizacją Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego na szczeblu szkolnym i okręgowym.

## 5. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA LUBELSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło liczyło 48 członków. W skład Zarządu Koła wchodziły następujące osoby: przewodniczący – dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba; zastępca przewodniczącego – dr Małgorzata Górską; członek Zarządu ds. kontaktu z nauczycielami – mgr Helena Błazińska; sekretarz – ks. mgr Marek Cieśluk; skarbnik – mgr Agata Łuka; Komisja Rewizyjna: przewodniczący – dr hab. Jolanta Malinowska, członkowie – dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki i dr Marian Babiński.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło prowadziło działalność statutową w następujących formach:

### I. Działalność naukowa

Koło zorganizowało następujące spotkania z odczytami naukowymi:

1. Dr Małgorzata GÓRSKA, *Łacińskie futurum I jako wykładnik modalności* (24 X 2007).
2. Ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz POPOWSKI, *Biblia w języku greckim* (21 XI 2007).

3. Dr hab. Jolanta MALINOWSKA, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł Rudy – bohater pozytywny w eposie Jana Radwana „Radivilias”* (23 I 2008).
4. Mgr Katarzyna KOŁAKOWSKA, *Mit o Prometeuszu w „Protagorasie” Platona* (27 II 2008).
5. Ks. dr Janusz LEWANDOWICZ, *„Bachantki” Eurypidesa – dramat religijny* (22 IV 2008).
6. Dr hab. Agnieszka DZIUBA, *Clodia Metelli – literacki portret kobiety upadłej* (28 V 2008).
7. Dr Agata ŁUKA, *Zapóżyczenia łacińskie i greckie w języku węgierskim* (18 VI 2008).
8. Mateusz KOWALSKI, *Venus, vina, musica – inspiracje łacina w współczesnej muzyce* (22 X 2008).
9. Mgr Bożena SARZYŃSKA, *Świat pogański i chrześcijański w „Res gestae” Ammiana Marcelina* (19 XI 2008).
10. Mgr Iwona WIEZEL, *O Herodotowej fabule w świetle oralności* (17 XII 2008).
11. Dr hab. Robert ZABOROWSKI, *Zagadki psychologii homeryckiej – przypadek Ajaksa* (13 I 2009).
12. Dr Maciej JOŃCA, *Miłość i rzadkie gatunki ryb* (25 II 2009).
13. Mgr Paweł SZAREK, *Tukidydes jako historyk* (22 IV 2009).
14. Prof. dr hab. Marek KURYŁOWICZ, *„Alterum non laedere” w prawie rzymskim* (27 V 2009).

## II. Współpraca z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego

1. Zebranie Koła poświęcone nauczycielom i nauczaniu języka łacińskiego w województwie lubelskim. Prezentacja nowych pomocy multimedialnych do wykorzystania w procesie dydaktycznym (13 VI 2009).
2. Mgr Helena Błażińska, członek Zarządu Koła, pozostaje w stałym kontakcie z władzami Kuratorium Oświaty oraz z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego na terenie województwa lubelskiego.
3. We współpracy z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej KUL członkowie Koła uczestniczyli w przygotowaniu i przeprowadzeniu programów o kulturze antycznej w ramach Lubelskiego Festiwalu Nauki we wrześniu 2007 i wrześniu 2008 r. Młodzieży gimnazjalnej i licealnej przedstawiono następujące prezentacje:
  - mgr Katarzyna KOŁAKOWSKA, *Rapujący Ajschylos. Hip-hopowe wariacje na temat greckiej tragedii antycznej*, Lublin 2007,
  - dr Agata ŁUKA, *Korale dla Lidii – jak Węgrzy śpiewają Horacego*, Lublin 2007,
  - dr Marian BABIŃSKI, *Cent za stowę*, Lublin 2008,
  - dr Małgorzata SIWICKA (koordynator projektu), *Antygonie – widowisko teatralne*, Lublin 2008,

- dr Agata ŁUKA, *Żądza pieniądza*, Lublin 2008,
- dr Agata ŁUKA, Katarzyna SOCHA, *Antyk od kuchni (prezentacja potraw antycznych)*, Lublin 2008.

### III. Patronat nad Olimpiadą Języka Łacińskiego

Organizowanie i czuwanie nad realizacją I i II etapu Olimpiady w województwie lubelskim w latach 2007, 2008, 2009. Główny organizator: mgr Helena Błazińska.

### IV. Uczestnictwo w sympozjach

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli w następujących sympozjach:

1. *Od antyku do współczesności – poezja klasyczna i jej nowożytna recepcja*, Kraków 2007.
2. *Kategorie i funkcje czasu w ujęciu starożytnych*, Łódź 2007.
3. *Docere et delectare. Dydaktyzm antycznej literatury w odczuciu ówczesnych i dzisiejszych jej odbiorców*, Poznań 2007.
4. *20-lecie programu Erasmus – i co dalej?*, Lublin 2007.
5. *Od antyku do współczesności – poezja klasyczna i jej nowożytna recepcja*, Kraków 2007.
6. Posiedzenie Komitetu Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej PAN, Warszawa 2007.
7. *Christianitas et romanitas. Stanisław Płodzień (1913–1962) in memoriam*, Kazimierz Dolny 2008.
8. *Logos – słowo i rozum*, Warszawa 2008.
9. *Małżeństwo, rodzina i wychowanie w nauczaniu św. Jana Chryzostoma*, Lublin 2008.
10. *Zbytek i ubóstwo w antyku i średniowieczu*, Kielce 2009.
11. *Św. Paweł w dziejach monodii liturgicznej*, Lublin 2009.
12. *Międzynarodowa Konferencja Neolatynistyczna*, Uppsala 2009.

### V. Udział w zebraniach Zarządu Głównego PTF

Przewodniczący i członkowie Zarządu Koła uczestniczyli w zebraniach Zarządu Głównego w Warszawie.

## 6. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA ŁÓDZKIEGO

Koło Łódzkie PTF liczy 41 członków. Honorowym Prezesem Koła jest dr Józef Macjon. Zarząd Koła PTF: prezes – dr Joanna Rybowska; wiceprezes – dr hab. prof. UŁ Jadwiga Czerwińska; sekretarz – dr Anna Maciejewska; skarbnicy – mgr Teresa Macjon (przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej), mgr Yvonne Borowski; członkowie Zarządu – dr Tamara Roszak (przewodnicząca Sekcji

Indoeuropejskiej), dr Idaliana Kaczor (przewodnicząca Interdyscyplinarnego Zespołu Naukowo-Badawczego Międzynarodowej Komunikacji Językowej), mgr Dariusz Gwis.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 18 zebrań Koła Łódzkiego PTF, na których wygłoszono 15 odczytów i 5 sprawozdań. Prelegentami byli zarówno członkowie Koła i pracownicy UŁ, jak i goście zaproszeni z innych ośrodków: Poznania, Lublina, Warszawy, Rzymu. Cztery zebrania poświęcone były sprawom dydaktycznym oraz organizacyjnym związanym z działalnością Koła. Na dwóch odbyły się koncerty kolęd, dwa miały charakter uroczystych spotkań; na pierwszym pani prezes podziękowała członkom Koła za organizację CII Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF, drugie zostało poświęcone odchodzącej na emeryturę dr Wandzie Amarantidou.

Koło Łódzkie było także współorganizatorem międzynarodowego seminarium *Perantiqui hominum mores institutis ac legibus temperati*, Łódź 12 III 2009 r. (trzy odczyty).

W dalszym ciągu aktywnie działa Sekcja Indoeuropejska Koła Łódzkiego PTF; w omawianym okresie odbyło się 13 zebrań, na których zostało wygłoszonych 11 odczytów oraz prowadzona była nauka rekonstruowanego języka indoeuropejskiego.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli też w organizowaniu wielu imprez kulturalnych odbywających się zarówno w Katedrze Filologii Klasycznej, jak i na Wydziale Filologicznym UŁ w ramach Koncertów Kolęd Europejskich, Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki. Od 2009 roku członkowie Koła współpracują także z łódzkim Klubem Nauczyciela, gdzie prezentowane są przedsięwzięcia o charakterze artystycznym (kolędy i przedstawienia o tematyce antycznej w języku łacińskim, pod kierunkiem dr Anny Maciejewskiej). Członkowie Sekcji Dydaktycznej są twórcami i organizatorami Międzyszkolnych Spotkań z Antykiem, oraz Międzyszkolnych Konkursów: plastycznych, fotograficznych, mitologicznych, językowych, oraz międzyszkolnych konkursów sentencji łacińskich.

Tematyka spotkań Koła była następująca:

1. Zebranie organizacyjno-sprawozdawcze. Dr Joanna Rybowska zaprezentowała podsumowanie CII Walnego Zgromadzenia Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego (Łódź 14–17 września 2007) i podziękowała członkom KŁ PTF za jego realizację (4 X 2007).
2. Walne Zebranie Koła Łódzkiego PTF. Zebranie organizacyjno-sprawozdawcze. Odczyt: dr hab. prof. UŁ Maria WICHOWA, „*Nowe Ateny albo Akademia wszelkiej scyencyej pełna*” *Benedykta Chmielowskiego* (22 XI 2007).
3. Mgr Adriana GRZELAK-KRZYMIANOWSKA, *Perswazja w etycznej nauce Lukrecjusza* (13 XII 2007).
4. Wieczór kolęd europejskich; w wykonaniu studentów i pracowników Wydziału Filologicznego Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego (Katedr Germanistycznych, Filologii Romańskiej, Katedry Filologii Południowosłowiańskiej, Katedry Filologii

- Klasycznej). Wykonawcy zaśpiewali 18 kolęd w 9 językach: łacińskim, hiszpańskim, francuskim, niemieckim, angielskim, nowogreckim, bułgarskim, serbskim i polskim (24 I 2008).
5. Dr hab. Robert ZABOROWSKI (Instytut Historii Nauki PAN), *O czasie jako czynniku różnicującym uczucie i myśl – Arystoteles i Antyfon sofista* (13 III 2008).
  6. Dr Joanna RYBOWSKA, *Grecki rytuał pogrzebowy* (24 IV 2008).
  7. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna BARTOL (UAM), *Klasyfikacja prozy w świetle autorefleksji Izokratesa* (29 V 2008).
  8. Prof. dr hab. Agnieszka DZIUBA (KUL), *Clodia Metelli – literacki portret kobiety upadłej* (12 VI 2008).
  9. Zebranie sprawozdawczo-organizacyjne. Dr Joanna RYBOWSKA, Sprawozdanie z posiedzenia Zarządu PTF; mgr Dorota ŻUCHOWSKA, projekt konkursu *I Międzyszkolny Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego*; mgr Teresa MACJON, projekt konkursu *Motywy Antyczne w Architekturze Łodzi* (25 IX 2008).
  10. Zebranie dedykowane odchodzącej na emeryturę dr Wandzie Amarantidou. Dr Joanna RYBOWSKA, *Sylwetka dr Wandy Amarantidou*. Odczyt: dr Wanda AMARANTIDOU, *Polskojęzyczne opracowania literatury nowogreckiej* (23 X 2008).
  11. Dr Anna MACIEJEWSKA, *Komunikat o lekcjach łaciny żywej w Poznaniu*. Odczyt: mgr Małgorzata RZĄDKIEWICZ, *De itineribus coquinariis – podróże, w przestrzeni i czasie, osobistych kucharzy szesnastowiecznych papieży* (27 XI 2008).
  12. Mgr Małgorzata BUDZOWSKA, *Efekt Lucyfera w tragedii Eurypidesa* (18 XII 2008).
  13. Wieczór kolęd europejskich w wykonaniu studentów, doktorantów i pracowników Wydziału Filologicznego Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego (Katedr Germanistycznych, Katedry Filologii Południowosłowiańskiej, Katedry Filologii Klasycznej). Wykonawcy zaśpiewali 23 kolędy w 10 językach: łacińskim, hiszpańskim, francuskim, niemieckim, angielskim, nowogreckim, bułgarskim, serbskim, walijskim i polskim (22 I 2009).
  14. Mgr Katarzyna CHIŻYŃSKA, dr Magdalena KOZŁUK, *Iam melancholia perfecta est – rozdz. IX z Liber ad regem Almansorem Rhasesa, tłumaczenie tekstu i komentarz* (19 II 2009).
  15. Seminarium zorganizowane przez Katedrę Filologii Klasycznej oraz Koło Łódzkie PTF *Perantiqui hominum mores institutis ac legibus temperati* (12 III 2009). Odczyty:
    - Prof. Orazio Antonio BOLOGNA (Università Pontificia Salesiana di Roma), *Feri hominum mores antequam societas sit legibus et institutis constituta*.
    - Dr hab. prof. UŁ Jadwiga CZERWIŃSKA, *Thesmoi – starożytny „dekalog” w służbie greckiej paideia. Religijny czy psychologiczny aspekt winy i kary*.
    - Dr hab. prof. UŁ Hanna ZALEWSKA-JURA, *Z archaicznych inspiracji u Palladasa Aleksandryjskiego. Między uśmiechem a łzą*.

16. Zebranie sprawozdawczo-organizacyjne (30 IV 2009). Zebranie Walne Koła Łódzkiego PTF. Wybór delegatów na CIII Walne Zgromadzenie PTF. Dr Anna Maciejewska zaprosiła zebranych na warsztaty neolatynistyczne *Latini sermones mutui in antiquorum litteris posteriorumque usu cotidiano* (Łódź, 5–7 VI 2009) i na spektakl w języku łacińskim pt. *Kirke* (25 V 2009).
17. Dr hab. prof. UŁ Maria WICHOWA, *Klasycyzm jako element światopoglądu twórców literatury polskiego baroku* (28 V 2009).
18. Wystawa fotograficzna *Motywy antyczne w architekturze Łodzi*. Wręczenie nagród zwycięzcom konkursu. Odczyt: mgr Jarosław DYLEWSKI, *Ultima Thule – Atlantyda Północy* (15 VI 2009).

Najważniejsze przedsięwzięcia Sekcji Dydaktycznej Koła Łódzkiego PTF (2008–2009):

- *Spotkanie z Kulturą Antyczną* – podsumowanie szkolnego Konkursu Mitologicznego oraz Międzyszkolnego Konkursu Sentencji Łacińskich. Organizator: mgr Dorota Żuchowska (9 XII 2008).
- *Starożytni o edukacji i wychowaniu*. Organizatorzy: mgr Izabela Stasiak, mgr Alicja Petrykiewicz (21 IV 2009).

Widowiska teatralno-muzyczne oraz prezentacje multimedialne obrazujące i oceniające starożytne (greckie i rzymskie) koncepcje edukacyjne i wychowawcze.

- 25 V 2009 r. w Klubie Nauczyciela odbyła się nietypowa premiera. Adeptki i przyjaciele łódzkiej filologii klasycznej – w tym członkowie Koła Łódzkiego PTF – zaprezentowali sztukę dr Anny Maciejewskiej p.t. *Kirke*. Jest to wodewil, napisany rymowanym wierszem po łacinie, łączący mitologię grecką i... piosenki Starszych Panów. Spektakl powtórzono 6 VI 2009 r. w ośrodku konferencyjnym UŁ na Rogach, w ramach V Łódzkich Warsztatów Latynistycznych.
- Wystawa fotograficzna *Motywy antyczne w architekturze Łodzi* (15 VI 2009).

## 7. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA POZNAŃSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło działało pod egidą zarządu w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Teodozja Wikarjak; wiceprzewodnicząca – prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska; sekretarz – dr Anna Lasek; skarbnik – mgr Ewa Nowak; członkowie zarządu – dr Magdalena Stuligrosz; Komisja Rewizyjna – prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki, prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, mgr Romana Lipońska. Obecnie koło liczy 47 członków; w okresie sprawozdawczym 7 osób zapisało się do koła, 1 osoba zmarła, 8 zrezygnowało z członkostwa.

## I. Działalność naukowa i statutowa

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 18 zebrań naukowych (w tym jedno zorganizowane wspólnie z IFK UAM), na których wygłoszono tyleż referatów, w tym:

- 6 z literatury greckiej i języka greckiego,
- 5 z literatury rzymskiej,
- 1 z literatury nowołacińskiej;
- 1 z historii starożytnej lub archeologii klasycznej;
- 2 z filozofii starożytnej;
- 3 z recepcji antyku.

Autorami wygłaszanych referatów byli członkowie naszego koła (13), goście z innych ośrodków w Polsce (5). Szczegółowy spis referatów wygłoszonych na zebraniach:

1. Dr Anna LASEK (UAM), *Elementy dramatyczne w Διονυσιακά Nonnosa z Pannopolis* (16 X 2007).
2. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta WESOŁOWSKA (UAM), *Cyceron – Owidiusz – Seneka: trójgłos w sprawie starości* (20 XI 2007).
3. Dr Justyna ZABOROWSKA-MUSIAŁ (UAM), *Pod osłoną antycznej mitologii – błyskotliwa satyra na francuskie społeczeństwo schyłku XVIII w. Charlesa Alberta Demostiera* (15 I 2008).
4. Prof. Sylwester DWORACKI (UAM), *Mit o Heraklesie u Diodora Sycylijskiego* (19 II 2008).
5. Dr Mateusz STRÓŻYŃSKI (UAM), *Nie-euklidesowe przestrzenie duszy w platonizmie* (18 III 2008).
6. Dr hab. Tadeusz ALEKSANDROWICZ (UŚ), *Antyk i współczesność: wokół pragmatyki tekstu antycznego (I Tm. 1, 17). Z badań nad tradycją antyczną na Górnym Śląsku* (15 IV 2008).
7. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław ŚNIEŻEWSKI (UJ), *„Nobilitas” u Salustiusza – studium porównawcze* (20 V 2008).
8. Prof. dr hab. Kazimierz ILSKI (IH UAM), *Zapachy w starożytności* (17 VI 2008).
9. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław STABRYŁA (UJ) *Historia rzymska w poezji Prudencjusza* (16 IX 2008).
10. Dr Mateusz STRÓŻYŃSKI (UAM) *Trzy nawrócenia św. Augustyna* (21 X 2008).
11. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Maria WESOŁOWSKA (UAM), *Kirke u Petroniusza* (18 XI 2008).
12. Prof. dr hab. Sylwester DWORACKI (UAM), *Mity greckie według Diodora Sycylijskiego (Biblioteka, ks. IV)* (16 XII 2008).
13. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław ŚNIEŻEWSKI (UJ), *„Teologia zwycięstwa” w Rzymie republikańskim i początkach pryncypatu (testimonia literackie)* (20 I 2009).
14. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna BARTOL (IFK UAM), *Dyskretny urok epitetu (Apollonios z Rodos, „Argonautica” I 917)* (17 II 2009).

15. Dr Maria MARCINKOWSKA-ROSÓL (IFK UAM), „*Ja*” człowieka homeryckiego w wybranych interpretacjach filozoficznych (17 III 2009).

16. Dr Anna LASEK (IFK UAM), *Poetycka wizja Nieba w poemacie Dorotheosa* (21 IV 2009).

17. Dr Rafał ROSÓL (UJ), *Wczesne zapożyczenia orientalne w języku greckim* (19 V 2008).

18. Dr Radosław PIĘTKA (IFK UAM), *Antyk w powieściach Tolkiena* (16 VI 2009).

Odbyły się też spotkania świąteczno-noworoczne (w grudniu 2007 i 2008 r.), w tym jedno połączone z zebraniem naukowym.

Dla uczczenia zmarłego w dniu 9 lutego 2009 r. członka honorowego PTF – prof. Andrzeja Wójcika, Koło zorganizowało wspólnie z IKF UAM otwarte zebranie poświęcone jego pamięci w dniu 10 marca 2009 r.

## II. Działalność popularyzacyjna

Członkowie Koła powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego: dr Elżbieta Zakrzewska-Gębka (sekretarz), dr Teodozja Wikarjak (przewodnicząca), dr Sławomira Brud, dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał, a w następnych latach również dr Marlena Puk, dr Anna Lasek, dr Maria Marcinkowska-Rosół, przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II stopnia XXVI i XXVII Olimpiady.

Członkowie Koła: dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał, dr Katarzyna Kaniewska, dr Piotr Stepień i mgr Aleksandra Maciejewska pod egidą IFK UAM zorganizowali w latach 2007/2008 i 2008/2009 konkursy wiedzy o antyku dla uczniów gimnazjów i liceów województwa wielkopolskiego.

## III. Działalność organizacyjna

W dniu 21 kwietnia 2009 r. odbyło się zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze, na którym dokonano wyboru:

- a) dr Magdaleny Stuligrosz na przewodniczącą Koła Poznańskiego PTF;
- b) zarządu Koła w składzie dr Teodozja Wikarjak (vice przewodnicząca), dr Anna Lasek (sekretarz), mgr Ewa Nowak (skarbnik), dr Sławomira Brud.
- c) Komisji Rewizyjnej Koła w składzie: prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, dr Radosław Piętka, prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol;
- d) delegatów na CIII Walne Zgromadzenie PTF: dr S. Brud, dr M. Stuligrosz, dr A. Lasek, mgr Ewę Nowak, prof. Jerzego Danielewicza.

## 8. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA TORUŃSKIEGO

Koło liczy 20 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła nie uległ zmianie: prezes – dr hab. Przemysław Nehring; wiceprezes – dr Alicja



Brusewicz; skarbnik/sekretarz – dr Magdalena Nowak; członkowie Zarządu: dr Anna Głodowska, mgr Aleksandra Kłopotowska, mgr Anna Salwa.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 11 spotkań Koła, podczas których zaproszeni goście wygłosili następujące wykłady:

1. Dr Mariusz ZAGÓRSKI (UW), *Muzyka starożytnej Grecji* (18 X 2007).
2. Dr Krzysztof RZEPKOWSKI (UW), *Vena super venabula, czyli o dystychu odczytanym na późnoantycznej włóczni* (29 XI 2007).
3. Dr Tomasz DERDA (UW), *Apa Neilos i jego interesy. Archiwum mnicha zamieszkującego erem 89 na górze Cel (Deir El-Naqlun) w Oazie Fajum (Egipt)* (18 XII 2007).
4. Dr hab. Adam ŁAJTAR (UW), *Piśmienność w Nubii chrześcijańskiej na podstawie polskich wykopalisk w Dongoli* (22 I 2008).
5. Mgr Rafał TOCZKO (UMK), *Krótką historia pelagianizmu* (8 IV 2008).
6. Prof. dr hab. Kazimierz KORUS (UJ), *Mim i elementy komiczne w „Orestei” Ajschylosa* (22 IV 2008).
7. Prof. dr hab. Grażyna GOLIK-SZARAWARSKA (UŚ), *Przekłady tragedii Sofoklesa pióra Tadeusza Zielińskiego* (16 VI 2008).
8. Dr Robert WIŚNIEWSKI (UW), *Kto i jak dzielił relikwie w późnej starożytności* (28 X 2008).
9. Dr Andrzej WYPUSTEK (UWr), *Greckie epigramy nagrobne jako źródło historyczne* (8 XII 2008).
10. Dr Tomasz SAPOTA (UŚ), *Rzymska tradycja u Makrobiusza* (27 I 2009).
11. Dr Krzysztof RZEPKOWSKI (UW), *Układ budynków scenicznych w „Dyskolosie” Menandra* (19 III 2009).

Wykłady te cieszyły się dużym zainteresowaniem; oprócz członków Koła uczestniczyła w nich spora grupa studentów nie tylko filologii klasycznej, ale i innych kierunków.

Koło Toruńskie PTF, wraz z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej (UMK) oraz Fundacją *Traditio Europae*, jest organizatorem Ligi Starożytniczej, comiesięcznych spotkań młodzieży szkolnej, podczas których uczniowie słuchają przygotowanych przez członków Koła wykładów popularyzujących antyk i jego dziedzictwo. Po każdym wykładzie jego słuchacze wypełniają krótki test zawierający pytania dotyczące właśnie przedstawionych zagadnień. Wyniki testów są przez organizatorów spotkań sumowane i na zakończenie każdej edycji Ligi zwycięzcy otrzymują nagrody książkowe.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się dwie edycje Ligi. W roku szkolnym 2007/2008 była ona adresowana do uczniów gimnazjów w województwie kujawsko-pomorskim (zgłosiło do niej swój udział ponad 100 uczniów gimnazjów w Toruniu i Włocławku), w roku szkolnym 2008/2009 do uczniów szkół ponadgimnazjalnych tego regionu (zgłosiło do niej swój udział 140 uczniów szkół w Toruniu, Bydgoszczy, Włocławku, Inowrocławiu, Grudziądzu, Golubiu-Dobrzyniu i Ciechocinku).

W roku 2009 Liga starożytnicza otrzymała dotację z Urzędu Marszałkowskiego Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego.

W roku szkolnym 2007/2008 odbyły się następujące wykłady i spotkania:

1. Mgr Rafał TOCZKO, *Sokrates i zepsuta młodzież* (27 X 2007).
2. Mgr Łukasz SZYPKOWSKI, *Historia gwiazdozbiorów w starożytności* (24 XI 2007).
3. Dr Magdalena NOWAK, *Habent sua fata libelli. Jak literatura antyczna dotarła do naszych czasów?* (26 I 2008).
4. Dr Bartosz AWIANOWICZ, *Od symboli i bóstw pogańskich do cesarzy i Boga chrześcijan. Historia wizerunków na monetach starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu* (23 II 2008).
5. Mgr Barbara BIBIK, *Teatr grecki* (29 III 2008).
6. Dr Alicja BRUSEWICZ, *Wielcy tragiccy* (26 IV 2008).
7. Dr Rafał ROSÓŁ, *Wyrocznie w starożytnej Grecji* (31 V 2008).
8. Zakończenie Ligi, ogłoszenie zwycięzców, rozdanie nagród (dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, czerwiec 2008).

W roku szkolnym 2008/2009 odbyły się następujące wykłady i spotkania:

1. Mgr Rafał TOCZKO, *O zmiennym ideale starożytnych świętych* (25 X 2008).
2. Dr hab. prof. UMK Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Rolnictwo starożytnej Italii* (29 XI 2008).
3. Dr hab. prof. UMK Sławomir WYSZOMIRSKI, *Stoicy* (10 I 2009).
4. Dr Zbigniew NERCZUK, *Sofiści* (7 II 2009).
5. Dr Magdalena NOWAK, *Demokracja, republika, rzymskie prawo – antyk a współczesność* (28 III 2009).
6. Dr Maria MARCINKOWSKA-ROSÓŁ, *Pitagoreizm jako nurt odnowy duchowej w Grecji VI–V w. p.n.e.* (25 IV 2009).
7. Dr Tomasz DREIKOPEL, *Antiquitas w akademickim gimnazjum toruńskim w XVI i XVII w.* (30 V 2009).
8. Zakończenie Ligi, ogłoszenie zwycięzców, rozdanie nagród (dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, czerwiec 2009).

Tegoroczne zakończenie Ligi uświetniło przedstawienie teatralne pod tytułem *Flet Teokryta. Obrazki z Syrakuz*, które przygotował działający przy Katedrze Filologii Klastycznej Teatr Studencki *Perpetuum mobile*.

W roku akademickim 2009/2010 planowana jest trzecia edycja Ligi, tym razem będzie ona adresowana do uczniów gimnazjów i szkół ponadgimnazjalnych.

## 9. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WARSZAWSKIEGO

Koło liczy 123 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła działał w następującym składzie: prezes – prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz; wiceprezes

– prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański; sekretarz – mgr Magdalena Zawadzka; skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek; przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; członkowie Zarządu – prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, mgr Grażyna Kania, mgr Lech Bobiatyński; Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz, mgr Monika Mikuła, mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 11 zebrań Koła:

1. Dr Bartosz B. AWIANOWICZ (UMK): *Prezentacja podręcznika „Język łaciński z elementami epigrafiki i numizmatyki rzymskiej” (Toruń 2007) (30 XI 2007).*
2. Dr Krzysztof RZEPKOWSKI, *Vena super venabula – o dwóch wierszowanych inskrypcjach na włócznieach późnoantycznych (14 XII 2007).*
3. Prof. Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Filolog w kontuszu, piramidy i Manethon z Sebennytos (12 I 2008).*
4. Dr Beata SPIERALSKA, *O dwunastowiecznych kazaniach łacińskich (7 III 2008).*
5. Mgr Konrad M. KOKOSZKIEWICZ, *Regula 33 u Katullusa (18 IV 2008).*
6. Dr Tomasz MACKIEWICZ, *Sokrates Norwida (3 VI 2008).*
7. (a) *Wspomnienie o prof. Annie Świderkównie* (prof. Juliusz DOMAŃSKI, prof. Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ); (b) prof. Mikołaj SZYMAŃSKI, *Początek autobiografii Owidiusza (5 XII 2008).*
8. Dr Krzysztof RZEPKOWSKI, *Układ budynków scenicznych w „Dyskolosie” Menandra (6 III 2009).*
9. Mgr Anna ZAWADZKA, *Romanis artibus vincere virtute opere armis. Propozycja nowej interpretacji przedstawień Kolumny Trajana (24 IV 2009).*
10. Dr Jan BIGAJ, *Sprawozdanie z konferencji zorganizowanej w Londynie w dniach 30 X–1 XI 2008 z okazji 100. rocznicy odnalezienia Dysku z Fajstos (5 VI 2009).*
11. Zebranie organizacyjne, wyłonienie delegatów Koła na Walny Zjazd w Poznaniu (3 VII 2009).

#### Działalność popularyzatorska

W latach 2007/2008 i 2008/2009 odbyły się dwie kolejne edycje Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej dla gimnazjalistów. Jak co roku Sekcja Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku zorganizowała otwarte kursy języków klasycznych prowadzone przez studentów i absolwentów Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej UW. Chętni mieli do wyboru 3 grupy greckie i 3 łacińskie o różnym stopniu zaawansowania.

Członkowie Koła Warszawskiego aktywnie uczestniczyli również w pracach Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

## 10. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Koło liczy 56 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła pracował w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Małgorzata Wróbel; skarbnik – dr Sławomir Torbus; sekretarz – dr Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma; członkowie Zarządu – dr Sławomir Torbus, dr Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma, dr Marek Krajewski, dr Krzysztof Morta, dr Jan Kamieniecki, prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz, dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski, dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło. Członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – dr Danuta Łowicka (przewodnicząca), mgr Duklana Piskorska, mgr Grażyna Rolak. Działającą w ramach Koła Komisją Dydaktyki Języka Łacińskiego kierowała mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 14 posiedzeń ogólnych Koła Wrocławskiego PTF, w których uczestniczyło przeciętnie 20 osób. Wygłoszono następujące odczyty:

1. Dr Maciej EDER, *Dlaczego aojdzi wybrali heksametr?* (21 XI 2007).
2. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Duma Halikarnasu* (19 XII 2007).
3. Dr Artur PACEWICZ, *Etyczny wymiar czasu w Platonskiej „Obronie Sokratesa”* (23 I 2008).
4. Dr Stefan NOWICKI, *Miejsce człowieka w świecie i społeczeństwie w świetle bliskowschodnich tekstów rytualnych z I tysiąclecia p.n.e.* (26 III 2008).
5. Dr Dana RUŽIČKOVÁ (Masarykova univerzita, Brno, Czechy), *Dietetika ve středověkých kompilacích určených pro zábavu vzdělanců. Na příkladu sbírek Summa recreatorum, Responsorium curiosum a Mensa philosophica* (23 IV 2008).
6. Dr Hanna URBAŃSKA, *Opowieść o księżycowym zającu* (21 V 2008).
7. Dr Lubor KYŠUČAN (Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc, Czechy), *Ekologické problémy v klasickém starověku* (11 VI 2008).
8. Prof. dr hab. Andrzej ŁOŚ, *Elity rzymskie w okresie monarchii lатыńsko-sabińskiej* (29 X 2008).
9. Mgr Beata MACHALSKA, *Łacińskie inskrypcje z pomników nagrobnych we wrocławskich kościołach* (19 XI 2008).
10. Dr hab. Gościwit MALINOWSKI, *Anatomia plagiatu na przykładzie „nowego” przekładu Pomponiusza Meli* (17 XII 2008).
11. Mgr Katarzyna OCHMAN, *Aulus Gellius scriptor luculentissimus – przemiany w postrzeganiu „Nocy Attyckich”* (21 I 2009).
12. Dr Stefan NOWICKI, *Kassapija surup, kassaptija surup; o zwalczaniu czarnej magii czarną magią w starożytnej Mezopotamii* (25 III 2009).
13. Dr Agnieszka KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA, *Orficka wizja postępu cywilizacyjnego w dramacie hellenistycznym* (29 IV 2009).
14. Dr Hanna URBAŃSKA, *Opisy jezior w literaturze Orientu* (27 V 2009).

Koło prowadziło działalność popularyzatorską. W okresie sprawozdawczym członkowie Koła wygłosili następujące wykłady popularno-naukowe:

1. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Teatr antycznej Grecji* (8 VI 2008 w ramach „Panoramy Kultur” w Klubie pod Kolumnami we Wrocławiu).
2. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Antyczne korzenie terminu „tolerancja”* (28 X 2008 w Domu Kultury w Mieroszowie).
3. Dr Małgorzata WRÓBEL, *Herodot i geografia* (25 XI 2008 w I LO w Legnicy).
4. Prof. dr Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Rodowód słowa tolerancja* (27 III 2009 w Centrum Edukacji Kulturalnej Dzieci i Młodzieży we Wrocławiu).
5. Dr Stefan NOWICKI, *Wśród bogów, duchów i demonów. Życie codzienne na starożytnym Bliskim Wschodzie* (1 II 2009 w Muzeum Archeologicznym we Wrocławiu).
6. Dr Sławomir TORBUS, *Dlaczego chrześcijanki z Koryntu musiały być posłuszne swoim mężom?* (31 V 2007 w ramach pokazu „Starożytni Grecy we wrocławskim więzieniu”)

Z inicjatywy członka naszego Koła, dra Stefana Nowickiego, powstał projekt naukowo-badawczy pt. „Życie codzienne w starożytnych Atenach”. Projekt ma na celu szerokie popularyzowanie wiedzy o kulturze materialnej starożytnej Grecji. Projekt realizowany jest poprzez rekonstruowanie przedmiotów codziennego użytku (naczynia, biżuteria, szaty) oraz odtwarzanie znanych z przekazów potraw. W wyniku działań dra Nowickiego zorganizowano na Partynicach we Wrocławiu (31 V – 1 VI 2008) i w Klubie pod Kolumnami (8 VI 2008) pokaz tworzenia biżuterii, ceramiki oraz upinania szat greckich. Gości częstowano potrawami ugotowanymi zgodnie ze starogreckimi przepisami. 31 V 2009 zorganizowano pokaz „Starożytni Grecy we wrocławskim więzieniu”. Pokaz odbył się na dziedzińcu budynku Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN we Wrocławiu przy ulicy Więziennej 6.

W lutym 2008 r. pod opieką członkini naszego Koła, mgr Ewy Szymielewicz, rozpoczęło działalność koło teatralne. Czternastoosobowy zespół (aktorzy i obsługa techniczna) studentów kultury śródziemnomorskiej UW wr wystawił 27 czerwca 2008 r. w Browarze Mieszczańskim *Tesmofoie* Arystofanesa. Przedstawienie powtórzono w grudniu tego samego roku. W lipcu 2009 r. zespół wystawił *Listy heter* Alkifrona.

Podobnie, jak w latach ubiegłych, członkowie Koła Wrocławskiego brali aktywny udział w pracach Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, zarówno na szczeblu okręgowym, jak i ogólnopolskim. W skład Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady wchodził: prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion (przewodnicząca), dr Władysława Jamróz (sekretarz), dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło, mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Maria Kulewska, mgr Maria Oboron. W pracach Komitetu Głównego Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego brała udział dr Władysława Jamróz.

W ramach działalności Komisji dydaktycznej Koła Wrocławskiego PTF zorganizowano 8 konferencji dydaktycznych dla nauczycieli i lektorów języka łacińskiego. Uczestników Konferencji gościli: Prywatne Żeńskie Liceum Ogólnokształcące Sióstr Urszulanek, IV Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. Stefana Żeromskiego, Dolnośląskie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli i Informacji Pedagogicznej we Wrocławiu oraz Instytut Filologii Klasycznej i Kultury Antycznej UW. Podczas konferencji lekcje pokazowe prowadzili: mgr Stanisław Wilczyński, dyr. mgr Małgorzata Górny, mgr Anna Jaworska. Na konferencjach wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Dr Karol ZIELIŃSKI, *Racjonalność i baśniowość w lekturze Homera* (20 X 2007).
2. Dr Sławomir TORBUS, *Retoryka w nauczaniu wiedzy o starożytności* (7 II 2008).
3. Prof. dr hab. Jakub PIGOŃ, *Pod murami Troi. Synon i Laokoon w II księdze „Eneidy”* (12 IV 2008).
4. Dr Małgorzata WRÓBEL, *Historie libijskie* (12 IV 2008).
5. Prof. dr hab. Teresa SZOSTEK, *Gesta Romanorum* (7 VI 2008).
6. Mgr Beata MACHALSKA, *Współzależność słowa i obrazu w epitafrum Erazma Ramicydy i Sebastiana von Rostock* (7 VI 2008).
7. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Nowa poezja z Halikarnasu* (5 X 2008).
8. Prof. dr hab. Jakub PIGOŃ, *Pliniusz Młodszy o duchach* (13 XII 2008).
9. Dr Małgorzata WRÓBEL, *Czy Strabon mógł czytać Cezara?* (13 XII 2008).
10. Mgr Arkadiusz DOBRZYŃIECKI, mgr Małgorzata MIKUŁA, *Tezy graficzne w zbiorach Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich w Zakładzie Narodowym im. Ossolińskich* (13 XII 2008).
11. Dr Krzysztof MORTA, *Kilka pomysłów patrona internetu. Rzecz o Izydorze z Sewilli* (28 II 2008).
12. Patrycja ZDUBEK, *Sposób wprowadzania konstrukcji coniugatio periphrastica passiva w oparciu o składnię polską* (28 II 2009).
13. Mgr Ewa POBIEDZIŃSKA, *O uczeniu łaciny w czasie marnym* (28 II 2009).
14. Prof. dr hab. Lucyna STANKIEWICZ, *Rzymskie kultury archaiczne, Ambarvalia* (6 VI 2009).
15. Mgr Bożena DZIEDZIC, *Moje metody uczenia w grupach słabszych* (6 VI 2009).
16. Mgr Aleksandra KRAJCZYK, z cyklu „Lektury przeczytane i polecane” – *K.P. Kramer, Śmierć w różnych religiach świata* (6 VI 2009).
17. Mgr Katarzyna OCHMAN, *Zastosowanie metody multimedialnej w dydaktyce łaciny* (6 VI 2009).

Z inicjatywy mgr Małgorzaty Lubańskiej, pracownika Dolnośląskiego Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, podjęto próby zorganizowania konkursu mitologicznego dla uczniów wrocławskich gimnazjów. Członkinie naszego Koła:

mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, mgr Maria Kulewska, mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Anna Jaworska przygotowały pytania do tego konkursu, a merytoryczną opieką otoczyła go prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion. Niestety konkursu nie udało się zorganizować.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odeszło od nas dwóch członków naszego Koła, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Burchardt i dr Józef Mantke.