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IOANNA ŁAWIŃSKA-TYSZKOWSKA

UNIVERSITATIS WRATISLAVIENSIS PROFESTRIX ORDINARIA EMERITA
SOCIETATIS PHILOLOGAE POLONORUM HONORARIA SODALIS

VILNAE DIE XV MENSIS NOVEMBRIS ANNO MCMXXXIV NATA
GYMNASII CRUCIBURGENSIS ATQUE
UNIVERSITATIS WRATISLAVIENSIS ALUMNA
IN INSTITUTO PHILOLOGIAE CLASSICAE WRATISLAVIENSI
PER DECEM FERE LUSTRA IUVENTUTI STUDIOSAE DOCENDAE
NAVITER OPERATA

LITTERARUM GRAECARUM IMPRIMIS COMOEDIAE VETERIS
NEC NON CARMINUM BUCOLICORUM EPIGRAMMATUMQUE
INVESTIGATRIX ACUTISSIMA

GEORGII ŁANOWSKI PRAECEPTORIS SUI VESTIGIA SECUTA
POEMATIS GRAECORUM POLONICE MIRA SUBTILITATE
REDDENDIS INSERVIVIT:

NAM ET HERONDAM ATQUE CALLIMACHUM
POLONICA VELUT VESTE INDUTOS NOSTRATIBUS OSTENDIT
ET OMNES ARISTOPHANIS FABULAS ACCURATISSIME SALSISSEQUE
AD LINGUAM NOSTRAM ACCOMMODAVIT

FEMINAM DOCTRINA URBANITATE BENEVOLENTIA CONSPICUAM
FATIS INEXORABILIBUS POST DIUTINUM MORBUM NOBIS EREPTAM
GRAVITER LUGEMUS

EPIGRAMMA IN IOANNAM ŁAWIŃSKA-TYSZKOWSKA
UNIVERSITATIS WRATISLAVIENSIS PROFESTRICEM
KAL. IUN. A. MMXIII FATO CRUDELI EREPTAM

SCRIPSIT ET POLONICE VERTIT

ANNA SZCZEPANIAK

οὐκ ἔσσειται ἀληθὲς ὅλως οὐδ' ἄρκιον εἰπεῖν·
οἴχη ὁδὸν πυμάτην εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους.
ἔσσ' ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις οἴτ' οὐκ τεθναῖσι θανόντες·
σεῖ' ὅπι γὰρ λαλαγεῖ τῶρνε' Ἀριστοφάνους
Μοῦσαι τ' ἄδουσιν, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἐν καλλιφθόγγοις Καλλιμάχου σελίσι.
ἔστι τε σοῖσι φίλοισι μαθηταῖς τ' ἀθάνατόν τι·
σοῦ μνημαὶ πάντων καλλίονες μελέων.

Nie będzie to cała prawda ani też nie wystarczy
powiedzieć: „Drogą ostatnią odeszłaś do domu Hadesa”.
Jesteś w tych gronie nielicznych, co nie umierają, choć gasną –
Twoim wszak głosem świergoczą ptaki Arystofanesa,
a Muzy, Zeusa boskiego, co dzierży egidę, córki
śpiewają w Kallimachowych wierszach uroczo dźwięczących.
Zostaje też Twym przyjaciółom i uczniom coś nieśmiertelnego –
wspomnienia o Tobie od wszystkich pieśni zgoła piękniejsze.

Haud modica, Lector benevole, afficimur laetitia, quod post undecentum iam horum commentariorum volumina publici iuris facta nunc Tibi in manus tradimus volumen sollemne numero centesimo insignitum. Sed falleris si forte ex voluminum numero coniectura facta existimas ephemeridem nostram ante centum hos annos conditam esse: nam numerus ille cum annorum spatio, quo commentarii in lucem prodibant, haudquaquam congruit. Si enim unoquoque post ephemeridem institutam anno unus „Eus” liber annalis editus esset, non centesimum, sed centesimum et vicesimum volumen in manibus haberes.

Brevi post Societatem Philologam a. 1893 Leopoli „ad philologiam classicam excolendam promovendamque” (prima statuti verba afferimus) conditam commentarii etiam illius Societatis instituti sunt: a. 1894 primum eorum volumen in lucem protulit Ludovicus ĆWIKLIŃSKI (1853–1942). Qui Thucydidis eximius perscrutator Universitatisque Leopoliensis tunc professor per aliquot annos et editoris et Societatis praesidis muneribus fungebatur: nam et ipse auctor fuerat, ut Societas Philologa (quae post libertatem a Polonis a. 1918 recuperatam Societatis Philologiae Polonorum nomen accepit) conderetur. Post hunc alii hos commentarios edendi curam susceperunt officiumque suum egregie praestiterunt. Quorum nomina semper grata memoria celebranda nunc temporum ordine servato producimus: nomina scilicet Stanislai WITKOWSKI, Thaddaei SINKO, Ioannis SAJDAK, Ricardi GANSINIEC, Francisci SMOLKA, Georgii KOWALSKI, Victoris STEFFEN, Ladislai STRZELECKI, Georgii KRÓKOWSKI, Georgii ŁANOWSKI, Ioannis WIKARJAK, Andreae WÓJCIK et (ut vivos quoque commemoremus) Silvestri DWORACKI, Georgii DANIELEWICZ, Lesci MROZEWICZ. Haud est dubitandum quin numquam centesimo volumine edito laetaturi fuerimus, nisi tam diligenter sua munia sustinuissent.

Quaeris fortasse, quid sit causae, cur horum commentariorum titulus de dea illa tractus sit, quam Latine Auroram appellamus. Qui titulus ad Polonorum saeculi undevicesimi historiam est referendus: nam libertate iam pridem amissa numquam de eius recuperatione desperaverunt sibi que persuaserunt post longissimam etiam alienae dominationis noctem clarum libertatis lumen quondam civitati suae oriturum esse. Societatis ephemeridisque nostrae conditores classicis quoque studiis excolendis Polonorum causam adiuvari profecto crediderunt.

Sed de historia satis. Nunc pauca dicenda sunt de quodam volumen hocce ornandi consilio. Nam fasciculo voluminis alteri (qui brevi in lucem prodibit) adiungi volumus discum electronicum, quo quinque et viginti commentationes continebuntur olim in ephemeride nostra Polonice divulgatae et nunc in linguam Anglicam translatae, quo facilius ab exteris legi possint. Quod consilium ad finem perducere possumus subsidio liberaliter fulti a Polonico Rerum et Scholarum Academicarum Ministerio ex opibus, quae ad Ordinem Studia Humaniora Provehendi Publicum (Polonice Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki) sunt destinatae.

The publication of the hundredth volume of “Eos” is a good opportunity to say a few words about the journal’s past. The Classical Association (Societas Philologa) was founded in Lwów (Leopolis / Lviv / Lemberg) in 1893 to cultivate and promote classical studies in what was then the autonomous part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire called Galicia. (When Poland regained its independence after the First World War the association was renamed as the Polish Classical Association, Societas Philologa Polonorum, with regional branches all around the country). In the following year, 1894, the first volume of “Eos”, the Classical Association’s official organ, was published. The first editor of the journal, and at the same time the main founder of the Classical Association, was Ludwik ĆWIKLIŃSKI (1853–1942), a scholar of Thucydides and then professor of Classics at the University of Lwów. A few years later he was followed by Stanisław WITKOWSKI, and the full list of former editors comprises Tadeusz SINKO, Jan SAJDAK, Tadeusz ZIELIŃSKI, Franciszek SMOLKA, Jerzy KOWALSKI, Wiktor STEFFEN, Władysław STRZELECKI, Jerzy KRÓKOWSKI, Jerzy ŁANOWSKI, Jan WIKARJAK, Andrzej WÓJCIK, Sylwester DWORACKI, Jerzy DANIELEWICZ and Leszek MROZEWICZ. Their diligence, expertise and unstinting commitment to the editorial work deserve the highest praise: the present-day editors are conscious of their place in this long tradition and make every effort to uphold the standards set up by their forerunners.

The journal’s mythological name is closely connected to nineteenth-century Polish history and to the strong belief that even after a very long night of foreign oppression freedom would eventually dawn upon their country. For the founders of the Classical Association and of this journal it was evident that cultivating classical studies (and, more generally, cultivating education and scholarship) would contribute to the cause of Poland’s future independence.

Coming back from the past to the present, we would like to announce a project which is to mark the centennial volume of “Eos”. With the volume’s second issue you will receive a CD with the English translation of twenty-five papers which have been previously published in “Eos” in Polish. The realisation of this project has been made possible through the generous support of the financial resources of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki) which is run by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Oddając do rąk Czytelników jubileuszowy, setny rocznik „Eos”, sięgamy wstecz do początków naszego pisma. Zostało ono założone we Lwowie w 1894 r. jako organ powstałego rok wcześniej Towarzystwa Filologicznego (później, po odzyskaniu przez Polskę niepodległości, przemianowanego na Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne – Societas Philologa Polonorum, obejmujące teraz swoją działalnością terytorium całego kraju, nie tylko Galicji). Pierwszym redaktorem „Eos” był główny inicjator założenia Towarzystwa, Ludwik ĆWIKLIŃSKI (1853–1942), wówczas profesor Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego¹. Po nim redakcję objął Stanisław WITKOWSKI, a następnie (najpierw we Lwowie, potem we Wrocławiu, wreszcie w Poznaniu) Tadeusz SINKO, Jan SAJDAK, Tadeusz ZIELIŃSKI, Franciszek SMOLKA, Jerzy KOWALSKI, Wiktor STEFFEN, Władysław STRZELECKI, Jerzy KRÓKOWSKI, Jerzy ŁANOWSKI, Jan WIKARJAK, Andrzej WÓJCIK, Sylwester DWORACKI, Jerzy DANIELEWICZ i Leszek MROZEWICZ. Obecna – od rocznika XCI 2004 – wrocławska redakcja z wielką wdzięcznością patrzy na Poprzedników, bez których wielkiego wysiłku, poświęcenia i umiejętności nie byłoby możliwe utrzymanie i rozwój naszego czasopisma, często na przekór zewnętrznym okolicznościom. Należy podkreślić, że „Eos” jest – po założonych odpowiednio w 1884 i 1887 r. „Pracach Filologicznych” i „Kwartalniku Historycznym” – najstarszym wydawanym do dziś polskim czasopismem naukowym z zakresu humanistyki.

Na krótką refleksję zasługuje mitologiczny tytuł naszego czasopisma, symbolicznie wiążącego grecką boginię jutrzeńki z nadzieją na świt wolności, nawet po bardzo długiej nocy niewoli. Twórcy Towarzystwa Filologicznego i „Eos” byli bowiem przekonani, że również krzewienie kultury i studiów klasycznych może się przyczynić do odrodzenia niepodległej Polski.

Jubileuszowy rocznik „Eos” planujemy uświetnić, dołączając do drugiego zeszytu płytę CD z dwudziestoma pięcioma artykułami, które swego czasu ukazały się w tym czasopiśmie po polsku, teraz zaś zostały przetłumaczone na angielski i w ten sposób udostępnione szerszej publiczności naukowej. To przedsięwzięcie było możliwe dzięki dotacji otrzymanej z Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego ze środków Narodowego Programu Rozwoju Humanistyki.

¹ Dzieje Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego ukazują autorzy tekstów zamieszczonych w: J. ŁANOWSKI, A. SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION (red.), *Antiquorum non immemores... Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne 1893–1993*, Warszawa–Wrocław 1999 (zwłaszcza artykuły J. MAŃKOWSKIEGO o początkach PTF i S. DWORACKIEGO o „Eos”). Sylwetkę założyciela „Eos” przedstawia K. KRÓLCZYK, *Pomiędzy Lwowem, Wiedniem i Poznaniem – Ludwik Ćwikliński (1853–1942) i jego badania nad światem starożytnym*, [w:] L. MROZEWICZ, K. BALBUZA (red.), *Świat starożytny, jego polscy badacze i kult panującego*, Poznań 2011, s. 147–172 (tam też wcześniejsza literatura).

SICILY'S PLACE IN GREEK POETRY*

by

GERSON SCHADE

*...vuote le mani,
ma pieni gli occhi del ricordo di lei...**Ibn Hamdis*

ABSTRACT: A multitude of literary texts dealing with Sicily are presented in four chapters. Starting with a fusion of the *Aeneid*'s presentation of Sicily and some modern literary associations, the opening chapter proves that in Virgil's usage the term "Sicilian" became a kind of shibboleth, which turns his works into texts *au deuxième degré*. His *Sicelides Musae* come from Theocritus whose poetry is at the centre of the bifold second chapter, offering two retrospective glances upon earlier Greek poetry: a first half is dedicated to Theocritus' Cyclops-poems and their 'bucolic archaeology'. Quite similarly, the second half of the second chapter is concerned with Theocritus' poem on Hieron II and its epinician predecessors, i.e. Simonides and Pindar. This tradition, however, might well have started earlier than Simonides, and it is not unlikely that already Ibykos and Stesichoros, the latter born in Sicily, composed epinician poetry. Pindar and Simonides' nephew Bakchylides were guests of Hieron I, who also invited innovative Aeschylus, reputed to be a *vir utique Siculus*, to whom the third chapter is dedicated. Aside from the bucolic and epinician tradition, Sicily has another literary facet of which the fourth chapter catches some glimpses: Sicilian lifestyle attracted attention, and Sicilians were famous in antiquity for some extravagancies, a fact well known to comedy one streak of which is supposed to have its origins in Sicily. Sicilian food and all what comes with it were not altogether above suspicion, as Plato and his translator Cicero remarked, and also Horace thought of Sicilian banquets, *Siculae dapes*, as most lavish. It turns out not only that in the history of ancient Greek and Latin literature Sicily is a real island as well as an imaginary place, but also that Sicilian regularly denotes something outstandingly valuable; both themes are recurring like a leitmotif. But there is something more: Sicily was a place of modernist poetry. It was in Sicily where two highly unusual tragedies by Aeschylus were performed, and it was for Sicilian rulers that Pindar and Bakchylides created some of the most impressive epinician odes; and aside from Theocritus, whose awareness of the historic dimension of literature forms a leitmotif of this paper, a poet who managed to establish bucolic poetry as a new poetic genre, there is Stesichoros, credited with incessant multifarious inventiveness.

* A large part of this text was a lecture which I delivered in Warsaw to the Committee of Ancient Culture, itself belonging to the Polish Academy of Sciences. I should like to thank Krystyna BARTOL as president of the Committee for her kind invitation, and Jan KWAPISZ, Magdalena STULIGROSZ, and Elzbieta WESOŁOWSKA for their helpful criticism at various stages. Neil HOPKINSON saw an earlier draft and advised me on various matters. I am grateful to him and to the anonymous reader who encouraged me to formulate again and differently some passages.

I. VIRGIL'S SICILY

As they sail away from Carthage, today a suburb of Tunis, the Trojans look back and see a blaze in the city; although they do not know that it comes from Dido's pyre, they feel presentiments of disaster. When they reach the open sea a violent storm comes upon them. It is impossible to continue on the course for Italy: instead they run with the wind to Sicily. They land near the tomb of Anchises, Aeneas' father. He died at Drepanum, the most western city of Sicily, today called Trapani. Now, at the opening of the fifth book, after having betrayed Dido, who killed herself, and fleeing from Carthage, Aeneas arrives for a second time at the western end of Sicily in Trapani. When they came the first time, with Anchises still alive, the Trojans approached the Sicilian coast near Mount Etna in the east, where they passed a night of fear in the shadow of the volcano (*Aen.* III 548–587). After having escaped the Cyclops *in extremis*, they continued to sail clockwise round Sicily, finally reaching Drepanum (*Aen.* III 707–711).

Coming to the grave of his father, Aeneas proclaims a solemn sacrifice at his tomb. This is followed by contests in rowing, running, boxing and archery. Aeneas wishes to thank the gods and founds a new city for those of his comrades who decide to stay behind; finally, he sets sail for Italy. But before leaving Trapani for the last time, Aeneas dedicates a temple to Venus on Mount Eryx, named after Aeneas' half-brother. The building was very famous in Greek and Roman times: it is mentioned, e.g., by Thucydides as a place where a lavish banquet took place (VI 46, 3). Tacitus reports that Tiberius who since his adoption by Augustus regarded himself as a descendant of Aeneas, took on the responsibility for the temple's restoration (*Ann.* IV 43, 4)¹. A Sicilian poet also speaks of it: Theocritus (*Id.* 15, 100 ff.) lets two women from the Sicilian town of Syracuse describe a celebration in Alexandria during which a song in honour of Adonis is performed. The two Syracusan women listen to the song which begins with a list of cult-places of Venus, among which Mount Eryx is mentioned².

Nowadays, once you have paid the fare, a spectacularly vertiginous lift brings you upwards into the beautifully preserved, though half-abandoned mediaeval city of Erice. The voyage takes roughly ten minutes, but upon arrival, you have

¹ At Rome, Erycina (as a name for Venus) is used by Horace (*Carm.* I 2, 33); Ovid mentions a temple of Venus Erycina next the Colline gate, adding that the temple takes its name from the Sicilian hill (*Fasti* IV 871 f.: "a Siculo [...] colle"). At the end of 216 BC, Quintus Fabius Maximus requested of the senate that he be permitted to dedicate a temple of Venus of Eryx on the Capitol, as Livy reports (XXIII 30, 13; 31, 9).

² Δέσποιν', ἃ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφιλήσας/ αἰπεινάν τ' Ἔρυκα, χρυσῶν παιζοῖσ' Ἀφροδίτα "Mistress, you who love Golgi, sheer Eryx and Idalium, Aphrodite, whose sport is golden". Translations of Theocritus are taken from Anthony VERITY, *Theocritus Idylls*, Oxford 2002. – The scholia on *Id.* 15 refer to Sophron as a source of Theocritus, as they do also on *Id.* 2. Both assertions of dependence on Sophron, however, are taken with reserve by A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Cambridge 1952, vol. II, pp. 34 f., 265. On Sophron cf. also the fourth chapter of this paper.

travelled through a millennium. Seated in a Plexiglas cabin itself attached to an iron cable above your head, you seem to hover above Trapani for an instant. Soon the city slowly fades away as you approach the old town. Towering over Trapani, Erice is situated on a hill, 750 meters above the sea, one of the highest mountains in Sicily after Etna and coupled by Virgil with Mount Athos (*Aen.* XII 701). The overwhelming sight might have suggested to Virgil a line and a half in the *Aeneid*, where he says that “then, close to the stars, above Mount Eryx, to Venus of Idalium they raise a temple” (*Aen.* V 759 f. “tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes/ fundatur Veneri Idaliae”). But it is not only due to the Venus-temple on Mount Eryx that Sicily left such an impression on certain poets. Neither is Sicily's importance restricted to the stones the Cyclops threw, intent on killing Odysseus, which can be seen from a bus going to Acitrezza in the suburbs of Catania, a town where other bus-lines end at Piazza Stesicoro.

Like many other parts of Italy, Sicily had become a literary topos. It is not only a real island but also an imaginary place. A naturalistic novel like *I Malavoglia* by Giovanni Verga (1840–1922), whose apartment in Catania is now a museum, is an outstanding example of this transformation of a real place into a mythic universe³. Regarding the island as representative or suggestive of something else, Leonardo Sciascia, e.g., a Sicilian author of the last century (1921–1989), explicitly spoke of Sicily as a metaphor⁴. Being much interested in Italian politics, he feared that the whole of Italy might become Sicily, i.e. wholly corrupt⁵. Curiously enough, the idea that Sicily is not only an imaginary place but that the island also offers a kind of key to an understanding of Italy as a whole was already expressed by Johann Wolfgang Goethe when he noted (in the diary of his Italian voyage, 13.4.1787): “Italien ohne Sizilien macht gar kein Bild in der Seele: hier ist erst der Schlüssel zu allem”.

Even in antiquity the term Sicily had been used as a metaphor for something “special”. Then, however, less in the sense of “rotten” and more in the opposite sense of “refined”. Virgil was the first to do so, not only exploiting the intense relationship between Greek and Roman poetry but also adding a second layer to

³ An illustration of this process is given by G. GARRA AGOSTA, who published forgotten photographs by Verga (*Verga fotografo*, Catania 1991). These pictures, discovered in Verga's apartment long after his death, show some of the real persons Verga changed into literary figures.

⁴ Cf. L. SCIASCIA, *La Sicilia come metafora*, Milano 1979, and earlier L. SCIASCIA, *Sicilia e sicilitudine*, in: IDEM, *La corda pazzo. Scrittori e cose della Sicilia*, Torino 1970, pp. 11–17, and its often cited paragraph on two opposed theoretical approaches to describe the Sicilianess or Sicily-tude of its culture (p. 15).

⁵ Cf. L. SCIASCIA, *Il giorno della civetta*, Torino 1961, p. 115: “Forse tutta l'Italia va diventando Sicilia... A me è venuta una fantasia, leggendo sui giornali gli scandali di quel governo regionale: gli scienziati dicono che la linea della palma, cioè il clima che è proprio alla vegetazione della palma, viene su, verso il nord, di cinquecento metri, mi pare, ogni anno... La linea della palma... Io invece dico: la linea del caffè ristretto, del caffè concentrato... E sale come l'ago di mercurio di un termometro, questa linea della palma, del caffè forte, degli scandali: su su per l'Italia, ed è già oltre Roma...”.

it. Virgil intensified Greco-Roman intertextual references and made them a trademark of his texts which became so fraught by referring to other texts that his whole poetic achievement is thoroughly marked (and sometimes obscured) by the author's learnedness. A single word like "Sicilian" could express his whole poetic program. How did he achieve that?

Reading Latin poetry, at some time or other most have experienced that something sounds familiar. A single scene from the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* may illustrate this phenomenon of *déjà vu*: Dido does not speak to Aeneas as Ajax did not reply to Odysseus. Among many a talkative hero or loquacious heroine, both are singular exceptions in both these underworld-journeys. That this is not an accident can be guessed from the fact that Virgil found a way of indicating his closeness to his model: His "silent Dido" episode comprises 27 lines (*Aen.* VI 450–476), which is exactly the same number of lines Homer used to portray the "silent Ajax" episode (*Od.* XI 541–567)⁶. This subtle but still clearly visible reference is typical of Virgil's new poetic mannerism, his pervading erudite allusiveness. The Virgilian *déjà vu*, however, had been prepared in his *Georgics*, which contain a second proemium at the beginning of the third book, replete with references to the second proemium at the beginning of the third book of Callimachus' *Aetia*⁷.

Virgil's refinement was copied, and is very much due to his close reading of Greek poetry. At the beginning of Virgil's career it is the Sicilian poet Theocritus who played a major role as a model. By imitating him, Virgil initiated something new in Latin literary history. It was from Theocritus that Virgil got his inspiration, and it is Virgil himself who says so. In his first published work, the *Bucolica* or *Eclogues*, he hints openly at his Greek predecessor. He does so by using a single word, i.e. "Sicilian", which works in a twofold way, indicating a literature *au deuxième degré*.

Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* begins with an appeal to the Muses. Including himself in their number, the poet exhorts them "let us sing something a bit bigger", and the whole line runs (*Ecl.* 4, 1) "Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus". In Virgil's usage, the term "Sicilian" became a kind of shibboleth or catchword, adopted and chosen in order to indicate his own Alexandrian poetic programme,

⁶ Cf. G.N. KNAUER, *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils*, Göttingen 1964, pl. 2.

⁷ Callimachus, a contemporary of Theocritus in his days in Alexandria, composed four books of his *Aetia*, as did Virgil who composed four books of his *Georgics*. Moreover, the whole concept of aetiology plays a great role in Virgil's *Georgics*, a work dedicated to the study of causation, constantly providing a reason for something; cf. R.F. THOMAS, *Virgil, Georgics*, Cambridge 1988, vol. II, p. 37. As a learned Hellenistic poet, used to dictate many a line in the morning which he reworked during the day, finally reducing them to only very few (*Excerptum e vita Donatiana* 22), Virgil was seemingly not intent or eager to be discovered as such a learned Hellenistic poet, at least not at the very first instance.

characterized by a learned and allusive style. Explaining in the following that not all are pleased by poems on plants like orchards or lowly tamarisks, Virgil pretends to give a reason for his new poetic aim, as if he previously had been writing a handbook for hobby-gardening, which of course he had not.

Beginning the first line of his fourth *Eclogue* with an invented new word, *Sicelides*, which did not exist before him, neither in Greek nor in Latin⁸, Virgil indicated the new poetic status of the *Eclogues*, an attitude which made him the right candidate for “something bigger”. The word clearly means Sicilian and refers to the Muses. But since when are we to assume that the Muses come from or have anything to do with Sicily? The daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne dwell on mount Helicon in Boeotia, and we should expect Helikoniades (Ἑλικωνιάδες) as in the opening line of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, or at least Pierides (Πιερίδες) as in Pindar’s first *Pythian*, because they were born in Pieria, north of Mount Olympos in the South-west of Macedonia, all places far away from Sicily.

Virgil did not force them to travel to Sicily. The new Muses are now metaphorically called “Sicilian” because Virgil’s model in the *Eclogues* is pastoral poetry, invented by Theocritus, who was a Sicilian. By calling the Muses “Sicilian”, Virgil transfers the Muses to an object different from, but analogous to that object to which their name is literally applicable, and to which it was in fact applied before Virgil. He creates a new poetic reality.

In the opening line of his sixth *Eclogue* Virgil repeats the statement from the beginning of the fourth, continuing his metaphorical discourse on Sicily. Now he states that his Muse in her early days liked to express herself in a verse Virgil calls “Syracusan” (*Ecl.* 6, 1 “prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu”, “at the beginning, my Muse thought it apt to perform Syracusan verses”). Virgil again uses an adjective unknown to Latin⁹. Both beginnings certainly refer to each other and in both cases the subsequent lines speak metaphorically of bucolic poetry¹⁰. Now using the adjective “Syracusan”, however, Virgil hints directly at Theocritus, whose supposed birthplace is Syracuse in Sicily. Virgil also employs a poetic device called geographical antonomasia which means that a geographical indication replaces a person’s proper name.

⁸ Cf. W. CLAUSEN, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, Oxford 1994, p. 130. – In his “mascarade bucolique”, however, Theocritus gives the name Σικελίδων, the origin of which is unknown, to Asclepiades (*Id.* 7, 40). There is no sign in his extant remains of “bucolic” poetry, and the name is suspected to be a patronymic.

⁹ Though this time normal in Greek; cf. CLAUSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 179.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ecl.* 6, 2: “nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia” (“our Muse blushed not to dwell in woods”, referring to the beginning of his poetic work), and *Ecl.* 4, 3: “si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae” (“if our song is of the woodland, let the woodland be worthy of a consul”, said of what is now to come). Virgil’s references to “song” are collected by L.D. CARSON, *Song in Virgil’s Eclogues*, Chapel Hill 1990.

This substitution of a geographical epithet for a person's proper name is a widespread and well used technique among Hellenistic poets¹¹. By copying that technique, Virgil adds a second layer to his term "Syracusan" (and "Sicilian"). Not only does he indicate indirectly what he really wanted to say, namely that he is following Theocritus, but he also shows his familiarity with Hellenistic poetic techniques. Thus his reference is twofold and works on two levels, directly and indirectly. Both messages confirm each other and signal that an author, who uses this way of encoding his message, is a Hellenistic poet, well aware of the latest literary trends – which makes his works from now texts *au deuxième degré*.

By adopting an Alexandrian manner, Virgil distinguishes himself from other Roman poets who followed Greek models. His way is quite different from the older *alter Homerus*, brashly outspoken Ennius, who claimed that Homer appeared at his side, telling him how his soul migrated into Ennius' body¹². Already Statius referred to Ennius' reputation as less sophisticated, calling Ennius' Muse "untutored" (as if she had not been at school) and Ennius himself "bold": "Musa rudis ferocis Enni" (*Silv.* II 7, 75)¹³. Although much of *Aeneid* 7–12 could be termed *ferox*, nobody would call Virgil untutored or bold, that goes without saying.

For subsequent poets, "bucolic poetry" was "Sicilian" or "Syracusan" because of Theocritus and it was Virgil who recreated Theocritean pastoral in Latin. That Theocritus came from Syracuse or at least Sicily may reasonably be deduced from his own poetry and was the almost unanimous opinion in antiquity. He himself treats Sicily and Syracuse as his native country and town¹⁴.

II. THEOCRITUS

(a) *Theocritus' Cyclops and the archaeology of the bucolic tradition*

That Theocritus is from Syracuse can be inferred from his twenty-eighth *Idyll* where he speaks of a woman from Syracuse as "coming from my land" (ἀμμετέρως ἔσσαν ἀπὸ χθόνης). Theocritus' way of expressing this simple fact is extremely elaborate, not only because his poem is written in an artificial, literary Aeolic but also because he uses an aetiological antonomastic description of Syracuse, as "the town Archias of Ephyra founded long ago"¹⁵, a town called "the

¹¹ Cf. J. FARRELL, *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History*, New York–Oxford 1991, pp. 58 f.

¹² Cf. O. SKUTSCH, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985, pp. 147–149.

¹³ Cf. C.E. NEWLANDS, *Statius, Silvae, Book II*, Cambridge 2011, p. 241.

¹⁴ Cf. GOW, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. I, p. XVI.

¹⁵ Cf. G. MADDOLI, *L'Occidente*, in: *I Greci*, vol. II 1, Torino 1996, pp. 995–1034; A.J. DOMINGUEZ, *Greeks in Sicily*, in: *Greek Colonisation*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2006, pp. 253–357, and J.M. HALL, *Foundation Stories*, in: *Greek Colonisation*, vol. II, Leiden–Boston 2008, pp. 383–426, on Greek settlements in general, and furthermore A. WILLI, *Sikelismos: Sprache, Literatur und*

very essence of the isle of three capes”, i.e. Sicily, a town finally named “a city of famous men” (28, 17 ff.)¹⁶. Syracuse is seen by him as the most essential part or feature of Sicily, its purest or most perfect form or manifestation, its nucleus or core. Not surprisingly, Theocritus shows his pride in his *polis* when he speaks of it in these terms.

Theocritus also alludes to his Sicilian origin in his eleventh *Idyll*, addressing the Cyclops as his “countryman” (ὁ Κύκλωψ ὁ παρ’ ἀμῖν, 11, 7). The expression has a wide range of meanings: apparently, the Cyclops was familiar to Theocritus as a Sicilian compatriot as well as a literary motif, and fleetingly one perceives Theocritus as living with the one-eyed giant in his cave under Mount Etna in Sicily. What could have been on Theocritus’ mind that let him choose this curious phrase? What did a refined court-poet have in common with a man-eating Cyclops? And since “Sicilian” is another word for “bucolic”, what could be so particularly “idyllic” or “pastoral” about the monster?

The eleventh *Idyll* shows Polyphemus in love with Galatea, and the greater part of the idyllic setting (19–79) is an example of Polyphemus’ songs in which he pleads with Galatea in the hope of attracting her, though finally he blames himself for wasting his time on a person so intractable and wrongheaded. That there is no remedy for love save song is the message of the text, openly exhibited right at the beginning, and seemingly Theocritus is speaking of himself and his own work. The strong identification between the poetic voice and that of the Cyclops, introduced as “one of us” (in line 7), transforms the one-eyed monster Polyphemus into an aetiological paradigm for all subsequent Sicilian lovers and poets. If such a freak manages to sing convincingly about sweet love, every Sicilian can do the same, seems to be the gist of the narrative. In front of our eyes, a *primus inventor* of the genre is invented by Theocritus who in turn was credited by Virgil with being the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of bucolic poetry, and we witness literary history in the making.

Once more, a second layer is attached to the text, and as if we were contemplating a palimpsest a second text becomes visible. During his poetic performance in Theocritus’ *Idyll*, Polyphemus boasts that he is immensely rich and describes at length the possessions in his cave. In particular he mentions his milking the sheep and the cheese he gains from that milk (*Id.* 11, 34–37). The language of this passage is so reminiscent of Homer’s that the Theocritean Polyphemus nearly sounds as if he had read the Homeric description of himself.

Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien (8.–5. Jh. v. Chr.), Basel 2008, on the concept of a shared Sicilian “literary identity” (opposing “universal” and “regional” values, as it is common in post-colonial literary criticism). Recently, O. TRIBULATO edited a volume on *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily* (Cambridge 2012). An outstanding modern history of Sicily is by Edward FREEMAN, *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times*, Oxford 1891–1894 (in four volumes).

¹⁶ The founding of Syracuse is also briefly alluded to by Pindar *O.* 6, 6.

Certainly Theocritus did, and he was apparently thinking of the Homeric Polyphemus whom his own Polyphemus echoes, but he kept also in mind the Homeric Odysseus of that Cyclops adventure. Promising to the nymph Galatea that he wants to learn swimming, in order to live with her (11, 60), Theocritus' Polyphemus speaks of a stranger who might come (ξένος, 11, 61). Polyphemus, however, has no reason to expect visitors, because nobody would be so crazy as to visit him. His curious statement would only make sense if it were reflecting the coming of Odysseus depicted in Homer's *Odyssey*¹⁷.

What the Cyclops sings was to prove all too true. It was indeed a "Nobody", a "Noman" who came, unfortunately not keen on swimming with him but eventually killing the Cyclops. The fallacious name assumed by Odysseus to deceive Polyphemus, Οὔτις, "Nobody", from Homer's *Odyssey* (IX 366, 408), was later to return in Euripides' satyr-play *Cyclops* (549, 672 f.) where Odysseus provokes the Cyclops again.

It is ironic that the Theocritean Polyphemus performs not a sequel, but a prequel to a famous myth or literary work. He, of course, could not have known what was about to happen to him, but Theocritus certainly knew what was to come. He lets his Polyphemus recount what took place before Homer's account of his killing by Odysseus begins, and Theocritus gives an example of literature *au deuxième degré* Virgil was attracted to. Given that multiple intertextual perspective, Theocritus' Polyphemus is a pathetic victim of poetic tradition, in which "Theocritus too is 'trapped' [...], and he too is bound to 'lose' to Homer, as Polyphemus does to Odysseus"¹⁸.

Despite the weighty tradition, or maybe irrespective of it, Theocritus was so fascinated by the Polyphemus and Galatea story that he wrote on the subject for a second time. He depicted an imaginary poetic contest between two young herdsmen, Daphnis and Damoitas, who meet for a singing match. After an introductory narrative passage consisting of five lines, their songs are quoted directly, separated only by a single narrative verse of transition (*Id.* 6, 20). Daphnis begins with fourteen lines, which are addressed to Polyphemus. In these lines, Polyphemus is told how Galatea is doing everything in her power to attract him, but he does not seem to notice and remains indifferent to her advances. In reply, Damoitas adopts the role of Polyphemus, singing twenty lines *in Polyphemi persona*. One is curious what was to come.

Damoitas, the Cyclops' poetic voice, asserts that he knows precisely what Galatea is doing, what "she is up to". He, however, is "playing hard to get" and wants to make her jealous by telling her that there is already another woman in his life (6, 25–28):

¹⁷ Cf. Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, pp. 214, 218 (on 35 ff. and 61 respectively).

¹⁸ R. HUNTER, *Theocritus, A Selection*, Cambridge 1999, p. 219.

I can tease her back: I don't look at her, but I say
 I'm married to someone else. When she hears this,
 she sulks, goes mad, and keeps on peering towards
 my caves and flocks from her home in the sea.

Polyphemus' strategy is deliberate and calculated to make Galatea capitulate. His indifference, he says, is assumed in order to cure Galatea of her arrogance and induce a complete surrender. Our freakish man-eating monster turns out to be a clever clown.

A closing narrative passage announces that the contest had no winner, but ended in perfect harmony. The text is clearly a fictitious song-contest between two fictitious literary personae. The answer to the question where it took place is given by one of its protagonists. Daphnis is mentioned elsewhere in Theocritus and in non-Theocritean poems in the Bucolic corpus¹⁹, and in the first *Idyll* he is associated with places in Sicily. One needs not to assume that "Daphnis" in Theocritus denotes always the same Daphnis, but the fact that *Idyll* 6 appears as a comic "reading" of *Idyll* 1 makes it plausible that at least in these two poems the same Daphnis is spoken of²⁰.

Daphnis is the subject of the first *Idyll* (Thyrsis' song deals with the death of Daphnis) and belongs to an area marked by the river Anapos (which flows from the hills into the sea at Syracuse) and Mount Etna itself, and another river which rises under Etna and flows into the sea near Acireale, a city north of Acitrezza at Sicily's east coast (*Id.* 1, 67–69). Later on in the text, dying Daphnis bids farewell to Arethusa, the famous spring of Syracuse, and to those streams "whose bright waters pour down" the wide valley of Thybris, somewhere between Mount Etna and Syracuse (*Id.* 1, 117 ff.), places he was never to inhabit again.

In the seventh *Idyll*, a certain Lycidas performs a song much occupied with two bucolic heroes, Daphnis and Comatas²¹. He speaks of Tityrus singing of Daphnis' love and "how the mountain grieved over him, and the oaks which grow on the banks of Himera sang a dirge" (*Id.* 7, 73–75). Pastoral poetry in general is founded upon this transference of the spectator's own emotions to external objects, the pathetic fallacy. Himera in particular is the name of two

¹⁹ Cf. Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, p. 2.

²⁰ On the striking similarities between the story of Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 and that of Polyphemus in *Idyll* 6 cf. HUNTER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 247 f.

²¹ In Theocritus' seventh *Idyll*, a first-person narrative of a past event by Simichidas, Lycidas is introduced with detail, a fact "which suggests that, unlike the characters and geography of the opening passage, he is new to us" (HUNTER, *op. cit.* [n. 18], p. 146). If *Idyll* 7 were an elaborate compliment to Philetas (as it had been suggested by E.L. BOWIE, *Theocritus' Seventh Idyll, Philetas and Longus*, CQ XXXV 1985, pp. 67–91), Lycidas could well be a character from Philetas' bucolic poetry, but in that case he would not have been new to his ancient readers. Older secondary literature assumed Lycidas to be a poet in disguise, and the candidates include a range of prominent Hellenistic poets (on which see Gow, *op. cit.* [n. 2], vol. II, p. 130).

rivers rising in central Sicily, one flowing south, the other north to the coast beside the town of Himera. Unmistakably, all these names lead us to Sicily and strongly connect bucolic poetry to the island. The Sicilian historian Timaios, an older contemporary of Theocritus and strong Sicilian patriot, regarded Daphnis as pasturing cattle in the region of Etna²².

But this simple geographical indication certainly hides something else. The name of the river Himera is surely a word-play hinting at the Greek word for desire, i.e. ἵμερος, meaning that bucolic poetry could express feelings due to strong desire, which makes even the trees which grow on the banks of Himera sing a song. But we may certainly also assume that a hint to Stesichoros is intended, born in Himera. In one of his poetic works Stesichoros also spoke of the river Himera, which “forks into two streams, one flowing (north) into the Tyrrhenian Sea, the other (south) into the Libyan Sea” (*PMGF* 270). Unfortunately, we do not know in which of his works he mentioned the river, and by no means it cannot be ruled out that this fragment belongs to “the second Stesichoros of Himera”, assumed to be a bucolic poet of a much younger age than the author of *Helen* and its *Palinodes*.

Adding always a second meaning ostensibly inscribes literary history in Theocritus’ poetry. But what can be said on the relationship between the two Cyclopean idylls in Theocritus which quite openly refer to each other?

The text of Theocritus’ sixth *Idyll* is certainly a play on the text of the eleventh. Now Theocritus’ Cyclops shows bravado in the face of the Homeric pattern, he allows himself to be teased, and wants nothing else than that Galatea capitulate without further ado. He even mocks the whole poetic tradition (6, 34–38):

And I’m not as ugly, you know, as men say I am;
just now I looked at myself in the calm sea, and –
as I judged it – saw two handsome cheeks and this
one handsome eye. The water reflected the gleam
of my teeth, which were whiter than Parian marble.

By this (in a double sense) narcissistic comparison, the Cyclops hyperbolically reinvents himself, while the existence of a famous literary model (which determined *Idyll* 11) has become irrelevant and is completely ignored. Now Theocritus demands a place for his bucolic poems in a world which already has Homer’s *Odyssey* and its ninth book. Now the fact that Homer has spoken does not mean that new directions are not possible: “if *Idyll* 11 showed how Homer

²² *FGrHist* 566 F 83: cf. K.J. DOVER, *Theocritus, Select Poems*, London 1971, pp. LXIII f.; in general, L. PEARSON, *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors*, Atlanta 1987. On Timaios’ ideas on the origin of bucolic poetry cf. D.M. HALPERIN, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry*, New Haven 1983, pp. 80–84, 220 f.

had placed all subsequent poets in the hopeless position of young Polyphemos [...], *Idyll* 6 reasserts the power of the present over tradition”²³.

All that very much refers to another text. Again we are confronted with a *déjà vu* (as if the *déjà vu* wants to remind us of itself in a *mise en abyme*). There were other Cyclopes between Homer and Theocritus, funny, Sicilian, and (at least one of them) also getting into trouble with a “nobody”. Based closely on one of the most famous episodes of the *Odyssey*, the Cyclops portrayed by Euripides, however, is in one way or another different from what he used to be.

In Homer, Odysseus’ motive that prompts him to seek out the Cyclopes is a desire for guest-gifts. His curiosity impels him into a situation of danger which could have been easily foreseen and avoided, when, quite unnecessarily, he ventures from the Island of Goats to the land of the Cyclopes (from *Od.* IX 170 onwards)²⁴. In Euripides, Odysseus and his men approach the cave of Polyphemos because they are in need of food and water. Sympathy for Odysseus is therefore strengthened, but also the treatment of Polyphemos is different. Homer’s Polyphemos is rather nasty, but he is so clearly of a different world from the Greeks, so clearly a primitive creature, that it is difficult to view him consistently as one would a bad *human* being, one to whom the same standards apply as to ourselves. He is a fairy-tale monster, a man-eating hideous ogre. And Homer gives him a moment of pathos when in his blindness he speaks tenderly to his favourite ram.

By contrast, Euripides’ Polyphemos, though primitive in some respects, is very careful about his food, in general a circumspect manager of his household and his slaves, and he strongly resembles a sophist who can articulately justify his immoral behaviour. He clearly inhabits the same moral world as the Greeks whose morality he knows very well and chose to reject. When he is finally blinded, no pathos obscures the fact that his punishment is absolutely right. In fact, the blinding is introduced by Odysseus’ brutal prayer to Hephaistos, who is addressed as follows: “lord of Aetna (ἄναξ Αἰτναῖε), burn out the bright eye of this pest, your neighbour, and be quit of him for good” (*Cyc.* 599 f.).

In Euripides’ *Cyclops*, the only complete surviving example of the genre satyr-play, the protagonist is clearly at home in Greek culture, and Sicily is

²³ HUNTER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 247. The proposed argument implies that *Idyll* 6 presupposes *Idyll* 11, and it is hard to resist the inference that *Idyll* 6 was written later than *Idyll* 11. But we need not assume that they were written very close in time and whether they “circulated” as a pair is unknown to us. What is interesting is the fact that the truly Sicilian Cyclops and his love-affair that never came true was such a favourite with Theocritus that he wrote twice on the same subject, treating it completely differently. Cf. further A. KÖHNKEN, *Theokrits Polyphemgedichte*, in: A. HARDER, R.F. REGTUIT, G.C. WAKKER (eds.), *Theocritus*, Groningen 1996, pp. 171–186, again in A. KÖHNKEN, *Darstellungsziele und Erzählstrategien in antiken Texten*, Berlin–New York 2006, pp. 127–141.

²⁴ Cf. A. HEUBECK, *Introduction*, in: A. HEUBECK, A. HOEKSTRA, *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey II*, Oxford 1989, p. 7.

adopted as part of the Greek mother-country. We are no longer in the folktale-world evoked by the Homeric Odysseus. But what makes his environment so typically “Sicilian” in the sense of “bucolic” (which is of a particular interest for our topic) is the fact that the *parodos*, the song performed by the chorus entering the stage, is the earliest extant pastoral song (*Cyc.* 41–81, in particular 41–62)²⁵. While Polyphemus whistled in the *Odyssey* as he was driving his sheep, now the sheep are addressed by the chorus. All the bucolic setting is there, gentle breezes, green grass, the water of rivers, and the cave where the young sheep are sheltered. The apogee of the idyll is formed by some grassy meadows hidden inside the rocks of Mount Etna (*Cyc.* 60–62). It turns out that already in Euripides, who died 406 BC, Sicily and Mount Etna were simply *the* bucolic place to be.

This pastoral element fits nicely into the rustic satyric drama. More than that, however, it fits nicely into the pre-history of the bucolic genre before Theocritus, believed to have ceased to write not later than 260 BC²⁶. When Virgil chose *Sicelides Musae* in order to speak of bucolic poetry, some time around 40 BC, he was certainly thinking of Theocritus, but not necessarily of him alone.

Even then, Euripides was not the only one familiar with the Cyclops. A contemporary of his, the poet Philoxenus of Cythera, once visited a shrine built by Polyphemus near Mount Etna. Polyphemus, as the story goes, wanted to thank Galatea for an abundant supply of milk, the Greek word for which is γάλα. Both the word-play and the fact that the monster was keen on expressing his thanks to Galatea are quite amusing. Just imagine for a moment a clumsy Cyclops tenderly building a shrine for his beloved Galatea. Philoxenus, however, was not aware of this funny explanation. He could not think of the reason for the shrine, instead of which he invented the tale that Polyphemus was in love with Galatea and composed a lyric poem on that subject.

Philoxenus’ quasi-dramatic dithyramb in turn was so well known that Aristophanes could write a parody of it (in a play performed in 388)²⁷. Whether or not Philoxenus had already exploited Sicilian traditions of “bucolic song” for his poem we are unable to say. It seems likely, or one is tempted to assume it,

²⁵ Cf. R. SEAFORD, *Euripides, Cyclops*, Oxford 1984, 106 (on Euripides’ taste for the bucolic in tragedy). Neither the song performed by the happy, syrinx-playing herdsmen, who appear as if coming “straight out of later pastoral poetry” (M.W. EDWARDS, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. V, Cambridge 1991, p. 220), from Homer’s *Shield of Achilles* (Il. XVIII 525 f.) has come down to us nor are the nuances of poetry known Hesiod had been taught while pasturing lambs under holy Helicon (*Theog.* 23). Nevertheless there might well have been a certain link between poetry and a bucolic setting (with *boukoloi*, *aipoloi*, and/or *poimenes*), as is also shown by a character named Prodamos in Eupolis’ *Aiges*, who teaches a man from the country how to dance (in a scene which relates somehow to a similar teaching scene in Aristophanes, *Nub.* 627–803); cf. I.C. STOREY, *Fragments of Old Comedy*, Cambridge, Mass. 2011, vol. II, pp. 54 f.

²⁶ Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. I, p. XXIX.

²⁷ The anecdote is to be found in Duris (*FGrHist* 76 F 58 = *PMG* 817), the parody in *Plut.* 290–321; cf. A.H. SOMMERSTEIN, *Aristophanes, Wealth*, Warminster 2001, pp. 156–158.

but the extant tiny fragments of his *Cyclops or Galatea* prove nothing (PMG 815–824). Philoxenus' *Cyclops*, however, might have provided a background for Theocritus' sixth and eleventh idylls. At least they indicate that even if the literary history inscribed in Theocritus' poetry may be largely his own, it can hardly be doubted that there was a history.

Another *Cyclops* adds to this bucolic poetry *avant la lettre*, this one written by a poet called "the second Stesichoros of Himera", who won an Athenian poetic competition in 370/368 (PMG 841). His *Cyclops* was performed during a musical competition, and by a strange coincidence all the pipers performed a *Cyclops*, among them also that of Philoxenus (PMG 840). This "second Stesichoros", Philoxenus' younger contemporary, might also have introduced the Sicilian Daphnis story, a Theocritean theme, to poetry: while Daphnis was tending his cattle in Sicily, a nymph fell in love with him; she threatened that his fate was to be blinded if he had intercourse with another girl; later on, however, he broke the agreement, and "from that time onwards herdsmen's songs were sung, having as their theme the story of his blinding" (ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ βουκολικά μέλη πρῶτον ἦσθη καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ). According to Aelian, who relates the story (PMGF 279), Stesichoros of Himera is believed to have been the first to compose this kind of song, but it is not unlikely that Aelian mixed up "the second Stesichoros" with the temporarily blinded author of *Helen* and its *Palinodes* (PMGF 192 f.)²⁸.

(b) *Theocritus' Hieron and the epinician tradition*

Theocritus also enables us to head for another Sicilian poetic tradition because his Sicilian works include not only those on Daphnis and the Cyclops. One of Theocritus' most remarkable achievements, "which has not always been estimated at its proper worth" as Andrew Gow put it²⁹, is a poem celebrating the king of Syracuse, Hieron II. The name Hieron alone evokes a glorious poetic tradition, closely connected with Sicily. At the beginning of *Idyll* 16, Theocritus imagines his poetic Graces as papyrus-rolls, returning unsold in a box, without a gift, because he had sent them on a pointless journey (16, 5–13). In Pindar the part of the Graces is large; he composed, for example, an epinikion praising them more than the victor himself (*O.* 14). Though Pindar is not named by Theocritus, "the almost continuous echo of his phrases and sentiments"³⁰ may remind Hieron II, the addressee of Theocritus, of Pindar's services to Hieron I, whose gentle

²⁸ Cf. M.L. WEST, *Melica*, CQ XX 1970, pp. 205–215 (p. 206, *The Stesichori*). Momentarily one wonders whether PMGF 270 should be attributed to the "second Stesichoros", too.

²⁹ Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, p. 305.

³⁰ Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, p. 307; cf. further R. HUNTER, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 82–90.

and father-like ruling over Syracuse was praised by Pindar in his third *Pythian* ode (*P.* 3, 68–71).

Two main themes dominate Theocritus' sixteenth *Idyll*, the importance of employing poets (22–57) and the prayer for Syracuse (71–100), a city Theocritus proudly declared to be his hometown in another and earlier mentioned *Idyll* (28, 15–18). It is hard for a poet to find a patron in these days, complains the poet's voice, although there is no better way of using wealth than upon poetry. In return, poetry will make the patron immortal. In Sicily a patron who will need Theocritus to celebrate his exploits will appear. Syracuse, with Hieron at its head, is arming for war, and the enemies will be driven from Sicily and the island restored to peace and prosperity. Theocritus needs only an invitation to place his services at the victor's disposal.

Theocritus seeks a patron and openly confesses to it, declaring that "my search is for a man who will welcome me, and my Muses too" (16, 68), someone who will be to him what the Skopadai of Thessaly were in earlier days to Simonides. Simonides is generally assumed to be the first poet to have composed epinician poetry and is mentioned by Theocritus in form of a geographical antonomasia as "the poet of Ceos" (16, 44), while his (lesser known) Thessalian patrons are mentioned by their proper names (16, 35). "Had not the poet of Ceos shaped inventive songs to his/ lyre of many strings", Theocritus argues, "they (i.e. the Skopadai) would have lain/ forgotten for time beyond reckoning among the luckless dead". Nobody would have ever heard of many a heroic subject – as those listed by Theocritus in the following lines – if poets had not sung of them (16, 50). The Plataea fragment of Simonides seems to be echoed by Theocritus, where Simonides spoke of the relationship between the Danaans and Homer in similar terms (11, 13–18 W²): "[And so] the valiant Danaans, [best of warr]iors, sacked the much-sung-of city, and came [home;] [and they] are bathed in fame that cannot die, by grace [of one who from the dark-] tressed Muses had the tru[th entire,] and made the heroes' short-lived race a theme familiar to younger men"³¹.

At the end of his life (he is supposed to have died in the 60s of the fifth century BC)³², Simonides worked at the court of Hieron I, and his grave was shown at Akragas, now Agrigento. Xenophon even depicted an imaginary conversation

³¹ Restored and translated by Martin WEST, published in D. BOEDEKER, D. SIDER (eds.), *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, Oxford 2001, pp. 27–29.

³² Constantly pursuing patronage and money, stingy Simonides was an extremely successful poet in various genres; cf., e.g., J.M. BELL, *Κίμβιξ καὶ σοφός: Simonides in the Anecdotal Tradition*, QUCC XXVIII 1978, pp. 28–86. Simonides' fame resulted in the attribution to him of many epigrams, scarcely any of which is regarded as authentic. His greed made him consider memory more as a profane technique than as a divine gift; cf. M. DETIENNE, *Simonide de Céos ou la sécularisation de la poésie*, REG LXXVII 1964, pp. 405–419, reprinted with some alterations in *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris 1967, pp. 105–119. On Theocritus' relation to Simonides cf. HUNTER, *Archaeology...* (n. 30), pp. 97–109.

between them. No attempt at characterization, however, is made, Hieron appears just as a despot of the better type in a merely "Socratic" dialogue on the subject whether a tyrant or a private man is luckier in life. Although Xenophon does not represent him as a courtier poet³³, Simonides, as one of the first known practitioners of epinician poetry, might very well have written encomiastic court poetry in order to obtain funding from Hieron I.

In other words, Theocritus hints again at a literary tradition of which he himself forms a part. Now, in the first quarter of the third century BC, he imagines himself as being in the same position towards Hieron II as Simonides found himself in respect of Hieron I, then in the first quarter of the fifth century BC. To confirm, however, the importance of his poetic project, namely to procure everlasting fame to otherwise fast forgotten mortals, Theocritus mentions also Homer who rendered the same service to Odysseus. "Everlasting fame would have passed him by, and silence too/ would have shrouded" Odysseus (16, 53 f.) had not the songs of "an Ionian", i.e. Homer, brought them the reward of fame.

Mentioning Homer as bringing fame to Odysseus, Theocritus is by no means the first but again alluding to (and preceded by) not only Simonides, but also Pindar, who even declared that Odysseus' story had become greater than his actual suffering because of Homer's verse. The reason for this enhancement is the Homeric poetic force, the skill of which "deceives with misleading tales" as Pindar says (*N.* 7, 20–23).

Hieron I of Syracuse was one of the greatest patrons of Pindar and of his contemporary Bakchylides, Simonides' nephew, and it is not surprising that Theocritus' poem contains many echoes of the classical lyric poets. They, like Theocritus, had every reason to urge wealthy patrons not to keep their wealth for themselves, but to spend it on poetry. In one of Pindar's most prestigious works for Hieron, the first *Pythian* ode, the same topic is mentioned.

Pindar addresses Hieron directly, wishes him well, but continues "if indeed you love always to hear pleasant things said about you, do not grow too tired of spending" (*P.* 1, 90). The idea that men who keep their wealth hidden risk that their souls would remain devoid of fame, is commonly found in Pindar. He gave a prominent place to it at the end of his first *Isthmian* ode (*I.* 1, 67 f.), and again in the first *Nemean* ode (*N.* 1, 32), Pindar expresses the idea that wealth should not be stored away if one wishes to be praised for helping friends.

The closest connection, however, which combines Theocritus' text with the Sicilian tradition of epinikia is his praise of the Graces, the Charites. In Pindar, in addition to their duties in Olympus, the Graces dispense honour and glory to mortals, are patronesses of epinician songs, inspire their writers and attend their

³³ Xenophon could have made Simonides bring in the subject of verse panegyrics on princes when he lets him speak of courtiers praising everything Hieron does (*Hiero* 1, 14), but he does not.

performance³⁴. Wishing that Hieron may open his house to his Graces (16, 6), Theocritus is clearly following Pindar's model. He even amalgamates the groups of the Graces and the Muses in the final lines of his *Idyll*, where Muses and Graces are hard to distinguish. To Pindar it was self-evident that glory is conferred by the Muses (cf. e.g. *O.* 10, 95 f.), a statement Theocritus seems to adapt to his own quite similar purpose. In Pindar's already mentioned short fourteenth *Olympian* ode, which is nothing else than a hymn to the Graces, they are named as Aglaia (Splendour), Euphrosyne (Good Cheer), and Thalia (Festivity), all three present at gods' festivals and seated beside Apollo in order to look kindly upon the present celebration of an Olympic victory.

In marked contrast, Theocritus' Graces are imagined as going from house to house, seeking a welcome and a gift – but in vain; they return empty handed to the poet (5–13). In the end Theocritus has to declare (104–109) that he will wait at home until someone invites him; there he will go and take the Graces with him. By writing admirable poetry about him, Theocritus can make a man admired, he finally states³⁵.

But what did Pindar and Bakchylides have to say on Sicily? Does Sicily actually turn up in their works, and if so, how is she characterized?

In Pindar's first *Olympian*, a text which celebrates the same victory of 476 BC as Bakchylides fifth epinikion, Hieron of Syracuse rules over Sicily characterized by the epithet πολύμηλος, which means either "rich in flocks", "with many sheep or goats", or "bearing many fruits" (1, 12 f.)³⁶. In the second *Olympian*, Theron of Akragas, whose ancestors founded Agrigento, is called the pride and most precious part of Sicily by means of a beautiful metaphor: Pindar speaks of Theron, whose tomb is still to be seen in the valley of the temples at Agrigento, as the "eye" of Sicily, Σικελίας ... ὀφθαλμός (2, 9 f.), thus comparing the most precious sense of a human being to the most precious family of Sicily³⁷.

Pindar's first *Pythian* celebrates a victory of Hieron, too. In a long mythological digression, Pindar dramatically describes an eruption of Mount Etna. This volcano lies upon Typhos, the hundred-headed monster who dared to fight against the Olympian gods. The imprisonment of Typhos below Mount Etna is given as the reason, the *aition*, for later volcanic activity, just as in Hesiod the defeated Typhoeus, father of all monsters, as he is called there, is the *aition* for

³⁴ Cf. the references given by Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, p. 308.

³⁵ Quite similarly, Pindar comes to the subject of one of his poems "together with the Graces" (*I.* 5, 21: σύν Χάρισιν δ' ἔμολον, "I have come with the Graces"), and "with the help of the Graces" Bakchylides "has woven a song" in praise of Hieron, as he declares at the beginning of his fifth epinikion (5, 9 f.: σύν Χαρίτεσσι ... ὑφάνας/ ὕμνον).

³⁶ M.S. SILK points out that δρέπων in the following line would be "prepared" by "much-fruited" (*Interaction in Poetic Imagery: With Special Reference to Early Greek Poetry*, Cambridge 1974, p. 153).

³⁷ Cf. M.M. WILLCOCK, *Pindar; Victory Odes*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 134 f.

subsequent “typhoons” (*Th.* 869). Zeus rules Mount Etna, as Pindar writes in the fourth *Olympian* (ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις, *O.* 4, 6). From time to time, Typhos sends up lava as a sign of his once dreadful might, endangering the city Aitna, now Catania, recently (in 476/5) rebuilt by Hieron (*P.* 1, 18–32):

“Sicily weighs upon his shaggy chest, and a skyward column constrains him, snowy Aitna, nurse of biting snow all year round, from whose depths burst forth holiest springs of unapproachable fire” – Pindar indeed says springs of fire (πυρὸς ... παγαί, 21 f.), thus creating a strong contradictory image; continuing his long ekphrasis “during the days rivers of lava pour forth a blazing stream of smoke”, Pindar again combines stream, a word which usually goes with water, and smoke, which goes with fire (ῥόον καπνοῦ, 22); finally, Pindar unites literally and metaphorically both the water-image and the flame in the following “but in times of darkness a rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep expanse of the sea with a crash”. The Greek text is marked by an onomatopoeic alliteration, a long series of words beginning by a labial sound (ἀλλ’ ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας φοίνισσα κυλιδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ, 23 f.).

In the following, the focus is directed on Typhon: “That monster sends up most terrible springs of Hephaistos’ fire – a portent wondrous to look at, a wonder even to hear of from those present” – in other words, an overwhelming sensual attraction. “Such a one (i.e. Typhon) is confined within Aitna’s dark and leafy peaks and the plain, i.e. between those dark-leaved heights and the ground below”. In the course of Pindar’s riddling description, the volcano becomes ever less visible. The final line is hardly understandable, where Pindar speaks of the silhouette or the outline of the volcano as “a jagged bed (which) goads (κεντεῖ) the entire length of the volcano’s back that lies against it” as if it were an animal or a living being, stretched out upon the hill, giving it a rough appearance. Pindar closes with a short prayer to Zeus whom he hopes to grant that he may please Hieron: “Grant, o Zeus, grant that I may please you, you who rule that mountain, the brow of a fruitful land (εὐκάρπιο γαίας, 30), whose neighbouring city that bears its name was honoured by its illustrious founder”, who is nobody else than Hieron³⁸.

Already in 470 BC Hieron had employed both Pindar and Bakchylides for the same occasion: not only did he commission Pindar’s first *Pythian* to be

³⁸ The whole Pindaric passage resembles another Pindaric description of Mount Etna crushing Typhos in his fourth *Olympian* (*O.* 4, 7 f.), and the vividness of both seems to be echoed by the author of the Prometheus-play, transmitted in the manuscripts together with other Aeschylean tragedies (cf. M. GRIFFITH, *Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound*, Cambridge 1983, p. 152.). In a long speech, Prometheus tells of Typhon’s fate; he was struck by Zeus, but time and again spits lava (363–372): “And now he lies, a sprawled, inert body, near the narrows of the sea, crushed under the roots of Mount Etna; on its topmost peaks Hephaestus sits forging red-hot iron, and from thence one day will burst forth rivers of fire” (368: ποταμοὶ πυρὸς, again a contradictory image), “devouring with their savage jaws the smooth fields of Sicily with their fine crops” (369: καλλικάρπου Σικελίας). Such is the rage in which Typhos will boil over, “raining hot darts of fiery breath that no one can touch, even though he has been calcinated by the thunderbolt of Zeus”.

performed in Aitna/Catane on his homecoming from the *Pythia* but also wanted Bakchylides to write a few lines to be performed on the spot at Delphi³⁹. The text commissioned is Bakchylides' fourth epinikion which begins more directly and hints right from the beginning at Hieron's most important friend: "Gold-haired Apollon still loves the Syracusan city and honours its righteous ruler, Hieron, since for the third time he is hymned [...] as a Pythian victor".

As if it were still not enough, even the book of Pindar's *Nemean* epinikia opens with a song on a Sicilian victory. A man from Aitna, Chromios, is hailed as coming from fertile Sicily, "the best of the fruitful earth with her lofty and prosperous cities" (1, 15). It was Zeus who granted to this island "a people of cavalrymen", which he "often indeed crowned with golden olive leaves from Olympic festivals". Since Chromios has no Olympic victories, this refers generally to Sicilian successes at Olympia and perhaps as well to Theron's and Hieron's victories there.

The first *Nemean* ode begins by explicitly mentioning both "famous Syracuse" (κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν, *N.* 1, 2) and Ortygia, an island just off Syracuse. This island Ortygia also plays a prominent role at the opening of the second *Pythian* ode, where Pindar says that Hieron "had crowned Ortygia with far-shining garlands" (ἱέρων ... τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις, *P.* 2, 5 f.). The island was a cult centre for Artemis (mentioned in the first *Nemean* as well as in the first *Pythian*); at Syracuse in turn a sanctuary of Ares was prominent, hailed at the very beginning of the second *Pythian* ode which starts by praising Syracuse as "great city, sanctuary of Ares, mighty in war" (μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπολέμου τέμενος Ἄρεος, *P.* 2, 1 f.). In the sixth *Olympian*, Hieron, administering Syracuse and Ortygia, "is devoted to red-footed Demeter and the festival of her daughter with the white horses, and to powerful Zeus of Aitna" (φοινικόπεζαν ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτᾶν καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος, 94–96).

Praising the rulers of Sicily, Pindar and Bakchylides found a great deal to admire in their horse-driving. With the clear intent to ingratiate themselves with the Sicilians, they declared that the Sicilians invented even the chariot, or horsemanship in sports in general – which is clearly an exaggeration, though already an antique scholium refers to that story (Bakchylides, fr. 58)⁴⁰.

Bakchylides also spoke highly of Sicily's richness, right in the first line of his third epinikion. The text is devoted to Hieron's victory in the chariot race at

³⁹ On these epinician doublets cf. T. GELZER, *Μοῦσα ἀυθιγενής*, MH XLII 1985, pp. 95–120, and in a broader context A.D. MORRISON, *Performances and Audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes*, London 1997.

⁴⁰ Cf. H. MAEHLER, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, Leiden 1997, vol. II, p. 358. – In Sophocles *OC* 312 f. Ismene is seen by Antigone as arriving "mounted upon an Etean colt": Αἰτναίας ἐπὶ πώλου βεβῶσαν. Cf. further [Oppian] *Cyneg.* I 170.

Olympia (in 468 BC) and begins with a praise of Demeter, “ruling over Sicily, which bears the best fruit”, of whom the Muse Klio, “the giver of sweetness” may sing (ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν/ Δ[ά]ματρα .../ ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, 3, 1–3)⁴¹. But Bakchylides wants the Muse to sing of Hieron’s swift horses, too, the Olympic runners (θοάς τ’ Ο/λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἴέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς). By calling Sicily abounding in splendid fruit (τᾶς ἀγλαοκάρπου/ Σικελίας, fr. 106, 5 f.), Pindar infers that Sicily must have been a splendid place to live.

It is not unlikely that there were epinikia before Simonides. It cannot be proved for the time being but Stesichoros, already in antiquity credited with many an innovation⁴², might as well have written epinikia as Ibykos is suspected to have done. Ibykos, a generation younger than Stesichoros and born in nearby Reggio Calabria, speaks of Leontini, northwest of Syracuse, in a poem which seems to commemorate an athlete named Kallias, born in Leontini (*SLG* 220 f., from *P. Oxy.* 2637, a commentary on choral lyric). All this is highly speculative, of course. The very considerable athletic content of *P. Oxy.* 2735 (*SLG* 166–219, cf., e.g., *SLG* 166 & 176), however, makes it likely that already Ibykos composed victory-odes, an observation corroborated by other fragments of his⁴³.

In one of the last papyrus-publications of Stesichoros’ works some tiny fragments seem to indicate that he composed a work on some western isles⁴⁴. Not only Lipari and the Aeolian Isles in general might have been the subject of his poetry, but also Sicily, because the adjective Sicilian, or the noun Sikelos, the

⁴¹ One myth dominates all others in Sicily, that of Demeter and Kore or as Cicero put it, “vetus est haec opinio [...] insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam” (*Ver.* IV 106); cf. the testimonies gathered by R.D. GRIFFITH, *Pelops and Sicily: The Myth of Pindar Ol. 1*, JHS CIX 1989, pp. 171–173. The first explicit literary appearance of the “Sicilian” Rape of Persephone, however, is in Carcinus the Younger, a tragic poet of the 4th century (*TrGF* 70 F 5); cf. N.J. RICHARDSON, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, pp. 76 f. Yet already Pindar speaks of the fact that Zeus gave Sicily to Persephone (at the opening of *N.* 1, 13 f.: τᾶν [scil. the island of Sicily] Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνᾳ), and early coins from Enna (about 450 BC) show Demeter on her chariot looking for Persephone, because the scene was connected with their city; cf. G. ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, Oxford 1971, pp. 70 f. Cicero (*loc. cit.*) spoke of a wood near Enna, itself the navel of Sicily, as the place from which Persephone was carried off, adding that Ceres in her eager search lighted her torches at the fires that burst forth from the peak of Aetna. – A new evaluation (focussing on Athens and Attica) is given by A. KLEDT, *Die Entführung Kores. Studien zur athenisch-eleusinischen Demeterreligion*, Stuttgart 2004.

⁴² Stesichoros seems to have been the first to compose in dactylo-epitrites, he “invented” the triadic structure (consisting of strophe, antistrophe and epode, TB 22 *PMGF*) and also various mythological variants (ἐκαινοποίησε τὰς ἱστορίας): 192 f., 217, 219, 233 *PMGF* (on which cf. J.R. MARCH, *The Creative Poet: Studies on the Treatment of Myths in Greek Poetry*, London 1987, e.g., pp. 88–91, 157 f.). For a brief survey cf. G. SCHADE, *Stesichorus. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2359, 3876, 2619, 2803*, Leiden 2003, p. 3.

⁴³ Cf. J.P. BARRON, *Ibycus: Gorgias and Other Poems*, BICS XXXI 1984, pp. 13–24, and E.A.B. JENNER, *Further Speculations on Ibycus and the Epinician Ode: S 220, S 176, and the ‘Bel-lerophon’ Ode*, BICS XXXIII 1986, pp. 59–66.

⁴⁴ *P. Oxy.* 3876, fr. 25 b 2; 35, 10; 62, 5; 74, 4; cf. SCHADE, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 106.

mythic ruler in Sicily, can be read on the papyrus (and Sicilian places occur in his *PMGF* 270, if the fragment belongs to him and not to “Stesichoros the second”). Other emendations, however, are always possible, and the tiny scraps will probably never reveal their secret.

III. AESCHYLUS

The new city of Aitna was founded by Hieron of Syracuse in 476/5 BC. It is very likely that Aeschylus produced a play in honour of that founding during one of his visits to Sicily (*TrGF* T 1, 33 f.). By offering a good augury for the new city, Aeschylus somehow legitimised Hieron’s rule. *Aitnaiai*, the Greek title of Aeschylus’ play, however, is ambivalent. Of course, it denotes the chorus, but whether it is to be translated simply as “women of (the town) Aitna” or more specifically as “nymphs of Mount Etna” is unclear.

The play was remarkably innovative⁴⁵ as can be deduced from a papyrus-fragment describing the contents of the *Aitnaiai* (*P. Oxy.* 2257, fr. 1). It reveals that the play had many changes of scene, the setting being successively Aitna (perhaps the mountain rather than the city), Xuthia (a district near Leontini), Aitna again, Leontini, Syracuse, and another unidentifiable locality – all of them places within Hieron’s dominions. The divisions mentioned by this ancient “hypothesis” (as these notes are called) are real “acts”, and it is known that there was an ancient theory that a play should have five acts, as e.g. Horace points out in his *Ars Poetica* (“neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu/ fabula”, 189 f.)⁴⁶. The clear exemplification of the papyrus hypothesis seems to be in favour of the possibility that already a play by Aeschylus could contain such five “acts”⁴⁷. But we cannot tell how such a division was supposed to apply to Greek tragedy, itself not only divided into prologue, episode(s), and exodus, punctuated by choral odes, but also always containing a varying number of episodes⁴⁸. And if the chorus in the *Aitnaiai* consisted throughout of women of Aitna, then it seems that they will have left the scene and re-entered between each act and that “the chorus will only have been able to sing exit and re-entry songs, and never a proper act-dividing song”, a stasimon⁴⁹. The extraordinary formal structure of this play is still a riddle,

⁴⁵ A list of innovations attributed to Aeschylus is discussed cautiously by M.R. LEFKOWITZ, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, Baltimore 1981, pp. 73 f.

⁴⁶ Cf. C.O. BRINK, *Horace on Poetry*, vol. II: *The “Ars Poetica”*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 248–251.

⁴⁷ E. LOBEL’s cautious statement is part of his notes on the hypothesis in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XX, London 1952, pp. 66–69.

⁴⁸ Cf. N. RUDD, *Horace, Epistles II and Epistle to the Pisones (“Ars Poetica”)*, Cambridge 1989, p. 181.

⁴⁹ Cf. O. TAPLIN, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford 1977, pp. 416–418 (quotation 417).

and “it may have been the lack of the traditional Athenian dramatic framework that encouraged Aeschylus to experiment with the form of the play”⁵⁰.

References to the play in later authors suggest that it told the story of the Sicilian nymph Thalea, daughter of Hephaestus. Thalea was made pregnant by Zeus and then swallowed up by the earth, some say by command of the jealous Hera, others by the act of Zeus in order to protect her from Hera's wrath. The chorus of women from Aitna – or maybe rather of mountain nymphs, sisters of Thalea – may perhaps have been wandering across Sicily in search of her.

It was not the only Aeschylean play Hieron wanted to be performed in Sicily. Shortly after its first production in Athens in 472, Aeschylus' *Persae* was restaged in Syracuse. This highly unusual play of Aeschylus, often criticized for showing no plot and, accordingly, no action at all, depicts some high-ranking personnel at the Persian court, among whom not only does a dreaming queen figure but a dead king also returns from the underworld, both playing against their luckless son who issues lyrical messages⁵¹.

All that attracted the attention of the Syracusan tyrant, and Aeschylus in turn was attracted by Sicily. The biographical tradition that Aeschylus paid at least two visits to Sicily, and that he died there in 456 BC, seems plausible; the information does not contradict any known facts nor does it appear to be based merely on inference from the author's own work⁵². Unfortunately, we know nothing about his attitude to Sicily, nothing about the relation of his work to his trips abroad, nothing about the effect that prolonged exposure to the brilliant and contrasting culture of the West may have made on his artistic development⁵³. Whether Hieron offered him options Aeschylus always missed in Athens, or whether Aeschylus, born in Eleusis, a *deme* of the Athenian *polis*, appreciated more a new world and despised the old one, or whether the old one had become so different from the one he fought for at Marathon that it was no longer worth living in Athens,

⁵⁰ Cf. C. DEARDEN, *Plays for Export*, Phoenix LIII 1999, pp. 222–248 (quotation 230). Whether the play had been restaged in Athens is not known. The catalogue of Aeschylus' plays, however, lists both a “genuine” and a “spurious” *Women of Aetna* play (*TrGF* T 78 Αἰτναῖαι γυνῆσιοι followed by Αἰτναῖαι νόθοι). Cf. recently K. BOSHER, *Hieron's Aeschylus*, and D.G. SMITH, *Sicily and the Identities of Xuthus: Stesichorus, Aeschylus' Aetnaeae, and Euripides' Ion*, in: K. BOSHER (ed.), *Theater Outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 97–111, 112–136 respectively.

⁵¹ On a (somehow altered) Sicilian text of the play cf. H.D. BROADHEAD, *The Persae of Aeschylus*, Cambridge 1960, pp. XLVIII–LV, and A.F. GARVIE, *Aeschylus, Persae*, Oxford 2009, pp. LIII–LVII.

⁵² Cf. LEFKOWITZ, *op. cit.* (n. 45), pp. 71–73.

⁵³ Cf. the attempts by M. GRIFFITH, *Aeschylus, Sicily, and Prometheus*, in: R.D. DAWE, J. DIGGLE, P.E. EASTERLING (eds.), *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by Former Pupils Presented to Sir Denys Page on His Seventieth Birthday*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 105–139, to identify Sicilian influence on the *Prometheus*, which “have yielded little” as the author states in his commentary on the same play, published some years later (Cambridge 1983, p. 32).

or whether it was just a whim of his, a spleen of a silly old man who wanted to die in a more beautiful environment than Athens could offer, we simply do not know. We can be sure of one fact alone, namely that he was attracted to Sicily.

IV. SICILIAN FEASTS

Aside from the bucolic and the epinician tradition, which certainly belong to Sicily, there was something else constantly connected to the island. In fact, a very special Sicilian flavour was familiar to Archestratos, a Sicilian author of the fourth century BC, born in Gela⁵⁴. He seems to have composed only one work of which, however, four titles are known. Three of them – *Gastronomy*, *Science of Dining*, and *Art of Cooking* (in Greek Γαστρονομία, Δειπνολογία, and Ὀφιοποιία) – seem to hint at didactic poetry, though the fourth known title – *Life of Pleasure* (Ἡδυσπάθεια) – sounds more exciting⁵⁵. This last title was given to the book by Callimachus (fr. 436) and is now generally used. In Rome, Ennius took a vivid interest in the Archestratan dactylic hexameters and tried a translation of which eleven lines have come down to us in bad shape (*SH* 193)⁵⁶. Horace composed a quite similar *Satire* in which an expert in food is lecturing on dining as if it were a science (*Sat.* 2. 4). Apparently in the Rome of Augustus cookery held the place it had occupied already in the days of Archestratos, whose literary ancestry is somewhere between didactic poetry and its parody, or “subversion”⁵⁷.

Archestratos deals largely with food, and he seems to have travelled to Syracuse. In one of his longer fragments he vividly opposes the Syracusan way of preparing a particular fish, sea-bass (*SH* 176, 10–14)⁵⁸: “Let no Syracusan or Italian come near you as you are making this dish; for they do not understand how to prepare top-quality fish, but completely ruin them, by covering everything they cook with cheese and sprinkling it with liquid vinegar and silphium-flavoured brine-sauce”.

Having studied cooks from Syracuse rather closely, Archestratos praises them in the following for their own specialities (15–18): “They are the very best, however, at preparing some thrice-damned rockfish knowledgeably, and at a feast they are capable of cleverly devising many types of sticky little dishes full of seasonings and other nonsense”.

⁵⁴ Cf. A. SENS, S.D. OLSON, *Archestratos of Gela: Greek Culture and Cuisine in the Fourth Century BC*, Oxford 2000.

⁵⁵ The titles are discussed by Athenaeus at the beginning of his *Deipnosophistae* (I 4 d–e).

⁵⁶ Cf. G. SCHADE, *Ennius und Archestratos*, *Philologus* CXLII 1998, pp. 275–278.

⁵⁷ Cf. A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*, London–New York 1996, p. 117.

⁵⁸ Cited from Athenaeus VII 311 b–c, translated by S.D. OLSON, *Athenaeus, The Learned Banqueters*, vol. III, Cambridge, Mass. 2008.

In Greek comedy, too, Sicilian cooks are praised several times⁵⁹, but also a Sicilian way of preparing food, in particular fish, is well known. Two fourth-century comic poets, Epicrates and Ehippus, let a cook turn up who speaks of roasting or broiling (instead of stewing or boiling) as typically Sicilian⁶⁰. Ehippus' fragment is particularly revealing; he depicts a dialogue on how to prepare skate (a very large and common fish) which runs: "After I cut the skate into steaks, should I stew it? What's your opinion? Or should I roast it Sicilian style?" – "Sicilian style" (Σικελικῶς) is the answer.

A famous visitor to Sicily rejected this opulent Syracusan diet. In his *Seventh Letter* Plato is very much annoyed by the Italian and Syracusan lifestyle, i.e. "having two rich meals twice a day and never sleeping alone at night, and all the practices which accompany this mode of living", as he puts it (326 b–c). Nobody would become wise or temperate who indulges in these things, Plato continues. His lines were so admired by Cicero that he translated them into Latin (*Tusc.* V 100). Plato, however, who again disapproves of Syracusan and Sicilian dishes in his *Politeia* (404 d), was well informed on the subject due to the works of a certain Mithaecus. He published a book on Sicilian cooking, and is for that reason particularly mentioned by Plato in his *Gorgias* (518 b).

Sicilian tables, especially those of Syracuse, were proverbial for their luxury. Aristophanes speaks of them in his first play, the *Banqueters*, performed in 427. The banqueters of this play are the guests of a traditionally minded landowner, who has two sons, one virtuous and one not. The former was given traditional education, while the latter has dropped out of school to learn something new. He was taught by sophists like Thrasymachus and got to know Alcibiades (*PCG* 205), whom he even imitates. As a result, instead of being interested in Homeric words (*PCG* 233), the less virtuous son has abandoned traditional values for a life of self-indulgence and troublemaking (*PCG* 225). That "the Sicilians and Syracusans are notorious for luxury" are Athenaeus' words just before the unlucky father is cited, lamenting the fate of his son, who instead of other and more important things "learned how to drink, and also how to sing out of key, and what a Syracusan table is, and Sybaritic feasts": ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ἄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν Συβαρίτιδᾶς τ' εὐωχίας. Vice is its own reward.

Athenaeus transmits this Aristophanean citation in a context (XII 527 c) where he also discusses Plato's similar statements from his *Seventh Letter* and his *Politeia*. The expression made its way to Rome where Horace speaks of

⁵⁹ Cf. Cratinus Iunior 1 *PCG* and Antiphanes 90 *PCG*, both authors of the fourth century, both quoted by Athenaeus XIV 661 e–f.

⁶⁰ On Epicrates 6 *PCG* and Ehippus 22 *PCG* cf. J. WILKINS, *The Boastful Chef: The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*, Oxford 2000, pp. 384–386.

the “Sicilian feasts which produce sweet savour” (“Siculae dapes dulcem elaborabunt saporem”, *Carm.* III 1, 18).

An impression of what these feasts might have been is given by Epicharmus, a poet of the fifth century BC. Whether or not he was born in Syracuse is disputed, and was already discussed in antiquity. But he is strongly connected to Sicily, where he seems to have lived and worked as a poet for Hieron I. He is credited with being one of the first comic writers, having originated the Dorian or Sicilian comic form. Aristotle in his *Poetics* (ch. 5, 1449 a 5–7) thought he was, noting that the plots of comedy came “at its beginning from Sicily” (ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε). His being the inventor of comedy did not escape the attention of Theocritus, always aware of the historic dimension of Greek poetry. He wrote an epigram for a bronze statue of Epicharmus erected by his compatriots at Syracuse⁶¹, right at the opening praising him as the inventor of Comedy (ὁ τὰν κωμωδίαν/ εὐρῶν Ἐπίχαρμος, *Ep.* 18, 1 f.). Because Bacchus is addressed in the third line, one may assume that the statue was perhaps in the theatre of Syracuse⁶², the remains of which seem to date from the time of Hieron II⁶³.

Sophron, a Syracusan writer of mimes, must be mentioned in this context, too. His early years in Syracuse probably overlapped with Epicharmus’ old age, and he is the only author whom we know previously to Herodas to have written mimes as specifically literary pieces⁶⁴.

It is again Athenaeus who preserves a substantial fragment of one of Epicharmus’ works which lists various kinds of shell-fish, among them oysters. Having discussed in the preceding paragraph the worth of lemon in general, now Athenaeus effortlessly moves on to oysters in particular (both lemon and oysters belonging indeed together). He wants to illustrate what species are known and cites Epicharmus (*PCG* 40, 1–4), who “brings shellfish of every sort: limpets, aspendoi, krabuzoi, kikibaloι, sea-squirts, scallops, barnacles, purple shellfish, tightly closed oysters, which are difficult to open but easily swallowed down”. The list begins with names such as *aspendoi*, *krabuzoi*, and *kikibaloι*, which cannot be translated; these unidentifiable shellfish, however, are believed to be local

⁶¹ Cf. Gow, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. II, p. 542.

⁶² Cf. A.S.F. GOW, D.L. PAGE, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. II, Cambridge 1965, p. 533.

⁶³ Cf., however, L. ROSSI, *The Epigrams Ascribed to Theocritus: A Method of Approach*, Leuven 2001, p. 293: “...the possibility of the existence of a statue erected in honour of Epicharmus should not be excluded. Nor should the existence of a relevant inscription, even of known authorship, perhaps even of Theocritus, be ruled out. But it would be difficult for the inscription, if it existed, to have been the same one transmitted by epigram 18”.

⁶⁴ Sophron wrote in Doric prose: cf. E.W. HANDLEY in: *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. I: P. EASTERLING, B.M.W. KNOX (eds.), *Greek Literature*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 369 f., 612, and recently D. KUTZKO, *In Pursuit of Sophron: Doric Mime and Attic Comedy in Herodas’ Mimiambi*, in: BOSHER (ed.), *Theater...* (n. 50), pp. 367–390.

Sicilian designations⁶⁵. This fact and the abundance of words hint at the opulence of the dishes and the refined art of cookery which must have been prevailing in Sicily in general and in Syracuse in particular.

Finally Epicharmus' opulent dishes inspired Philoxenus of Leucas who echoes the wording of Epicharmus (*PCG* 40, 10 f.) in his dithyrambic *Banquet* (*PMG* 836 e 3 f.)⁶⁶. His ornate and somehow extravagant language in turn found comic echo in Antiphanes. This fourth-century writer appears to allude to his contemporary's *Banquet* poem in his own comedy called *Parasite* (*PCG* 180)⁶⁷. Considering the generic decline from *Banquet* to *Parasite*, one may guess how different tone and atmosphere were. Given these dense intertextual relations, however, it can fairly be stated that there certainly was something like a culinary literature of Sicily, a discourse on food quite similar to modern counterparts – opulent, diverting, and tempting, as the “Sicilian feasts” themselves certainly were.

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⁶⁵ Cf. OLSON, *op. cit.* (n. 58), vol. I, p. 471, n. 61.

⁶⁶ Cf. recently M. STULIGROSZ, *Philoxenus' Banquet against the Background of the Tradition of Greek Gastronomic Poetry*, Poznań 2012 (published in Polish with a summary in English).

⁶⁷ Cf. WILKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 60), pp. 352 f.

DEPENDENCE AND CONTROL:
CONFLICTED IMAGES OF THE SELF IN EURIPIDES' *MEDEA*

by

MATEUSZ STRÓŻYŃSKI

ABSTRACT: The paper is an interpretation of Euripides' *Medea* inspired by psychoanalytic methodology, especially by the school of object relations according to which emotional life is understood in terms of affective links between images of the self (the subject or the "I") and the object (the other). From this perspective, the central conflict of the play is a conflict between two sets of object relations. In the first set the self is omnipotent, aggressive, and controls all the weak, poor and devaluated objects, while in the other – the self is dependent, vulnerable and loving, whereas the object is indifferent and cruel. The second self image is represented in the play by Medea's children, whereas the first – primarily by Medea herself. The only moment in which those contradictory self and object images are combined is Medea's "Great Monologue". From this point of view, the necessity to kill the children can be understood as a way to avoid dependence along with the painful conflict involved in it by restoring a defensive image of the omnipotent, destructive self, which is represented in the final image of Medea on the dragon-chariot.

INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of *Medea* I will propose in this paper is inspired by psychoanalysis. Controversial as it may seem, I believe and will try to show that some interpretive strategies of contemporary psychoanalysis can be useful in the reading of classical texts, but only if they are employed to support traditional philological strategies, and not as a totally independent method. As Norman HOLLAND noticed: "Psychoanalysis deals with people, specifically people's minds, but literature is words. There is no way, no way!, one can apply psychoanalysis to literature directly. Psychoanalysis can only apply to a person. Therefore, we have to make some kind of a bridge between the person psychoanalysis talks about and the words the literary critic talks about"¹. That is why we should ask what the mind is that we want to understand as literary critics using psychoanalytic methods. HOLLAND suggested that there are three "persons" or, as I would prefer, three "minds" involved in the reading of literature that can be examined in such a way:

¹ N.N. HOLLAND 1993: 9.

the author's mind, the reader's mind and the text itself, treated as a metaphorical "mind"². In the case of ancient literature the first approach seems to be very risky because of the time distance and cultural differences. One may also doubt whether its outcome, namely understanding the unconscious of the author, can really enrich our grasp of the text itself. The second approach, which HOLLAND developed for decades, is a very interesting attempt to examine aesthetic, psychological reactions to great literary works and can be inspiring, but still has little to do with traditional classical philology. The third approach, however, seems to me the most useful of all, since it is based on a structural analysis of the text itself, without an assumption that we are dealing with any real human mind that we actually analyze. As HOLLAND emphasizes, this approach is the most focused on the literary form and the form is understood in a manner analogous to what psychoanalysis calls a "defence" in the mental process³.

The strategy of analyzing the-text-as-mind seems to be especially fruitful in the case of ancient tragedy. André GREEN, a prominent French psychoanalyst, suggested in the sixties that tragedy creates a metaphorical space, "the best embodiment of that 'other scene', the unconscious"⁴. In this "space of tragedy" there are characters, their actions and words, but "between the exchanges, between the monologues nothing is vouchsafed about the character's state of mind (unless he says it himself)"⁵. It is like a family situation, when a child sees his parents do something and hears them say something, but what lies in between is a secret that the child needs to discover on his own. In tragedy it is the reader that fills the gaps with his own fantasy, but at the same time he has the luxury of thinking that what happens in the tragedy is not about himself. The approach I will use in this paper is based on the premise that a space of tragedy – with its characters, their words and actions – functions as a symbolic expression of the unconscious or the off-stage, as GREEN puts it, or is – as HOLLAND calls it – an "extrojection" of a mental process into the text⁶.

Psychoanalysis has often been envisioned as a method of arbitrary symbolic interpretation. In popular culture, the psychoanalyst is the one who always knows what is *really* going on in people's minds and who says, for example: "you may think you fantasize about swimming, but *really* you are fantasizing about having sex". One might imagine that such an arbitrary stance in the case of ancient literature could be considered as condescending by classicists who strive

² N.N. HOLLAND 1993: 9. About the last approach (which HOLLAND discusses as "the second" in a chronological order of the development of psychoanalytic criticism) he says: "the psychoanalytic critic treats the text itself like a mind" (p. 11).

³ N.N. HOLLAND 1993: 11.

⁴ GREEN 2011: 1.

⁵ GREEN 2011: 2.

⁶ N.N. HOLLAND 1993: 12.

to understand not only the difficulties (which are sometimes considerable) and the subtleties of the Greek or Latin text, but also the complex net of historical, cultural, political, philosophical and other factors that were involved in the creative process and made the text what it is. Such an arbitrary approach is something I will try to avoid in my reading of Euripides' masterpiece. The strategy I will use will be a modification and an adjustment of certain contemporary psychoanalytic methods as well as an attempt to show in what ways the proposed reading fits or does not fit into an existing literature on *Medea*.

The main method of interpretation used in the paper is a modified technique of the American object relations school of psychoanalysis, represented by Otto F. KERNBERG and his followers⁷. The technique that can be borrowed by a classicist is the identification of images of the self and the other (I will use the standard psychoanalytic term "the object" to refer to a person or a more abstract entity with which the self is in an affective relationship) as they are expressed in the text along with an interpretation of their mutual relationships. I will try to examine basic self-object units along with the affects that determine those units. The result will be a picture of interpersonal, affective relationships in *Medea*, in which a self image is always intimately linked to an object image. Those self and object images will be identified in two ways: first, through the analysis of actual interactions between characters on the stage, and second, through the analysis of the images that appear in their monologues and in the Chorus' songs. By using some elements of psychoanalytic theory I will propose an understanding of the interaction of those various self-object-affect units in the text of the play, which may bring some new perspective to our reading of *Medea*, the play that seems to be the paradigm of Euripides' "psychological" tragedy⁸.

It seems to be a common practice among critics to imagine that literary characters are almost real people, with motivation, feelings, thoughts and inner conflicts. A psychoanalytic critic might be expected to be even more inclined to such an attitude. There is no problem, if this is only a metaphorical way of speaking, but I would like to emphasize that there is no way we can treat the characters in *Medea* or in any other literary text as people possessing a "personality". As Thalia PAPADOPOULOU notes:

Talking about Medea's motives and the audience's reaction to the presentation of Medea, we must never forget that there is no fixed answer to a character's real motivation, because a character is, as Barthes says, a "figure" and not a "person". The audience/reader is invited to "construct the character", to furnish answers, to make meaning (*dans le texte, seul parle le lecteur*, and when it comes to the stage, one might add, *seul parle le spectateur*). Most of the scholars who have written about Medea's speech in Euripides have argued for or against the "truth" of her

⁷ KERNBERG 1979; 1980; 1988 and CALIGOR et al. 2007.

⁸ LESKY (1972: 310) points out that it has become a cliché.

inner conflict, i.e. whether Medea ‘really’ thinks of renouncing her revenge or simulates renunciation⁹.

But, as the scholar adds later, “there is no such thing as a ‘real motivation’. Medea is a character, a ‘paper’ person...”¹⁰. I could not agree more with these remarks and I would like to point out that when I describe various self and object images and speak about “identification” of various characters with them or “defending” against them, I do not mean that those characters actually possess internal representations of the self and the other. If anyone, it is Euripides who creates such images and such identifications, even though I may metaphorically speak about Medea “identifying” with a particular self image, but by this I mean that Euripides creates such an identification in the play. I will also speak about conflicted self and object images and about defences against those conflicts. Conflict and defence are notions central to psychoanalytic theory, but here I do not mean any real, internal conflict that can be found in Medea or other characters, but, again metaphorically, self-object units which *would be conflicted*, should they be present in an actual person. They are conflicted within the text of the play, because the author shows that the characters do not possess the features of conflicted images simultaneously, but are presented to identify with only one side of the conflict at any given time. The conflict then is a formal, literary strategy and the expression of various object relations and defences against them takes place within the metaphorical space of the tragedy. Thus, I will not suggest that there is any “truth” we can discover about the depths of Medea’s mind, about her desires, fears, and fantasies. However, I will try to show that there are some things we can find out about what is going on in the text of *Medea*, if we apply the psychoanalytic methods suggested here. Some of those things are more evident, while some are more hidden, so we can perhaps use “repression” or “projection” to point to this hierarchy of meanings, remembering that the text, from the perspective that is used here, is *like* a mind, but it *is not* a mind.

Euripides’ *Medea* is obviously a play which can be read in different ways and from different angles. There are several themes that have been explored by critics, such as tensions between cultures (barbarian, foreign vs. Greek)¹¹, tensions

⁹ PAPADOPOULOU 1997: 652.

¹⁰ PAPADOPOULOU 1997: 660.

¹¹ The barbarian, oriental background of Medea has led to “cultural” interpretations in which the fact that she is from the East and not a Greek is somehow a factor in her crime and general behaviour in the play. Especially, PAGE (1938: XIX) argues that her oriental character makes her, naturally, “like a wild beast”. I think this perspective is not without reason, but should not be overemphasized. After all, as EASTERLING (1977: 180) points out, “Euripides make[s] her talk like a Greek, argue like a Greek, and to all appearances *feel* like a Greek”. Also KNOX (1977: 218) argues that it is only Jason who underlines Medea’s barbarian origin, while all the others accept her as a Greek, she “is as Greek as Jason, or rather, as Ajax and Achilles”. MILLS (1980: 291, n. 14) repeats the opinion of H. ROHDICH (*Die Euripideische Tragödie: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Tragik*, Heidelberg 1968, pp.

between male and female roles in Greek society¹², the relationship of the human world to the superhuman (magical, daemonic, or divine)¹³ or literary motifs and conventions which Euripides uses and with which he enacts in his masterpiece¹⁴. David KOVACS notes, however, that “the infanticide is thus one of the problems in this play that still remains to a degree opaque”¹⁵, which is an interesting point, since the tragedy, at first glance, seems to be all about the infanticide. The focus of this article will be the infanticide and I will try to demonstrate that the children, in their symbolic meaning which I will elucidate below, are quite crucial to the development of the play. Existing psychoanalytic studies on *Medea* seem to focus on the main character and they generally tend to treat her as if she were an actual person, in an attempt to understand her murderous intentions and actions¹⁶. Given all that, this approach to Euripides' masterpiece may provide a different perspective on the function of the infanticide in the play.

THE PROLOGUE: THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING ABANDONED

At the beginning of the play, after the Nurse gives a short account of Medea and Jason's history and their present situation, she says that “now all is enmity, and love's bonds are diseased” (16)¹⁷. This comment can be understood as a succinct introduction to the central problem of the play. The Nurse proceeds to describe the nature of the sickness that destroys Medea (and other characters as well, as we shall see) as a refusal to eat, lying down and shedding tears (24–26). We do not see Medea yet, but have some access to her inner state through the account of the Nurse who empathizes and participates in Medea's feelings as well as describing to the audience what she is doing. At first glance we might think that Medea's reaction to Jason's infidelity is a reaction of mourning, that is, suffering from a painful loss, a betrayal of love. Indeed, the Nurse seems to

47–55) who maintains that Medea is presented “as a completely demythologized, ordinary human character up to the moment of her appearance in the dragon chariot”. KITTO (1966: 200) writes: “In the *Medea*, there has been nothing of this magic background; on the contrary, the background has been at times painfully prosaic”. See also CUNNINGHAM 1954: 159 and BARLOW 1989: 159. KOVACS (1993: 45–47) points out that the tensions between the barbarian and the Greek element, along with the male/female tensions, are some of the most important themes of the play.

¹² KNOX 1977: 218–225; BARLOW 1989: 168 f.; McCLURE 1999; MUELLER 2001. See also KOVACS 1993: 45–47.

¹³ KNOX 1977: 206–211; BONGIE 1977: 54; LESKY 1972: 312; EASTERLING 1977: 190 f.

¹⁴ Especially the theme of Medea's “heroic identity” (see KNOX 1977 and BONGIE 1977).

¹⁵ KOVACS 1993: 48.

¹⁶ Interestingly, as SIROLA (2004: 95) points out, “Within psychoanalysis, Medea has been studied rather little”. See STERN 1949; ORGEL, SHENGOLD 1968; LEUZINGER-BOHLEBER 2001; LANSKY 2005; FEDERICI-NEBBIOSI 2006.

¹⁷ $\nu\upsilon\eta\delta\prime\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$. All textual references are from KOVACS 1994. Translations are also from this edition, unless stated otherwise.

interpret what Medea is experiencing in such a way (16–35). But when we look deeper into Medea’s words and actions as reported by the Nurse, it is quite another image that strikes us, and the strong “all is enmity” is the first sign of what is going on. Medea’s inner state has very few aspects of genuine mourning when looked at from a psychoanalytic perspective. Medea is focused on the broken oaths and on Jason’s unjust actions towards her (20–23). It is no coincidence that Medea’s first words in the play, reported by the Nurse, concern the oaths (ὄρκους, 21)¹⁸, and not any of the feelings of a betrayed woman or a person who mourns. Later in the play Medea will also emphasize the fact that the oaths have been broken (160–162, 208). Elisabeth BONGIE notes that “no reference is made, it should be noticed, to a broken heart [...] not rejected love and jealousy, but a sense of slighted honour and a fear of loss of respect and status”¹⁹.

Medea expresses few emotions in her experience of loss. The Nurse compares Medea to a stone or the sea (28), and both of these images may be understood as suggesting her inhuman insensitivity²⁰. She withdraws into a narcissistic state of mind in which she is totally engulfed in herself and her fantasies. The fantasies, the Nurse says, are focused on her father, home and fatherland, but, as Euripides subtly suggests, Medea’s feelings are dominated by a sense of regret and self-reproach rather than by longing or sadness, a regret that she left her fatherland and found herself in such a terrible situation. She simply suffers that *she made a mistake* and made herself vulnerable to the pain of being betrayed and humiliated like that (31–35). She is focused on herself, not on Jason or her father, or anyone else.

Medea’s love for Jason is, to say the least, problematic, if we do not look for evidence in other places than *Medea* itself²¹. I think we cannot make conjectures, like COWHERD, who relies solely on Jason’s words, concluding that “nevertheless, the fact remains that Medea took her oaths because of love”²². The only “fact” is that Medea never explicitly admits that she loved Jason. In her speech to the Chorus she calls Jason, the one ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἦν μοι πάντα (228), but, firstly, she is

¹⁸ It is what McCLURE (1999: 379 f.) called “contractual language”. On the importance of oaths in *Medea* see FLORY 1978 and BURNETT 1973.

¹⁹ BONGIE 1977: 28 f. Cf. BOEDEKER 1991: 95: “we find little reference to jealousy and even less to love gone wrong”.

²⁰ That is BONGIE’s understanding, following PAGE. According to her, those images are associated with “inanimate objects or forces lacking any feeling or sensibility” (BONGIE 1977: 29). I strongly disagree with MUSURILLO (1966, *passim*) who generally understands Medea as possessing subtle, differentiated emotional life in the play. BONGIE (1977: 39) disagrees with him, but mostly because she sees in Medea masculine instead of feminine features.

²¹ Like the description of her falling in love from Apollonios Rhodius’ *Argonautica* III 772–801; see PAPADOPOULOU 1997 who compares both texts in her article. MUSURILLO (1966: 69) seems to be quite sure that she did. Also KITTO (1966: 192) states without giving any textual evidence: “she loves the children, loved Jason”.

²² COWHERD 1983: 131.

clearly manipulating the Chorus, and, secondly, that can mean many things apart from love. In her scene with Jason she says that she was πρόθυμος μᾶλλον ἢ σοφωτέρα (485), but KOVACS' translation: "showing more love than prudence" is already an interpretation of πρόθυμος which seems to mean rather "with zeal" or "haste" than "with love". When Medea is most honest and straightforward, speaking to the Chorus, she says that she left Colchis ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνων λόγοις πεισθεῖσ' (801 f.). The language here is quite cold, especially in the way she calls Jason. It is the Nurse who says: ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσ' Ἰάσονος (8), it is Jason who talks about Cypris, and the Chorus who sings about ἔρωτες (629–643). That is why I think the question of Medea's love for Jason in the play is not as simple as critics may suggest. I agree with BONGIE, who notes that "her case is couched entirely in terms of his debt to her and the return that he has made. She lists the benefits she has conferred on him, benefits that obligate him to honour her and to treat her as his *philos*. The only reference she makes to her feelings for him occurs in the somewhat cynical remark in 485 where she says that she followed Jason with zealousness rather than with wisdom"²³.

Medea's lack of expression of guilt throughout the play does not seem to have received enough attention from critics, perhaps, because of the heroic convention used by Euripides, involving "the culture of shame"²⁴. KOVACS notes that "Medea's guilt is given so little prominence in the play"²⁵ and Maurice P. CUNNINGHAM points out that "Euripides presents Medea as a person who can do whatever she wishes without fear of personal reprisals against herself"²⁶. Also Gail A. RICKERT suggests that Medea does not show any regret for her action, even though "she does recognize it for what it is, κακόν"²⁷. Anne BURNETT argues that this is due to the fact that Medea is a typical, archaic avenger, and that her revenge is a duty "to be recognized and done. An initial reluctance could be externalized as a psychic or physical flaw in the revenger..."²⁸. And KOVACS suggests that heroic elements in Medea's character might explain her lack of guilty conscience, but has some doubts about the "heroic nature" of the infanticide²⁹.

²³ BONGIE 1977: 41.

²⁴ DODDS 2004: 17 f.

²⁵ KOVACS 1993: 64.

²⁶ CUNNINGHAM 1954: 160.

²⁷ RICKERT 1987: 116.

²⁸ BURNETT 1973: 4. Hesitations and doubts are later literary means to soften this archaic image. But Euripides does not show "blind revenge", but, instead, "shocks us in the *Medea* by seeming to turn his back upon all of these elegant mitigations and embracing the rudeness of a simple archaic revenge" (p. 9).

²⁹ KOVACS 1993: 48. PAPAPOPOULOU (1997: 651 f.), on the other hand, emphasizes that Euripides evokes sympathy through her hesitation, especially in the great monologue, and that Medea loved her children. I do not want to suggest that Medea is not pictured as experiencing any loving feelings, but these are extremely rare moments. Perhaps the suggestion of LAWRENCE (1997: 55) that Medea's

I am not trying to argue that Medea is presented as a psychopath lacking any guilt or higher feelings. That would be entirely false and such a sociopathic character would not create any tragic effect whatsoever. However, it seems that critics tend to see more emotions in Medea than are actually expressed by her in the play. Apart from her guilt, Medea's grief in the Prologue is another example of such assumptions. They are, of course, based on the Nurse's comments and on Medea's own exclamations which are heard from behind the scene. There is no doubt that Medea feels pain (24 f., 96 f., 111 f.), but pain is not the same as subtle, differentiated emotions which are lacking in Medea's character for most of the time. The crucial aspect of Medea's "pseudo-depressive" state³⁰ in the Prologue is her rage and hatred which seem to be almost the only affects she experiences. She loathes her children (36). A dynamic, savage image of a mad bull is also hardly a picture of someone in depression or grief (92). If Euripides was the first to add intentional infanticide to the story, there was probably no way that the audience could take this statement as a foreshadowing of the crime she was about to commit³¹.

Euripides refers to the children from the very beginning and I will explain later how we could understand the symbolic meaning of those characters. The children are also mentioned in an earlier line where the Nurse says that Jason abandoned his children and her mistress (17), and they are put by the author in the sentence before Medea³². Euripides seems to depict two fantasies linked together: a fantasy of abandoned, unloved children and a fantasy of a betrayed, enraged

character represents considerable tensions and contradictions is closer to the picture that Euripides gives us.

³⁰ Cf. KERNBERG'S (1970: 53) description of a similar state in narcissistic patients: "When abandoned or disappointed by other people they may show what on the surface looks like depression, but which on further examination emerges as anger and resentment, loaded with revengeful wishes, rather than real sadness for the loss of a person whom they appreciated", which seems to be close to what Euripides describes.

³¹ McDERMOTT (1989: 10 f.) points out several sources for the motif of infanticide in Medea's myth. The legend about Medea's φόνος ἀκούσιος in the Corinthian temple of Hera Akraia is attested by scholia to Pindar (*Ol.* 13, 74) and Pausanias (II 3, 10–11). There was also a tradition of the Corinthians who killed the children, avenging the death of Creon, and a version in which the Corinthian women killed the children as a rebellious act against the rule of the foreign sorceress. LESKY (1972: 301) is not sure whether it was actually Euripides who introduced the intentional murder of the children to Medea's myth. Most scholars, however, follow PAGE, who claims that before Euripides the myth did not contain the murder; see e.g.: BUTTREY 1958: 12 f.; MUSURILLO 1966: 64; CONACHER 1967: 185; BURNETT 1973: 10; MILLS 1980: 290. WORTHINGTON (1990: 504) writes that Euripides "boldly added" infanticide to the myth. CUNNINGHAM (1954: 157) points out verbal correspondences between the beginning and the end of the play and BUTTREY (1958: 5 f.) shows that the children motif links the Prologue with the end of the play, but he interprets this only in terms of fear, threats and finally murder. EASTERLING (1977: 181) calls the appearance of the children in the Prologue a "mirror scene". McDERMOTT (1989: 10–21), following BURKERT, argues with PAGE'S "majority opinion" and suggests that we should consider that there was a mythical tradition of purposeful infanticide in Medea's myth. She accepts as a working hypothesis that the audience knew how the tragedy would end.

³² προδοὺς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέκνα δεσπότην τ' ἐμήν.

woman³³. Euripides seems to emphasize that the situation of Medea and the situation of the children is very similar – it is an experience of abandonment. Medea is abandoned, but she is also described as helpless and extremely dependent, since Euripides points out how she had bound herself to Jason, having come with him to a foreign land where she has now been humiliated. Her regret and her reported thoughts about her home also contribute to an image of someone who is homeless, left alone, betrayed by someone who is powerful, but cold and cruel.

The children are portrayed in the same way. When the Tutor appears on the stage along with Medea's little sons and informs the Nurse that Creon has just exiled the children and her mother, Euripides repeats what he did before – he is putting the children *before* the mother when describing the king's order (70–72)³⁴. This time Euripides first mentions the children and Medea is only mentioned in the next verse, which intensifies the effect of separation between them: the exile of the children and the exile of Medea seem to be two things – separate and yet closely connected. Creon's order represents real exile, not an emotional abandonment, but it seems to correspond with the image of the self which is not loved. The Nurse says: "O children, do you hear what kind of man your father is towards you? A curse on him!" (82)³⁵. The exile is turned by Euripides into a symbol of a relationship between a self and an object, represented by the children and Jason. Ἐἰς ὑμᾶς (82) emphasizes the hostility and cruelty of the parent who abandons his offspring. This motif returns a few lines later, where the Nurse says that Jason does not love (οὐ στέργει) his children any more, because of his new marriage (88). The explanation of the abandonment is, then, the same as in the case of Medea – Jason loves someone else and is not interested in his wife and children.

The self-object unit that is expressed in the first part of the Prologue can be described as the image of *a helpless, dependent, and abandoned self which suffers because the unloving, cold or hostile object is rejecting it*. But Euripides, after introducing this abandonment fantasy, turns again to Medea's rage, which has been hinted upon earlier. The rage is clearly a reaction to the abandonment. What is interesting is that this rage is initially not directed towards Jason at all, but towards Medea's innocent children, who were also rejected and abandoned, and who are much more dependent and helpless than she is. Medea's rage is described as powerful and dangerous, because the Nurse is so afraid that she asks

³³ I think it is too easily assumed that the situation in the Prologue is "a wife abandoned with her children for a royal bride in a foreign city" (KNOX 1977: 196). I would suggest that it is rather "the children abandoned by their parent(s) and a wife abandoned by her husband".

³⁴ ὡς τοῦσδε παῖδας γῆς ἑλᾶν Κορινθίας/ σὺν μητρὶ μέλλοι τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονὸς/ Κρέων.

³⁵ ὦ τέκν', ἀκούεθ' οἶος εἰς ὑμᾶς πατήρ;

the Tutor to take the children away (92–104)³⁶. At this point the audience can hear Medea screaming from inside the house that she is miserable and wishes she were dead. But again, the main affect is not guilt, sadness or longing, but a destructive (and self-destructive) rage. Medea is compared to a raging bull (92) and the Nurse says that she is “stirring up her anger” (κινεῖ δὲ χόλον, 99). The importance of Medea’s rage is also emphasized later (102 f., 106–108).

When we first hear Medea’s cries directly, she laments on her suffering (111 f.). Her narcissistic concentration on her own pain corresponds with her earlier withdrawal from relationships with others. Medea represents an image of a self which feels only pain and rage towards the unloving object – other feelings like longing, sadness or guilt are never mentioned explicitly. Again, Euripides described Medea as directing her anger towards her children, whom she curses (ὄ κατάρατοι παῖδες), and only later – towards Jason (112–114). This interesting shift that Euripides suggests here can be viewed as a first transformation of the self-object unit. First, Medea, as well as the children, represented the dependent, helpless self, while Jason represented a rejecting object³⁷. Medea in her rage is doing the same thing that Jason was reported to be doing with her and the children – she is rejecting the children, feeling hatred towards them, fantasizing about their destruction. Medea identifies with the hostile object, while the children still represent the helpless, dependent self. What is the function of this transformation or role-reversal? Psychoanalysis understands such transformations as defences against more painful object relations. In this case it seems that Medea’s identification with the hostile object is a defence against her identification with an abandoned, helpless self. It is easier for her to be enraged and cruel (even towards her children) than to be helpless and weak (*vis-à-vis* her husband). The importance of this will be emphasized and explained later, when an answer will be proposed to the Nurse’s vexing question: “Why do you make the children sharers in their father’s sin? Why do you hate them?” (116 f.)³⁸. In the first part of the Prologue, until the Chorus appears, there is one, clear self-

³⁶ I fully agree with EASTERLING (1977: 181) who points out that already in the Prologue Euripides emphasizes that meaning of the children for the whole play, but I doubt that it is a foreshadowing of the crime to be committed. He does not suggest as much as that, but only that “the future and even the safety of the children are at stake”. RICKERT (1987: 105) in a similar vein: “The nurse’s early expressions of concern for the children (36–37; 89–93; 98–101) introduce their safety as a theme whose prominence intensifies throughout the course of the drama”.

³⁷ BUTTREY’S (1958: 14) assertion that Medea *herself* explains why she hates her children is dubious. He takes lines 112–114 to simply mean: “in them she sees Jason”, but it does not seem accurate to me.

³⁸ τί δέ σοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἀμπλακίας/ μετέχουσι; τί τούσδ’ ἔχθεις; BUTTREY (1958: 13) tries to see Medea’s hate for her children as a way to gain the audience’s sympathy: “If she glared at the children like a mad bull (vv. 92–3) the only reaction of the Greek audience could have been, ‘What a shame that she doesn’t realize what she’s doing. The children are in real danger and she doesn’t know it.’ Or when she curses the children in the prologue, she specifically involves them

object-affect unit, which was described above. The actors change, but the roles remain the same – the role of a dependent, helpless self is played by the children and, on some level, also by Medea, while the role of a rejecting, hostile, unloving parent is played by several characters: Jason, Creon, and, finally, Medea herself.

At this point, the Chorus joins the Nurse in listening and reacting to Medea's laments. What is interesting, both the Nurse and the Chorus (a group of Corinthian women) empathize with Medea and vividly react to what she says. But there are striking differences between what Medea *herself* is saying about her feelings, and what the Nurse and the Chorus are saying. Even though the reader naturally takes the Nurse's and the Chorus' words as reliable reports about Medea's inner state, it seems that they are not necessarily that reliable. What the Nurse and the Chorus are saying is rather their interpretation of Medea, suffused with their own feelings and perspectives. The Nurse is sympathetic to Medea's pain, but has no illusions about Medea's dangerous rage. The Nurse actually seem to express grief and mourning which is not expressed by Medea at all. The Nurse's emotions are more differentiated and much more subtle than Medea's. Similarly, the Chorus asks Medea not to grieve too much (159 f.), imagining that Medea's heart is broken and that she is hurt by her beloved husband's infidelity³⁹.

It seems that Euripides deliberately juxtaposes Medea, who from the beginning is described mainly as painfully enraged, but quite inhuman in her insensitivity, with the Nurse and the Chorus, who experience a broader range of emotions in a much more sensitive and feminine way⁴⁰. The women of the Chorus understand Medea as a betrayed, hurt and jealous woman who is dependent on her husband in the context of ancient Greek culture and they identify with her suffering. The striking contrast appears when Medea actually expresses her own feelings about the situation. She concentrates on the oaths broken by Jason,

with their father, cursing the whole house. ('What a shame that she doesn't realize that she will lose both children and husband.'). This seems hardly convincing to me.

³⁹ As BUTTREY (1958: 7) notes: "they willingly, sympathetically see Medea as the symbol of every betrayed woman". A different point of view is expressed by MILLS (1980: 293) who emphasizes Medea's jealousy, as a traditional, mythical motif: "One woman is jealous of the other: Medea is jealous of the Princess. While Medea's desire to avenge Jason's slight to her honor provides the most powerful incentive for her actions, jealousy is certainly resented as well. Cf. 163–64; 591–92, 623–24; 957; 966–67 and 970". I suggest it is useful to use the distinction between envy and jealousy, introduced by a British psychoanalyst, Melanie KLEIN (1975: 181). Jealousy is a more mature affect, based on a triadic constellation, typical of the Oedipus complex, while envy is more a primitive, dyadic affect. In envy there is no fantasy about a "third party" who takes away what the self wants, but only a desire to destroy or rob the object of the goods it does not want to give to the self. I think Medea shows very little sign of jealousy in that sense – she is focused rather on herself and Jason as the one who did something wrong to her than on the Princess as an active object who took something away from her. FOLEY (1989: 63 f.) points out that jealousy, hurt love and desire for revenge are rather to be found in Seneca's *Medea* than Euripides'.

⁴⁰ This juxtaposition of "calm Medea" and "hysterical Nurse" has been noted by BARLOW (1989: 160), although in a different context.

calling upon the gods as their witnesses (161–163), and she does not seem to be that jealous, hurt wife the Chorus imagines her to be. She refers to her home and family, but she focuses rather on her shame and regret than on her longing or love for them (166 f.). She regrets having come to Corinth and trusting Jason who exploited her, and she feels ashamed. So the fantasy of home and father is placed strongly in the context of the dominant self-object unit: she is angry at herself and Jason that she was put in such a position. The Chorus reacts with sympathy and friendship (177–182), identifying with what could be understood as an expression of love, guilt, longing or sadness, but the Nurse is still afraid (168–172) and she compares Medea to a lioness (187 f.). She knows her better and resonates better with her relentless hatred. The Nurse also expresses feelings of grief in a beautiful passage about the inevitability of loss and sadness (195–200), which Albin LESKY considered to be strange⁴¹, but her words appear to be juxtaposed with those of Medea and her general attitude of proud, vengeful rage. The Nurse's sensitivity and emotional depth contradicts Medea's cold hate and it is hardly an irrelevant digression on music, as LUSCHNIG suggests⁴².

When Medea enters the stage and for the first time the audience can see her, she is totally in control, cold and reasonable (214–218)⁴³. Medea has very quickly “recovered” from her pseudo-depression, and seems completely indifferent and composed⁴⁴. Medea is trying to present herself in a traditionally feminine way, displaying qualities of weakness, dependence and helplessness. But Euripides shows that, in order to do so, she ascribes to others (projects on them, to borrow a psychoanalytic term) the very qualities that were previously associated with her. She says, for example, that many mortals appear to be haughty and indifferent, even though they are not. Moreover, it also means that they are “hard to check”, if other people cannot understand them in the right way. She suggests that she is not haughty, indifferent and hard to check, it is the others who are⁴⁵. Interestingly, it is Medea who was described earlier by the Nurse as μεγαλόσπλαγχνος δυσκατάπαυστος (109), proud and hard to check. Medea is trying to appear weak and dependent, so her essential qualities must be pro-

⁴¹ „Eine seltsame Schleppe” (LESKY 1972: 302 f.).

⁴² LUSCHNIG 1992: 36.

⁴³ About this interesting feature of Medea's entrance see: CUNNINGHAM 1954: 157; BONGIE 1977: 35; LLOYD 2006: 115. LESKY (1972: 303) points out similar scenes in *Alcestis* and *Hippolytus*.

⁴⁴ Other places where Medea is compared to something inhuman: 92, 103, 187, 1342, 1358, 1407. See also MUSURILLO 1966: 68 and LAWRENCE 1997: 55.

⁴⁵ The σεμνούς (216) here seems to have a pejorative sense. LESKY (1972: 303) suggests Medea's remark refers to Euripides' defence of βίος θεωρητικός. BONGIE (1977: 36) understands σεμνός as “worthy of respect”, but LLOYD (2006: 121) points out the negative associations of the term in 5th century Athens. He also argues that Medea is assuming here that her playing “the role of a Greek male citizen” must make others see her as proud and haughty, given the whole context of male and female positions in Athenian society at the time.

jected onto others. Medea is presenting herself exactly in the way that the Chorus wants to see her: a friendly, hurt and betrayed woman. When she says that her husband is *κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν* (229), the women are inclined to understand it as an expression of the hurt feelings of a betrayed women, not of her cold, haughty hatred. What the Chorus does not see is that Medea has actually come to perceive, once and for all, Jason, her once beloved husband, as the worst, basest of all men, without a trace of anything good in him⁴⁶.

POVERTY, WEALTH, AND ENVY

In Episode II Euripides introduces another constellation of self and object images which are closely linked to fantasies about wealth, poverty, and giving. When Jason appears on stage, he identifies himself as someone rich, both in the literal and the metaphorical meaning (459–464). The children and Medea are depicted as being poverty stricken and in need, which is connected to their imminent exile. The vocabulary stresses the idea of poverty and need: *ἀχρήμων* and *ἐνδεής* (461 f.). We can understand this as an initial expression of the image of a poor, needy self and a wealthy, generous object⁴⁷. Medea reacts with intense rage to the possibility of entering such a relationship with Jason, of taking the position of the needy self. It is worth noticing that this image of the self is similar to a previously analyzed image of the abandoned self by virtue of its dependence and infantile position. Being poor and in need means to be dependent, helpless, and weak, but this time the object is initially described as generous and giving. Medea immediately reverses the roles in this self-object unit. She wants Jason to identify with the poor, needy self, while she wants to keep the image of the rich and generous object for herself. She starts to enumerate what she did for him and describes how she saved his life in Colchis⁴⁸. Now Jason, in her memories, seems to be weak and helpless, utterly dependent on her, while she is powerful

⁴⁶ That is why I see as problematic the critics' conviction that the audience must be sympathetic to Medea until she declares that she wants to murder her children. BUTTREY 1958: 10: "[the play up to Episode III is] rather satisfying to us in our sympathy with Medea"; EASTERLING 1977: 182: "the audience, too, must readily give her their sympathy".

⁴⁷ Cf. a different approach by MUELLER (2001: 473–486) who analyzes this scene in terms of the language of reciprocity between equal, aristocratic males, the language that Medea is using here. She emphasizes the conventions of *χάρις* and *κέρδος* in love and friendship.

⁴⁸ As EASTERLING (1977: 184) points out, "Medea's theme is simple: 'I saved you'" (see also BOEDEKER 1991: 104). But he does not recognize the role-reversal in this whole scene, focusing on Jason's "patronizing", "outrageousness", and "ludicrously arrogant" behaviour. Scholars in general have had a tendency to concentrate on Jason's negative qualities. PALMER (1957: 49) gives a short review of this tendency in the first half of the 20th century along with an attempt to justify Jason's behaviour. See also COWHERD 1983: 134; LAWRENCE 1997: 52; BURNETT 1973: 15 f. Those qualities seem to be quite evident in the play (*pace* PALMER), but I suggest we see them in the general context of self and object images. Jason is not that different from Medea in his attempts to identify with an omnipotent, grandiose self – he is just less efficient in that.

and generous. At the end of her speech, she points out how worthless Jason is, since he reciprocated such generous behaviour with such betrayal (475–490).

Medea also mocks Jason's attempts to appear generous and points out that he is not *giving* her anything, but rather *taking away* everything. He made her poor and deprived of almost all goods in the eyes of the Greek (509–515). Medea accepts here the position of someone poor, but only because she uses it to devaluate and attack Jason. She actually uses words that evoke the image of poverty: ἔρημος, μόνη (513), πτωχούς (515). Again, as in the Prologue, the children are the most evident representatives of this self image. Medea can admit that she is weak only *through* her children and only when she can retain her power on a different level. She admits her poverty, but she does so only after she has recalled her previous powerful generosity and she does it to blame, criticize, and mock Jason. In the end, he is weaker than she is – she takes back the power by blaming him⁴⁹. Her focus shifts from the purely material and social sphere (when she is, after all, to be poverty stricken) to a sphere of moral superiority, when she turns Jason into a symbol of utter worthlessness and deprivation.

In reaction to this, Jason tries to take again the role of the powerful, generous object. He describes Medea as needy and forced to love by a god, while he describes himself as the one who bestowed all sorts of gifts, both material and immaterial, upon her. He introduced her to Greek culture and “saved” her from her barbarian background: without him, no-one would even have known her (529–544). In this grandiose, self-praising speech, Jason explains also his reason for leaving Medea (550–565). He says he did it so that the children and she would not have to be poor. Again, the vocabulary of poverty and wealth is emphasized: “but my purpose was that we should live well – which is the main thing – and not be in want, knowing that everyone goes out of his way to avoid a penniless friend. I wanted to raise the children in a manner befitting my house, to beget brothers to the children born from you, and put them on the same footing with them, so that by drawing the family into one I might prosper” (559–565)⁵⁰. It seems that the affects involved in this particular self-object unit are a sense of power and superiority on the part of the object, and frustration, rage and envy on the part of the self. Envy can be seen in Medea's constant rejection of any help she might get from Jason, as if her envy was so intense that she preferred to be poor than to accept any gift from Jason (598 f.). When Jason insists, with grandiose superiority, that he can always give her money and organize support from his friends to help her and the children in exile (610–615); when he offers

⁴⁹ See McClure 1999 for an interesting analysis of what she calls “blame discourse” or “blame speech” (p. 373).

⁵⁰ ἀλλ' ὥς, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, οἰκοῖμεν καλῶς/ καὶ μὴ σπανιζοίμεσθα, γινώσκων ὅτι/ πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδῶν φίλον,/ παῖδας δὲ θρέψαιμ' ἀξίως δόμων ἐμῶν/ σπειρας τ' ἀδελφούς τοῖσιν ἐκ σέθεν τέκνοις/ ἐς ταῦτό θείην, καὶ ξυναρτησίας γένος/ εὐδαιμονοίην.

her, as KOVACS put it, “a bag of money” which “should be enough to be quit of her”⁵¹, Medea replies in anger that she will accept no help from him or his friends, because he is *κακὸς ἀνὴρ* (616–618). Jason, however, does not give up, he still has to call the gods as witnesses that he is generous, even though Medea does not accept his help due to her stubbornness and ill-will (619–622).

The self-object unit associated with poverty, wealth, generosity and giving is also elaborated by Euripides in other contexts, although it is probably most fully expressed in the first encounter of Medea and Jason. Medea begs Creon to let her stay one more day in Corinth (324) and, later, she also begs Aegeus to give her asylum in Athens, with some echo of envy: “For I am weak, while they have wealth and royal power” (739 f.)⁵². It might seem in those scenes that Medea admits that she is weak and helpless, and admits her dependence on Creon and Aegeus as powerful, wealthy kings, but if we look at these dialogues more closely, it seems rather that she pretends to be poor and in need in order to manipulate the kings. Temporarily, Medea takes a position of the poor, needy self, but in fact what she does is to take from Creon and Aegeus by using her extraordinary manipulative skills rather than receiving what they offer with gratitude⁵³. KOVACS points out that the “religious obligation to respect the suppliant is so great that those supplicated feel supplication as violence and constraint”⁵⁴. Medea’s begging has a great deal of this “violence and constraint”, and the reactions of Creon and Aegeus confirm that.

Again we see that Medea can present herself as poor and in need, but only in a context which provides her with some hidden sense of power, metaphorical wealth and triumph over a devaluated object. We might say that she pretends to play a role of the poor self, but in fact she never experiences that role affectively, because, without anyone knowing, she is secretly enjoying the role-reversal. It is she who has the power and powerful men appear to her as weak. The defences against the experience of poverty and neediness, and the painful envy associated with it, can be seen, for instance, when Medea projects the envy she may feel towards Creon, onto other people by imagining that it is they who are likely to envy her, because of her divine family and wisdom (292–303). She comes to beg him, but, at the same time, we can see how highly she values herself⁵⁵. In the scene with

⁵¹ KOVACS 1993: 58.

⁵² τὰμὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενῆ, / τοῖς δ' ὄλβος ἐστὶ καὶ δόμος τυραννικός.

⁵³ BONGIE (1977: 36 f.) writes about her “skill at manipulating others”; EASTERLING (1977: 185) notes that she is “using her wits to get what she wants from a person in authority”.

⁵⁴ KOVACS 1994: 327. See also KOVACS 1993: 55.

⁵⁵ There are passages when Medea seems to express a highly idealized image of herself, which is a feature of the overall omnipotent, controlling image of the self. Some scholars noticed how she is focused primarily on herself, even when she is thinking about her children (CUNNINGHAM 1954: 155; FOLEY 1989: 67).

Aegeus, Medea insists that she can cure him from his childlessness because she possesses something valuable – her drugs. She tries to present herself as someone able to trade with Aegeus, to give him something in return for his gift: asylum.

Another expression of that self-object unit is Medea's treacherous act of giving poisoned gifts to the Princess. Here we also have a role-reversal, since it is Medea who tries to appear generous and forgiving, while, initially, it was the Princess who was described as generous and giving, by letting her children stay in Corinth. The whole scene seem to be quite complex and we can find three psychological layers here. At first, (1) Medea is trying to persuade the Princess to let the children stay in Corinth, so she identifies (allegedly) with the poor, needy, "beggar" self, while the Princess is playing the role of someone powerful and wealthy and supposedly generous. Then, (2) Medea reverses the roles by assuming power and giving royal gifts to the younger girl, so that it is Medea who might appear rich and powerful, since the gifts she gives are very precious. Finally, (3) Medea's gifts prove poisoned, destructive and lethal.

The second moment in which Medea identifies with the giving object reveal her grandiose self-regard, while she is by herself. She calls the gifts "more beautiful by far than any now among mortals" (καλλιστεύεται τῶν νῦν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, 947 f.). But earlier in the play we can see behind that image of the generous object something of the hate and envy (previously hinted upon) experienced by a poor self towards a wealthy object, when Medea is thinking about Jason and the Princess together, relishing her revenge (784–789). But when she tries to manipulate Jason, she hides her envy and hate under a disguise of idealization and praise (952–956). When we were looking into the self-object unit associated with wealth and giving, we could see that it is described as being far from the loving relationship of a dependent child in need and a loving, generous parent, giving to the child all that he needs. The relationship of giving, even though on the surface it might seem positive, is essentially permeated by aggression and destruction. Medea did not *receive* anything – she manipulated others and took away what she needed, while being convinced that she is more wealthy and superior than any other character. The underlying relationship seem to be more like this: a frustrated, envious, enraged self and a powerful, wealthy, and hostile object whose gifts are poisoned and destructive. That Medea interprets giving as an aggressive act was clear in her first scene with Jason – she said that the gifts of an evil man brought her pain.

In the context of the Medea/Jason scene we can look at her own act of giving the poisoned gifts to the Princess as a defensive role-reversal. The defence is against identification with the poor, frustrated self. Because the object only seems to be generous, while it is hostile, the gifts of the object are destructive and "poisoned". When Medea gives actually poisoned gifts to the Princess, she identifies with the wealthy, but hostile object, giving lethal gifts to a dependent self who does not expect danger.

The situation is complicated because Jason is involved, so there are three actors and only two roles. First, Medea subtly identifies with the role of a generous giver when she gives the gifts to the children, but, by calling it a dowry (φερνός, 956), she is actually acting as a generous object both in relation to Jason and the Princess. Second, Jason immediately feels uncomfortable about it and he emphasizes that Medea, by giving the gifts will become empty-handed (τῶνδε σὰς κενοῖς χέρας, 959). His reaction is twofold. On the one hand, he is saying that the Princess (and he, as her future husband) does not need any gifts, because she is so wealthy. In this way, Jason wants to avoid identification with someone poor, receiving something from Medea with gratitude (959–561). But we can see that, even though he wants to play the role of a wealthy object by virtue of his sharing the Princess' wealth, he actually starts to identify with the image of a poor self. He emphasizes, defensively, that his new wife values in him not material wealth, but a more metaphorical wealth (962 f.). Medea seems to have succeeded, because by giving the gifts she has made Jason feel poor, in relation both to her and his future bride, against which he tries to defend himself by identifying, rather unsuccessfully, with more immaterial riches.

Medea, as usual, is identifying publicly with the self, but privately – with the object. She declares that she is a beggar and has to ask the Princess to give her something she needs (966–968). But, at the same time, she uses language which clearly indicates that she identifies with someone powerful, powerful through the act of giving, since she says that gifts win over even the gods (964). The gifts are equalled with power. Medea is publicly saying: “I am poor and in need”, but privately and in allusions she says: “I am wealthy and powerful”. The moment in which the Princess receives the gifts brought by Medea's children is a masterful interplay of those conflicted object relations. The children, again, represent dependence, poverty, and weakness, giving gifts that should be given by Medea herself. When the children try to offer the Princess the diadem and the gown, she initially turns away and does not want to receive them (1144–1149). Her behavior seems to be similar to Jason's, when he tried to avoid receiving the gifts from Medea. We can imagine that the Princess, who previously robbed Medea of her husband and her happiness, does not want to receive any gifts from her, because it would mean playing the role of the poor self in relation to Medea. Moreover, she is rich, so she does not have to take anything from Medea.

At this point Jason takes on himself the role of someone poor, because he begs the Princess to take the gifts. Perhaps his ability to identify for a moment with someone in need is related to the fact that earlier he insisted that his λόγοι spoken to the Princess are just like the gifts of someone wealthy and are more powerful than any material gifts. So Jason, too, is trying to act as if he is in need and, at the same time, retain a position of someone rich (1150–1155). Now, the Princess, being asked by Jason, regains her position as someone wealthy and powerful, someone who has a lot to give, so she agrees. Like Medea and Jason, she now identifies

with someone receiving something only in a particular context: when she knows that she is more powerful and that she gives more than she receives.

The image of the Princess taking the gifts is quite astonishing. There is no trace of gratitude, she mirrors Medea attitude by *taking* rather than *receiving*. After she accepts the gifts, she is depicted by Euripides as being extremely vain and shallow (1156–1166)⁵⁶. The audience has no way of experiencing the Princess as a good, generous object, because she is immediately, although subtly, devalued. The images of Medea and the Princess correspond to each other – both of these women grab what they want (or they think they want), being greedy and envious of the other. Medea thinks she is generous (but also powerful and destructive) by giving the diadem and the gown to the Princess, and the Princess thinks she is generous by letting the children stay in Corinth. Both of them think they are in control and they are quite indifferent to others, focused on themselves and their interests.

In the interaction of Medea with the Princess we can see both the underlying, painful object relations and a defence against it. Medea starts as a “beggar”, but turns out to be a “giver” – a “giver” of agony, destruction, and death. The Princess starts as a “giver”, becomes a “beggar” for a moment, then is again a “giver”, only to experience utter deprivation and destruction in the end. BURNETT notes how the image of the flesh falling away from the Princes’ and Creon’s bodies is a symbolic expression of their punished greed which was turned to poverty and then to nothing⁵⁷. The palace itself is “a place of greed and vanity”, while Creon and his daughter become “merely hideous symbols of their debased and soulless world”⁵⁸.

In the context of the self-object units analyzed we can say that, eventually, both of them will be identified with a poor, deprived self, while Medea successfully avoids that possibility. The image of the poor, frustrated self appears once again at the very end of the play. There it is Jason who is identified with the self, when Euripides depicts his total deprivation of all goods and his total poverty. He expresses this in his monologue (1347–1350), while Medea, identified with the hostile object, is mocking him and leaving for Athens, where she will live, at least on the surface, in wealth and prosperity. MELISSA MUELLER notices that we can interpret Medea’s gifts for the Princess as symbolic equivalents of the Golden Fleece, which was her gift to Jason, a gift that he did not recognize with gratitude in their first dialogue⁵⁹. She concludes, however, that the meaning of

⁵⁶ LESKY (1972: 308) calls the Princess *lieblos* and *eitle*. BURNETT (1973: 18) writes: “He shows her first as touched by lust (1146), then as haughty and filled with loathing for Medea’s sons, and then at last he depicts her change of mind, the change that seals her doom as she decides to receive the boys and their gilded offering”. She is “proud and sensual [...]”. It was greed that moved Creon’s daughter and so destroyed them both”.

⁵⁷ BURNETT 1973: 19.

⁵⁸ BURNETT 1973: 19.

⁵⁹ MUELLER 2001: 490 f.

this offering is a symbolic destruction of the marriage of Jason and Medea⁶⁰. I would suggest that, in the act of giving, Medea is identified with a powerful, giving object, not only in relationship to the Princess, but also to Jason. The act of giving is, however, transformed by aggression into a destructive act. According to MUELLER, "Medea simultaneously 'gives' and totally destroys everything she had given to Jason in the past"⁶¹, but her identity as the object that feeds and poisons, gives and takes away, at the same time, is broader and not confined only to her relationship with Jason. She acts in the same way towards the Princess, Creon and her children. An extremely poignant contrast is created when Euripides makes the children bring the gifts to the Princess. The children do not pretend anything and do not hide anything, they actually are poor, weak, helpless and dependent. They bring the gifts with no ill intentions, and no gifts will be really given to them in the end, apart from the poisoned gift of agony and destruction.

STUPIDITY, CLEVERNESS, AND DECEIT

Another, similar self-object unit can be observed with regard to cleverness and stupidity. It seems to be almost a variation of the wealth/poverty theme, since we can think of cleverness as possessing some good, while of stupidity as being deprived of it. But this pattern also has other functions. Initially and above all, it is Medea who is depicted as clever and cunning, while other characters seem to be, more or less, stupid and naïve⁶². Critics have noted that Medea, from the moment she appears on the stage, manipulates everyone to whom she talks⁶³. I would go even further, suggesting that her quality of "being hard to check" (109) is actually an allusion to her deceitfulness. Medea is lying whenever she is talking to someone, and only in few moments in the play will she speak honestly. Her manipulation and lies are very effective, since she can find a "weak spot", as LUSCHNIG put it⁶⁴, in

⁶⁰ MUELLER 2001: 492.

⁶¹ MUELLER 2001: 500.

⁶² About Medea's cleverness see EASTERLING 1977: 182 f. Medea's σοφία also has other meanings. LAWRENCE (1997: 126–129), for example, suggests that it evokes a political division between the sophisticated and the unsophisticated citizens of the polis. It is also, certainly, significant that Medea is a woman who is σοφή. Nevertheless, she uses her σοφία in the play in a clearly deceitful manner.

⁶³ LAWRENCE (1997: 130) shows in his impressive analysis of lines 212–224 that Euripides pictures Medea as "a chameleonlike figure, unparalleled in her ability to assimilate to the masculine and Greek environment of the polis". It is not only in this speech, but in her every dialogue with someone who has any power or influence, that Medea is trying to be exactly what others want her to be, in order to use them to her advantage. McCLURE (1999: 373) notes that "Through these verbal performances, Medea gains control of her opponents". LUSCHNIG (1992: 39) comments on the scene with the Chorus: "She has subtly manipulated them (as she will Creon and there with less to work with) into believing that they are like her, and through them ourselves".

⁶⁴ LUSCHNIG 1992: 43.

every person she talks to and use her skills of rhetoric to create an image of herself that will help her accomplish whatever she needs⁶⁵.

When Medea talks to Creon, she pretends to be a weak, dependent woman (277–281). Creon, however, does not believe her, since he knows how cunning she is. He is also afraid that if he shows any weakness, she will exploit that (282–291). Even though Medea wants Creon to identify with the image of someone powerful and wise in order to manipulate him effectively, he does not want to, because he sees Medea as realistically powerful and dangerous. At one point Creon reverses the roles, calling Medea stupid, when she begs him for one more day in Corinth (333). But, in the end, it is he who appears as foolish, since he reveals his weak spot to Medea, saying that his fatherland is very dear to him (327). Medea immediately cries out how much she also loves her home and fatherland (328), and Creon admits that his children are even more dear to him (329). Medea takes advantage of that without hesitation, begging Creon to have pity, at least, on her children, if not on her. She is picturing herself as a deeply loving mother in order to manipulate the king (340–347). She succeeds, since at this point Creon agrees, even though he is still afraid of Medea and he is still sure that he has made a mistake by letting her stay⁶⁶. When Creon leaves, Medea brags about her cleverness and his stupidity, so that, as EASTERLING put it, “we can see all the contempt of the clever person for the fool”⁶⁷. She says that she would not even touch him if she did not need him, and that he has been a complete fool to let her stay, because now she will destroy him and his family (368–375).

In Episode III, when Medea meets Aegeus, he is pictured by Euripides as rather naïve and not very intelligent⁶⁸. Medea easily finds his weak spot and exploits it by emphasizing that Jason betrayed her out of passion, even though at other times his passion is not that important to her (695). BONGIE points out that Aegeus represents moral standards, so Medea takes advantage of that, focusing on Jason’s betrayal, but she also uses his desire to have children to manipulate him (717–718)⁶⁹. After Aegeus leaves, Medea shows no gratitude to him, but is satisfied that she was able to outsmart him into swearing that he will protect her from her enemies. As with Jason, Medea dominates Aegeus and subtly robs him of his masculine power, which LUSCHNIG interestingly described in terms of invasion and penetration⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ See KNOX 1977: 202 f.; EASTERLING 1977: 185.

⁶⁶ AS LAWRENCE (1997: 51) comments, it is an “Odyssean manipulation of Creon and exploitation of his sensitivity to a supplication”.

⁶⁷ EASTERLING 1977: 183.

⁶⁸ MUSURILLO (1966: 58 f.) points out that scholars tend to see Aegeus in that way, but he, on the contrary, considers him as a heroic figure, intelligent and impartial.

⁶⁹ BONGIE 1977: 48 f.

⁷⁰ “The impenetrable male turns out to be easily penetrated, not physically, but the center of his intellect and will are invaded. Medea projects herself inside his mind and body with pleas and

The peak of Medea's deceitfulness is Episode IV, where she manages to convince Jason that she has forgiven him, understanding her folly and his goodness. Jason's naivety seems almost unbelievable, but Medea succeeds by exploiting his weak spot: his grandiosity and need for praise (869–923)⁷¹. She pretends to devalue herself, admitting that she has been angry and foolish, and finally "accepting" his generosity. In this masterful speech, Medea pretends that she thinks she is the one who is stupid, but in effect it is Jason who looks like a fool to the audience, because he is utterly unable to see through her lies. His reply (908–913) betrays the depth of his naivety. He calls Medea "prudent" (σώφρωνος, 914), but, as the reader understands, Euripides ironically shows that Medea's "prudence" is not due to her pretended compliance, but to her almost brilliant deceitfulness. Deborah BOEDEKER points out that, according to Medea, "Jason has perverted three kinds of speech-acts: oath-taking, supplication, and persuasion"⁷². But we may add that it is also Medea who uses speech in a perverted way.

Both the image of wealth and giving and that of cleverness can be seen as modifications of the central motif. They are expressions of a pattern in which there is an image of a weak, dependent self and a powerful, controlling object. The control is sometimes expressed through wealth (giving gifts), sometimes through wisdom (speaking persuasive words), but essentially it is just power and control, as opposed to weakness, helplessness and dependence. When Medea meets Creon, Aegeus, and Jason, all of them seem to be powerful and in control⁷³. She, on the other hand, seems weak and helpless, dependent on their help. But it is all an act, since Medea, by her cleverness and manipulative skills, by her knowledge of magical drugs and by her relentlessness, manages to reverse the roles and to project the devaluated, weak, stupid, contemptible images on these powerful men⁷⁴. She lets them think they are in control, but in fact, they are controlled by her. Medea in the play creates an image of a self that is no longer an

promises and φάρμακα (718). She achieves a promise of physical entrance not only onto his land but into his home" (LUSCHNIG 1992: 40).

⁷¹ KNOX'S (1977: 200 f.) interpretation is focused on Sophoclean motifs of "the summons to reason" that are ironically and originally used by Euripides.

⁷² BOEDEKER 1991: 97.

⁷³ They are indeed "the three men who in different ways have power to affect her life" (EASTERLING 1977: 181).

⁷⁴ Indeed, the devaluation of all objects and all characters that enter a relationship with Medea seems to me a striking feature of the play. I do not think it is tragic, as EASTERLING (1977: 183) suggests, saying that "she does stand out above the limited or shabby people around her, does have a sharper moral awareness and far greater distinction and force of personality, yet the audience cannot help but shudder at the ruthlessness of her anger and passion for vengeance". There is no tension here, but correspondence. About the devaluation of the characters see BUTTREY (1958: 16): "Euripides [...] presenting Jason as an entirely unpalatable character, and Creon as rather a fool", and BURNETT (1973: 17) who argues that "Jason's debased nature is a function of his myth, but it is exploited by the poet of the *Medea* and extended until it seems to have infected the whole Corinthian

infantile self in relationship with a parental object, but a self that absorbs all the power of the object and becomes self-sufficient. It could be called “omnipotent”, because of the control it has over objects⁷⁵, “grandiose”, because of the contemptuous pride that is hidden in it, and it is also destructive, because it devalues and exploits the objects, eventually destroying them in some metaphorical or literal way. This omnipotent, grandiose and destructive self with which Medea is identified functions in the play as a main defence against various images of the poor, abandoned, rejected, lonely, foolish, envious or frustrated self that are embodied by different characters at different moments.

Throughout the play Medea does not openly identify with this omnipotent self. On the contrary, she pretends to identify with a dependent, weak self, whenever she is talking to someone. When she speaks to the Chorus at the beginning, she tries to appear to be a weak woman who is dependent on her husband and she allows herself to express some envy and resentment towards the men who are in control. When she talks to the Chorus who see her as a helpless wife, hurt and betrayed, she allows the Corinthian women to believe that she is just like them and shares their lot, which is hardly true⁷⁶. What we can see here is Medea’s manipulative use of the feminine, stereotypical role in order to achieve her own goals, which are quite different from what the Chorus suspect. Shirley BARLOW shows how Medea is using cultural stereotypes with calculation and, later on, how she “stands far outside the stereotypes and is also not above showing her ultimate contempt for them by manipulating them to suit her own ends”⁷⁷. Her identity is indeed much more masculine than feminine, as BONGIE and KNOX convincingly demonstrate, but she exploits both female and male roles with a hidden contempt for both sexes⁷⁸. In Episode I, during her speech to the Chorus, she devalues femininity as weakness and suffering and fantasizes about robbing the men of their power, in order to defend against any possibility of being weak and dependent (230–251). Thus, female and male represent dependent vs. independent, weak vs. powerful, and that is why Medea appears so masculine and heroic.

land”. Also Creon is pictured in that way: “Creon, the one Corinthian man to be seen, is shown to be weak and a traitor to his own definition of what a ruler should be” (p. 18, n. 40).

⁷⁵ I borrow the term “the omnipotent self” from ROSENFELD 1964.

⁷⁶ EASTERLING 1977: 182. He writes that she is different from them, because she is “capable of overcoming” the difficulties of the feminine role, but other critics point out that she has little in common with typical women (e.g. BONGIE 1977: 36 f.).

⁷⁷ BARLOW 1989: 158–160.

⁷⁸ AS BARLOW (1989: 164–166) has shown. However, I do not agree with BARLOW when she argues that, behind the manipulative use of those stereotypes, there is “a basic feminine instinct to love one’s own” (pp. 164 f.). See also McCLURE (1999: 381) who points out that “Euripides portrays her as manipulating Greek conventions of feminine behavior when attempting to gain the compliance or sympathy”.

But her contempt and hatred of the male is also present: the accusations she makes in her speech to the Chorus are not lies.

When she talks to Creon, she also uses her fake feminine weakness as an instrument of manipulation. She kneels before him and begs him not to exile her, but it is an “as if” situation, since she is the one in control (324). She can temporarily appear dependent and weak, only because she secretly devalues Creon, despises him and does with him whatever she wants. When she talks to Jason for the first time, she does not appear dependent and weak at all. On the contrary, she describes herself as powerful, far superior to her husband. She points out that it was he who was dependent on her, because she saved him (476). Jason is also described, at times, almost in a caricaturish way, since his heroic identity seems to be based entirely on Medea’s help. She is, after all, the granddaughter of Helios, while Jason only imagines himself to be special (545–550)⁷⁹. She also robs her husband of his masculine power, not only by suggesting that without her he would be nothing, but also, as Laura McClure has demonstrated, by speaking about him in the language traditionally associated with women, their sexuality, infidelity and passion⁸⁰. Medea feminizes Jason, performing what could be referred to, in psychoanalytic jargon, as his symbolic castration.

With Aegeus, Medea also uses her “as if” weakness. She admits that she is weak (740), but as soon as she forces Aegeus to promise her asylum in Athens, Medea immediately identifies with the grandiose, omnipotent self: “Let no one think me weak, contemptible, untroublesome. No, quite the opposite, hurtful to foes, to friends kindly. Such persons live a life of greatest glory” (807–810)⁸¹. Her envy of masculine power and control in society makes her devalue and

⁷⁹ The significance of the divine origin of Medea is somehow problematic. In the play she appears as a mortal woman, apart from the Exodos and her dragon-chariot. KNOX (1977: 214 f.) points out many instances in which Medea sees herself as equal to the gods (for example, the striking θεοί/ κάγω [...] ἐμηχανήσάμην, 1013–1014), but he understands it as an original and provoking strategy of Euripides’ who emphasized Medea’s divine status, which became manifest only at the very end. In Episode IV Medea again appears to be dependent, but in fact she is in total control of Jason. Her omnipotent, destructive control becomes clearly manifest in the play from the moment the Princess and Creon burn, poisoned by her magical gifts, and when, having killed her children, Medea appears in her dragon chariot, with the corpses of her sons. He also doubts that Medea has any special, magical powers in the play – the poison does not have to be magical at all. KNOX ignores her remark that she has many φάρμακα at her disposal (718), in her scene with Aegeus, but perhaps he understood it in a similar way. EASTERLING (1977: 177) suggests that Medea seems to be a mortal woman, not a demi-goddess, and suggests that the fact of her divine origin “has no theological significance: its function is to symbolize her sense of her heroic identity and – at a different level – to motivate the final scene”. I would suggest that it could be seen as Medea’s self-idealization, a part of the omnipotent self-image that is a primary defence against other self images.

⁸⁰ McCLURE 1999: 387.

⁸¹ μηδεῖς με φαύλην κάσθενῆ νομιζέτω/ μηδ’ ἡσυχαιάν, ἀλλὰ θατέρου τρόπου,/ βαρεῖαν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοιςιν εὐμενῆ:/ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων εὐκλέεστατος βίος. As KNOX (1977: 202) points out, “It is the creed by which Homeric and Sophoclean heroes live – and die”.

“castrate” all the powerful men she talks to, showing them that she, as a woman, can perfectly control them, use them and punish them in the way she sees fit. Medea’s attempts at omnipotent control are expressed in terms of her heroic self-image, which KNOX and BONGIE analyzed. But there is more to it: when she says that she is kindly to her friends and hurtful to her foes, the problem is that there are no friends in the play to whom Medea could be kind, and there are plenty of enemies whom she wants to hurt⁸². I do not deny that Euripides is using literary convention in building this character, but, in fact, that does not mean that the heroic elements in her self-image do not have other functions in the play. My understanding is that they are interwoven into the omnipotent, idealized, but generally inhuman and destructive self that she strives to identify with.

In Episode IV, Medea’s control through her manipulative skills is at its peak⁸³. She appears to be dependent, but in fact she manifests her total control of Jason. She does not need Jason or anyone else to be aware of her power over him, being completely satisfied with the fact that *she* knows that he is under her control and that both he and Creon will suffer greatly before the day is over. In this scene Medea devalues both masculinity and femininity, since the man is too foolish, naive and weak to see through her plans and stop her, while the woman (impersonated by herself) is weak, dependent, and submissive⁸⁴. The devaluation of femininity is more visible, since Medea attains it by pretended self-depreciation in her dialogue with Jason. The devaluation of masculinity, impersonated in Jason, is more hidden and subtle, since it is achieved by the fact that Medea who emphasizes how foolish and weak she is, turns out to be more clever and powerful than the caricature of an arrogant, narcissistic man that Jason is in that scene. Her castration of powerful men in the play and her desire to possess the control that men possess in society reaches its climax when she goes to kill her sons. Medea says to herself “take the sword” (1244) and the sword is, in a literary context, an attribute of a male hero, but in a psychoanalytic context, it is a phallus as the symbol of power and control that Medea possesses over all the supposedly powerful men who could not see through her plans or stop her. The fact that she immediately comments on her pain as a mother (1245), a pain that does not change her decision, makes her appear as a male-female figure, a mother with a phallus or, in fact, a person who does not seem to be “limited” by female or male roles, because she has destroyed their meaning, reducing them to mere ways of control-

⁸² KNOX (1977: 202) contends that “the epic poems do not really question Achilles’ right to bring destruction on the Greek army [...] nor Odysseus’ slaughter of the entire younger generation of the Ithacan aristocracy...”. His arguments are not irrelevant, but we should also notice that mythic heroes, like Achilles and Odysseus, have also been pictured as loving, loyal, generous, displaying subtle emotions etc., while Medea is portrayed quite differently by Euripides.

⁸³ Cf. LUSCHNIG 1992: 40 f.

⁸⁴ McCLURE (1999: 390) interestingly shows how Medea now uses against herself the blame discourse that Jason had previously turned against her.

ling others. This omnipotent, neither male, nor female, self, however, will not become manifest and recognized by everyone in the play until the Princess and Creon die, and until she appears in her dragon-chariot.

A NECESSITY TO KILL

In the whole play there is an interplay on the one hand between self images that are dependent, and because of that, poor, frustrated, envious, abandoned, enraged etc., and, on the other hand, the omnipotent, independent self image which becomes gradually associated solely with Medea. It is not, however, the only image of Medea – Euripides shows the moments in which the defensive, omnipotent self images fails and Medea identifies with the dependent, vulnerable self. The reasons for killing the children that are expressed by Medea have been understood in various ways by critics. Explanations tend to mention shame (e.g. 807 f.)⁸⁵ and a desire for revenge (e.g. 802). Despite those obviously important reasons, which are explicitly expressed by Medea herself, critics have also suggested other interpretations. KNOX and BONGIE have suggested it is a part of Medea's heroic, Homeric and Sophoclean identity, to avenge Jason's infidelity at all cost. This generally accepted view may very easily become a way to explain away various intriguing and puzzling elements of Medea's actions by simply saying that she is a "Sophoclean hero". KNOX himself emphasized that many features of Medea are at odds with this Sophoclean hero image⁸⁶ and KOVACS suggests that it is precisely the infanticide that cannot be easily explained by such interpretation⁸⁷.

BUTTREY suggests that the reason for Medea's hate of the children in the Prologue is that "in them she sees Jason"⁸⁸, but he does not link that suggestion with motifs of the infanticide. EASTERLING notes that the children "represent her vulnerability to Jason"⁸⁹, but he eventually concludes that the infanticide is a punishment for Jason, as Medea herself states⁹⁰. However, he also emphasizes the fact that, after the death of Creon and the Princess, Medea has no choice because her children are in danger anyway, and he points out similarities between Medea's actions and some cases of real-life infanticide which seem to stem from

⁸⁵ From a psychoanalytic point of view, the problem of shame in *Medea* has been analyzed in an excellent study by LANSKY (2005).

⁸⁶ For example, she triumphs, escapes all the external consequences and regains total control over herself and others, while "all the Sophoclean heroes feel themselves, sooner or later, abandoned by gods as well as men" (KNOX 1977: 204).

⁸⁷ KOVACS 1993: 59.

⁸⁸ BUTTREY 1958: 14.

⁸⁹ EASTERLING 1977: 187.

⁹⁰ EASTERLING 1977: 185.

this sense of inevitability⁹¹. KOVACS, on the other hand, points out that looking for psychological or rather – psychopathological explanations, even though they surely may exist, is not that useful to our understanding of the play. He writes that “we are not concerned with the real life on the police blotter – where the pathological frequently comes into play – but with life refracted through the lens of tragic art”⁹². He suggests an original interpretation of the infanticide according to which Medea is an executioner of Zeus’ will, punishing Jason as an oathbreaker⁹³. Recently, HOLLAND has argued that “Medea’s realization that her sons, who belong to Jason by Greek custom, are tainted by their father’s family connections [...] is an important factor in her decision to kill them”⁹⁴.

I would like to suggest another interpretation of the central conflict of the play and of Medea’s decision to kill the children. I believe that it does not render unnecessary other interpretations which offer different perspectives, even though it is irreconcilable with at least some of the important contributions that have briefly been mentioned here⁹⁵. I will start from the first moment when Medea is manifestly identified with the dependent, vulnerable self. It is the scene in which she calls the children to greet their father (894). The children come and stretch their hands to Jason. When Medea sees this, she starts to cry (901–905). It is the first time that Medea seems to show some more subtle human emotions, apart from hatred and rage. But there are two levels here and Euripides also seems to use tragic irony in this scene. Medea has just pretended to identify with the weak, submissive feminine role, so her tears and fragility are understood by Jason as an expression of such a traditionally emotional femininity. At the same time, in relation to the children, she seems to be genuinely moved, and from that angle she seems to be depicted by Euripides in an authentic moment of weakness and identification with a vulnerable, fragile self. But the very combination of those two

⁹¹ It seems to me that EASTERLING’s (1977: 189 f.) interpretation makes the whole question of infanticide a bit too simple and “pragmatic”.

⁹² KOVACS 1993: 59, n. 25.

⁹³ KOVACS 1993: 59.

⁹⁴ L.L. HOLLAND 2003: 271.

⁹⁵ The conflict has been understood differently by scholars. For example, KITTO (1966: 196): passions/reason, MUSURILLO (1966): “the violent conflict between the softer (or more feminine) and the vicious, more animal side of her nature” (p. 64) and “passion and reason are in conflict” (p. 74); LESKY (1972: 308): two Medeas – “Medeia der Rache”/“d[ie] leidend[e] Mutter”; BURNETT (1973: 22): desire for revenge/maternal love and “a struggle between Medea’s masculine, honor-oriented self and her feminine, hearth-oriented self”; BONGIE (1977): rational/emotional (pp. 45 f.) and maternal feelings/fierce honour (p. 51); EASTERLING (1977: 188): “the struggle between her maternal love and her desire for revenge”; RICKERT (1987: 113–116): conflict of values between just revenge and the love for children; BARLOW (1989): “she cannot reconcile within herself an essentially feminine nature with masculine talents” (p. 168) and “her love as a mother fighting for mastery over desire for revenge” (p. 170), so basically – love against hate; FOLEY (1989: 67): “avenging/maternal Medea”; PAPADOPOULOU (1997: 645): “passion for revenge/maternal love”.

forms of weakness constitute a defence in itself. Medea shows her vulnerability, but she shows it in a context of fake vulnerability which she uses to manipulate Jason. This is a strategy of “contextualizing” dependence and weakness that I analyzed earlier and the strategy allows Medea to keep a distance from female weakness which she wears as a mask, as if she could always say to herself and to others: “it has been only an act”. What she does in this scene is an interesting example of how to hide one’s vulnerability by expressing it⁹⁶. BARLOW observes that “this speech shows now another reversal, a reversal that reveals Medea with some of those very vulnerable qualities she has just falsely assumed. For in relation to her children at least, if not to Jason, she is uncertain, fearful, emotional, aware of her own vulnerability and wrong. And these qualities war with those other more resolved and heroic traits revealed already”⁹⁷.

Yet, given that Euripides wants to picture her as authentically moved by the sight of her children, we should come to the question that, as I suggested, is the central one: what do the children symbolize? Is it just maternal love that moves Medea, as all critics assume? I have attempted to show that, since the Prologue, the children are closely associated with Medea on the symbolic level, while, at the same time, she is depicted as hating them and then wanting to kill them. Now, she is moved to tears by their sight. In the whole context of the previous speech, where Medea tries to appear (deceitfully) weak, helpless and dependent, and of all the instances in which the children appear as an abandoned self in a desperate, but frustrated need for love, I suggest that *the children in the play primarily symbolize precisely the dependent, vulnerable, but also loving self image*. The dependent self image was constantly alluded to and associated with the children, but also expressed in an “as if” manner through Medea’s interactions with powerful men. She publicly identified with it, but privately projected in onto them, devaluing them. The dependent self in those interactions is never a loving, trusting self. On the contrary, it seems to be frustrated, envious, enraged and contemptible, and all the destructive, omnipotent strategies are used to defend against this image. It seems as if dependence is presented in the play in two irreconcilable ways. The children symbolize the positive side of dependence, its loving, trusting, innocent aspect, while other characters temporarily

⁹⁶ Scholars do not agree with regard to the effect that Euripides wants to achieve through Medea’s tears and her apparently conflicted feelings. KITTO (1966: 195) calls it “a theatrical struggle rather than a psychologically convincing one”. BONGIE (1977: 50) writes that “in destroying her children she has also destroyed her one vulnerable point. It is a perfect scheme for one who has the strength of will to go through with it. Medea is aware that her ability to execute the murders is for her a test of character as well as the measure of her vengeance”. EASTERLING (1977: 187) points out that Medea “resourcefully contrives to explain her tears in a sense which furthers her deception of Jason”. But he understands the function of Medea’s “breakdowns” differently: they are emphasizing the children’s importance to Jason and preparing for the great monologue. FOLEY (1989: 67) points out that she is concentrated on herself and her well-being, not on moral issues.

⁹⁷ BARLOW 1989: 164.

express its negative side: dependence seen as contemptible weakness or enraged frustration.

The children's dependence in itself is not despicable weakness. They desire to be loved, they need help and care, they are innocent, but they are still hated by their mother, rejected and abandoned by their unloving father, exiled by a cruel king, facing the threat of living in poverty and hunger as beggars, and treated unkindly by a selfish, vain princess when they bring her the gifts. In the scene when they stretch out their hands to their father they are a clear and powerful representation of someone helpless, dependent, but also loving in relation to someone who should love them back. But such a good object is not there in the play. Instead, in the scene there is only Jason, functioning as the rejecting, cold object. When Medea sees how the children's need for love is confronted with Jason's lack of true concern for them, she acts as if she were reacting to a conflict between two object relations: a dependent, vulnerable desire for love and a dependent agony of frustration, envy and rage. Medea weeps when she sees the children stretching their hands to Jason, because she can no longer identify with the omnipotent self and she moves towards identification with the negative aspect of dependence represented by the children.

Further, when Jason imagines the children's prosperous future in Corinth, Medea turns away again, weeping. When he asks her about her tears, she replies that she was thinking about the children (922–925). It seems that the very sight of the children brings to light the self image that is being symbolically “repressed” from the space of the tragedy, because no character, save the children, was identified with such an image. The loving, trusting self returns in allusions and isolated images, until it breaks through in that scene, when Medea cries for the first time. This return of the repressed is a turning point in the play and Medea starts to be depicted by Euripides in an entirely different way.

If we see the whole tragedy as a mind-like space, we could say that the play is no longer able to defend itself successfully against those object relations and affects that are linked to them. What is impossible in the tragedy is the reconciliation of dependence and love in one relationship. The children, the only characters who are loving and dependent, are destroyed. All the others characters desire power and control and avoid any dependence. The impossibility of the reconciliation of those conflicted self-object units is shown primarily through Medea herself, since she is the main character, but the conflict is “in her” only in the way that she is the main expression of the whole process⁹⁸.

When Medea regains control over herself, she offers royal gifts to Jason's bride, ones that are supposed to kill her. She says that she would do anything to protect her children from exile (967 f.). This remark seems to have a deep

⁹⁸ After all, Medea's character clearly dominates the entire space of the tragedy. E.g. CUNNINGHAM (1954: 154) writes: “From first to last the interest of the audience is centered upon her”.

meaning in the context of what has happened before. The exile symbolizes the rejection of the dependent self by a cold, hostile object. Hence, it has to be defended against, warded off from the space of the play. Medea does not say directly that she feels dependent and vulnerable, she says that she wants to protect the children. When she declares that she would do anything to save her children from exile, we can hear that she must do whatever it takes to defend herself, and, symbolically, the whole world of the tragedy from that particular object relation which is symbolized by the exile of the innocent children. In this context, when she says to the children that they have to go to their father's new wife and beg her that they not be exiled (969–972), we are confronted with the painful fantasy of a dependent, vulnerable self image in which the self is begging the powerful, supposedly hostile object, not to reject them.

After the Chorus' song, the Tutor comes back and brings the "good news" to Medea, but she turns away and weeps (1002–1007). Why does Medea suffer when the Tutor brings her the news that her children will not be exiled? She fights strongly with identification with the vulnerable, dependent self image. She also realizes what must be done to successfully avoid this possibility. At this point the play reaches its climax, which is Medea's great monologue (1021–1080) whose literary form PAPADOPOULOU compared to the modern "stream-of-consciousness" technique⁹⁹.

Medea is alone with her children and laments that they will lose their home and they will live bereft of her. She will not be able to see their happiness and to participate in their wedding days. Up to this point in the play the children represented, as I have already suggested, self images, but now they seem to symbolize an object image to which Medea is relating. Now and only now in the whole play is Medea clearly identified with the loving self image which is, at the same time, abandoned and in agony. The children function symbolically as good objects from which she must be separated. Medea never entered such a relationship before, because Jason, whom she lost, was from the beginning described not as a good object, but as a bad one. The children represent here a capacity for love, intimacy and creativity, metaphorically expressed by the creative, loving potential of a parental couple, suggested in the wedding fantasy. It should be noticed that an important shift has been made, since Medea is not imagining her

⁹⁹ PAPADOPOULOU 1997: 649. Scholars have deleted various lines from the great monologue. The interpretation proposed here does not rely only on what is in the monologue, even though it is hard to deny its climactic character, so I will not deal in detail with various propositions concerning the text. I accept KOVACS' (1986) deletion of 1056–1064 and retention of 1065–1080. I also agree with BARLOW (1989: 166) who accepts KOVACS' text as emphasizing Medea's single moment of weakness and making the whole monologue more coherent; the deletion gives "a much stronger focus on the now one central place where Medea does weaken – the seven lines from 1042–1048. This one moment of weakness is all the more striking for being highlighted in this central position". FOLEY (1989: 67), on the other hand, contends that lines 1056–1080 can be retained, regardless of the contradictions that can be found in them.

sons as little children any more, but as grown up men on the day of their wedding. The implicit fantasy of fertile, happy parental couple, in which femininity and masculinity are pictured – this one time in the play – as good, creative and in harmony with each other, is a fantasy of a good object on which Medea could depend, but this dependence is irrevocably endangered by loss. In fact, the relationship with an idealized object is already doomed to be lost, because Medea is picturing herself as separated from this good object, unable to participate in its love, happiness, aliveness and creativity (1021–1027).

This object relation is elaborated on further when she says that all her mothering is now in vain and all her hopes are destroyed. She cannot hope that her children will take care of her in her old age or prepare her body for burial. Those sweet images are dissolving before her eyes and she sees herself as bereft of the children, living in pain and grief (1028–1040). The children appear as caring, loving objects which could nurture Medea in her old age: she mentions their nurturing hands (χερσίν, 1034). We might say that this fantasy is an “alternative version” of the story told in the play – it is an impossible story in which the good object survives the power of destruction, love’s bonds are not diseased and intimacy along with dependency and vulnerability are not devalued and turned into enmity.

Medea realizes that these are only “sweet imaginings” (γλυκεῖα φροντίς, 1036), that the good story she is telling herself is not real, that it did not happen and it cannot happen. Yet the hunger for love is, nonetheless, expressed by her and she, for the first time, shows clearly the feelings of sadness, painful longing and guilt in anticipation of the murder (1040–1048). Interestingly, Medea seems to interpret the vulnerable, dependent self in relation to the good object as a contemptible weakness and something that she fears the most. Being vulnerable for her seems to be equated with the agonizing pain of rejection and abandonment, and, as follows, with rage, hate, and envy.

At this point, a powerful anxiety seems to overwhelm Medea (1049–1052). She is afraid of shame, since dependency and vulnerability are immediately linked to despicable weakness. She envisions a powerful, evil object who would mock her for being dependent and vulnerable or hurt her because of her vulnerability. The defences are mobilized in order to reject the identification with the vulnerable, dependent self. What she tries to ward off is weakness, μαλθακός λόγος (1052). When she realizes that love means vulnerability, she sends off her children – again, it is a powerful symbol of this warding off of the unacceptable self image¹⁰⁰. The children must disappear from the stage because what they stand for is unbearable in the whole space of the tragedy.

¹⁰⁰ FOLEY (1989: 65) notices the allusion, but in her interpretation, the sight of the children “re-awakens vivid maternal feelings” rather than the image of a dependent self.

But Medea suddenly changes her mind and wants to say goodbye to her children once more. These acts of sending away and calling back, which are an important part of the great monologue¹⁰¹, are metaphorical expressions of the interplay between conflicted self images and the defensive operations that Euripides depicts here. At this point Euripides is verging on melodrama, clearly playing on the audience's feelings in order to intensify the conflict around dependency and vulnerability. BONGIE writes that "as they come to her, she greets and caresses them for the last time in a scene that can be described only as an unabashed tear-jerker"¹⁰².

Medea starts to focus on her children's little bodies (1069–1075). We do not know how old her sons are in the play, but they might be about five to seven years old. They are not infants, but Medea's words evoke images that are usually associated with infants. Medea is mentioning the children's hands, lips, faces, skin and breath. Even though she was earlier described as moved by the look of the children, now the language is not primarily visual: it is rather tactile, gustatory and olfactory (ἀσπάσασθαι, 1070; γλυκεῖα προσβολή, 1074; μαλθακός χρώς πνεῦμά θ' ἤδιστον, 1075). There is a strong "oral" quality (to use a psychoanalytic term for early object relation) to the language and imagery, and we can almost see a mother holding her baby, gazing into his face, touching and smelling him. In that fantasy, linked to the touch and smell of the children, it is hard to tell whether Medea is identified more with the loving object or with a tender, nurtured self. She is, of course, their mother in reality, but she seems also to desire contact with them, as if they could comfort her in her pain – functioning as objects. Euripides seems to suggest that in this particular, regressive, oral fantasy, there are idealized images of self and object which seem to be united and are hard to discern. It is simply an idealized image of perfect loving dependence.

Medea again cannot bear this for a long time and symbolically sends them away. The children's skin has been called μαλθακός (1075), but the very adjective was used by Medea a few lines earlier to describe what she fears the most and what she hates the most *in herself* (1052). She says that she cannot look at the children any more, because she is overwhelmed with pain (1076 f.), and she makes a statement that has troubled critics "I know what pain I will suffer, but my rage rules my plans, rage that is the source of the greatest misery for mortals" (1078–1080)¹⁰³. The rage here, θυμός, does not seem to refer only to

¹⁰¹ See KOVACS 1993: 62.

¹⁰² BONGIE 1977: 52.

¹⁰³ There are several problems with these lines. I understand κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων as "ruling" or "mastering" her plans. Such an interpretation of κρείσσων was suggested by DILLER 1966: 273 f. FOLEY (1989: 68, n. 30) writes: "I view Diller's translation of κρείσσων as both possible and preferable, and problematic only because it is the more obscure alternative." She proposes

the affect of rage or vengeful hate¹⁰⁴. It seems to represent a complex force that can be, as FOLEY suggests, both rational and irrational: “it is better to categorize *thumos* in the monologue not as ‘irrational passion’ or ‘rage’ but as a capacity located in Medea that directs her to act, a ‘heart’”¹⁰⁵. In the context of the present interpretation, Medea’s θυμός stands for the entire motivation to defend against unacceptable object relations. It is her determination to do anything to eliminate the emerging conflict between the dependent, loving self, on the one hand, and the hungry, envious, and enraged self, on the other¹⁰⁶.

a philological translation of 1078–1080 that I would accept: “I understand what sort of bad things I am about to do [or, suffer], but my heart-determined-on revenge is master over my [revenge] plans, a[n avenging] heart that is generally the greatest cause of bad consequences for mortals” (p. 71). Even though I would leave “rage” for θυμός, for the sake of clarity, I think that “the heart” is more close to the Greek meaning. Because βουλευματα were previously referring to her plans (772, 1044, 1048), to her “grand design”, as KNOX (1977: 201) puts it, I think it surely cannot be taken to mean “reason” (as LESKY [1972: 307 f., 312] who thinks that, even though it generally refers to plans, now it has to mean “reason” as opposed to passion) or plans to save the children (cf. FOLEY 1989: 67), since Medea does not speak of any such plans (cf. COWHERD 1983: 132). Also κακά can be understood in two ways: as either “misery, pain, agony” or “moral evil, evil deeds”. It seems to me that the first meaning makes more sense, as KOVACS (1986: 350) suggests. Medea says in 1077 that she cannot look at them because she is being overcome by κακά – which is hardly the evil deeds that she is about to do. See a short review of a scholarly debate about 1078–1080 in FOLEY 1989: 67–71. RICKERT (1987: 114–116) contends that 1078–1080 express a conflict of values, not Medea’s *akrasia*, as several scholars have suggested. The revenge is a justified punishment for Jason’s infidelity, but its consequence is the pain involved in killing the children. Both choices are something κακόν. For Medea infanticide is a better solution, a lesser of two evils. I generally agree with FOLEY who insists that we should not think of Medea’s hesitation as involving any moral doubts about her actions – she only wonders “whether to put into action a rescue plan that will save her from pain and bring her practical advantages and pleasure in the future” (FOLEY 1989: 68).

¹⁰⁴ Cf., for example, the meaning of θυμός in line 8 or 1152. See also COWHERD 1983: 132; LAWRENCE (1997: 52) suggests that emotions do not have to be at odds with reason, but ultimately tends to see Medea’s θυμός in the great monologue as an irrational force. I think FOLEY (1989: 69) has proven that θυμός should be seen as “a more general term used to describe a force (courage, for example) that directs the self to action”. She also points out that “The Homeric *thumos* can be affected by a vast range of feelings, from anger and *eros* to pity and reverence, but it can also make rational decisions (e.g., *Il.* 1.193 or 2.5; *Od.* 14.490) [...] In this sense it is most commonly a capacity in the self, particularly vulnerable to the persuasion of strong emotions, but not in essence irrational; when a character addresses his *thumos* in internal dialogue, it even comes close to representing what we might call a self”.

¹⁰⁵ FOLEY 1989: 70.

¹⁰⁶ FOLEY’s (1989: 72 f.) interpretation is that “In Medea’s case, the *thumos* which rules her plans, if we read it in the context of the motives for her revenge offered throughout the play, unites jealousy, anger, and courage with justice and a rational principle of heroic action which has consistently operated for Medea: that of harming enemies and helping friends. This is true within the speech itself but is even more obviously true when we consider the speech in the light of the dramatic action up to this point [...]. And it is precisely this inseparable combination of rationality and irrationality, passion and intelligence, in Medea’s determination for revenge that makes it so very terrifying, and, I think, far more tragic than a philosophical defeat of reason by passion”. I would not agree with this as a whole (for example, I would see envy rather than jealousy and a manipulative use of male, heroic identity

THE CONFLICT AND THE SOLUTION

LESKY argued that Euripides, great “psychologist” as he was, knew well that a conflict between hate and love is something universally human¹⁰⁷. He suggested that those forces struggle in Medea’s mind, but in the interpretation presented here *the play as a whole* depicts a certain solution to the conflict between love and hate, a solution that is based on creating the omnipotent, destructive self, which is manipulative, deceitful, and controlling. This self perceives all the objects as weak, stupid, contemptible, evil, worthless and so on, in an act of total devaluation of all relationships apart from those that are built on power and the temporary mutual exchange of favours (Medea and Aegeus). The omnipotent self is depicted as being above all, being unable to be hurt. All dependence, love, and intimacy is denied. However, the force of Euripides’ play is based on the fact that from the very beginning these defences are failing. The situation which causes them to fail is the abandonment of Medea by Jason and their separation which painfully reminds us that in all love there is a risk of betrayal and hurt, because the loved object is free, independent and cannot be controlled. Medea’s rage and hatred is a force which attempts to restore omnipotent control over the object, which is pictured in a set of her encounters with others whom she manipulates and deceives. And yet, at the climactic point of the play, the audience can see again the dependent self that is emerging in the text, in spite of the defensive activity of Medea and other characters, so that *both sides of the conflict can be seen at the same time*. The tension between those sides is unbearable in the tragic space, so there is a need for a terrifying and violent solution.

In the Prologue the Nurse asked why Medea hates the children? I suggest that Medea’s hatred of her children and powerful, irresistible impulse to destroy them is a symbol of a violent attempt to restore the defensive structure of the omnipotent self. The killing of the children symbolizes a destructive, omnipotent triumph over the dependent, vulnerable self. The Chorus comments on that in an interesting way after Medea’s great monologue. The Corinthian women fantasize about children in general as a source of pain and grief, and they praise childlessness. The motif of childlessness appeared earlier in the dialogue between Medea and Aegeus, but now it is put in a different context. The Chorus sings about the suffering that is associated with having children, but the audience can intuitively read it as an allusion to the symbolic meaning of Medea’s own children. I cannot agree with KITTO who suggests that “If we have in mind the tremendous effects that Sophocles produced with his chorus at moments like these, it is a little chilling to find Euripides going off into his study, as it were, and writing in anapaests

rather than courageous and just heroic action), but I think that FOLEY has successfully demonstrated that it is best not to simplify Medea’s conflict to a philosophical tension between reason and passion.

¹⁰⁷ “Hass und Liebe, Wildes und Zartes” (LESKY 1972: 310).

too, on the advantages of being childless”¹⁰⁸. The Chorus’ song is a very powerful comment on Medea’s decision, because it expresses the basic fantasy in the play, namely, that without vulnerability and dependence (i.e. without the children) all psychological pain, especially the pain of loss could be entirely avoided (1094–1115)¹⁰⁹.

After the Chorus’ song, the Messenger comes and tells the audience what has just happened. Jason gave Creon’s daughter the gifts of Medea, the diadem and the gown, and, at first, she did not want to accept them nor save the children from exile. But after a while the Princess changed her mind and accepted the gifts. She put on the gown and the diadem and was looking at herself in a mirror, when magical fire started to burn her up. The Messenger describes the horrifying scene of the Princess’ death (1185–1220). This scene can be understood as a foreshadowing of the scene where Medea kills the children. Here, too, we have a child, Creon’s beloved child, although she is an adolescent girl, and the child is destroyed by Medea’s powerful magic. The fire that cannot be put out can be interpreted as a symbol of the omnipotent control and rage that serve to destroy what is vulnerable and dependent. But the central image seems to be Creon, who embraces his beloved daughter. We watch a loving father who tries to save his daughter at all costs, even at the cost of his own life, and Euripides juxtaposes this image with the one of Medea, who kills her children in order to “save” her sense of power and control.

But, on another level, there is a compelling image of a dying, helpless daughter who, so to speak, drags her father into suffering and destruction. Euripides uses a metaphor of fiery ivy that binds the father and destroys him (1212–1214), which could be understood as an image of threatening dependence. Because of his love for her, the father must die. In a way, it is, as Stewart FLORY calls it, “a grotesque parody of a tender embrace”¹¹⁰, but its purpose is to destroy and devalue precisely the tender embrace of a mother and a child that appeared during Medea’s great monologue. I suggest we link that to the previous images of the children as representing dependent and vulnerable self images which, in Medea’s and the Chorus’ fantasies, are the source of suffering. Perhaps, then, Creon’s death is an embodiment of what is defended against in the whole play – Medea is able to escape, Creon is not. It is as if identifying with the vulnerable, dependent self image would inevitably lead to dying in terrible agony, being consumed by living fire. Another similarity between Creon and Medea is that in her great

¹⁰⁸ KITTO 1966: 194. KOVACS (1993: 63) sees it differently – the song expresses “a spirit of resignation that seems almost to regard their coming death as part of the same divine dispensation that sends *diphtheria* (see esp. 1109–11)”.

¹⁰⁹ See BUTTREY (1958: 4) who points out that earlier in the scene with Aegeus “childlessness is pictured as undesirable”. According to him, this applies both to Medea and Jason, and can be “taken as assurance that she will not go so far”. I cannot, however, agree with BUTTREY when he comments on this song of the chorus: “The passage is a lament for Jason – no longer for Medea” (p. 9).

¹¹⁰ FLORY 1978: 73.

monologue she is imagining herself in her old age, bereft of the children, and Creon actually says that he is an old man, bereft of his daughter (1207–1210)¹¹¹.

Killing the children then remains the only way to safeguard a psychological balance in the play and the terrible death of Creon and his daughter represents what happens when someone is dependent and vulnerable. It is what the Chorus is warning against. Medea relishes the Messenger's story and immediately decides to kill her children. She says that she will mourn them and suffer (1236–1250). We may wonder if Medea's words express genuine care for the children. That would certainly be in contrast with her indifference and sadism in relation to Jason, his bride and her father. But it seems that Medea, even though she is totally in control of herself and successfully rejects the identification with dependent self images, still realizes that what she is going to do will be very painful. Medea, by killing the children, does not merely metaphorically destroy her "female self", as BURNETT suggests¹¹², but rather her "child self", the capacity to love inherent in the dependent, vulnerable, loving self. But she is willing to pay the price, to endure the pain of destroying her capacity to love in order to avoid something she considers at that moment a much worse fate.

During the murder, Medea is again described by the Chorus in metaphors that refer to her dehumanization – she is compared to stone and iron. BONGIE suggests that the comparison "is perhaps an unconscious echo of the beginning of the play where the Nurse compared Medea to a rock or the sea (28)"¹¹³. As I have suggested earlier, those metaphors refer to the defensive structure of the omnipotent self which lacks subtle feelings because it is immune to love and love's suffering. It is almost as if Medea successfully turned her heart to stone or iron precisely by the act of killing the children. Beforehand, she experienced more tender and loving feelings, but now it is over. On one level, she must turn her heart to stone *in order to* kill the children; on another level, she turns her heart to stone *by* killing the children, who symbolize the vulnerable and dependent self image.

I suggest that we understand the last scene, the Exodos, as a symbolic manifestation of the full restoration of omnipotent defences against dependence and vulnerability, which are also defences against love and intimacy¹¹⁴. Medea appears ἀπὸ μηχανῆς¹¹⁵, sitting in a dragon-chariot, literally *above* Jason, the Chorus and

¹¹¹ BUTTREY (1958: 9 f., n. 14) sees in the murder of the Princess a certain correspondence to the murder of the children, but he contends that "His death is now an unintentional by-product of the murder of the Princess", while I see a deeper link between Medea/the children and Creon/the Princess.

¹¹² BURNETT 1973: 22.

¹¹³ BONGIE 1977: 53.

¹¹⁴ "When she appears, therefore, in the chariot of the Sun, she is in total control of herself and master of the situation" (BONGIE 1977: 54). KNOX (1977: 204–206) emphasizes how different it is from the Sophoclean, heroic pattern and he tries to explain it by the claim that Medea is equaled to the gods in the play.

¹¹⁵ See CUNNINGHAM 1954: 151 f.

the audience. She is triumphant, but also rather calm. Euripides seems to suggest here, also in a visual way, that *no-one can ever touch Medea*, as she herself emphasizes (1317–1322). It seems that in the whole context of the play this has a deeply symbolic meaning: Medea takes the “unapproachable position on high”, as KNOX put it¹¹⁶, and is untouchable in the sense that she has defended herself against all tender, vulnerable feelings. She emphasizes that she got the chariot from her grandfather, Helios. Commentators generally agree that Euripides emphasizes in this scene that Medea has abandoned the level of humanity, but some would see a divinization here, while others – a dehumanization¹¹⁷.

I suggest that we understand this rising above what is human, this “visual metaphor”¹¹⁸, as a symbolic expression of the devaluation of what is human: vulnerability, dependence, the capacity to love and suffer out of love (to mourn). CUNNINGHAM, commenting on the influence of Medea’s action on her words and behaviour, writes that “To a certain extent Euripides does show the effect of her actions on Medea by her language, which is cold, haughty, jeering, and full of implacable hatred”¹¹⁹. But the same comment could be made about Medea’s attitude in the whole play, even though it can be perceived only when she is not manipulating someone or when she is not identifying with the children, so it might escape critics’ notice¹²⁰. I have tried to argue that Medea’s own words convey very little nuanced emotion – in that she seems to be pretty consistent. In the Exodos, her cold and inhuman quality becomes more manifest, as she is fully identified with the triumphant, omnipotent self. Medea in the dragon-chariot symbolizes, it seems, a triumph of destructive control and independence

¹¹⁶ KNOX 1977: 207.

¹¹⁷ My understanding is the same as CUNNINGHAM’s (1954: 159): “Euripides seems to suggest that the price Medea has paid for her own course of action has been to suffer the loss of her own humanity”. He argues that the scene appears as a divinization of Medea, but that it is, in fact, an illusion of divinization. BURNETT (1973: 22) thinks in a similar way and BARLOW (1989: 167) suggests that “she has lost her humanity”. A different view is presented by those critics who think that Medea has become a θεός: KNOX 1977: 206–211; BONGIE 1977: 54; EASTERLING 1977: 190 f. LESKY (1972: 312) says that she left the world of humans and entered a world of demons. LAWRENCE (1997: 54) sees Medea as rather ambivalent and ambiguous, also in the last scene. Also L.L. HOLLAND (2008: 414) is not inclined to see Medea as a triumphant, cold murderer. She suggests that “she has gone into a type of berserk state”, like that described by many Vietnam veterans and that she suffered a trauma that destroyed her humanity, but such a view suggests a certain passivity on the part of Medea, not to mention coming close to a suggestion that Medea has an internal, psychological life, which I argued against at the beginning. See also an interpretation by CONACHER (1967: 198): “the poet is once again expressing the transformation of a human heroine back to the folk-tale fiend of magic powers”. COWHERD (1983: 135) suggests that Medea became an impersonal force, a θυμός. WORTHINGTON (1990: 504 f.) points out that Euripides uses the scene to make the myth that he had changed coherent, but he also says: “I am in agreement with the symbolic interpretations of the final scene and have nothing to add in this respect”.

¹¹⁸ CUNNINGHAM 1954: 159.

¹¹⁹ CUNNINGHAM 1954: 157.

¹²⁰ A cautious assertion of the continuity of Medea’s character is made by LAWRENCE 1997: 54.

over everything that is perceived, from this point of view, as despicably weak, dependent, submissive and contemptible. Humanity, understood as a capacity to be dependent in intimate relationships, has been devaluated and sacrificed on the altar of a sinister untouchability. Jason points out that she is a lioness and a monster (1342 f.). In his eyes Medea has turned into a monster with a heart of stone or iron, as the Chorus sang earlier, similar to a sea, as the Nurse pointed out as early as the Prologue (28). Medea does not seem to be bothered at all (1351–1360). The sense of sadistic triumph and a total projection of vulnerability (τῆς σῆς γὰρ ὡς χρῆν καρδίας ἀθηψάμην, 1360) on Jason emphasizes the resolution of the central conflict of the play.

Euripides makes a last comment on the symbolic function of the children in the play when Jason asks Medea to give their dead bodies to him, because he would like to bury them. She replies that she will bury them with her own hand in the sanctuary of Hera Akraia, so that the children are safe from her enemies even after their death (1378–1381). Burying the children has a symbolic meaning too. It is Medea who has to bury the children and I would suggest two explanations for this. The first is that burying is linked to the act of warding off the vulnerable, dependent self image. The second is that Medea needs to possess total control over the corpses of her children in order to ensure safety for the omnipotent defensive self-image¹²¹. The children are still symbolically equated with the self image that is hated, feared, and detested, but it is an image of the self, so Medea wants to preserve it somehow. She wants to control it, but not to annihilate it. Medea wants to transfer the children into a state of neither life, nor death.

Earlier, she suggested that Hades will be their “home” and “city” (πόλις καὶ δῶμα, 1021 f.), and also that it is she who must kill them, since she gave them life. It is a fantasy that the children will still live, in a way, in a “better place” (and the underworld has a strong connotation with the unconscious realm), better both for them, and for her. It is a part of what EASTERLING called “an ‘altruistic’ and ‘protective’ rationalization of the child murder”, not that rare in the case of real life infanticide¹²². Their corpses will be sanctified by putting them in Hera’s sanctuary. We might add that Hera is both a patron of birth and a vengeful, destructive step-mother (as in Hercules’ myth, for example). In this way, the vulnerable, dependent self is being offered to an omnipotent, life-giving and death-bringing, terrifying maternal object, which Medea herself has become. It is as if Medea tries

¹²¹ BURNETT (1973: 21) points out that “She has repossessed them entirely, making them all hers in the only way she can and treating them almost as if they were consecrated objects that would be soiled by Jason’s touch (1320, 1378, 1464)”. Recently, L.L. HOLLAND (2008: 409 f.) suggested a different interpretation. She argues that Medea’s fear is really a fear of the desecration of the corpses of her children by her enemies and that she is far from being a dehumanized criminal at the end of the play. HOLLAND contends that “the funeral for Medea’s children represents her atonement for an unholy crime”.

¹²² EASTERLING 1977: 187.

to believe that she is doing a favour not only to her, but to her children as well, as if killing them was an act of saving the whole world of the play from destruction. In the dialogue between Jason and Medea, she accuses him once again of being an abandoning, unloving object (1399–1404). We might say that killing and burying the children in Hera's sanctuary is an ultimate defence against the most horrifying, hostile object which does not love and perpetually frustrates the agonized, vulnerable self, that is craving for love, but – always in vain.

CONCLUSION

I do not suggest that the reading proposed above is any kind of “ultimate” interpretation of Euripides' *Medea*. The enormous literature on the subject bears witness to the fact that we cannot say the last word about this magnificent play. From the point of view presented in this article, *Medea* is a tragic, cathartic expression of an interplay between a dependence and need for love which is threatening and painful because it is contaminated by aggression and destruction, and a need for defensive independence and omnipotent control, which destroy the capacity to love.

And yet, Euripides allows the audience to empathize with Medea, because the tragedy can evoke sympathy and fear only if the audience can identify with the tragic hero to a certain extent. This seems to be the reason why Euripides shows us a Medea that weeps and hesitates before killing her children, a Medea that is vulnerable and fantasizes about ideal love. At the same time, he pictures the horrible price that has to be paid by Medea for the solution of the central conflict¹²³. We can see both the conflict and the defence. The conflict is expressed in all those moments when Medea provokes some sympathy, the defence in those when she seems to be almost psychopathic in her cold, narcissistic, manipulative and deceitful behaviour and when other characters make the whole world of the play seem like a cold, hostile place, a “debased and soulless world”, as BURNETT calls it¹²⁴. It is particularly clear at the end of the play, when the audience can see Medea in her dragon-chariot with the children's corpses, rising “above” humanity with its vulnerability, dependency, and the whole range of painful emotions, but also “above” a capacity for love, intimacy, creativity and simple happiness. She is triumphant, but she is also vaguely aware what price she has paid. Even though the interpretation presented above refrains from treating *Medea* as a psychological or psychopathological “case study”, it is hard to deny that the play also reveals the astonishing, intuitive abilities of Euripides to understand human mental processes, both conscious and unconscious. As Eric DODDS has

¹²³ PALMER (1957: 50) was convinced that Medea as a character cannot provoke sympathy, not even the children's sympathy, as BATES argued. It is Jason as their father that can do that.

¹²⁴ BURNETT 1973: 19.

observed in his paper about *Hippolytus*: “It is not suggested that Euripides anticipated the modern psychological theory (which was not his business as an artist), but only that he observed, and utilised for dramatic purposes, some of the facts of behaviour which the theory endeavours to explain”¹²⁵.

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¹²⁵ DODDS 1925: 102.

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SOUL-FOOD OF PLATO'S *PHAEDRUS*
IN THE LATER PLATONIST TRADITION

by

EWA OSEK

ABSTRACT: This study examines the food allegory in the *Phaedrus*, traces the history of its interpretation from early Jewish literature through Middle Platonism down to Renaissance Neo-Platonism, and juxtaposes Plato's own viewpoint with the exegetical tradition.

1. PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTIONS

The *Phaedrus* is the richest in imagery of all the Platonic dialogues¹. It teems with myths, fables, images, symbols, and allusions to the mysteries or religious cults. Plato builds the allegories² employing several different kinds of metaphors, such as visual, vehicular, culinary, medical, botanical, palpable, dancing, banqueting, and so on³. All of them always depict the 'states and functions' (*Phdr.* 245 c 3) of the human soul and especially its cognitive abilities. Besides, the distinct types of metaphors are interwoven with each others so as to create a poetic, dreamlike atmosphere. For example, in the central chariot myth⁴, the thought is illustrated by the images of a heavenly journey (a driving metaphor), of gazing upon the above World (a visual metaphor), of touching something sacred (a palpable metaphor), and of feasting and pasturing on the Plain of Truth (a culinary metaphor). Plato uses figurative expressions such as 'to gaze on', 'to touch', 'to be initiated into the mysteries', 'to eat', and 'to feast', instead of the usual phrase 'to get to know'.

¹ This is an opinion commonly shared by most scholars, e.g. see DORTER 1971: 280; LEBECK 1972: 267.

² The allegories, parables, and myths are often combined and difficult to distinguish. I assume that an allegory is an extended metaphor, a parable is an extended simile, and a myth, very close to a fable, is an extended image. See LEBECK 1972: 286; VAN DIJK 1997: 327 note 84.

³ See DORTER 1971 (the tree symbolic, the religious allusions); LEBECK 1972 (the medical, botanical, vehicular imagery, the language of mysteries); ANTINOPOULOS 1992 (the visual metaphor); BELFIORE 2006 (the dance imagery).

⁴ For the particular sections of the *Phaedrus* in full details see fig. 1 in the appendix.

The mythical aspect of the *Phaedrus* has called for attention and stimulated the imagination of every reader since the time of its composition (370–350 BC⁵).

Of the numerous metaphors used by Plato in the *Phaedrus*, the food imagery is certainly his favorite one. It plays a prominent part in the mythical hymn, where the soul, nurtured by eternal Realities, is likened to a winged chariot (246 a 6–7), a bird (249 d 7), an oyster (250 c 5), and a bacchante (253 a 6)⁶; it returns in the cicadas fable and the critique of writing, where it refers to the diet of the philosophers, who are compared to the cicadas, pots or farmland⁷. However, the *Phaedrus* is not the only one of Plato's works which exploits this kind of imagery⁸. The culinary metaphor, based on the analogy between food for the body and nourishment of the soul, is common in the other dialogues. Plato builds on it the so called arguments from analogy; I mean his definitions of judicial rhetoric in the *Gorgias* (463 a–465 e), of sophistry in the *Sophist* (223 e), of a sophist in the *Protagoras* (313 c–314 b), and of philosophical rhetoric in the analytical part of the *Phaedrus*. We read there that rhetoric – paralleled by medicine prescribing 'drugs and nutriment' to the body – is an art supplying the soul with proper discourses, training, and virtues (*Phdr.* 270 b 5–7). These Platonic definitions could be an echo of discussions with contemporary sophists⁹.

The food imagery, used by Plato with a mystical overtone (suggesting the grain mysteries in Eleusis¹⁰), has inspired subsequent generations. My aim in this study is to examine the most impressive metaphor of the dialogue, to trace the exegetical tradition of the motif up to the end of the Neo-Platonic school, and to consider to what degree late ancient exegesis saved – or developed – Plato's own doctrine.

Before the text-analysis, the following presumptions must be made. Firstly, the three parts of the dialogue (shown in detail in fig. 1) constitute an organic unity¹¹. Despite the seeming dissimilarity and discontinuity, all Phaedran myths, allegories and parables are connected to each other, so the prior anticipates the subsequent, and the latter continues the former¹². Secondly, albeit the *Phaedrus* seems to have a variety of topics (like love, rhetoric, beauty, dialectic), it is

⁵ It is impossible to be precise about the date of composition, see YUNIS 2011: 22–25.

⁶ An oyster in its shell is an Orphic image of a soul prisoned in a body; see *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 430 BERNABÉ (hereafter *OF* 430).

⁷ Pl. *Phdr.* 259 c 2, 276 b 5, d 1.

⁸ See YUNIS 2011: 86 f.

⁹ See LIDZ 1995; *Gorg. Hel.* fr. 82 B 11.14 DK.

¹⁰ NIGHTINGALE 2004: 83–93; RIEDWEG 1987: 56 note 136.

¹¹ HEATH 1989; GRISWOLD 1986: 138–197; LEBECK 1972: 267, 284, 289–290. The problem of the unity of the speech is discussed by Plato himself in the *Phaedrus*, see TRIVIGNO 2009.

¹² MORGAN 2000: 185–241.

unified by one guiding theme – the soul¹³. Thirdly, there are some internal arguments for locating the *Phaedrus* after – not before – the *Timaeus*, namely an absence from the *Timaeus* of the self-motion theory (*Phdr.* 245 c 5) and of the ‘collection and division’ method (*Phdr.* 265 c 8–d 1). Both dialogues have similar tenets (e.g. the tripartition of the soul and the near identity of their epistemologies) and are complementary to each other. Therefore, the puzzling items of the *Phaedrus*’ chariot myth may be completed with a support of the *Timaeus*, and the *Phaedrus*’ psychology can be fully understood only on the grounds of the *Timaeus*’ cosmology¹⁴. Fourthly, one should always take seriously all the details of Platonic myths and try to explain them¹⁵.

2. FOOD IMAGERY IN THE *PHAEDRUS*

“The *Phaedrus* abounds in culinary terminology which recurs throughout with a regularity of leitmotif”. This opinion, expressed by KENNETH DORTER in his article¹⁶ is eminently fitting. The dialogue is replete with the terms which denote various kinds of nourishment, namely ‘food’¹⁷, ‘drink’¹⁸, ‘nutriment’ or ‘sustenance’¹⁹, ‘bread’²⁰, ‘banquet and treat’²¹, ‘ambrosia and nectar’²², ‘drug’²³, ‘fruit’²⁴, ‘pasture’²⁵, ‘branch’²⁶,

¹³ MUELLER 1957 (the dialogue focuses on human nature); LEBECK 1972 (*anamnesis* is the key-doctrine of the dialogue); ASMIS 1986 (the underlying theme that binds the whole dialogue is the *psychagogia* or art of guiding the soul by means of discourses, cf. 261 a 7); BRISSON 2007 (all Plato’s myths concern the human soul).

¹⁴ BETT 1986; ROBINSON 1992; CARONE 2005. The antecedent scholarship dated the *Phaedrus* from the period before – not after – the *Timaeus*, see. BRANDWOOD 1990.

¹⁵ This is a commonly accepted opinion, for example see BETT 1986: 20, 24.

¹⁶ DORTER 1971: 280 note 3.

¹⁷ Pl. *Phdr.* 238 a 6: ἐδωδή. In the present paper I use the Greek text of the *Phaedrus* with page numbers, section letters, and line numbers after the latest edition of YUNIS 2011, based on the critical edition of MORESCHINI 1985.

¹⁸ Pl. *Phdr.* 259 c1: ποτόν.

¹⁹ Pl. *Phdr.* 248 b 5, 251 b 5, 259 c 3, 270 b 6: τροφή.

²⁰ Pl. *Phdr.* 259 c 1: σῖτος; 241 c 8: σιτίον.

²¹ Pl. *Phdr.* 236 e 8, 247 a 7: θοίνη; 247 a 7: δαίς.

²² Pl. *Phdr.* 247 e 6: ἀμβροσία, νέκταρ.

²³ Pl. *Phdr.* 230 d 6, 268 c 3, 270 b 6, 274 e 6, 275 a 5: φάρμακον.

²⁴ Pl. *Phdr.* 230 d 7, 260 d 1: καρπός.

²⁵ Pl. *Phdr.* 248 b 7: νομή.

²⁶ Pl. *Phdr.* 230 d 7: θαλλός.

‘lamb’²⁷, ‘grains’²⁸, and so called ‘gardens of Adonis’²⁹. We have also ‘gluttony’, ‘diet’ and ‘a butcher’ to complete the list³⁰.

The first part of dialogue (‘the Lesser Mysteries’) introduces the motif of spiritual food and anticipates its importance in Socrates’ palinode (‘the Great Mysteries’). The prologue, where Socrates meets his young friend Phaedrus and begins the preliminary conversation, contains the first allusion to soul-food. The old philosopher says ironically that Lysias feasted the guests on his speeches (227 b 6–7); he meant the famous sophist treated not only their bodies, but also their souls. Next, Socrates mocks the Lysias’ discourse, recorded by Phaedrus during the morning lecture, and compares its written copy to a drug or bait, for instance a branch or fruit, which people dangle before hungry animals (230 d 5–6). After hearing Lysias’ speech, Socrates says again about the banquet of words (236 e 8), not without a hint of irony. Finally, Socrates delivers his own speech – the middle speech of the dialogue – intended as a parody of Isocrates’ rhetoric style³¹. He now presents the lower part of the soul, called desire, which always has a tendency to gluttony or satisfying its appetite for food (238 a 6–7) and to devouring every object of its love like bread or a lamb (241 c 8–d 1).

2.1. *Banquet, pasture, ambrosia, nectar, and doxastic food*

Let us proceed to the story of the soul chariot, told in Socrates’ palinody, where the intensity of food metaphors reaches a climax. The myth runs as follows. The twelve leader-gods, with Zeus, Hera, Ares, Aphrodite, and Apollo in their number, but without Hestia, who stays home alone, drive their winged two-horse chariots in the sky; the six remaining divinities have been unnamed. The great eleven, followed by a host of daimons (δαίμονες) riding on similar vehicles, go to and fro, each attending to his heavenly duties (247 a 5–6). Once in ten thousand years, all the chariots ascend through ‘the sub-celestial arch’ (247 b 1–2) up to the topmost point, reach the surface of heaven and take a position on it (247 c 2). They stand there motionless being borne round by the circuit and can see what is beyond (247 c 2–3).

During the revolution of the celestial sphere the divine spectators put their heads outside the surface of the sky and behold the Truth existing in the super-heavenly realm (247 c 4–6, 249 b 5). Gazing on it is a real ‘treat and banquet’ for them (247 a 7: δαῖτα ... θοῖνη). The helmsman of the chariot has a full view of

²⁷ Pl. *Phd.* 241 d 1: ἀρήν.

²⁸ Pl. *Phdr.* 276 b 2, c 5, 277 a 1: σπέρματα.

²⁹ Pl. *Phdr.* 276 b 3: Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι.

³⁰ Pl. *Phdr.* 238 b 1: γαστριμαργία; 256 a 6: δίαίτα; 265 e 2: μάγειρος.

³¹ It is generally acknowledged that the first speech of Socrates is a parody of Isocrates’ style, see BROWN-COULTER 1971.

the true Beings and Knowledge, Justice, and Temperance itself. Subsequently, his head can nurture the rest of his body with the mind and pure science (247 d 1.5). 'Gazing' and 'feasting' are synonymous in this passage (247 e 2: θεασαμένη καὶ ἐστιαθεῖσα)³². Every god enjoys his meal for some time until the movement of the heaven has come full circle (247 d 3–4). Going back into heaven, the charioteer feeds his horses on ambrosia and pours nectar into their manger (247 e 3–4: ἀμβροσίαν τε καὶ νέκταρ). After this trek, the gods go on caring about the soulless things as they did before (246 b 6, c 1).

The heavenly journey of daimons is less successful. Because of the left hand horse, which is wicked, violent, disobedient, and bestial, the team of charioteer and horses is disharmonious and unstable (246 b 3, 253 e 1–4). When the daimons' chariots reach the surface of heaven, many go out of control, many are lamed, and many are left with crippled wings (248 b 1–3). Only a few of the drivers can gaze on the Plain of Truth and nibble at the special 'pasture' (νομή) growing there on that meadow (248 b 6–c 1). This pasture, being essentially a divine element defined as beautiful, wise, and good, is fitting nourishment for the wings, which raises them up (246 e 1). The image of 'gazing' alongside 'pasturing' (249 b 6, 250 c 3–4) evokes the initiation into the Great Mysteries of Demeter. Other charioteers who are still hungry must consume 'the food of opinion' (248 b 5: τροφῆ δοξαστῆ)³³. This junk-food destroys the wings and makes the daimons fall down until they can hold of something solid (246 c 3).

All daimons, governed by the law of Adrastea (248 c 3)³⁴, fall into three categories: (1) those who became like their leader-god by taming the bad horse, snatch the divine pasture, and have fully grown wings; (2) those who have no glimpse of the eternal Realities and lose their wings; (3) those who attain an incomplete vision of the Truth and molted, but still have a potential tendency to regain the feathers. The first class can stay with the gods and live happily in the discarnate state until the next circuit. The fallen daimons of the second and third group must incarnate into animals or humans. The latter (humans) are embodied nine times and after each earthly life descend underground or ascend to some place in sky for nine hundred years (248 c 2–249 b 1 = *OF* 459 V). All daimons are recycled every ten thousand years (248 e 6).

The chariot allegory is partly decoded by Plato himself. He explains the chariot as the individual soul, which consists of three parts (246 a 6, 253 c 7–d 1), the pilot as the rational part of soul, the head as the mind (247 c 8) and the body as the intelligence (247 d 1), and – last, but not least – the super-heavenly region as the world of Forms (247 c 7, e 1). The two horses and the wings

³² Cf. Pl. *Phd.* 84 b: "beholding and ... feeding", θεωμένη καὶ ... τρεφομένη.

³³ The parallel passage is Pl. *Phd.* 84a, where the true Being is described as 'not a matter of opinion' (ἀδόξατον).

³⁴ Adrastea was an Orphic goddess of reincarnation, see *OF* 459 V (= *Phdr.* 248 c).

remain unspecified. The horses are easy to interpret, for the chariot metaphor of the *Phaedrus* mirrors the man allegory of the *Republic*, where the human soul is pictured as a hybrid of man, lion, and many-headed beast; all the creatures represent respectively reason, passion, and desire. Actually, there is no need to appeal to the *Republic*, because in the *Phaedrus* ‘an incompetent butcher’ divides the lower, irrational part of soul into a better part (= the white horse) and a worse portion (= the black horse). In the first speech of Socrates, both of them are called by name: ‘the opinion acquired from external sources’ and ‘the innate desire of pleasures’³⁵. As regards the wings, they are a symbol of the perfect memory of the Forms (249 c 4–5, 250 c 6)³⁶. For more detailed information about the division of the soul see fig. 2.

The more problematic question is who the gods are that the soul has to follow and why the soul is recycled in the ten thousandth year. Scholars hesitate as to whether the scenery depicted (sky, sub-celestial arch, super-heavenly realm, meadow) refer to the cosmological model of the world or to the spiritual realm³⁷. It must be noticed that it is hardly possible to accept an interpretation other than astronomical one, because the reader is told the eleven great gods in the sky do their duties of managing inanimate things (246 b 6–c 2, 247 a 5) and Hestia stays unmovable (247 a 2), while the god-king Zeus governs the universe and directs the movements of the other divinities (246 e 4–5, 247 a 4). This is a clue to the identification of the leader-gods with the planets, of Hestia with the earth, and of Zeus with the sphere of fixed stars or the World Soul³⁸.

Several topics in the *Phaedrus* are closely paralleled by the *Timaeus*. In the *Timaeus* the cosmological myth is found. It coincides in some aspects with the *Phaedrus* chariot myth, so it can help to complete the lacking elements. First, we find in the *Timaeus* some of the twelve gods controlling the celestial bodies and riding on them like on the vehicles (ὀχήματα) described in the *Phaedrus*³⁹. This allows an inference that the great leaders of the chariot myth are in fact the planetary gods or astral deities⁴⁰. Next, the passage in the *Timaeus* (42 b) informs us that a good man who conforms himself to the revolution of the Same returns to his consort star. ‘The consort star’, clearly being an element of an astral religion⁴¹, was replaced in the *Phaedrus* (249 a 6) by the more general phrase ‘some place in the heavens’.

³⁵ DORTER 1971: 283 f. For the division of the soul see OSTENFELD 1992; ROWE 2009.

³⁶ Some scholars think that the wings symbolize love (GRISWOLD 1981: 485) or immortality (LEBECK 1972: 288). This is not quite correct; see the section 2.2.

³⁷ HACKFORTH 1952: 69–76. On Plato’s cosmological model see GREGORY 2003.

³⁸ EGGERS LAN 1992 (Zeus as the World Soul).

³⁹ Pl. *Phdr.* 347 b 2, cf. *Tim.* 41 e 1–2, 44 e 2, 69 c 7.

⁴⁰ LONG 1987: 179 f.

⁴¹ BOYANCÉ 1952.

Finally, the ten-thousand-year cycle may be identified with the Complete Year of the *Timaeus* (39 d)⁴² – a cosmic cycle defined by the return of all the eight circuits of the planets, at their relative speeds, to the position from which they had initiated their movement. Linking together the scattered information in Plato's dialogues, one can puzzle out a plausible reconstruction. The Great Year entails two phases. During the first period, which takes a thousand years, the planetary deities move in the same direction as Zeus or the Same – this is the Golden Age of the *Politicus* and the banquet of gods in the *Phaedrus*. At the point of change, cosmic catastrophes, like conflagrations or floods, happen. In the second period, the planets rotate in the opposite direction to Zeus and the wheel of reincarnation runs for nine thousand years (*Phdr.* 256 e 1). At the end of the cycle, in the ten thousandth year, all planets and souls come back to the same point and the Great Year begins all over again⁴³.

It is time to interpret the individual foods eaten by souls during and after the revolution of the planets which is compatible with Zeus. The easiest to explain are the **'treat and banquet'** (247 a 7), in which the gods share once in ten thousand years. It is clear enough that all delicious foods tasted by souls during this feast are objects of cognition. These objects are further specified as (1) the Being: colorless, shapeless, and intangible; (2) the true Knowledge: pure, inalterable, and always the same (247 c 7–8, d 1, e 1) – presumably identical with Truth herself (247 c 3, d 3, 248 b 6); (3) the triad of Forms: Knowledge, Justice, and Temperance (247 d 5). We may assume that the Knowledge-Truth (2) belongs to the great triad of Ideas (3). Plato tells that the mind of god, visualized as the helmsman or the head, feeds himself on the Being and afterwards nurtures his intelligence on the pure Knowledge and the mind (247 d 1). This sentence sounds like a tautology: the divine mind feeds his intelligence on the mind. It must imply that the helmsman of god is not alien from that which nourishes him – in other words, that the mind and the Being are basically the same⁴⁴. The coordinate metaphors of food and consumer illustrate here the well-known doctrine of affinity between the subject and object of cognition⁴⁵. This temporary feast on the Being and Forms makes the gods divine (249 c 5).

The **'pasturage'** from the Plain of Truth is connected to the daimons following gods in their super-mundane journey. 'The best part of soul', viz. the mind and intelligence, which nurtures the wings, grazes on 'the appropriate pasture' growing on the meadow located in the Plain of Truth (248 b 6–c 1). 'The

⁴² The alternative names of the Complete Year are 'the Great Year' and 'the Cosmic Year' (*annus magnus* and *annus mundanus* in Latin). See Cic. *Nat. D.* II 20 (52); Censorinus, *DN* 18, 11. Heraclitus of Abdera (fr. 22 a 13 DK) believed in a Great Year lasting 10,800 solar years.

⁴³ VAN DER SLUIJS 2006. The basic are *Pl. Tim.* 22 c–d, 49 c–e and *Plt.* 269 c–272 e.

⁴⁴ BETT 1986: 21.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Pl. Phd.* 41 a; 84 a–b; *Resp.* 490 b; *Soph.* 248 d.

meadow' and 'the Plain of Truth' seem to be an amalgam of Orphic beliefs concerning the goddess Night – 'the ambrosial nurse of gods'⁴⁶. Moreover, we are told the divine nutriment, defined as beautiful, wise, and good, strengthens the wings of the soul (246 e 1) – these three seem to be epithets of the soul-pasture growing on that meadow. Now the question arises if 'the meadow' is the same as Truth and Knowledge (above in points 2–3). In the other words, whether the feast of the gods on pure Knowledge is essentially the same as the pasture of daimons or it is something distinct? For Plato consistently avoids the systematization of his Ideas – we are not allowed to arrange the supra-celestial place of the *Phaedrus* into a hierarchy ranked from the highest Being to the lowest meadow.

There is left the puzzling '**ambrosia and nectar**'. The gods give this sustenance to their horses when they immerse themselves back into the sky and return to their duties. "And there the charioteer puts up the horses at the manger and feeds them with ambrosia and then gives them nectar to drink", the text reads⁴⁷. What are ambrosia and nectar? The Homeric poems mention them – this is a magic water, oil or dew which serves to sustain the beauty and immortality of the gods and occasionally to pasture their divine horses⁴⁸. We have no doubt that the horses in Plato's text symbolize the lower forces of the soul. Also 'the manger' (φάτνη in Greek) is linked with the irrational part, as one can find in the parallel passage in *Tim.* 70 e. So ambrosia and nectar can not be identical with pasturage from the Plain of Truth, because we are told that it grows beyond the heaven, where only the helmsman's head can rise up to⁴⁹. How to solve the riddle of ambrosia? The passage already cited (246 b 6, d 1–2) gives us a clue. It says that the divine soul is mingled with the body forever and that 'whole/every soul'⁵⁰ always cares about something soulless, like stars, luminaries, or planets. It implies that while the divine mind reaches for the triad of Ideas, the horse-shaped soul has to manage the celestial body which is given under its control and to set it in motion⁵¹. The mind makes the horses know how to do it and provides them with some kind of

⁴⁶ *OF* 112. Night (Νύξ), a daughter of Phanes, is an old Orphic goddess, known already from the so called Derveni Papyrus, ca. 400 BC (*OF* 6 = P. Derveni col. X 11 f. TSANTSANOGLOU). This Night might be none other than the goddess Truth (Ἀλήθεια, *OF* 113 III) – the underground queen of 'the sacred meadow', mentioned in the tomb tablet texts from the Southern Italy of the fourth century BC (*OF* 487, 6; *OF* 493, 2).

⁴⁷ Pl. *Phdr.* 247 e 3–4, tr. FOWLER 1960: 477.

⁴⁸ WRIGHT 1917; cf. Hom. *Il.* V 368 f. (= XIII 34), 775–777.

⁴⁹ HACKFORTH 1952: 80.

⁵⁰ The ψυχή πᾶσα is *crux interpretum* (246 b 6), see YUNIS 2011: 52 (*apparatus*); FERRARI 1987: 124 (discussion).

⁵¹ The paralleled passages are found in *Phd.* 65 b and 94 b.

knowledge, lower than the pure Knowledge. This practical knowledge is the ambrosia and nectar for horses of the chariot myth⁵².

In the opposition to the gods who feed their horses on ambrosia and nectar, the poor daimons, due to mischance and forgetfulness (248 c 6), lose their wings and must content themselves with the 'food of opinion' (248 b 5: τροφή δοξαστή⁵³). The last conundrum of the chariot myth must mean nothing else than 'opinion' (δόξα) – a kind of approximate knowledge based on the earthly world of appearance and contrasted to the pure Knowledge⁵⁴. Thus the difference between 'ambrosia and nectar' and 'food of opinion' seems to be like that between 'knowledge' and 'opinion'. The latter is chaotic, based on sensual perception, and lacking truth, as we read in the analytical part of the *Phaedrus* (262 c 1–2, cf. 247 d 7).

Let us briefly summarize the topics discussed so far. The banquet means grasping the Truth by the divine mind, which seems to be the same as the pure Knowledge existing beyond the world. The pasturing on the meadow that adds the wings to daimons signifies an intellection of the extramundane Forms (Beauty, Wisdom, and Goodness). The interrelation of the two sets of Forms (Knowledge–Temperance–Justice and Beauty–Wisdom–Goodness) still remains obscure. Ambrosia and nectar seems to be symbols of knowledge about a control over the celestial bodies. The austere food given to the fallen daimons signifies the chaotic opinions which lack true knowledge (see fig. 2, black background). The first of them (Truth) and the last (food of opinion) constitute a pair of the opposites resembling the famous two ways of Parmenides' poem⁵⁵.

2.2. Nourishment for wings, the cicadas' diet, cereals, pot-gardens, and the drug of Theuth

In contrast to ordinary human souls, the philosopher occupies an exceptional position. Whereas the others must wander over the earth from life to life for nine thousand years, the wise man can already escape from the wheel of reincarnation after three millennia⁵⁶. If the soul chooses a philosophic life three times over, it will regain its wings and return to heaven six thousand years before the end of the Great Year (*Phdr.* 248 e 6–249 a 4 = *OF* 459 V). The matter of having or

⁵² Cf. FERRARI 1987: 128 f.

⁵³ The δοξαστός signifies 'matter of opinion' (δόξα), 'conjectural'; see LSJ 444 s.v. δοξάζω.

⁵⁴ The knowledge is sometimes defined by Plato as 'a true opinion' (ὀρθή δόξα); see Pl. *Meno* 97 b–d; *Resp.* 430 a; *Symp.* 202 a; *Th.* 210 a.

⁵⁵ See SLAVENA-GRIFFIN 2003. These ways are the path of divine Truth and the opinions of mortals; see Parmenides, fr. 28 B 1, 27–30 DK; fr. 28 B 2, 4 DK.

⁵⁶ This mystical number is probably drawn from Empedocles' teaching, see BLUCK 1958; Empedocles, fr. 31 B 129, 6 DK (Pythagoras' experience acquired in ten human lives and twenty centuries = 3,000 years); fr. 31 B 115, 6 DK = *OF* 449, 6 (the oracle of Ananke: the exile of murderers from the divine realm for three times ten thousand years = 30,000 years).

not having wings depends on that which the charioteer eats: if he feeds himself on the divine, i.e. beautiful, wise, and good pasture, feathers start to grow all over the soul's shape. Otherwise, if the nourishment of the pilot is not fitting, the soul molts and its plumage atrophies (246 d 5–e 3 and 248 c 1–2). The wings symbolize the capacity for ascent, viz. the perfect memory (μνήμη) of the Forms in which the soul took delight when he journeyed with his patron god (249 c 4–5 and 250 c 6). Memory makes the soul ascend and, in contrast, forgetfulness (λήθη) causes its downfall (248 c 6–7). This is why Socrates dedicates his mythical hymn to Memory (250 c 6).

In the next section (*Phdr.* 249 c–256 e) Socrates argues that the philosophers, being still in the earthly body, have a unique ability for regenerating the soul-feathers. The process of regrowth or recollection, called ἀνάμνησις (249 c 1, d 5), begins when the philosopher falls in love with a boy and beholds the corporeal beauty of his body⁵⁷. For the brilliant Form of Beauty reflected in beautiful faces and bodies can be visible on the earth, the sight receives the minute 'particles' (251 c 5) of beauty which provoke in the lover's body a series of physiological sensations likened to germination, dentition or the sprouting of feathers. The stream of Beauty emanating from the beloved (251 b 2)⁵⁸ enters the soul of the lover 'through the eyes' (255 c 5) to water and irrigate it. While nutrients pour into the soul (251 b 5: ἐπιρροείσης δὲ τῆς τροφῆς), they awaken the memory of Beauty from the other world (251 d 6) and stimulate the process of recollection. Now the lover's intelligence has its wings back like Eros with the nickname Pteros or 'the Winged' (252 b 6)⁵⁹ who in the *Phaedrus* is the great god of love, memory, and dialectics⁶⁰. In this way the corporeal beauty of the beloved becomes a nutriment for the lover's wings which are a symbol of recollection (ἀνάμνησις).

Nevertheless, a regrowth of the wings is conditional upon the making of satisfactory moral and intellectual progress. The philosophers have to meet a number of requirements to regain their wings. The first of them, as Socrates says to Phaedrus, is sexual abstinence (256 a 6: δίαιταν) in relationships between the beloved and the lover. The worse part of soul is not allowed to consume beauty

⁵⁷ On the homoerotic love in the *Phaedrus* see DUBOIS 1982.

⁵⁸ Socrates refashions here the Empedoclean theory of 'effluences' (ἀπορροαί), see Empedocles, fr. 31 a 92 DK = Pl. *Meno* 76 c–d; fr. 31 B 89, 109 a DK. See LEBECK 1972: 274 f.

⁵⁹ Plato cites here the secret Homeric verses: "Mortals call him winged Love, but the immortals call him the Winged one, because he must needs grow wings", tr. FOWLER 1960: 491. See YUNIS 2011: 155.

⁶⁰ In the *Phaedrus* Eros is a patron-god of love, recollection, and dialectics; evidently Plato identifies him with Pan the Word to whom Socrates prays at the end of dialogue (279 c 8); see ROSENMEYER 1962; CLAY 1979; YUNIS 2005. His cultic epithet 'Winged' may suggest that Plato means here the Orphic Phanes – the many-winged deity of the world and light, venerated under many names, among others Eros and Pan; see *OF* 64, p. 75.

in the physical sense. If their love is pure, the lovers will be on the wing immediately after their death (256 b 4); if it is not, they will be merely fledged (256 d 4).

The cicadas fable tells about another condition⁶¹. Once upon a time the worshippers of the Muses used to live for music and quite forgot to eat and drink (259 c 2: σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν). They were turned into cicadas, who have no need of sustenance but go on singing without bread and drink (259 c 2: ἄσιτον τε καὶ ἄποτον) until they die. After death they fly to the Muses – the god-patrons of the nine human lives enumerated above (248 d–e) – and report to them on the intellectual progress of the protected people. The ascetic cicadas, which according to popular belief ingest nothing but dew⁶², resemble the abstinent philosophers from the previous section (256 a–b). The fable evidently refers to the triumph of the better part of the soul by constraining the worse from the objects of its desire, namely food and drink⁶³. The cicadas' diet, which is to be a model of philosophic life, indicates the tendency to a polarization: food for the mind and food for the body. Here the two kinds of food are so incompatible that they can hardly be consumed at the same time.

The critique of writing, famous for the modern discussion on 'the unwritten doctrines of Plato', brings the next reference to the philosophic diet. In that section, Socrates mentions the proverbial '**gardens of Adonis**' (276 b 3), that is, the clay-pots sowed with greens (like fennel, lettuce, wheat, and barley) which sprouted quickly and faded forthwith in the summer festival Adonia, celebrated in honor of the dying god⁶⁴. The text reads as follows:

And now tell me this: if a sensible farmer had some seeds to look after and wanted them to bear fruit, would he with serious intent plant them during the summer in the gardens of Adonis and enjoy watching them grow up into fine plants within eight days? If he did so at all, wouldn't it be in a holiday spirit, only in play and for amusement? For serious purposes, wouldn't he behave like a scientific farmer, sow his grains in fitting ground and be well content if they come to maturity within eight months? (276 b 1–8)⁶⁵.

This parable concerns live discourse shown in polar opposition to the written book (276 a 7–8). 'The grains' play the part of the spoken word of the philosopher's master, the 'farmland' – of the disciple's soul, 'agriculture' – of dialectics

⁶¹ This fable written in Aesop's style and placed in Perry's index under number 470 (*Aesopica* 470) is probably a Platonic invention; see ISEBAERT 1985; VAN DIJK 1997: 327–330 (49 F 2); ASSAËL 2003; SCHENKER 2006: 77–80.

⁶² Cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 532 b 10–17; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 660 E–F; Hermias, *In Phdr.* 216, 5 COUVREUR = 49 T 6 c VAN DIJK.

⁶³ Cf. Pl. *Tim.* 88 a (two tendencies in the soul: eating and the desire for knowledge).

⁶⁴ On the gardens of Adonis see OAKLEY–REITZAMMER 2005; DETIENNE 1994: 99–122. Cf. Julian. *The Caesars*, p. 30 LACOMBRADÉ ("what a hell is the Adonis garden?").

⁶⁵ Translation J. LLOYD (in DETIENNE 1994: 103), modified.

or philosophical rhetoric, and the ‘pot gardens’ – of written speeches. The image recalls food imagery once again. Plato’s argumentation is orientated here – as it was previously in the chariot allegory – to the key-doctrine of recollection⁶⁶. The line of argument runs in the following way: the spoken word, dialogue, or live discourse is the core of dialectics; the art of dialectics using the method of ‘collection and division’ leads the soul to the recollection of the Forms; the recollection restores the wings; finally, dialectics is a method of abstracting elements of the pure Knowledge from wise discourses, in analogy to the vision of the boy-love which abstracts ‘particles’ of Beauty from his beautiful body. The effect produced by corporeal beauty is the same as that produced by intellectual discourse: this is the ἀνάμνησις. Both dialectics and love are involved in the great quest of ‘how to have the wings back’.

The theme of contrast between the written and spoken word is reiterated in **the Egyptian tale**⁶⁷. Socrates tells about Theuth, the Egyptian Hermes, who invented an alphabet. The god thought that he had discovered ‘the elixir of memory and wisdom’ (274 e 4–5)⁶⁸, but he was wrong. The king-god Thamus-Ammon, who is a mask for the Greek Zeus, criticized his invention: “You have invented a cure not for memory, but for mnemonic” (275 a 5). The highest god argued that there is no truth in written signs but merely opinion (275 a 6), so the letters will produce forgetfulness instead of memory (275 a 3)⁶⁹.

Why does ‘live discourse’ help to recollect Ideas, but the same discourse in its paper form is worthless? Why is the former the fertile grain of Demeter and the latter just a sterile garden of Adonis? Why will written speech never be a fair substitute for spoken speeches? Why can dialogue refresh the memory of the beautiful, wise and good, but its written copy can not? Actually, we are not told, but one can suppose that the Platonic hierarchy of beings is the underlying cause (see fig. 3). The juxtaposition shows that the cereals of dialectics correspond with the nutrition for soul-wings, the drug of Theuth and the pot-garden of Adonis echo the food of opinion for fallen daimons from the chariot myth. The ‘true pasture’ alone is unpaired. The recollection of Forms, stimulated by corporeal beauty (= the nutriment for wings) and the live discourse (= grains), refer to the medium level of the hierarchy, where mortals, living things and so on are found. The mnemonic based on sterile books (= the pot-garden of Adonis) and letters (= the drug of Theuth) alongside dead copies, which have no truth and life in them, takes the lowest position on the scale of beings, equal with an opinion

⁶⁶ Cf. the same opinion expressed by LEBECK 1972: 287.

⁶⁷ DERRIDA 1972: 69–198; BRISSON 1998: 37–39.

⁶⁸ Cf. Gorg. *Pal.* fr. 82 B 11 a.30 DK (letters are instruments of memory); Eur. *TrGF* 578 (letters are drugs for forgetfulness).

⁶⁹ Translation mine [E. O.].

without knowledge (= the food of opinion). Truth and Memory are over there, on the heights of Existence, unavailable to opinion-hunters.

3. THE AFTERLIFE OF PLATO'S METAPHOR

3.1. *Early Jewish adaptation*

Albeit the *Phaedrus* was very influential and often-quoted in the Hellenistic period, the intrinsic theme of soul-food, as far as we know, did not draw attention of men of letters⁷⁰. The great career of this Platonic metaphor begins with **Philo of Alexandria** (fl. 37–54 AD) – the Jewish philosopher, diplomat, and a prominent member of Alexandrian society. This eloquent and learned Jew loved the Platonic dialogues and made many explicit references to them in his writings. The chariot myth of the *Phaedrus* was among his favorites⁷¹. A great achievement of Philo was the creative adaptation of some Platonic tenets and the application of them to the allegorical interpretation of Old Testament laws, viz. the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. On the basis of the food passages in the *Phaedrus* and in other dialogues (*Prt.* 313 c, *Phd.* 84 a–b)⁷², Philo multiplied soul-food to obtain five distinct kinds: (1) intelligible, (2) sense-perceptible, (3) a matter of memory and recollection, (4) spiritual, and (5) heavenly. Let us examine them in the given order.

(1) First of all, there is in Philo the bipartite division of the soul into the rational (the Platonic charioteer) and the irrational passion and desire (the team of two horses)⁷³. Respectively, to the irrational part (ἄλογον) he assigns the nourishment of the sense-perceptible world (αἰσθητόν), while to the mind (νοῦς) – ‘the fresh grass’ from the intelligible realm (νοητόν)⁷⁴. The passage quoted utilizes the Platonic terms αἰσθητόν and νοητόν in the Middle Platonic manner, different from Plato himself, but ‘the fresh grass’ from the intelligible sphere which feeds the mind is an exact equivalent of ‘the pasture from the meadow in the Plain of Truth’ from the *Phaedrus*.

(2) An evident reminiscence of the *Phaedrus* is recognizing the sense-perception (αἴσθησις) as nourishment for the mind. The five senses, Philo argues, inform the mind about the physical qualities of things and supply food by means

⁷⁰ See YUNIS 2011: 25–28 for a survey of the *Phaedrus*' reception in postclassical literature; MURLEY 1940 for its influence on the Theocritean pastoral.

⁷¹ DILLON 1996: 165, 174. Cf. Philo, *Agr.* 72–77 CW, tr. COLSON 1960: III 145 f.

⁷² Cf. BORGES 1965: 129: “Philo is influenced by Platonic thought in his interpretation of manna as heavenly food for the soul, for Plato mentions the nourishment of the soul at several places”.

⁷³ DILLON 1996: 174 f.

⁷⁴ Philo, *LA* I 24 CW, tr. COLSON 1956: I 161 f. (an allegorical interpretation of *Gen.* 2, 5: “and all the grass of the field”).

of the eyes⁷⁵. This solution is purely Platonic, because, as we have seen above, one of the *Phaedrus*' passages spoke about the particles of visible beauty which enter the soul through sight and water intelligence's wings.

(3) Philo's *On sobriety* brings a curious quasi-etymological explanation of two Hebrew names, Manasseh and Ephraim. The former is etymologized as 'recollection' and the latter as 'fruit-bearing'. The fruit-bearing is expanded as a label for 'memory', since truth unforgotten and a perfect memory are real food for souls⁷⁶. This interpretation is also based on the key-doctrine of the *Phaedrus*, meaning memory, which adds wings to every soul, and recollection, which brings 'cereals'.

(4) In the LXX verse on fruit-trees in Paradise (*Gen.* 2, 16) the commentator sees a symbol of 'the spiritual nourishment' (τροφή ψυχική). Just like Plato in his argument from analogy (*Phdr.* 270 b 5–7), the Alexandrian philosopher recognizes some discourses, doctrines, training, laws, and virtues as divine nourishment, better than the physical kind. In that context, Philo criticizes gentile science and education, which cannot reinforce the soul's power and emphasizes the abstinence of the body, like Plato did in the cicadas fable⁷⁷.

(5) The most significant variant called 'heavenly food' occurs in the allegorical interpretation of the LXX passage about manna – bread sent by God from heaven to the chosen people (*Gen.* 16, 4). According to Philo, manna – interpreted literally as dew, snow or the air – should be understood rather as the divine food of ethereal nature corresponding with the ethereal spirit of life in humans. The other Old Testament quotations (*Deut.* 8, 3; *Ex.* 16, 13)⁷⁸ lead to the identification of manna, the heavenly food (οὐράνιος τροφή), with Logos, the Sacred Word of God. Accordingly, manna is a type of the Logos, life-giving and all-nurturing (πάντροφος) divine wisdom, distributed to all people in equal portions, and correlated with the holy doctrines of Scripture⁷⁹. Philo also associated the concept of manna with the Laws of Moses, especially as they were read and interpreted in the Jewish synagogues on the Sabbath⁸⁰. The elements of Platonic

⁷⁵ Philo, *Plant.* 133 CW, tr. COLSON 1960: III 281; *LA* III 60 CW (a figurative reading of *Gen.* 3, 13: "The serpent beguiled me and I ate").

⁷⁶ Philo, *Sobr.* 28 CW, tr. COLSON 1960: III 459 (cf. *Gen.* 48, 13 f.); cf. *Agr.* 142 CW, tr. III 181.

⁷⁷ Philo, *LA* I 97 f. CW, tr. COLSON 1956: I 211–213 (commentary on *Gen.* 2, 16: ("from every tree that is in the garden thou shalt eat feedingly thereon")); *LA* III 152, tr. I 403; *Opif.* 158 CW, tr. COLSON 1956: I 125.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Deut.* 8, 3 ("not on bread only shall men live, but on every utterance that goeth forth through the mouth of God"); *Ex.* 16, 13 ("this bread, which the Lord hath given us to eat, is this word, which the Lord hath prescribed").

⁷⁹ Philo, *LA* III 161–162, 169–170, 176 CW, tr. COLSON 1956: I 409, 415, 419; *Mos.* I 202 CW, tr. COLSON 1959: VI 381; *Congr.* 174 CW, tr. COLSON 1958: IV 549; *Her.* 191 CW, tr. IV 379. See also TDNT I 477 s.v. ἄρτος; II 690, s.v. ἐσθίω.

⁸⁰ Philo, *Mut.* 258–260 CW, tr. COLSON 1958: V 275; BORGES 1965: 149.

doctrine, albeit strongly transformed, are still recognizable: if we realize that the Philonic Logos replaced the Platonic Forms and the Jewish nation – the philosophers, we will discern in Philo's teaching about manna the Phaedran journey for the sake of divine pasture from the sacred meadow.

Philo's exposition of the Old Testament pericope on manna (*LA* III 161–176, *Mut.* 258–260, *Congr.* 170–174) drew on the haggadic traditions, especially the homilies (in Hebrew: *midrashim*) which were fresh paraphrases of the Scriptures, interpreted in the Jewish synagogues every Sabbath. PEDER BORGÉN in his famous study (BORGÉN 1965) traced fragments of the same haggadic tradition in Philo and in **John's Gospel, chapter 6** (ca. 100 AD). Christ's homily on the Eucharistic feast delivered in the synagogue of Capernaum (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 24–59) depends on the same homiletic pattern. In the first century before and after Christ, Palestinian Judaism as well as Jewish Alexandrian literature was strongly influenced by Hellenistic culture, so it is no surprise that the Jewish midrashim of that period contained some Platonic reminiscences like that of spiritual food⁸¹.

John's Eucharistic homily is based on the modified citation from the LXX or the Targum version: "He gave them bread from heaven to eat" (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 31, tr. *NIV*, cf. *Ex.* 16, 4). After the miraculous feeding of a crowd of five thousand from one little boy's lunch, Christ – a type of Moses – explains the difference between physical and spiritual food to the people who expect from Him a new miracle of manna (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 26–31). The Johannine reworking of the Old Testament bread from heaven alludes to the Platonic soul-food in the following ways.

(1) John introduces the theme of the Old Testament manna not to allegorize, but to devalue it. The manna, as Jesus argues, did not save the Jews from death (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 49, 58a), but 'the true bread from heaven' (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 32, tr. *NIV*), sent by the Father, will give immortality to everybody who eats: "For the bread of God is the bread that comes down from heaven and gives life to the world" (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 33, tr. *NIV*). The sharp opposition between the manna of Moses and "the true bread from heaven" is nothing other than the Platonic antithesis between food for the body and the nourishment of the soul. When Christ proclaims: "I am the bread of life" (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 35a, tr. *NIV*), He means the latter.

(2) In the next section Christ promises eternal life and resurrection to every believer who beholds the Son (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 40), not – as we would expect – to anyone who eats 'the true bread'. There is here an interference of two metaphors, a visual and a culinary, very similar to that which can be found in the *Phaedrus* in the description of the charioteer's banquet and the vision of Truth. This Platonic image certainly underlies the Johannine imagery.

(3) Besides being the 'true bread', Christ announces himself to be "the living bread that came down from heaven" (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 51, tr. *NIV*) and offers His own body to eat and drink: "For my flesh is true food and my blood is true drink.

⁸¹ For further reading see MARITZ–VAN BELLE 2006.

Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me, and I in them” (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 55–56, tr. *NIV* modified). If we take into consideration that in that text the common word βρῶσις⁸² replaced the classical τροφή, and that Christ – Bread from Heaven – took the place of the Platonic Truth, we will come up with a teaching that is much more in accordance with the *Phaedrus* than the interpretation of manna by Philo. According to John, man feeds on Christ who is the true nourishment that guarantees incorruptible and eternal life. This doctrine is close to the *Phaedrus*, where the consumption of Knowledge immortalizes the consumer.

(4) John combines ‘the true bread from heaven’ with ‘life’ (*Ev. Jo.* 6, 51–54), links ‘life’ with the Word of God (cf. *Ev. Jo.* 1, 1–4), and establishes Him – incarnated Truth and Living Word – as the only nourishment for His followers⁸³. The general conclusion of the Christ’s sermon in *Ev. Jo.* 6, 31–58 perfectly agrees with the message of the *Phaedrus* which presents the eternal Truth and ‘live discourse’ as the unique food for philosophers. The early Christian and Patristic commonplace of ‘spiritual food’ (πνευματικὴ τροφή) is immediately dependant on Jewish sources (Philo and the New Testament), but not on Plato.

3.2. Middle Platonist approach

Let us now return to the Greeks. The literature of ‘the Golden Age’ (II AD) was strongly influenced by Plato’s *Phaedrus*⁸⁴. Unfortunately, the Middle Platonist commentaries have been lost, apart from short fragments of the *Commentary on Plato in 24 books* compiled by **Harpocration of Argos** (ca. 150 AD). These excerpts from Harpocration preserved in Hermias are evidence of the Middle Platonist interest in the *Phaedrus*⁸⁵. This rather restricted evidence permits us to infer that for the Greek Medio-Platonists the theme of soul-food was less attractive than for their Jewish counterparts.

The popular moralist **Plutarch of Chaeronea** (ca. 46–125 AD), who attempted to emulate his master in myth-making, referred to the *Phaedrus* many times in his writings⁸⁶. It must be taken into consideration that most of the serious philosophical essays by Plutarch, including that on Plato, have now been lost. However, in his extant works the Greek philosopher has a tendency to specify some obscure questions about the chariot myth.

The Chaeronean writer discusses the bizarre Neo-Pythagorean speculation on ‘the Plain of Truth’. The Pythagoreans believe that there are ‘thrice sixty worlds’

⁸² See *TDNT* I 642 f. s.v. βρῶμα, βρῶσις.

⁸³ See *DBI* 298 f. s.v. Spiritual food.

⁸⁴ TRAPP 1990; MORESCHINI 1992.

⁸⁵ DILLON 1971, esp. 125–127, 139–142.

⁸⁶ DILLON 1996: 184–230; BRISSON 2004: 63–71; PARTENIE 2004: 26–30 (the myths discussed are Plut. *De sera* 563 B–568 A, *De gen.* 589 F–594 A, and *De fac.* 940 F–945 D).

(exactly 183 worlds), arranged in the form of a triangle (see fig. 4), and that the inner area triangle, called by the Platonic name 'Plain of Truth', can be seen by human souls once in ten thousand years⁸⁷. The period of the Great Year as well as the lifetime of a single daimon is counted with Pythagorean precision to 9,720 years⁸⁸.

Transformed motifs of Plato's soul-food are also found in the Plutarchian corpus. In his *Erotikos*, the dialogue on love, the parallel between Eros and the sun is shown. The Egyptians, he says, worship three Erotes: Pandemos (earthly), Ouranios (celestial), and a third which is Helios (sun). As the sun gives nourishment to all bodies, so the warmth which comes from love nourishes the souls (764 B). He asserts further that the difference between the sun, which feeds the body, and celestial love, which feeds the soul, is the same as between the visible (ὄρατόν) and the intelligible (νοητόν). Moreover, the sun and love act contrary to one another, for the sun diverts the mind from the intelligible to sensible objects (764 E).

The Boeotian philosopher followed Pherecydes in considering nectar and ambrosia as some kind of etheric spice to feed the sublime inhabitants of the Moon who do not eat or drink anything else⁸⁹. It would be hard to discern if this was the same fragrance that was destined for the winged lovers who – according to another of Plutarch's myths – were waiting on the meadows of the Moon and Venus for the new birth⁹⁰. In any case, the souls of the lovers, nourished by the stream of beauty like well-watered plants, could regain, in his opinion, their wings and finally return to the Plain of Truth⁹¹. The wings of the soul (cf. *Phdr.* 246 d) were arbitrarily decoded by Plutarch as 'the power of reasoning and understanding'⁹².

Apuleius of Madaurus (fl. 158–170 AD), the Romanized Berber and one of the most talented Middle Platonist of the second century, endeavored to reconcile the generated World-Soul of *Timaeus* with the immortal soul of *Phaedrus*⁹³. Besides, he travestied parts of this dialogue in his ingenious novel *Golden Ass*. The folk-tale on the adventures of Psyche, put in the mouth of the drunken nanny (*Met.* IV 28 – VI 24 GRIMAL), is a smart parody of Platonic psychology⁹⁴. In

⁸⁷ Plut. *De def. or.* 422 B–C, tr. BABBIT 1936: V 415–417; cf. Procl. *In Tim.* II 454 DIEHL, tr. and com. FESTUGIÈRE 1967: II 336 and note 1 (Festugière links this theory with Petron of Himera, the Pythagorean of the V BC).

⁸⁸ Plut. *De def. or.* 415 C–416 C, tr. BABBIT 1936: V 381–386.

⁸⁹ Plut. *De fac.* 938 B–C, tr. BABBIT 1957: XII 163. Cf. Pherec. fr. 7 B 13 a DK.

⁹⁰ Plut. *Amat.* 766 B.

⁹¹ Plut. *Amat.* 764 F–756 D.

⁹² Plut. *Quaest. Plat.* 1004 C–D: διαλογιστική καὶ διανοητική. Cf. Albinus, *Epitome doctrinae Platonicae* 4.6.1 LOUIS (interpreting the wings of the soul as νόησις and φυσική ἔννοια).

⁹³ FINAMORE 2006.

⁹⁴ GRIMAL 1963: 12 f.; MORESCHINI 1992: 195–198.

the happy-ending, Zeus gives the girl Psyche, who wandered all over the earth searching for her beloved Amor, a cup of ambrosia with the following words: “Take this, Psyche, and be immortal” (*Met.* VI 23: *Sume, Psyche, et immortalis esto*)⁹⁵. This miraculous drink and nothing else makes Psyche, by analogy to the Phaedran soul, divine and free forever.

The astronomical explanation of the leader-gods (*Phdr.* 247 a 2–3), referred to by Hermias of Alexandria, may be dated to the same period (ca. 150 AD):

Some [people] take them to be the twelve spheres of the cosmos, the sphere of the fixed stars, the seven planetary spheres, and the four elements (below the moon). Zeus would then be the sphere of the fixed stars, and the immovable Hestia would be the earth⁹⁶.

As this interpretation was anonymous in the fifth century AD when Hermias lived, one must attribute it to the doxography of opinions earlier than the Neo-Platonic set; the same opinion was also quoted by Chalcidius, who wrote the *Commentary on the Timaeus* in the fourth century AD⁹⁷. This interesting proposition, which solves the twelve gods riddle in a manner very close to Plato himself, sounds like Middle Platonic speculation (perhaps Numenian, by Numenius of Apamea, ca. 150–200 AD⁹⁸). According to the astronomical explanation, all consumer-gods (who are respectively the elements, planets, and fixed stars) belong to the physical world; only the food for the mind, which they can consume during the revolution of the heavens, comes from beyond (see fig. 5).

3.3. Neo-Platonic over-interpretation

The *Phaedrus* was an inspiration for all Neo-Platonists from the very foundation of the school by **Plotinus** (ca. 244 AD). This eclectic thinker, in his attempts to create a new philosophy, drew more from Plato than the Medio-Platonists ever did. Plotinus rethought and reworked a number of Platonic passages, among others the chariot myth, to transform and include them into his own system. In the *Enneads*, edited by Porphyry in the decades after his death (ca. 270–300 AD), there are two comments on soul-nourishment. His treatise on dialectics discusses the meadow of Truth (*Enn.* I 3, 4 HENRY–SCHWYZER). We are told that the soul pastures on that lofty meadow at the same time as when a man of dialectics entertains himself with logical divisions, discernments, and intellection. Plotinus seems to ignore the belief in reincarnation implied by the chariot myth, according to which souls can return to that intelligible meadow once in ten thousand years.

⁹⁵ On *Ap. Met.* VI 23 see GRIMAL 1963: 138 note 5 (a parody of the apotheosis); MORESCHINI 1992: 196 (the influence of *Phdr.*).

⁹⁶ Hermias, *In Phdr.* 135, 27–30 COUVREUR. The English translation after DILLON 1973: 251.

⁹⁷ Chalcid. *In Tim.* 207, 4–9 WASZINK.

⁹⁸ This is an assumption from DILLON 1973: 251.

Another example is the treatise *On intellectual Beauty*, where Plotinus fills a frame of his own ontological scheme with the content of the chariot myth, so intellectual Beauty (= the Second Hypostasis or the Mind) takes the place of the Phaedran gods, lifting their heads and watching upwards, and the One (the First Hypostasis or the Good) stands for Platonic Truth. Plotinian Truth is for gods 'mother and nurse, existence and sustenance' (*Enn.* V 8, 4: γενέτειρα καὶ τροφὸς καὶ οὐσία καὶ τροφή). 'The easy life of gods' (cf. *Phdr.* 248 a 1) is explained as a permanent contemplation of that Truth by the Mind or Beauty. We are far here from the *Phaedrus*, but one purely Platonic motif is left: this is the highest Truth which nourishes the gods with its own essence.

Plotinus' contributor, **Porphyry of Tyre**, shifted the problem of spiritual food to another level. His vegetarian treatise *On abstinence from killing animals* (ca. 269–271 AD) develops the ascetic doctrine about fattening the soul, inspired by the Phaedran cicadas:

We must feed everything in us, but endeavour to fatten that which is most important in us. Now the food of the rational soul is that which maintains in it rationality; and that is intellect (νοῦς). So it should be fed on intellect, and we should strive to fatten it on that, not to fatten our flesh on meat. For intellect sustains our everlasting life, but when the body is fattened it starves the soul of blessed life and enlarges the mortal part, distracting and obstructing the soul on its way to immortal life, and it stains the soul by incarnating it and dragging it down to that which is alien⁹⁹.

In the quoted text, meat eating is considered as the lesser evil than enlarging the mortal parts of the soul by the passions. These passions (πάθη) concerning taste, smell, sight and the other senses, used to fatten unreason. As a result, unreason starves the intellect, the god in us, and drags the soul down towards the next incarnations. The enslaved soul of a passionate man can not break her corporeal chains. In turn, the ideal philosopher, who seeks to fatten his intellect instead of unreason, should abstain from luxurious food because it can stimulate the passions¹⁰⁰. These Porphyrian citations, apart from some recognizable tenets of the *Phaedo* refer to the ascetic rule shown in the cicadas fable.

Porphyry had not published any special work on Plato's *Phaedrus*, but nevertheless he referred to this dialogue in his *Commentary on the Timaeus*. In one of the preserved fragments the philosopher discusses 'ten thousand years' of the *Phaedrus* by way of comment on *Tim.* 23 e. The ten-thousand-year circuit of the soul, as he says, is that which ascends and descends through the spheres of five planets (Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn), so that each may have a two-thousand-year period (*In Tim.*, fr. 1, 16 SODANO). This interpretation seems

⁹⁹ Porph. *Abst.* IV 20, 11 PATILLON–SEGONDS, tr. CLARK 2000: 117.

¹⁰⁰ Porph. *Abst.* I 33, 3–34, 6 BOUFFARTIGUE, tr. CLARK 2000: 43 f; cf. *Abs.* IV 20, 12–13. See CLARK 2001 and SORABJI 2005: 297 f. for further readings.

to imply the astronomical explanation of the twelve gods (see section 3.2 and fig. 5); the planetary gods become here some kind of ladder which helps the soul to accomplish her mundane mission.

The Syrian student of Porphyry, **Iamblichus ‘the Divine’**, criticized the Porphyrian exegesis as ‘out of place’¹⁰¹. In the Roman period of his activity (280–305 AD), he wrote the *Phaedrus Commentary*, the first full one we know about, which was marked by strong criticism of Porphyry¹⁰². The ‘revolutionary’ Iamblichean work, referred to by Proclus and Hermias, was very influential in Neo-Platonist circles, but yet did not long survive the closing of the Platonic school at Athens in 529 AD¹⁰³.

(1) Iamblichus assumed, to some degree, the astronomical explanation. For example he considered the Muses of the cicadas fable as the heavenly spheres (cf. fig. 5)¹⁰⁴. Nevertheless, there were key distinctions.

(2) The most important innovation, as we can suppose on the basis of the seven extant fragments, was the equation of Zeus with the supra-cosmic Demiurge of the *Timaeus* – instead of the traditional interpretation of king-god as the sphere of the fixed stars – and of heaven with the Intelligible Gods¹⁰⁵.

(3) The transfer of Zeus to the Intelligible Realm caused the displacement of the membrane covering the heavens – ‘the sub-celestial arch’ – from the position above to beneath Zeus¹⁰⁶ (cf. fig. 5).

(4) Iamblichus dealt with the problem of soul-food and solved it in the following way. He divided the rational soul into three hierarchical parts (‘helmsman’, ‘charioteer’, and ‘spectator’), and attributed a special food to each of them. The helmsman, in whom he saw the mystical or supra-rational faculty of the soul and equated him with the One ‘from above’, was to feed on the intelligible nourishment; the charioteer or the intellect had his intellectual food; and the spectator or intelligence consumed merely science, that is discursive knowledge¹⁰⁷.

(5) Thanks to Hermias, the Iamblichean interpretation of the cicadas fable is known. He argued that the cicadas were the souls of philosophers, thrown in to the physical realm, who still retained a memory of the intelligible. They had the intelligible nourishment in abundance (νοητῆ τροφῆ), and so refused to eat and

¹⁰¹ Iambl. *In Tim.* fr. 15 DILLON; see DILLON 1973: 280 f.

¹⁰² Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 68 SAFFREY–WESTERINK; BIELMEIER 1930: 8–18.

¹⁰³ Cf. Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 21 and 68 SAFFREY–WESTERINK; Hermias, *In Phdr.* 9, 10; 136, 17; 143, 24; 150, 24; 200, 29; 215, 12 f. COUVREUR. The extant fragments of the Iamblichus’ *Phaedrus* commentary were edited by DILLON 1973: 92–99.

¹⁰⁴ Iambl. *In Phdr.* fr. 7.11 DILLON.

¹⁰⁵ Iambl. *In Phdr.* fr. 3 DILLON; cf. commentary in DILLON 1973: 251.

¹⁰⁶ Iambl. *In Phdr.* fr. 5 DILLON; cf. commentary in DILLON 1973: 252 f.

¹⁰⁷ Iambl. *In Phdr.* fr. 6 DILLON and Hermias, *In Phdr.* 151, 1–3 COUVREUR. Cf. VAN DEN BERG 1997.

drink sense-perceptible opinion (αἰσθητῆ δόξα). The continuous abstention of philosophers leads to body death, which means in fact the triumphant reascent of the soul to the intelligible realm¹⁰⁸.

The Neo-Platonic conviction – that the *Phaedrus* is the most representative of Plato's dialogues and implies an elaborate theological system similar to the *Orphic Rhapsodies* and the *Chaldean Oracles* – belongs to a tradition later than Iamblichus' lost commentary (BRISSEON 2004: 87–89). It is probably connected with the Athenian school of philosophy and may be dated to the leadership of **Plutarch of Athens** (ca. 399–432 AD)¹⁰⁹.

In the years 399–400 AD, Plutarch had a talented student **Synesius of Cyrene** who in the time to come was appointed bishop of Ptolemais (410–414 AD). Under the influence of his master, Synesius dealt with the *Phaedrus* in his treatise *Dion* (ed. TERZAGHI). There are the several topics to discuss, like Amous the Egyptian (9, 11–24), a banquet hosted by Calliope on the top of heaven (11, 16–25), the rural setting of the *Phaedrus* (14, 31–41), and 'the sacred chariots' of eleven gods (14, 42–55). The approach to the Platonic myths is rather chaotic and superficial, for example the unnamed grass-land that lies somewhere in the Plain of Truth is transformed into 'the meadow of Calliope' (named after the highest Muse mentioned in the cicadas fable), where the souls are banqueting on 'the Attic words' (!) – instead of the intelligible pasture (DICKIE 1993: 425 f.). But his excellent *Hymns* (LACOMBRADÉ 1978), where Chaldaean and Platonic motifs are mingled, make the soul-nourishing theme deeper. The holy One (called in the Chaldaean manner 'Unspeakable Father', 'Hidden Seed', and 'Fountain of Fountains') is praised as 'a soul-nourisher' (ψυχοτρόφος, 1 (3) 170), who sends ambrosia to inflame the heavy bodies (2 (4) 74) and to water 'the outspread wings' (3 (5) 67). The 'outspread wings', as the poet believes, can be 'fattened' (i.e. purified) by hymn-singing in honor of the holy One (1 (3) 370–374; 2 (4) 281–285).

We know that Plutarch's successor, **Syrianus 'the Great'** (432–437 AD), delivered important lectures on Plato's *Phaedrus* in the Academy¹¹⁰. Among his listeners were Proclus and **Hermias of Alexandria**. The latter married Syrianus' grand-daughter, the gifted Aidesia, and afterwards, together with his family, left for his native Alexandria, where he compiled the *Scholia on the Phaedrus* from his own notes on Syrianus' lectures plus material from another source, probably

¹⁰⁸ Iambl. *In Phdr.* fr. 7 DILLON; cf. Hermias, *In Phdr.* 216, 6–10 COUVREUR. See DILLON 1973: 255 f.

¹⁰⁹ See WATTS 2006: 90–96 for the dating of Plutarch's leadership.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Suda lexicon, s.v. Συριανός, IV 478, no. 1662 ADLER (wrote a commentary on the whole of Homer in seven books; four books *On the Republic* of Plato; *On the theology of Orpheus* in two books; *About the gods in Homer*; *Harmonisation of Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato concerning the Oracles* in ten books; and other works of exegesis).

Iamblichus' commentary¹¹¹. These *Scholia*, written after 450 AD, are the sole survivors from among the many Neo-Platonic commentaries on the *Phaedrus*, including those by Syrianus and Proclus.

Hermias' lemmata, glosses, and comments, following the sequence of the *Phaedrus* passages, analyse most of the Phaedran soul-foods in order of appearance. The scholiast starts by asking what speeches can provide the soul with fitting food (cf. *Phdr.* 227 c 3), deals with nutriment for the best part of the soul (248 b 6–7) and the wings (246 e 2, 251 c), easily solves the Platonic riddles like that of the 'banquet' (247 d 3, e 2), of 'Truth', and of the 'meadow' on which the soul-pasture grows (247 c 6, 248 b 6–c 1), of the 'manger' and 'ambrosial pabulum' for horses (247 e 3–4), and of 'preying on opinion' (248 b 5), and concludes with 'the gardens of Adonis' (276 b):

(1) The commentator calls every speech, including Lysias' oration, 'soul-food'. Nevertheless, only uplifting and truthful discourses, like those of Socrates, may be appropriate for the soul (Hermias, *In Phdr.* 22, 1–16 COUVREUR, hereafter 22, 1–16).

(2) "The fitting pasturage for the best part of the soul" means that the intellect is fed by the intelligible (160, 25 f.; 161, 3). The wings symbolize the anagogic power which enables the soul to ascend (125, 28 f.); it follows that suitable nourishment for wings must signify divine perfection and intellectual knowledge, renewable once in ten thousand years (134, 29 ff.). In the case of incarnated daimons, the wings may be nurtured by visible beauty and the recollection of the invisible one, which causes the regrowth of wings after three millenia (183, 27 ff.). The commentator interprets the Platonic myth on various periods of time (three millenia and ten millenia), after which the souls ascend to the celestial meadow, in the figurative sense: they are nothing else than various degrees of perfection (168, 5–169, 25).

(3) 'The banquet and feast' of the gods means an abundance of goods, the perfection of virtues (144, 14–17), and divine perfectness, given from above (153, 11–21; 155, 16–17).

(4) Hermias relates the ideas of his master Syrianus when he gives the Orphic interpretation of the Plain of Truth. The Truth and Adrastea are the same as the mighty goddess Night (Nyx), a daughter of the primordial god Phanes (147, 16–148, 4; 161, 10–162, 8 = *OF* 209). Therefore, the triad of virtues in the Platonic supra-celestial place: Knowledge, Temperance, and Justice (153, 29–154, 27), as well as three negatives: colorless, shapeless, and intangible (148, 15–20), reflect the triplex nature of that mysterious divinity ("there are three Nights in Orpheus", 154, 17 = *OF* 147 II). The Plain of Truth and the lofty meadow where the intelligible pasture grows belong to the triad of Nights (161, 4–5). This intelligible

¹¹¹ BIELMEIER 1930: 19–29; BERNARD 1997: 1–74. See *Dam. Isid. frs. 74–76 ZINTZEN for Hermias' family relationships*.

triad takes a middle position between the supreme Phanes and the lower Uranus or Heaven (146, 23 ff.).

(5) The explanation of pabulum ensues from Hermias' assumption that 'the pedestrian forces of the soul' – he means the white and black horses – corresponds with the *Tim.* wheels of the Same (= intellect) and the Other (= opinion, 123 f.). 'The manger of the soul' is interpreted here as a receptacle for opinion, the so called *δοξαστικόν*. In the case of divine souls, this receptacle can retain the perfect memory of the contemplation held once in ten thousand years, so it can be liable neither to passion nor desire (156, 9–17). The scholiast thinks that filling the manger with ambrosia and nectar is to immortalize the lower soul-parts, to equip them for eternal ascent and providential care over the world. If Homer makes the Olympian gods drink nectar every time they care about humans (cf. *Hom. II. IV 2 ff.*), nectar will be a symbol of the administration of the universe and responsibility for the lower beings, while ambrosia will imply the immortality of the gods (156, 17–157, 3).

(6) 'The preying on opinion' means to grasp nothing but the perception, so the people live in the sensible world and talk about the perceptible realm, but are unconsciousness of the intelligible one (160, 16–20).

(7) Finally, Hermias explains the Adonis gardens simply as some books and letters, in which 'the true word' revives and dies (260, 7–20).

It might be hard to outline Syrianus' thought system and find the exegetical principle of the Athenian method of interpretation merely with the support of Hermias. Better support for understanding would have been provided by the *Phaedrus Commentary* of his fellow-disciple **Proclus the Successor**, had it not been lost. This work, written contemporaneously with Hermias' scholia (ca. 450 AD), has been partly preserved in the *Theology of Plato IV*, where Proclus alludes to 'our preceptor and leader', that is to say Syrianus¹¹². On the other hand, 'the Successor' would transcend his predecessor and build an alternative system from the Orphic, Chaldaean, and Platonic components (BRISSON 2004: 89–106). Anyway, in Proclus' classification of gods are found not only the Platonic Forms, the Plain of Truth, the meadow, the pasture, ambrosia and nectar, but also Orphic personages, like Chronos, Aether, Chaos, Phanes, and Nights. Many years later, Proclus' (or Syrianus') ideas were repeated by Damascius (fl. 515–529 AD), the last scholarch of the Platonic Academy before its Persian exile.

(1) Proclus writes that Plato's myth of 'the supra-celestial place' illustrates the intelligible realm, not that which is purely intelligible, but the so called 'intelligible-and-intellectual', which is a medium between the three intelligible triads, headed by the supreme Phanes, and the three intellectual triads, unified by

¹¹² Proclus mentioned his own commentary on *Phaedrus* in his *Commentary on Parmenides*, see Procl. *In Prm.* VI 1128 (III 116 STEEL). The content of his lost work is partly preserved in Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 18–77. The allusion to Syrianus occurs in *Theol. Plat.* IV 48, 70 SAFFREY–WESTERINK.

Cronos. Analogously, the sphere of intelligible-and-intellectual falls into three triads, described using the terms from the *Phaedrus*: ‘the supra-celestial place’ or ‘kingdom of Adrastea’, ‘the celestial circulation’ of Uranus, and ‘the sub-celestial arch’; the latter being defined as the limit of the intelligible-and-intellectual. Proclus subdivides the supra-celestial place into the ‘Plain of Truth’, ‘the meadow’, and ‘the food of gods’ or ‘ambrosia and nectar’, utilizing the Phaedran terms again (*Theol. Plat.* IV 48–50). See fig. 6.

(2) Above them, on the summit of the intelligible-and-intellectual triads, Proclus puts the three supreme goddesses, virtues, or monads ‘without color, shape, and contact’, named after the Platonic Forms ‘Knowledge, Temperance, and Justice’, denominated also as ‘the beautiful, wise, and good’, and finally united with the ‘feminine order’ of Nights. These invisible monads exist in the supra-celestial place and illuminate the Plain of Truth and the meadow placed beneath them. The meadow can be visible to the secondary gods, daimons, and even partial souls through ‘the sub-celestial arch’ and ‘the celestial circulation’. But there is no need to ascend to so lofty a place to see what is beyond, on that meadow, where the three Nights abide. The vision will fulfill if the souls convert themselves to intellectual perfection, symbolized by ‘the sub-celestial arch’, and co-ordinate their own movements with ‘the celestial circulation’, which is an image of energy and intellection. Intellection (νόησις), defined as an instrument of contemplation of the intelligible monads, is also the medium of nourishing the intellect, defined as energy and intellectual perfection¹¹³.

(3) According to the *Orphic Rhapsodies*, Night, a daughter of Phanes, nursed the baby Cronos with her own breast (*OF* 182). Damascius linked this Orphic myth with Plato’s soul-chariot and allegorized it in the following manner: the Intelligible Being or Night always provides the intellect or Cronos with intellectual food¹¹⁴. This is exactly the standpoint of Proclus, who develops – perhaps under the influence of Syrianus – the doctrine of three dark goddesses. The first of them, Knowledge, hidden in the occult adyta, throws ‘the Light of Truth’ on her domain, namely ‘the Plain of Truth’. This Plain – the expansion and manifestation of the Light emitted by the One¹¹⁵ – illuminates the secondary intellects to convert them and attract them to herself.

(4) The second goddess, Temperance, inhabits the sacred meadow, also called ‘Nurse’ and ‘Fountain of Life’ because of its generative power producing and multiplying all Forms and Reasons. That meadow waters souls with River of Life and nurtures soul-wings with the pasture in the following way: the streams flow down to the matter through the sub-celestial arch, fill the souls, and give their wings an elevating impulse and energy, that enables them to ascend to the

¹¹³ Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 18. 22. 24–25. 37–38. 72 SAFFREY–WESTERINK.

¹¹⁴ Dam. *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis*, II 91 f. WESTERINK.

¹¹⁵ According to Hermias, this is the light of Phanes, see Hermias, *In Phdr.* 152, 23 ff. COUVREUR.

supra-celestial place *via* the sub-celestial arch. This nourishment is intelligible and divided according to a multiplicity of Forms. Both the Light of Truth and the Fountain of Life are responsible for the moral progress of the secondary beings¹¹⁶.

(5) Justice, who is 'a nourishing cause of the gods', occupies the third place. The gifts of that queen – ambrosia and nectar – differ from the foods provided by the first and second monad. When Plato said the charioteer places ambrosia before his horses and next gives them nectar to drink, in the opinion of Proclus, he allegedly meant 'the perfections of gods' (θεῶν τελειότητες) that make the gods divine. Ambrosia and nectar differ from each other like solid and liquid food. The latter, which denotes divine providence proceeding to lower beings, corresponds with progress (πρόοδος) and is similar to limitless (ἄπειρον), while the former signifies stable perfection and stability (μονή) which is analogous to limit (πέρας) and symbolized by the sub-celestial arch¹¹⁷.

(6) According to Proclus and his follower Damascius, the distribution of divine foods belongs to the competence of the syncretistic goddess Rhea-Demeter-Hestia-Hera who, according to the *Orphic Rhapsodies* (OF 221), invented ambrosia and nectar. This goddess, modelled on Night the Nurse, takes a position among the gods of an intellectual hebdomad (III 2 at fig. 6), beneath the sub-celestial arch and the three Nights. She holds a mixing bowl and pours down ambrosia (stability) and nectar (movement towards providence) on the lower orders of gods to nourish them¹¹⁸.

(7) The gods then absorb the divine juice and, strengthened by it, ascend to the supra-celestial place in order to derive more from the Fountain of Life which Plato called, after Homer (Hom. *Il.* IV 424), 'the banquet'. 'The banquet' (δᾶς) is explained as a distribution of divine nutriment; 'a feast' (θείνη) as the universal conversion (ἐπιστροφή) of all beings towards the intelligible by means of intellection; and 'a nourishment' (τροφή) as the plenitude of intelligible goods. This over-interpretation leads Proclus to the correct conclusion that soul-nourishment must be something intelligible (τροφή γὰρ νοητόν)¹¹⁹. In fact, according to the Proclean system, soul-food is no longer intelligible, but intelligible-and-intellectual (see level II at fig. 6).

A modern reader has no doubt that the Proclean exegesis – the most elaborate of the ancient commentaries on the *Phaedrus* – is an over-interpretation and has nothing to do with Plato himself. Indeed, Proclus wrote a commentary not to understand the eight hundred year old dialogue, but to use the impressive

¹¹⁶ Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 23–25. 34–35. 37–38. 45–46. 49. 54 SAFFREY–WESTERINK. Cf. Procl. *In Resp.* XVI 346, 20–25 KROLL.

¹¹⁷ Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 46–47. 72 SAFFREY–WESTERINK.

¹¹⁸ Procl. *In Crat.* 167–168 (91, 1–92, 25 PASQUALI); Dam. *In Prm.* 164 (III 60 WESTERINK–COMBÈS).

¹¹⁹ Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV 25. 48. 72 SAFFREY–WESTERINK; *In Resp.* VI 167 KROLL.

Platonic images – along with the Chaldaean and Orphic ones – to construct his ‘scholastic’ theotaxonomy (fig. 6).

3.4. *Christian epilogue*

Between 450 and 480 AD the Platonic Academy at Athens had a Christian student who later took the name **Dionysius the Areopagite** and published a number of pseudepigraphs inspired by the mystic doctrines of his teacher Hierotheos, viz. Proclus. In one of his letters, Pseudo-Dionysius gives an interesting exposition of ‘the mixing bowl’ (*Prov.* 9, 1–5), where divine Wisdom, as the *Proverbs* read, makes ready two kinds of nourishment: the one solid and stable, the other liquid and flowing. The bowl, he writes, is a symbol of all-encompassing Providence, and the two-fold food depicts the double aspect of Providence: solid food suggests a perfection and sameness of an intellectual and stable order, and liquid nourishment means the life-producing power which leads to the simple knowledge of God through all which is varied, multiple, and divided (*Ep.* IX 3–4 HEIL–RITTER). The Dionysian exegesis of the Bible sounds here like the Proclean interpretation of ambrosia and nectar shown above.

After the closure of the Neo-Platonic Academy in 529 AD, the knowledge of Plato’s dialogues disappeared and only a few people were familiar with them. The only Byzantine commentary on the *Phaedrus* was that of **Michael Psellus** (ca. 1017–1078). This famous politician and scholar, interested in esoteric doctrines and Neo-Platonic theurgy, had a manuscript of Hermias’ scholia and composed an exegetical work on the *Phaedrus*. Unfortunately, this unique Byzantine commentary has been lost except for one fragment concerning the chariot myth¹²⁰. The extant excerpt shows that Psellus, like Hermias, was not convinced of the astronomical explanation of the twelve leader-gods (cf. fig. 5). He could not understand, why someone insane attempted to associate the Olympian dodecate with the planetary spheres and imagined the soul climbing them as though they were a ladder. At the same time the *Phaedrus* was unknown in the medieval West (cf. KLIBANSKY 1950).

The last example of Neo-Platonist exegesis is a great work of the early Renaissance humanist **Marsilio de Figline**, who under his Latin name Marsilius Ficinus, revived Plato’s Academy in Florence (1474). This highly educated member of the Florentine Academy, fascinated by Plato’s dialogues, read *Phaedrus* in the bowdlerized version by Leonardo Bruni of 1424 and then started to learn ancient Greek (ca. 1455). In 1462 the Medici family granted him their patronage to prepare the first unabridged Latin translation of Plato. On his own he translated several works of Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, Psellus, and other Neo-Platonists. Between 1464 and 1469 the prince of Florence, Piero de’ Medici, whose nickname was ‘the Gouty’, gave him many volumes in Greek, among

¹²⁰ Michael Psellus, *Commentary on the Platonic Chariot-Driving of the Souls and the Army of the Gods in the Phaedrus*, pp. 315–319 JAHN. See ARABATZIS 2010.

them a manuscript of Hermias' scholia¹²¹. Thanks to the Gouty, Ficino could compose a complete introduction, translation and commentary on the *Phaedrus* (1469), published successively in 1466, 1484, and 1496. A few years later (ca. 1474) he translated Hermias' scholia in full, but this work never appeared in his *Opera omnia*, probably for fear of accusation of heresy by the Roman Curia¹²².

Ficino's attitude to the Platonic food was ambiguous because the Florentine philosopher was torn between Neo-Platonism and Christianity. On the one hand, this tension made him to consider the God of the Christian faith as perfect food and the only giver of divine ambrosia and nectar¹²³. On the other hand, his inclination to Neo-Platonism and esotericism led him towards 'deviation' from the orthodox philosophy in the following ways:

(1) In the opening passage of the *Commentary on Plato's Symposium* Ficino wrote – alluding to the banquets hosted by Lorenzo de' Medici – that the god of love Amor is the one who “leads souls to the heavenly table, laden with ambrosia and nectar; then he assigns every soul to seats; finally, he keeps them there sweetly for eternity”¹²⁴. In later sections of the same commentary there is a reference to the chariot myth. In heaven, we read, the rejoicing charioteer stops his horses at the stable, that is, at divine beauty, and then throws them ambrosia to eat and nectar to drink, that is, the vision of beauty and the gladness that comes from that vision¹²⁵.

(2) In his *Commentary on the Phaedrus*, based on Hermias' *Scholia*, the motif of ambrosia and nectar is explained in a sense different from a 'vision of beauty':

Since the divine soul goes from the contemplation of higher things back home to the consideration and exercise of its own power (whence it provides for mundane things), accordingly the charioteer, the intellect, stops his horses at the stable, that is, fills the lower powers (through which providence is enacted) with the goods derived from contemplation. At the stable, that is, at the memory and preservation of things divine, he nourishes them with ambrosia, with solid sustenance, insofar as he halts them within in their causes and goods, and likewise in nectar, with liquid, insofar as he strengthens and prompts them to overflow without in their providing¹²⁶.

According to this interpretation, the manger means a receptacle for memory, ambrosia – stability, and nectar – providence. Ficino's exegesis is nothing other than a transformed Hermias.

¹²¹ SHEPPARD 1980.

¹²² ALLEN 1980. The Latin translation of Hermias' scholia exists today in two manuscripts; one of them is the famous Vatican manuscript contemporary with Ficino (Vat. lat. 5953).

¹²³ See the useful overview in MERCUR 2003.

¹²⁴ Marsilio Ficino, *In convivium (De amore)* 6, p. 176 MARCEL. Tr. JAYNE 1985.

¹²⁵ Marsilio Ficino, *In convivium (De amore)* 14, pp. 259 f. MARCEL = *In Ion, Argumentum* 4, p. 198 f. ALLEN.

¹²⁶ Marsilio Ficino, *In Phdr.* 22, pp. 132 f. ALLEN (Latin text and English translation).

(3) In his interpretation of the cicadas fable, the Italian humanist confesses he is indebted to the Neo-Platonist commentaries. Hermias and Iamblichus appear here as the authorities for equating cicadas with sublime airy daimons (*daemones aërios*). As the insects that live by a kind of sound, and *via* the sound by drinking in of the air, so these airy daimons live by song, that is, by contemplation and praise of divine things, and perform their functions paralleled to the guardian-angels of Christian belief. Before turning into ‘the visiting daimons’ (*daemones... adventitios*), they were humans who fed only on the mind (*sola mentis alimonia vixisse*) and imitated Calliope, identified with the World Soul (*anima mundi*), and Urania, who is a supervisor of ‘the first heaven’ (*caelum primum*)¹²⁷. Despite his declaration, Ficino’s exegesis of the cicadas is rather a creative adaptation of the Neo-Platonists than an actual indebtedness to them¹²⁸.

4. CONCLUSION

The soul-food of Socrates’ mythical hymn has attracted the demonological and theological theorizing of many commentators over the last 1,500 years. The present investigation leads to the conclusion that all the ancient comments fall into two groups. The first method of interpretation focused on the cosmological and reincarnational aspects of Plato’s myth. The reader was told that the best pasture for soul grows on the supra-mundane meadow which lies outside the world-barrier, the Middle Platonists and Neo-Pythagoreans endeavoured to find the cosmological key matching particular details of the chariot myth. As a result of their research, the place of the banquet of the gods and the pasturage of daimons could be shown in the cosmological models of universe (figs. 4–5, black background). After dealing with the question of where that meadow is, the Middle Platonists tried to solve the exegetical problem of at what time the souls eat from it. The answer was not difficult, because a few indications underwritten in the *Phaedrus* texts allowed the establishment of the fact that the feeding took place once in ten thousand years. Moreover, they linked the ten-thousand-year period with the full cosmic cycle and the Complete Year of the *Timaeus*. The next step was the identification of the twelve gods who lead the daimons to the heavenly banquet, together with the elements, planets, and sphere of fixed stars (fig. 5). The astronomical explanation limited the blessed time of consumption to the comparatively short pauses between the nine-thousand-year long periods of transmigration or attending to the planetary gods.

Although the Middle Platonist exegesis was compatible with Plato’s own doctrine, the Neo-Platonists rejected it as unsatisfactory and too literal. The fore-runners of the Neo-Platonic approach were the first-century Jewish writers who

¹²⁷ Marsilio Ficino, *In Phdr.* 35, p. 170–173 ALLEN.

¹²⁸ Cf. Hermias, *In Phdr.* 215, 9–26 COUVREUR = Iamblichus, *In Phdr.* fr. 7 DILLON.

sought for a more spiritual interpretation. They discarded Plato's soul-food from a reincarnational and cosmological point of view, and concentrated on Logos – the mediator between God and His chosen people and the giver of divine nourishment. The Jewish reworking introduced the following motifs, which played a decisive part in later exegesis: **(1)** drink and food are divine (intelligible) themselves; **(2)** the nourishment of soul is the same as God's Word – the only revealer of eternal truth; **(3)** the consumption of divine food enables humans to have eternal life with God; **(4)** every believer can consume this sustenance at every time and in every place.

The Neo-Platonic interpretation of soul-nourishment did not take its fully-fledged shape until the fifth century AD, when the Athenian school of philosophy made the *Phaedrus* a key-stone of the entire system. The exegetical ideas of Iamblichus, Plutarch the Athenian, and Syrianus, summarized by Hermias of Alexandria, reached their full form in Proclus' commentaries on the *Phaedrus*. This scholar of the Academy put the soul-foods of Plato's chariot myth in the first triad of the intelligible-and-intellectual order, governed by the Orphic Nights (level II 1–3 at fig. 6). Next, he identified the Plain of Truth with the intelligible light, the meadow – with the fountain of life, ambrosia – with the perfection of the gods, and nectar – with the divine providence over the universe. Because of the overgrowth and division of the intelligible sphere, the nourishment for the divine mind (fig. 6, black background) was considered as lower than the pure intelligible realm of Phanes (I 7–9 at fig. 6). In the Proclean scheme, the consumer of these delicacies is Cronos-intellect with his intellectual hebdomad (III at fig. 6), not – like in Plato – the twelve leader-gods guided by Zeus. As a consequence of this, the Olympian dozen, multiplied twice, was degraded from a position very close to the celestial circulation to the levels of ultra-mundane and ultra-and-intra-mundane triads (IV–V at fig. 6).

Against Plato and in accordance with the Jewish writers, the Neo-Platonists disregarded the reincarnational background of Plato's myth and made the soul-food available for perfect souls at all times, not only once in ten thousand years. They applied Orphic theogony and their own philosophical system to the chariot myth, so consequently the Phaedran banquet, pasture, ambrosia, and nectar became gifts of the Orphic Nights (never mentioned by Plato), the intelligible aliment turned into intelligible-and-intellectual one (fig. 6, black background), and the soul-food theme received an extremely moral overtone. Plato was no longer present in the Neo-Platonist reception.

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APPENDIX

Fig. 1: Synopsis of the *Phaedrus*

Part	Stephanus page	Contents
I	The Lesser Mysteries	
1	227 a 1–237 b 1	The first speech
	227 a 1–230 e 5	The prologue: introductory conversation on the Ilissus
	230 e 6–234 c 5	The speech of Lysias (Λυσίου λόγος) ¹²⁹
	234 c 6–237 b 1	The discussion on the speech of Lysias
2	237 b 2–243 e 8	The second (middle) speech
	237 b 2–241 d 1	The speech of Socrates – a parody of Isocrates
	241 d 2–243 e 8	Discussion. The enthusiasm of Socrates sent by Nymphs
II	The Great Mysteries	
3	243 e 9–257 b 6	The third or great speech, called the palinode (παλινοψία)
	243 e 9–245 b 7	The four types of divine madness
	245 c 1–246 a 2	The argument for the immortality of the soul (ἀπόδειξις)
	246 a 3–256 e 2	The mythical hymn (μυθικός ὕμνος) to Eros (memory) = the chariot myth, the central myth
	256 e 3–257 b 6	A prayer to Eros for Lysias and Phaedrus
III	The Critique of Rhetoric	
4	257 b 7–274 b 8	The analysis of the three speeches of Phaedrus
	258 e 6–259 d 2	The cicadas fable
5	274 b 9–278 b 6	The critique of writing
	274 c 5–275 b 8	The Egyptian tale (Αἰγύπτιος λόγος) = the myth of Theuth
	276 b 1–277 a 4	The gardens of Adonis (Ἀδώνιδος κήποι)
6	278 b 7–279 c 8	Epilogue: Messages from the Muses to Lysias and Isocrates
	279 b 8–279 c 3	The prayer to Pan

¹²⁹ The Greek titles of the dialogue parts that are in brackets () come from Plato himself.

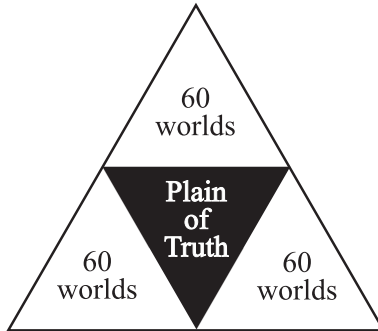
Fig. 2: The soul division in Plato

Items	Division of soul			Passages
soul parts	black horse (Typho)	white horse	charioteer	<i>Phdr.</i> 230 a, 246 a, 253 d–e, 265 e–266 a
	wings – related to all parts of the soul			<i>Phdr.</i> 246 a–e, 248 e–249 d, 251 b–d
	many-headed beast	lion	man	<i>Resp.</i> 588 c–e
	desire (ἐπιθυμία)	opinion (δόξα)	mind (νοῦς)	<i>Phdr.</i> 237 d–238 c, 247 c–d
			intelligence (διάνοια)	
	irrational part		divine part	<i>Phdr.</i> 265 e–266 a
	appetitive part (ἐπιθυμητικόν)	passionate part (θυμοειδές)	rational part (λογιστικόν)	<i>Resp.</i> 435 c, 441 a, 571 d
	the otherness (θάτερον)	third form (τρίτον)	the sameness (ταυτόν)	<i>Tim.</i> 35 a–b
faculties	desire (ἐπιθυμία)	passion (θυμός)	reason (λόγος)	<i>Resp.</i> 437 b–440 d; <i>Tim.</i> 70 a–71 a
	opinion (δόξα)	intelligence (διάνοια)	mind (νοῦς), intellection (νόησις)	<i>Resp.</i> 509 d–511 e (‘line diagram’)
	controlling over something soulless		grasping truth	<i>Phd.</i> 65 b, 94 b; <i>Phdr.</i> 246 b
	ability (δύναμις) for permanent memory (μνήμη) or recollection (ἀνάμνησις) of Ideas			<i>Phdr.</i> 246 d, 249 c
tendencies	money making	conquering	knowing Truth	<i>Resp.</i> 580 d–581 e
	eating (τροφή)		wisdom (φρόνησις)	<i>Tim.</i> 88 a
passions	left, public love		winged Eros	<i>Phdr.</i> 237 d, 252 b, 266 a; <i>Symp.</i> 180 e
virtues	self-control (σωφροσύνη)	correct opinion (ὀρθή δόξα)	wisdom (φρόνησις)	<i>Resp.</i> 430 a
food	doxastic food (τροφή δοξαστή) = opinion (δόξα)	ambrosia, nectar = knowledge (ἐπιστήμη)	banquet (θοῖνη), pasture (νομή) = Truth (ἀλήθεια)	<i>Phdr.</i> 246 a–248 b, 251 b
	nutriment for wings (τροφή) = recollection (ἀνάμνησις)			

Fig. 3: The scale of beings in Plato’s ‘Critique of Rhetoric’

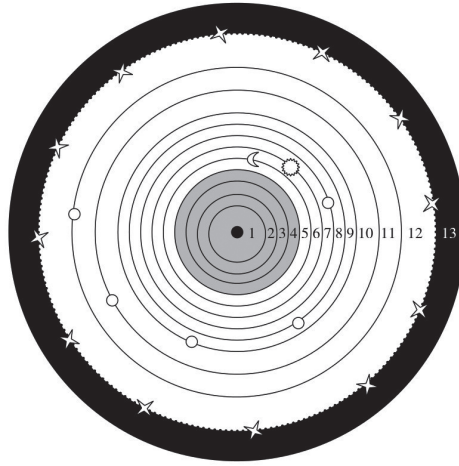
Level	mythical	ontological		mental	epistemic	methodological
high	Thamus-Ammon	ὄντα Beings	ἀλήθεια Truth	μνήμη memory	φρόνησις wisdom	θεωρία contemplation
{pasture from the Plain of Truth} ¹³⁰						
medium	Eros-Pan	θνητά mortals	λόγος discourse	ἀνάμνησις recollection	ἐπιστήμη knowledge	διαλεκτική dialectics
σπέρματα – grains {= nutriment for wings}						
low	Theuth	εἶδωλον copy	βιβλία books	ὑπόμνησις mnemonic	δόξα opin- ion	ῥητορική rhetoric
φάρμακον – drug, Ἀδώνιδος κήποι – the Adonis gardens {= food of opinion}						

Fig. 4: The Neo-Pythagorean interpretation of the Plain of Truth (*Phdr.* 248 b 6)



¹³⁰ The brackets { } indicate references to the chariot myth, cf. fig. 2.

Fig. 5: The astronomical explanation of the leader-gods (*Phdr.* 247 a 2–3)



No.	God	Element	Planet	Muse	Siren	Individual life
●	Hades	–	–	–	–	a tyrant
1	Hestia	Earth	–	–	–	terrestrial animals
2	Poseidon	Water	–	–	–	sea animals
3	Hera	Air	–	–	–	flying animals
4	Hephaestus	Fire	–	?	–	a craftsman
5	Artemis	–	Moon	?	Siren 1	a sophist
6	Apollo	–	Sun	?	Siren 2	a prophet
7	Aphrodite	–	Venus	Erato	Siren 3	a poet
8	Hermes	–	Mercury	Terpsichore	Siren 4	a gymnast
9	Ares	–	Mars	?	Siren 5	a warrior
10	Athena	–	Jupiter	?	Siren 6	a politician
11	Demeter	–	Saturn	Urania	Siren 7	a ruler
12	Zeus	–	Fixed stars	Calliope	Ananke-Adrastea	a philosopher

..... a membrane covering the heaven = *the sub-celestial arch*

13 the Intelligible Realm = *the supra-celestial region, the Plain of Truth, Beings*

Fig. 6: Proclus' theotaxonomy¹³¹

THE ONE (ἓν)	The One – Chronos ¹³²			
	The super-essential Henads			
BEING (οὐστά)	I. The noetic (= intelligible) ennead			
	1. Being – Aether	2. Life – Chaos	3. Mind – Egg	
	4. Embryo	5. Involucre	6. Nimbus	
	7. Phanes	8. Ericepaios	9. Metis	
LIFE (ζωή)	II. The noetic-noeric (= intelligible-and-intellectual) ennead			
	1. Night 1: Colorless, Beautiful, Knowledge	2. Night 2: Shapeless, Wise, Temperance	3. Night 3: Intangible, Good, Justice	
	<i>the supra-celestial place – the kingdom of Adrastea</i>			
	Plain of Truth (light)	meadow and banquet (life)	ambrosia (perfection), nectar (providence)	
	Uranus: the celestial circulation – νόησις (intellection of II 1–3)			
	4. Cyclops 1	5. Cyclops 2	6. Cyclops 3	
	the sub-celestial arch			
	7. Hecatoncheir 1	8. Hecatoncheir 2	9. Hecatoncheir 3	
MIND (νοῦς)	III. The noeric (intellectual) hebdomad			
	paternal triad		immaculate triad	7. separative monad Titans
	1. Cronos	4. Athena		
	2. Rhea-Demeter	5. Core		
	3. Zeus	6. Curetes		
SOUL (ψυχή)	IV. The hypercosmic (ultra-mundane) dodecade = <i>The leader-gods</i>			
	demiurgic triad	vivifying triad	converting triad	immaculate triad
	1. Zeus	4. Artemis	7. Apollo	10. Corybant 1
	2. Pluto	5. Core	8. Helios	11. Corybant 2
	3. Poseidon	6. Athena	9. Mithras?	12. Corybant 3
	V. The hyper-encosmic (= ultra-and-intra-mundane) dodecade. <i>Olympians</i>			
	demiurgic triad	guardian triad	vivifying triad	uplifting triad
	1. <i>Zeus</i>	4. <i>Hestia</i>	7. Demeter	10. Hermes
	2. Poseidon	5. Athena	8. <i>Hera</i>	11. <i>Aphrodite</i>
	3. Hephaestus	6. <i>Ares</i>	9. Artemis	12. <i>Apollo</i>
NATURE (φύσις)	VI. The ensosmic (intra-mundane) gods: fixed stars, planets, <i>Muses</i>			
	VII. The lower gods: <i>Nymphs</i>			
	VIII. The <i>daimons</i>			
	1. angels	2. daemons	3. heroes	
	IX. The partial souls: <i>humans</i>			

¹³¹ The more detailed diagrams and comments are found in BRISSON 2004: 97–100 and CHLUP 2012: 125 ff.

¹³² The **bold type** indicates the Orphic divinities; *italics* – divine names and terms used in the *Phaedrus*; **bold italics** – both Orphic and Platonic names.

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ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

- Agr.* Philo, *De agricultura (On husbandry)*
- Congr.* Philo, *De congressu eruditionis gratia (On mating with the preliminary studies)*
- DBI* L. RYKEN, J. WILHOIT, T. LONGMAN III (eds.), *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, Dohners Grove–Leicester 1998.
- Her.* Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit (Who is the heir of divine things)*
- LA* Philo, *Legum Allegoriae (Allegorical interpretation of Genesis)*
- Mos.* Philo, *De Vita Mosis (Moses)*
- Mut.* Philo, *De mutatione nominum (On the change of names)*
- NIV* P. ZONDERVAN [et al.] (eds.), *The New International Version: An English Translation of the Bible*, Grand Rapids 1973–1978.
- OF* A. BERNABÉ (ed.), *Poetae epici Graeci, testimonia et fragmenta*, II, Fasc. 1–2: *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta*, Monachii et Lipsiae 2004–2005.
- Opif.* Philo, *De opificio mundi (On the account of the world's creation given by Moses)*
- Plant.* Philo, *De plantatione (Concerning Noah's work as a planter)*
- Sobr.* Philo, *De sobrietate (On the prayers and curses uttered by Noah when he became sober)*
- TDNT* G. KITTEL, G. FRIEDRICH, G. W. BROMILEY (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, I–X, Grand Rapids 1964.
- Theol. Plat.* Proclus, *Theologia Platonica (Theology of Plato)*.

CATHAEANS, THE LAND OF SOPEITHES AND A CERTAIN KAI IN STRABO'S *GEOGRAPHY*

by

PRZEMYSŁAW SZCZUREK

ABSTRACT: Having in view a critical analysis of the first sentence of chapter XV 1, 30 of Strabo's *Geography*, the author of the paper refers to the Greek and Latin accounts of a country named Cathaea, its people – the Cathaeans, and a country named the land of Sopeithes, all situated in contemporary Punjab. The comparison of sources, i.e. of the appropriate passages from Diodorus, Curtius Rufus and Strabo, indicates that despite general similarities that can be spotted in the three descriptions of customs of the land of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes, there can also be noticed some significant differences in which Strabo opposes the other accounts. The customs attributed to the people of the land of Sopeithes by Diodorus and Curtius are attributed to Cathaea by Strabo, the latter jointly presenting what is attributed to the two different countries in the other texts. The question arises whether the closer association of the two described countries was intentional in the original account of Strabo. In consequence, the value of modern editors' insertion of the conjunction καί separating both countries in the first sentence of Strabo's description has been questioned.

The starting point for the considerations upon which this paper is based is information about a country named Cathaea (Καθαία – Κάθαια or Καθαία), its people named the Cathaeans (Καθαίοι – Κάθαιοι or Καθαῖοι [cf. Arr. *Anab.* 5.22]) and a country named the land of Sopeithes (Σωπειθης; ἡ Σωπέιθους), as presented by Strabo of Amasea in chapter XV 1, 30 of his *Geography*. The paper has in view a critical approach towards the first sentence of the chapter and a certain emendation which, despite a lack of manuscript evidence, has been accepted by modern editors of Strabo's work.

Strabo's (ca 64/63 BC–ca AD 23/24) geographical compendium, entitled most probably Γεωγραφικά [ὑπομνήματα] (*Geography/Geographical Notes*), consists of 17 books and is, most likely, the first ancient attempt at picturing the world as it was known at the time in a complex way. Moreover, it is the only fully preserved ancient work dedicated to chorography (descriptive geography) with respect to mathematical (physical) geography. Apart from strictly geographical information (such as the size of particular lands, landform features and climate), *Geography* contains a large amount of ethnographic, historical, religious, philological and economic information, communicating a lot about the cultural history

of the people inhabiting the geographical lands being described¹. The author to a large extent based his work on the output of his predecessors – geographers, ethnographers, historians – whose names are frequently referred to. Therefore the work became one of the most significant sources passing on fragments about India which came from authors whose texts had not survived (most fragments come from Nearchus, Onesicritus, Aristobulus and Megasthenes). The first part of book XV (1, 1–72) is dedicated to the description of India.

Chapter XV 1, 30 is a part of geographic, ethnographic and natural description of the lands of the Punjab which were consecutively conquered by Alexander the Great during his major campaign². Strabo describes lands situated between particular rivers of the Punjab, moving in his accounts eastwards from the Indus River³. In chapter XV 1, 28 he mentions, among others, Taxila, a big city located on the land between the Indus and the Hydaspes⁴, whose inhabitants were said to have an outstanding legal system, the fertility of the soil in this region, and the kindly welcome of Alexander by the ruler of the land, named Taxiles, which was returned by the Macedonian invader. There is also a description there of a mountainous territory situated to the north of Taxila. Its ruler, Abisarus, according to Onesicritus' account, used to raise two enormously long snakes. The next chapter (XV 1, 29) provides some brief information about the lands between the rivers Hydaspes and Acesines⁵. First, a vast fertile land is mentioned, ruled by Porus (conquered by Alexander), which was said to comprise about 300 cities. Later on, a forest at the foot of the Emodi Mountains is presented, from which Alexander ordered that a large number of various trees be cut down and floated down the Hydaspes to be used for building ships. Along the banks of the river, near the cities founded by Alexander after defeating Porus, the fleet was built. One of the newly founded cities was named Bucephalia (Βουκεφαλία), in honour of the famous horse of the Macedonian (Bucephalas), which died in the battle against Porus, while another one was named Nicaea (Νίκαια), which was

¹ On Strabo and his work, see e.g. JONES 1917 (vol. I): XI–XLIII; HONIGMANN 1931: 76–155; ALY 1957; DUECK 2000.

² Alexander the Great's campaign in the north-west India lasted approximately two years, from the early summer 327 BC to July 325 (cf. e.g. NARAIN 1965; GREEN 1991: 297–349; NAWOTKA 2010: 295–331).

³ On Indian rivers in Greek and Latin accounts, their ancient Indian and contemporary lexical (toponymic) equivalents, see KARTTUNEN 1997: 109–121.

⁴ Ὑδάσπης, in Claudius Ptolemy (*Geogr.* VII 1, 26): Βιδάσπης (a form closer to old Indian), old Indian names: *Vitastā* (Vedic and Sanskrit; name still in use in the Kashmiri language: *Vyath*, derived from a hypothetical Prakrit form: **Vihatthā*), *Vitaṃsā* (Pāli), contemporary name: *Jhelam* (KARTTUNEN 1997: 113 f.).

⁵ Ἀκεσίνης, in Claudius Ptolemy: Σανδαβάλ (V 25, 5; 29, 2; VI 1, 2, and others; perhaps from: **Σανδαβάγ*), old Indian names: *Candrabhāga* or *Asiknī* (the latter of Vedic origin; hence KARTTUNEN (1997: 114) supposes that the original Greek name might have been **Ἀσεκίνης*, not Ἀκεσίνης), contemporary names: *Chenab* or *Cīnāb*.

to commemorate Alexander's victory (νίκη). The subsequent part of the chapter describes monkeys distinguished by enormously long tails, which inhabited the forest, as well as methods of hunting them.

Chapter XV 1, 30 depicts a land called Cathaea (Κάθαια) and – as it has been assumed – a neighbouring land ruled by Sopeithes (Σωπείθης).

Καὶ τὴν Κάθαιαν δέ τινες <καὶ> τὴν Σωπείθους, τῶν νομαρχῶν τινος, κατὰ τήνδε τὴν μεσοποταμίαν τιθέασιν· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἄκεσίνου πέραν καὶ τοῦ Ἰαρώτιδος, ὁμορον τῇ Πώρου τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὃς ἦν ἀνεπιὸς τοῦ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλόνητος· καλοῦσι δὲ Γανδαρίδα τὴν ὑπὸ τούτῳ χῶραν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Καθαίᾳ καινότατον ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ὅτι τιμᾶται διαφερόντως, ὡς ἵππων καὶ κυνῶν· βασιλέα τε γὰρ τὸν κάλλιστον αἰρεῖσθαι φησὶν Ὀνησίκριτος, γενόμενόν τε παιδίον μετὰ δίμηνον κρίνεσθαι δημοσίᾳ πότερον ἔχοι τὴν ἔννομον μορφήν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἄξιαν ἢ οὐ, κριθέντα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποδειχθέντος ἄρχοντος ζῆν ἢ θανατοῦσθαι· βάπτεσθαι τε πολλοῖς εὐανθεστάτοις χρώμασι τοὺς πώγωνας αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν καλλωπιζομένου· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ποιεῖν ἐπιμελῶς συχνούς τῶν Ἰνδῶν (καὶ γὰρ δὴ φέρειν τὴν χῶραν χροᾶς θαυμαστάς) καὶ θριξὶ καὶ ἐσθῆσι· τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν εὐτελεῖς εἶναι φιλοκόσμους δέ.

Ἰδιον δὲ τῶν Καθαίων καὶ τοῦτο ἱστορεῖται τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συγκατακαίεσθαι τεθνεῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, ὅτι ἐρῶσαι ποτε τῶν νέων ἀφίσταντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ φαρμακεύοιεν αὐτούς· νόμον οὖν θέσθαι τοῦτον ὡς παυσομένης τῆς φαρμακείας· οὐ πιθανῶς μὲν οὖν ὁ νόμος οὐδ' ἡ αἰτία λέγεται.

Some put both Cathaea and the country of Sopeithes, one of the provincial chiefs, between these two rivers⁶, but others on the far side of the Acesines and the Hyarotis⁷, as bordering on the country of the second Porus, who was a cousin⁸ of the Porus captured by Alexander. The country that was subject to him is called Gandaris. As for Cathaea, a most novel regard for beauty there is reported; I mean that it is prized in an exceptional manner, as, for example, for the beauty of its horses and dogs; and, in fact, Onesicritus says that they choose the handsomest person as king, and that a child is judged in public after it is two months old as to whether it has the beauty of form required by law and is worthy to live or not; and that when it is judged by the appointed magistrate it is allowed to live or is put to death; and that the men dye their beards with many most florid colours for the sole reason that they wish to beautify themselves; and that this practice is carefully followed by numerous other Indian peoples also (for the country produces marvellous colours, he says), who dye both their hair and their garments; and that the people, though shabby in every other way, are fond of adornment.

The following too is reported as a custom peculiar to the Cathaeans: the groom and bride choose one another themselves, and wives are burned up with their deceased husbands for a reason of this kind – that they sometimes fell in love with young

⁶ I.e. between Hydaspes and Acesines.

⁷ Ἰαρώτις, in Arrian: Ὑδραρώτης, in Curtius Rufus: *Hiarotis*, in Claudius Ptolemy (VII 1, 26 f.): Ἀρουάδις (? the place corrupted); old Indian name: *Airāvātī* (Vedic: *Paruṣṇī*), contemporary name: *Ravi* (KARTTUNEN 1997: 115).

⁸ Or “nephew”.

men and deserted their husbands or poisoned them; and therefore the Cathaeans established this as a law, thinking that they would put a stop to the poisoning. However, the law is not stated in a plausible manner, nor the cause of it either.

Strabo XV 1, 30 (= Onesicritus, *FGrHist* 134, F 21), transl. by H.L. JONES

Strabo sums up his story in this chapter with information about the land's natural resources (huge amounts of rock-salt, gold and silver mines) by referring (as far as the information about gold and silver mines is concerned) to the account given by a miner named Gorgos (ὡς ἐδήλωσε Γόργος ὁ μεταλλευτής). Moreover, Strabo comments upon the poor experience of the people of India in mining and metallurgy.

The next chapter, XV 1, 31, describes unusual features of dogs in the country of Sopeithes (the geographer refers here generally to his predecessors, διηγούνται – “they tell”). The Indian ruler presented Alexander with 150 dogs, a few of which were put to a peculiar sort of test. Two dogs were chosen to fight against a lion but, as they could not succeed, two other were released, and then the forces were balanced. Sopeithes ordered one of the dogs to be pulled back by holding its paw. If the dog was disobedient, the paw was to be cut off (initial protests of Alexander were overcome). The dog's stubbornness and its virulence in fighting were proved by the fact that it was not possible to stop it biting the lion even though its paw was being cut off.

Chapter XV 1, 30 of Strabo's *Geography* was classified by Felix JACOBY in his monumental work *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (*FGrHist*), though not without doubts, as a fragment of a lost work on Alexander the Great's life and activity by Onesicritus of Asypalaea (*FGrHist* 134, F 21) who took part in Alexander's Indian campaign as one of his officers⁹.

⁹ JACOBY 1929: 730. Edition of Onesicritus' fragments: JACOBY 1929 (vol. II B): 723–736 (No. 134); commentary: JACOBY 1930 (vol. II D): 468–480. – KROLL (1919: 2513) and later BROWN (1949: 52, 75) are right, as it seems, to doubt the assumption that Strabo's chapter XV 1, 30 was based entirely on the lost work of Onesicritus. In his edition of the fragments of Onesicritus, JACOBY (1929: 730 f.) expressed his uncertainty regarding Onesicritus' authorship of the second part of the chapter by printing it in smaller type. Earlier, TRÜDINGER (1918: 72–74) inferred from Onesicritus also this second part, the one referring to widow-burning. Analysing the whole chapter one must state that the influence of some other source or sources cannot be excluded (cf. esp. BROWN 1949: 52; see also below in this paper). While in the initial part of the chapter Strabo refers directly to Onesicritus (φησιν Ὀνησίκριτος), he uses the impersonal *verbum regens* (ιστορεῖται) when giving information about the mutual free choice of spouses and widow-burning among the Cathaeans. On the other hand, the same impersonal form appears at the end of the chapter where Strabo refers to Gorgus the miner as a source of his information. – PEARSON (1960: 62) draws attention to the fact that Strabo, having referred to Onesicritus by name in XV 1, 30, does not refer to other authors in subsequent chapters until three chapters later (XV 1, 33), where he refers to Onesicritus by name again (PEARSON'S observation is not accurate enough). Moreover, he suggests that the whole description in XV 1, 30 can be acknowledged as consistent with Onesicritus' style. – In the text of Diodorus Siculus XVII 91, independent of Strabo's, widow-burning among the Cathaeans has been mentioned in a similar context. Although both authors treat their sources a little differently (i.e. they attribute customs unlike, on the one hand, to the Cathaeans, and on the other hand, to the inhabitants of the Sopeithes'

The sentence from the second part of chapter XV 1, 30, expressing a sceptical view on both the law laid down among the Cathaeans (burning widows along with their dead husbands) and its cause (poisoning by women) should, most probably, be attributed to Strabo himself, who comments on information from Onesicritus in such a way. It can be supposed that Strabo, though he cites information from the historian of Alexander, is not uncritical of it. This type of ambiguous approach towards Onesicritus was expressed a little earlier, in chapter XV 1, 28¹⁰. Generally speaking, ambiguity in Strabo's attitude to Onesicritus is noticeable. On the one hand, his work was quite severely criticized¹¹, but on the other hand it is in Strabo's work where most fragments of this author can be found (STRASBURGER 1939: 467)¹².

According to the account attributed by Strabo to Onesicritus, it was the Cathaeans custom to cherish beauty and choose the most attractive person to be king, to carry out public judgment and the selection of newly born children. Moreover, it was the Cathaeans men who dyed their beards as well as decorated

land; see below), most information on these topics in both Diodorus and Strabo, and above all on widow-burning among the Cathaeans, can be derived from one author, i.e. originally from Onesicritus (in Diodorus via Cleitarchus of Colophon). The information about the Cathaeans presented in Arrian (*Anab.* V 22–24) is considerably different from that of Strabo. Arrian based his information on another Alexandrian source (Ptolemy) and did not mention the concrementation of widows with their dead husbands. Information about Indian widow-burning which is quite different from that in chapter XV 1, 30 can be found in chapter XV 1, 62 of Strabo, which is not based on Onesicritus as a source but undoubtedly on Aristobulus. This later chapter contains a statement (most probably by Strabo himself) that the custom is also described by other authors, which may imply additionally that Onesicritus took up the topic as well. (The topic of widow-burning was probably not undertaken at all by two of the other most important historians of Alexander, Ptolemy and Nearchus, who were frequently cited by Arrian in both *The Anabasis of Alexander* and the *Indika*.) Although it is not entirely certain, a lot seems to indicate that the original information about widow-burning among the Cathaeans (which is to be found in the second part of Strabo's chapter XV 1, 30) can be attributed to Onesicritus. On the other hand, there are some other, supplementary sources that may be indicated in chapter XV 1, 30, see below (esp. p. 131–132 with n. 35).

¹⁰ “Above this country in the mountains lies the country of Abisarus, who, according to the ambassadors that came from him, kept two serpents, one eighty cubits in length and another one hundred and forty, according to Onesicritus, who cannot so properly be called arch-pilot of Alexander as of things that are incredible; for though all the followers of Alexander preferred to accept the marvellous rather than the true, Onesicritus seems to surpass all those followers of his in the telling of prodigies. However, he tells some things that are both plausible and worthy of mention, and therefore they are not passed by in silence even by one who disbelieves them. At any rate, others too speak of the serpents, saying that they are caught in the Emodi mountains and kept in caves” (transl. by H.L. JONES).

¹¹ Apart from Strabo XV 1, 28 (*FGrHist* 134, T 10), see also II 1, 9 (T 11), XV 1, 12 (Arr., *Ind.* III 6; F 6), XV 1, 33 (F 26).

¹² On the reconstruction of facts from Onesicritus' life and work, based on the analysis of testimonies (T) about the author and his work, and on surviving fragments (F), see first of all: JACOBY 1929 (vol. II B): 723–736 (No. 134); commentary: JACOBY 1930 (vol. II D): 468–480; STRASBURGER 1939: 460–467; PEARSON 1960: 83–111; BROWN 1949 (esp. pp. 1–23); PÉDECH 1984: 71–151; WI-NIARCZYK 2007 (with detailed bibliography).

and made themselves beautiful; both men and women of Cathaeans were free to choose spouses for themselves, and widows were burnt on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands¹³.

A few available ancient sources describe the Cathaeans as one of the tribes of ancient Punjab, conquered by Alexander. Their territory was to be situated on the area between the eastern tributaries of the Indus River. It is a bit difficult to precisely situate the land. The above cited passage of Strabo (XV 1, 30) does not provide accurate data. Basing on various sources (τινες ... ἄλλοι), Strabo situates the land of the Cathaeans as well as the land of Sopeithes either between the rivers Hydaspes and Acesines, which would make them the neighbours of Porus, the ruler conquered by Alexander, or more to the east, on the area between the rivers Acesines and Hyarotis. In the latter case, the Cathaeans would be neighbours of a country called Gandaris (Γανδαρίς) which was to be ruled by another Porus, a relative of the conquered one¹⁴. Neither is the location of the Cathaeans' country precisely defined in another source mentioning the people, Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library* (XVII 91) who, as may be concluded from his account, situates them to the east of Acesines¹⁵. Arrian in his historical work *The Anabasis of Alexander* (V 22), locates the people (Καθαῖοι) still further to the east, compared to Strabo and Diodorus, i.e. to the east of the river Hydraotes (in Strabo: Hyarotis, cf. n. 7), in the area of a three-day walk away from the river, hence

¹³ To retain the clarity of argument in the paper and not to distract the reader's attention too much from the main point, I do not make any attempts at identifying the cited customs in Indian reality by means of, for instance, a confrontation of those customs with information contained in ancient Indian literature. Therefore, only Greek and Latin sources on the Cathaeans are presented in the paper. Also, a review of modern attempts to identify the Cathaeans has been skipped. These issues have been undertaken in another work (see SZCZUREK 2013).

¹⁴ The lack of precision must also be noticed if one of Strabo's earlier chapters (XV 1, 26) is referred to. There, the geographer mentions Gandaritis (though not Gandaris) as a land or a city situated to the west of the Indus river between its western tributaries (Cophes/Copen and Choaspes; cf. KARTTUNEN 1997: 112), that is much more to the west/north-west than the territory described in chapter XV 1, 30. – It would be crucial to answer the question which land Strabo, or perhaps the author(s) of his source(s) considered to be Gandaris in XV 1, 30. Perhaps he did not mean Gandhara (Gāndhāra), the land in north-west Punjab, but the territory of the south-east Punjab, the land between Acesines and Hyarotis ruled by the second Porus. According to Diodorus Siculus XVII 91, the second Porus (in Diodorus described also as a relative of the earlier defeated Porus), while fleeing from Alexander, left his realm and took shelter in the land of a people called Gandaridae (the inhabitants of Gandaris). To flee Alexander, Porus had to move eastwards.

¹⁵ The account about the Cathaeans and then about the land of Sopeithes in book XVII of Diodorus is set in the context of a historical description of Alexander the Great's Indian campaign. Defeating the Cathaeans is one of its subsequent stages, after crossing the Hydaspes and defeating Porus (XVII 87–89). Chapter 90 informs the reader, among others, that Alexander crossed a river (most probably the Acesines is meant) after he had defeated Porus and subordinated the latter's would-be ally Sosibares. The beginning of chapter 91 describes the conquest of the land of the second Porus (who left his realm), the subordination of a people called Adrestoi and the military expedition against the Cathaeans.

between the rivers Hydraotes and Hyphasis (Strabo: Hypanis), the most eastern big tributary of the Indus River¹⁶. Also in Arrian (V 22–24), who based his account of the Cathaeans on a lost account by another of Alexander's historians, Ptolemy, son of Lagus (*FGrHist* 138, F 35), one can find a detailed description of the fights between Alexander's army and the Indian people¹⁷. The Cathaeans, defined there as the bravest and most valiant among the Indian tribes, resisted the invaders in front of the city walls of their capital, Sangala (Σάγγαλα)¹⁸. Over there, on the hill, they were defending themselves, first, behind a triple row of wagons put up together like a barricade, later on, after this fortification had been overcome, they took refuge within the city walls. When they eventually realized that the city could not be defended successfully, they tried to leave it at night but were stopped by the Macedonian cavalry. As a result of the city's siege (during which the Cathaeans repeated their night attack unsuccessfully) and taking it by storm, in which Alexander's army was supported by Porus' troops, the city was captured and razed to the ground. According to Arrian's account, the fights resulted in the death of around 17 000 Indian defenders and about 70 000 were taken prisoners, while Alexander lost 100 people and further 1 200 were wounded.

A short and general mention of the capture and destruction of the Cathaeans' main fortress can be found in Diodorus Siculus (XVII 91, 4), and a little more developed description (compared to Diodorus) in Curtius Rufus IX 1, 13–18, but the account lacks the proper names (see below)¹⁹.

In Strabo's text the country of Cathaea is closely associated with that ruled by Sopeithes. The uncertainty connected with the manuscript transmission of the text made the Greek scholar Adamantios KORAIIS, editor of Strabo's work at the beginning of the nineteenth century, introduce the conjunction *καί* into the first sentence of chapter XV 1, 30, which helped to more precisely separate the lands of Cathaea and Sopeithes in Strabo's *Geography*²⁰. The sentence, already quoted

¹⁶ "Υπανις – in Strabo, Diodorus (II 37), Dionysius Periegetes (and in later Latin sources); "Υφασις – in Arrian (also in Diodorus XVII 93 and Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* III 1); Βιβάσις – in Claudius Ptolemy (VII 1, 26); *Hypasis* – in Latin sources of Curtius Rufus and Pliny the Elder. Ancient Indian name: *Vīpāsā* (Ved. *Ārjīkīya*); contemporary name: *Satlej / Beas, Bīās*. See KARTTUNEN 1997: 115.

¹⁷ Arrian owes the detailed military and tactical data which he included while describing the fights against the Cathaeans most probably to Ptolemy (cf. e.g. PEARSON 1960: 202–204).

¹⁸ On similarities of this name to Indian (Sanskrit and Prakrit) toponyms, and on the proposal concerning the identification of Sangala, see KARTTUNEN 1997: 52 with n. 190.

¹⁹ A summarized version of the fights between Alexander and the Cathaeans can also be found in the work on the history of military science entitled *Stratagems in War* IV 3, 30, by Polyaeus (prob. II cent. AD). Because of the nature of Polyaeus' work, the short passage about the Cathaeans contains only general military information, whereas nothing is said about the people's customs.

²⁰ KORAIIS 1815–1819. The Greek scholar argues that it was a mistake of copyists of Strabo's manuscripts, and not of Strabo himself, that is behind the combining of the two countries. See Korais' explanatory note to his conjecture (KORAIIS 1819: 312–313): *Καί τὴν Σωπειθούς. Ἐτέραν εἶναι τὴν Σωπειθούς χώραν τῆς Καθαίας ἐδήλωσα τῇ προσθήκῃ τοῦ συνδέσμου, ἀπολύσαι βουλόμενος*

above, is as follows: Καὶ τὴν Κάθαιαν δέ τινες <καὶ> τὴν Σωπειθους, τῶν νομαρχῶν τινος, κατὰ τήνδε τὴν μεσοποταμίαν τιθέασιν... and, as KROLL (1919: 2512) among others has remarked, the second conjunction καί, inserted by KORAIIS, may be justified by the comparison of Strabo's text to that of Diodorus XVII 91. This conjecture was accepted by subsequent editors²¹. The basic question which I would like to address in the present paper concerns the textual value of this conjecture.

In comparative studies of the sources (in comparison to Strabo's chapters XV 1, 30–31), it is Diodorus Siculus (1st cent. BC) who should be the first to be taken under consideration. In chapters XVII 91–92, Diodorus separated the information about the Cathaeans and the land of Sopeithes more clearly, the two countries/regions being depicted as distinct. In XVII 91 he first briefly mentions Alexander's campaign against the people neighbouring the Cathaeans and situated, most probably, to the west or north-west of the Cathaeans (the land ruled by the second Porus, the relative of the previously conquered Porus, and the people named Adrestians, XVII 91,1–2). Right after that, Diodorus goes on to mention the fights against the Cathaeans and this is where he mentions the custom of concremation of widows with their dead husbands.

[2] Αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἀδρεστῶν καλουμένων ἔθνος στρατεύσας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἃς μὲν βία χειρωσάμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγαγόμενος εἰς τὴν τῶν Καθαίων χώραν παρεγένετο. [3] παρὰ δὲ τούτοις νόμιμον ἦν τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσι συγκατακαίεσθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐκυρώθη τὸ δόγμα παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις διὰ μίαν γυναῖκα φαρμάκοις ἀνελοῦσαν τὸν ἄνδρα. [4] ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς τὴν μεγίστην καὶ ὀχυρωτάτην πόλιν μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐνέπρησεν. ἄλλην δ' ἀξιόλογον πολιορκούντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἱκετηρίων δεηθέντων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀπέλυσε τῶν κινδύνων αὐτούς.

He [Alexander] campaigned against the people known as the Adrestians, and got possession of their cities, partly by force and partly by agreement. Then he came into the country of the Cathaeans, among whom it was the custom for wives to be cremated together with the husbands. This law has been put into effect there because of a woman who had killed her husband with poison. Here he captured their greatest and strongest city after much fighting and burned it. He was in process of besieging another notable city when the Indians came to him with suppliant branches and he spared them further attack.

Diod. Sic. XVII 91, 2–4, transl. by C.B. WELLES

τὸν Στράβωνα ἧς ἠτιάσαντό τινες αὐτὸν εὐχερείας, ὡς συγχέοντα τὰς δύο χώρας εἰς μίαν. Τῶν γὰρ ἀντιγραφῶν εἶναι τὸ ἀμάρτημα δηλοῦσιν ἀναμφιλέκτως τὰ ἐπόμενα, Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καθαίᾳ, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰ (σελ. 101), Ἐν τῇ Σωπειθους χώρᾳ. (I am grateful to Mr. Antoine Haaker for sending me the copy of this note of KORAIIS.)

²¹ See above all: KRAMER 1852 (vol. III): 203; MÜLLER, DÜBNER 1853: 596; MEINEKE 1904 (vol. III): 974; JONES 1930 (vol. VII): 50; RADT 2005 (vol. IV): 174.

In the later part of the chapter, Diodorus describes the next stage of Alexander's Indian campaign, i.e. the one aimed at conquering the cities ruled by Sopeithes, which gives him the opportunity to give an account of the customs established in this country (XVII 91, 4–8). It is while characterizing the people of Sopeithes' country – unlike Strabo, who attributed similar information to the Cathaeans – that Diodorus describes their love of beauty and their subordination of all the activities of the country to gain fame (δόξα). In connection with this, Diodorus later on describes the specific selection of newly-born children, where the criteria are bodily beauty and fitness, and speaks of killing those who are physically flawed. The next characteristic that is mentioned refers to conjugal practices also in the land of Sopeithes – spouses are matched according to their beauty and physical values rather than the dowry and other financial advantages. The chapter ends with remarks about the good looks and outstanding height of Sopeithes, and about his peaceful submission to Alexander who, in turn, gave Sopeithes his direct reign back²². The next chapter (XVII 92) is dedicated to describing the unusual hunting qualities of Indian dogs in the land of Sopeithes and the extraordinary spectacle organized by Sopeithes for Alexander to demonstrate the quality of the dogs given to Alexander (a fight of two and, later, four dogs against a lion). Their stubbornness in the fight and resistance to pain was exemplified by a dog whose paw was cut off to pull it back from the fight and thus to level the chances. The dog, however, did not stop biting the wild animal

²² Diodorus XVII 91, 4–8: [4] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ Σωπειθῶν τεταγμένας πόλεις, εὐνομούμενας καθ' ὑπερβολήν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα πρὸς δόξαν πολιτεύονται καὶ τὸ κάλλος παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωτάτον νενόμισται. [5] διόπερ ἐκ νηπίου παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ βρέφη διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρτια καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντα πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ ἰσχύν εὐθετον τρέφεται, τὰ δὲ καταδεῆ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀνάξια τροφῆς ἡγούμενοι διαφθείρουσιν. [6] ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς γάμους ποιοῦνται προικὸς μὲν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολυτελείας ἀφροντιστοῦντες, κάλλους δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπεροχῆς μόνον φροντίζοντες. [7] διόπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατοικούντων διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιώμασιν. παρὰ δὲ πάντας ὁ βασιλεὺς Σωπειθῆς περιβλεπτός ὢν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ μήκει τοὺς τέτταρας πήχεις ὑπεράγων προῆλθε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἐχούσης τὰ βασίλεια, παραδοὺς δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πάλιν ταύτην ἀπέλαβε διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπιείκειαν. [8] ὁ δὲ Σωπειθῆς μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε. (“Next he undertook a campaign against the cities under the rule of Sopeithes. These are exceedingly well-governed. All the functions of this state are directed towards the acquiring of good repute, and beauty is valued there more than anything. From birth, their children are subjected to a process of selection. Those who are well formed and designed by nature to have a fine appearance and bodily strength are reared, while those who are bodily deficient are destroyed as not worth bringing up. So they plan their marriages without regard to dower or any other financial consideration, but consider only beauty and physical excellence. In consequence, most of the inhabitants of these cities enjoy a higher reputation than those elsewhere. Their king Sopeithes was strikingly handsome and tall beyond the rest, being over four cubits in height. He came out of his capital city and gave over himself and his kingdom to Alexander, but received it back through the kindness of the conqueror. Sopeithes with great goodwill feasted the whole army bountifully for several days” [transl. by C.B. WELLES].)

and died with its fangs sunk into the lion's body. This chapter is reminiscent, of course, of Strabo's chapter XV 1, 31 (see above).

In his work *Historiarum Alexandri Magni libri X* (IX 1, 24–30), the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st cent. AD) presents the customs established in the land of Sopeithes (in Curtius – Sophites) in a very similar way. His account does not mention the Cathaeans by name at all. Curtius Rufus is more detailed than Diodorus in his description of the fights led by Alexander before entering Sopeithes' realm. It is to be found in the section preceding the description of the meeting with Sopeithes and the account of the customs characteristic of his land (IX 1, 13–23). Having crossed the river Hyarotis, the invading army fought most fiercely nearby the biggest city of the region against people who initially defended themselves in front of the city walls, throwing missiles from wagons arranged in a row and attached to one another. After the defenders' resistance was crushed and after they had suffered a severe loss of life (8 000 were killed), the remaining defenders retreated behind the city walls, which were overcome the following day. The city was captured and plundered, and a few refugees took the terrifying news to the neighbouring cities that an invincible army had invaded the land (IX 1, 14–18)²³. Curtius names neither the land where this part of Alexander's campaign took place nor the people or the city. However, the comparison of his description to the equivalent passage by Arrian (*Anab.* V 22–24), where a similar though much longer and more detailed description is presented, containing proper names as well (cf. above), allows for an assumption that Curtius' description refers to the people called the Cathaeans and their capital/biggest city – Sangala. The basic similarities between Arrian's and Curtius' descriptions can be noted in the similarity of location (to the east of the river Hyarotis) and the military tactics of the defenders. They first defended themselves against the invaders in front of the city walls on wagons arranged in a row and then, after Alexander's troops had overcome the barricade, within the city walls, ending with the capture and destruction of the city and the neighbouring area²⁴.

²³ Curt. IX 1, 14–18: “Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, non muro solum sed etiam palude munitam. Ceterum barbari vehiculis inter se iunctis dimicaturi occurrerunt; tela aliis hastae, aliis secures erant, transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. Ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur. Deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi repugnantes fodere coeperunt. Et vincula, quis conserta erant, iussit incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque VIII milibus suorum amissis in oppidum refugerunt. Postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas saluti fuit, qui cognito urbis excidio paludem transnavere <et> in vicina oppida ingentem intulere terrorem, invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenisse memorantes”.

²⁴ Of course, one cannot disregard a good number of differences which appear while comparing the two narratives. Among them are: (1) Curtius' account contains information about a marsh spreading out in front of the city walls and protecting the city, which Arrian does not speak about; (2) Arrian speaks of a triple row of wagons, which is not to be found in Curtius who, in turn, includes information – not confirmed by Arrian – about the wagons being tied to each other and about the

While considering comparable passages from the texts by Diodorus Siculus and Curtius Rufus, in particular the ones referring to the events right before Alexander's entering the land of Sopeithes (Diod. XVII 91, 1–4; Curt. IX 1, 13–23), three basic differences are noticeable. Curtius does not use the name 'Cathaeans'. He does not mention the funeral customs of the Cathaeans (widow self-immolation), which Diodorus does. In Diodorus' text the military events following one another are described much more briefly. The actual events, however, seem to describe the same historical facts (the same moment in Alexander's Indian campaign) and appear to be depicted in approximately the same order (Alexander's campaign right before the fights with the Cathaeans, the most severe battles in the region against the Cathaeans – who are not mentioned by name by Curtius, the capture and destruction of their biggest city, the partial plundering of the neighbouring area, the surrender of other cities without a fight). As for the very next passages from Diodorus and Curtius, referring to Sopeithes, his land and its customs, an unusual similarity can be observed in the descriptions included by both authors (especially with regard to the ethnographic aspect), despite a few differences in detail²⁵. What is striking here is the same order of the particular parts of the narrative in both authors:

- expressing a general opinion about the unique laws and customs in the realm of Sopeithes, as compared to other peoples of the region (Diod. XVII 91, 4; Curt. IX 1, 24),
- the way newly-born children are treated – their evaluation and the killing of the weak and bodily crippled (Diod. XVII 91, 5; Curt. IX 1, 25),

defenders who deftly jumped among them; (3) Arrian mentions the night sallies of the defenders when the attackers were forcing the city walls, which Curtius gives no account of; (4) in the latter's description the city was captured much faster, that is on the second day after the wagon barricade was overcome; (5) both authors give different numbers – Curtius speaks about the loss of defenders during the fights before the city walls while Arrian speaks generally about the dead and wounded on both sides after the city was captured; (6) Arrian includes precise information about the burning of the city and taking defenders captives, which cannot be found in Curtius (his account, however, evokes a picture of huge devastation caused by the invaders' army after they defeated the heroic defenders).

²⁵ Curt. IX 1, 24–30: “[24] Hinc in regnum Sophitis perventum est. Gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellit bonisque moribus regitur. [25] Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est. Si quos insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari iubent. [26] Nuptiis coeunt non genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia eadem aestimatur in liberis. [27] Huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admovent copias, ab ipso Sophite obtinebatur. Clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae an fraude se occulerent, [28] cum subito patefacta porta rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. [29] Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat; aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas; lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant. [30] Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli. Baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito precatus, ut sospes acciperet, se liberosque et gentem suam dedit”. – For the text of Diodorus Siculus, see n. 22 above.

- the manner of getting married (the main criterion for selecting a spouse being good looks), which, according to both authors, is connected with the way babies are treated (Diod. XVII 91, 6; Curt. IX 1, 26),
- Sopeithes' coming out of the city walls (the ruler's beauty standing out against others), his surrender to Alexander (Diod. XVII 91, 7–8; Curt. IX 1, 27–30)²⁶,
- the description of unusual features of the hunting dogs in Sopeithes' country (stubbornness when fighting, resistance to pain), the demonstration of these features to Alexander (Diod. XVII 92; Curt. IX 1, 31–33).

The conspicuous parallelism of the two passages, already observed by scholars²⁷, has to lead to a conclusion that both authors must have referred here to the same source. According to the most probable hypothesis, based primarily on the study of Diodorus' prose, both authors directly used the lost history of Alexander by Cleitarchus of Colophon, an author most probably one generation younger than the historians of Alexander (and not taking part in Alexander's campaign); Cleitarchus, in turn, used Onesicritus' work as his main source²⁸.

The differences in the descriptions of the Cathaeans given by Diodorus and Curtius induce two kinds of speculations. Firstly, an assumption occurs that in the part referring to the fights against the Cathaeans, Curtius (IX 1, 13–18) supplemented Cleitarchus' (Onesicritus') text with an additional reference to the account given by Ptolemy (*FGrHist* 138, F 35 = Arr. *Anab.* V 22–24), one of the main historians of Alexander, whose now lost work was used copiously by Arrian, particularly when giving tactical details of Alexander's campaign. The details might have been absent from Cleitarchus' account and, therefore, they are not included in that of Diodorus. One can even suppose that in the part concerning the Cathaeans, Curtius replaced Cleitarchus' (Onesicritus') account with that of Ptolemy, though abridging the text considerably. Neither Curtius nor Arrian – unlike Diodorus – mention the unusual funeral customs of the Cathaeans. The second hypothesis would suggest that it was Diodorus who, based on his source (i.e. on Cleitarchus, whose work was also the base for Curtius), significantly abridged the description of the fights between Alexander and the Cathaeans, omitting military details and reducing information about the conquest of the Cathaeans to a minimum.

²⁶ Curtius describes events connected with Sopeithes' surrender in a more detailed way, highlighting the dramatic aspects of narration in his account. Also, he thoroughly describes the richly decorated attire which the Indian ruler was wearing during his first meeting with Alexander. Both authors remark that Alexander gave Sopeithes back his realm, allowing him direct control (Diod. XVII 91, 7; Curt. IX 1, 35).

²⁷ FRANKEL 1883: 397–399; TRÜDINGER 1918: 73; JACOBY 1921: 653; LENS TUERO 1994: 24 f. with n. 7.

²⁸ Cf. JACOBY 1921: 629, 653; JACOBY 1930 (*FGrHist* II D): 469, 471, 484; STRASBURGER 1939: 466; BROWN 1949: 6, 10 f., 55, 91 f., 106, 118 f.; PEARSON 1960: 225; GOUKOWSKY 1976: XXX; LENS TUERO 1994: 29.

On the grounds of the preserved literary evidence it is, first of all, possible to speculate about two different accounts of the Cathaeans in the original sources, i.e. in the lost works of Alexander's historians²⁹. The first source, Ptolemy, comprehensively depicted the fights between Alexander and the Cathaeans, an 'autonomous' people according to Arrian (i.e. independent, not having a king; αὐτόνομοι – Arr. *Anab.* V 22, 1; cf. n. 36 below), including a description of the capture and destruction of their biggest city, Sangala, as well as a description of fights against the neighbouring people who were the Cathaeans' allies. Here, no unusual customs of the Cathaeans were mentioned, nor was the neighbouring realm of Sopeithes (it was briefly referred to by Arrian in another place and in a different context)³⁰. In the second source, Cleitarchus of Colophon (Onesicritus), military information was taken much less into consideration (cf. Curtius) or just briefly (cf. Diodorus) while information connected with ethnography and social history, laws, institutions, unusual customs, and outstanding animals was highlighted, on the one hand, among the Cathaeans (funeral customs), on the other hand, in the land of Sopeithes (the love for fame and beauty, the evaluation and selection of the newly born children, conjugal customs, and characteristics of hunting dogs). The authors of the preserved accounts, whose information was taken from the first or the second original source – Arrian, on the one hand, Diodorus and Curtius, on the other hand – clearly separate the land of the Cathaeans (though, as it has been stressed, Curtius does not name the people) from the land of Sopeithes. This conspicuous separation places Strabo's text (XV 1, 30) in a sort of opposition, which leads to the assumption that his account has a separate place among those about the Cathaeans and the land of Sopeithes.

When the texts of Diodorus Siculus (XVII 91–92) and Curtius Rufus (IX 1, 13–35) are compared to Strabo's account (XV 1, 30–31), general similarities can be spotted in the descriptions of customs established in the land of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes. A considerable number of the same or similar pieces of information contained in those accounts, presented in similar contexts, trace most of the information back to one, common source. The direct hints given by Strabo allow for an assumption that originally the source was Onesicritus, even though Diodorus and Curtius obtained information contained in Onesicritus not directly but via Cleitarchus of Colophon (cf. n. 28). The best example of conformity and considerable similarities in the accounts of the three authors is the information about the outstanding features of hunting dogs in the land of Sopeithes (Diod. XVII 92; Curt. IX 1, 31–33; Strab. XV 1, 31). In spite of a few differences in

²⁹ Cf. LENS TUERO 1994: 23 f.

³⁰ Describing the fights between Alexander and the Cathaeans (*Anab.* V 22–24), Arrian does not mention the land of Sopeithes nor the ruler himself, but makes reference to the land of Sopeithes in another part of his work (*Anab.* VI 2), in the context of the journey of Alexander's army across Hydaspes (and later on along the Indus to its mouth).

details, it would be difficult to doubt the hypothesis about there having originally been one common source of all the accounts³¹.

However, in chapters directly preceding the sections about Indian dogs, significant differences can be noticed in the descriptions of the land of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes as given by Diodorus and Curtius, on the one hand, and by Strabo, on the other³². This refers mostly to attributing certain customs to particular people. While the reference to the Cathaeans with regard to widow-burning is shared by Diodorus and Strabo (Curtius does not mention it at all, as has been remarked above), and the origin of imposing the custom as a law onto Cathaeans women (men being poisoned by women) is presented similarly by the authors, the customs connected with cherishing beauty, public selection of babies and getting married were attributed differently: Diodorus and Curtius connect them with the land of Sopeithes while in Strabo they are related to the Cathaeans. There are also conspicuous further detailed differences in the descriptions, different attributions of the issues being described as well as dissimilarities within

³¹ JACOBY (1930 [Vol. II D]: 477, 518 f.) claims that the original account of the fight between dogs and the lion should not be attributed to Onesicritus and suggests that it was Aristobulus who could have been its author. Such a hypothesis is most probably based on a particular fragment of Aristobulus (*FGrHist* 139, F 40, from Pseud. Plut. *pro Nobilitate* 19) in which the historian of Alexander describes the courage and tenacity of Indian dogs (though with no reference to the country of Sopeithes). The author of this paper is, however, skeptical about denying Onesicritus the authorship of Indian dogs description in the three discussed places and contexts (in Diodorus, Curtius and Strabo; in the country of Sopeithes). Strabo does not cite any particular source, but writes generally: "Writers narrate (διηγοῦνται) also the excellent qualities of the dogs in the country of Sopeithes", which neither points at nor excludes Onesicritus. Instead, this indicates that the description of the famous dogs in the country of Sopeithes could have been found in more than one Alexander historian. As has been remarked, the considerable general similarity of the descriptions in Diodorus, Curtius and Strabo, and most of all the very similar sequence of the elements of descriptions (with the description of Indian dogs in Sopeithes' country right after the ethnographical reports of the Cathaeans and the country of Sopeithes), indicates that all the three accounts refer to one common original source. The source parallelism is best seen in Diodorus' and Curtius' texts, as shown above. This parallelism, in no small measure, refers also to the part preceding the description of the outstanding qualities of the dogs, and strengthens the hypothesis about the attribution of the whole description of both lands (i.e. that of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes) to one common source. On the one hand, it is hardly questionable that both Diodorus and Curtius followed Cleitarchus as their main source in this place (as in other parts of their descriptions of Alexander's Indian campaign). On the other hand, it is hardly probable that Cleitarchus made use of Aristobulus; quite the opposite, Aristobulus wrote late enough to make use of Cleitarchus (see SCHWARTZ 1896: 913–918; BROWN 1949: 91 with n. 84; cf. PEARSON 1960: 152–154). Cleitarchus made use of Onesicritus as his main source. I do not find reasons which can justify denying Onesicritus (Cleitarchus) the authorship of the story about the hunting dogs in the land of Sopeithes. (By the way, Aristobulus' original account of widow burning (Strabo XV 1, 62 = *FGrHist* 139, F 42) was presented otherwise and in a different context than the customs practiced by the Cathaeans, from the account attributed to Onesicritus (Strabo XV 1, 30 = *FGrHist* 134, F 21).

³² Cf. also LENS TUERO 1994: 24–26.

the descriptions of the land of Sopeithes themselves. Here, again, both Diodorus and Curtius oppose Strabo³³.

The geographic and ethnographic account presented by Strabo in XV 1, 30 was enriched with information absent from the accounts of both Diodorus and Curtius. Strabo mentions that the Cathaeans beautify themselves by dyeing their beards, this information being extended (with an additional mention of dyeing hair and clothes) to other Indian people. Similar information about the love for a variety of colours and the custom of dyeing beards is given by another historian of Alexander, Nearchus of Crete (*FGrHist* 133, F 11 = *Arr. Ind.* 16, 1–4)³⁴. This was considered by BROWN (1949: 52) as a hint that the information must have been passed down by an eye-witness (it is possible that in the case of Strabo the eye-witness was Onesicritus himself, especially as the syntax of this part of the text may indicate Onesicritus' authorship). Towards the end of chapter XV 1, 30, Strabo mentions a mountain of rock-salt in the land of Sopeithes, which could supply all India with salt, and magnificent mines of gold and silver, pointing at Gorgus a miner as the source of this information (*FGrHist* 721, F 13). He also speaks about the lack of experience in mining and metallurgy among the Indians. None of the information can be found in Diodorus or Curtius in their descriptions of Sopeithes' land.

The comparison of details included in the three analyzed sources shows that the accounts given by Diodorus and Curtius, particularly with reference to the description of the land of Sopeithes, have much more in common with each other

³³ Diodorus draws attention to the good looks and considerable height of Sopeithes, and Curtius also describes the outstanding beauty of the ruler among other barbarians, while Strabo mentions generally that in Cathaea (!) the most beautiful person is chosen to be king. In Strabo's account referring to the land of Cathaea (!) the age of the publicly evaluated children is given, i.e. the babies are 2 months old, and information is mentioned about a magistrate appointed for the purpose of evaluation. This is not to be found in Diodorus' description of a similar public selection of the newly born in the land of Sopeithes (Curtius does not give the age of the babies undergoing selection in the land of Sopeithes either, though he generally mentions that it is not the parents but appointed officials that judge the physical appearance of the newly born). While Diodorus and Curtius point out beauty and physical advantages as being prerequisite for getting married in the land of Sopeithes, Strabo precedes his information about widow-burning among the Cathaeans with a general remark about another commonly practiced Cathaeans (!) custom of the mutual choice of spouses. In Diodorus' view, the land of Sopeithes is one with good laws and all state activities are subordinated to gaining fame; Curtius mentions the unusual wisdom and good customs characterizing the reign in the land of Sopeithes; none of this information is included in Strabo, neither in reference to the Cathaeans nor to the land of Sopeithes. In their historical accounts, Diodorus and Curtius write about the peaceful surrender of Sopeithes to Alexander and his getting the realm back (as has been noticed above, the description of Sopeithes' submission is described by Curtius in a detailed and dramatized way; Diodorus also mentions the hospitable reception of Alexander and his army by Sopeithes); there is no trace of such information in the geographical account of Strabo.

³⁴ *Arr. Ind.* 16, 4 (= Nearchus, *FGrHist* 133, F 11): τοὺς δὲ πώγωνας λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι βάπτονται Ἰνδοὶ χροίην <δὲ> ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην, οἱ μὲν ὡς λευκοὺς φαίνεσθαι οἷους λευκοτάτους, οἱ δὲ κυανέους· τοῖσι δὲ φοινικέους εἶναι, τοῖσι δὲ καὶ πορφυρέους, ἄλλοισι πρασοειδέας.

than they do with Strabo's account. It is easier to trace a common source upon which Diodorus and Curtius (independently of each other) based their accounts of the Cathaeans and the land of Sopeithes. Strabo's text XV 1, 30–31, though, indicates that the geographic and ethnographic considerations included there refer to a greater number of primary sources. In the case of Diodorus' and Curtius' accounts, one can suppose that their main, direct source was the lost work by Cleitarchus of Colophon, based largely, as it has been said, on Onesicritus. As far as Strabo's account is concerned, one should assume that at least the majority of his information was based directly on Onesicritus, which is underlined by Strabo with precision. Moreover, it can be reckoned that the account was additionally supplemented by Strabo, which can be concluded from his own words: at the beginning of chapter XV 1, 30, while establishing the location of the land of the Cathaeans <and> Sopeithes, the author mentions that he has taken into consideration various sources and opinions (τινες ... ἄλλοι); the later parts of the chapter (which have been focused on above) contain information not confirmed by the (presently compared) accounts by Diodorus and Curtius; towards the end of the chapter, an account unknown in other texts by Gorgus, a miner, was cited. Chapter XV 1, 30 contains clear traits of contamination by several sources³⁵.

It seems justified to pose a question as to whether the contamination of sources noticed in Strabo resulted in some contamination of thought (it is difficult to determine if it was deliberate) which expressed itself by means of joining customs, most probably originally attributed to two separate people. On the one hand, we have to do with the account of Diodorus, placed in the context of Alexander's history, which clearly differentiates the land of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes as two separate administrative regions of ancient India. The

³⁵ In his monograph on Onesicritus, BROWN (1949: 52; cf. also LENS TUERO 1994: 26) draws attention to the fact that, generally speaking, information contained in Strabo XV 1, 30 shows traits of several sources already having been united at the stage of Onesicritus' composition of his work. On the one hand, Indian love of colours and the custom of dyeing beards by men (which in Strabo was attributed particularly to the Cathaeans) may be acknowledge as a reliable account of an eyewitness. It could have been Onesicritus, especially as similar information was passed by Nearchus of Crete (*FGrHist* 133, F 11 = *Arr. Ind.* 16, 1; 16, 4). On the other hand, the information about the public selection of two-month-old children, which was to result in the decision about whether to bring them up or kill them, could have been adapted by Onesicritus from the Spartan practices which the Greeks were familiar with (*Diog. Laert.* VI 59). In the *Cyropaedia* (a work Onesicritus was most probably influenced by; *Cyr.* I 2, 2–16), Xenophon described the Persian mode of upbringing in which he also borrowed some details from a description of Spartan upbringing (BROWN 1949: 52, n. 233). The comparison of information about the Cathaeans' love for beauty with the affection for animal beauty as well as information about appointing the most attractive man to be king refer the reader to the account of Herodotus (*Hdt.* III 20), describing how the Ethiopians used to choose their ruler. According to BROWN, it may serve as an example of how easily unusual customs were attributed to remote people. Onesicritus himself could have obtained information for this part of his work from various sources, which, as I have been trying to show here, was later additionally supplemented by Strabo.

account sets the customs of the Cathaeans apart from those established in the land of Sopeithes. The account is confirmed – particularly clearly in the part concerning the land of Sopeithes – by another account, that of Curtius, comprised in the same context of Alexander the Great's history. A conspicuous differentiation between the lands of the Cathaeans and Sopeithes can also be observed on the basis of Arrian's account, which is independent of the other two, since it is grounded on a Hellenistic source other than that of Diodorus³⁶. On the other hand, Strabo's account, presented in the context of geographic and ethnographic description, referring clearly to various sources, does not differentiate so exactly between the land of the Cathaeans and the land of Sopeithes. On the contrary, it jointly presents customs precisely separated in Diodorus. Although it is hardly possible to state unambiguously which account can be acknowledged as closer to the reality described in the original, reliable Hellenistic sources, there is much more – according to the present analysis – to indicate the clear separation of the land of the Cathaeans from the land of Sopeithes, which makes them two neighbouring countries with different customs. A significant argument supporting the hypothesis seems to be the opinion commonly assumed in research on Diodorus' prose, namely that he adapted – mostly by abbreviating, frequently uncritically – whole (sometimes also very long) parts of his sources to his own extensive history of the world. Paradoxically, such an uncritical approach by the ancient historian to his sources facilitates attempts to discover the text of the original³⁷. Thus the connection of both countries (and, most probably, in consequence of it the connection of the customs of both people) observed in Strabo could be perceived as a result of secondary literary activity³⁸.

³⁶ Arrian, at the beginning of his detailed account of the fights of Alexander with the Cathaeans, and with their neighbouring people, defines the inhabitants of those lands as "autonomous" (αὐτόνομοι, i.e. independent, guided by their own rules; Arr. *Anab.* V 22, 1). Referring to this passage, LENS TUERO (1994: 23) observes that the term was used by the Greeks to define oligarchic rule, devoid of a king (cf. MILNS 1968: 219), which may be an additional indication in favour of the historical separation of the Cathaeans from the land of king Sopeithes.

³⁷ Cf. also Curtius' remark from the discussed part of his work, IX 1, 34: "Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi".

³⁸ LENS TUERO (1994: 28 f.) is of an opinion that Diodorus (like Curtius) or his main source, Cleitarchus (or maybe even Onesicritus, though the author is quite restrained in this matter), separated the land of the Cathaeans from the land of Sopeithes in order to show the latter in an idealistic way. Diodorus attributed the custom of widow-burning to the Cathaeans while the custom of free marriages and the love for beauty was attributed to the inhabitants of the land of Sopeithes (which was to more clearly differentiate the two peoples). Both Diodorus (XVII 91, 4) and Curtius (IX 1, 24) speak about unusually good laws established among the people ruled by Sopeithes (therefore, it is not only Curtius that mentions it and the remark is absent from Diodorus' account, as LENS TUERO [1994: 24, n. 7] suggests). (Let us recall again that Curtius does not mention widow-burning among the Cathaeans at all.) Idealizing remarks referring especially to conjugal customs (free choice of spouses, neglecting financial status and noble family background, appreciating good looks as a basis during the mutual choice of spouses and the public selection of newly born children), regardless of

The possibility that Onesicritus himself was the author of the information about both lands, attributing to the Cathaeans customs acknowledged by others as characteristic of the people inhabiting the land of Sopeithes, cannot be rejected³⁹. It is in this very context that Strabo refers to Onesicritus⁴⁰. However, it is not unlikely that the synthesizing activity of Strabo himself, plainly noticeable also in other chapters of the Indian account in book XV⁴¹, explains to a great extent the attribution of customs in a different way than it is presumed that they were originally attributed (despite the reference to Onesicritus or only partly in accordance with Onesicritus). It seems reasonable to suppose that Onesicritus, as an author not taking much care to depict exact historical and geographical data, is at least partly responsible for not taking enough care to draw clear distinction between the two neighbouring countries (which, however, does not have to mean that the Alexander historian combined both countries). But the combining process *sensu stricto* could have not been carried out until the time of synthesizing (and contaminating) activity of Strabo of Amasea. Special attention should be paid to this last hypothesis. The distinct differentiation between the country

the fact of which people they should be attributed to, are considered by LENS TUERO (1994: 29–31) as evidence of the fact that Onesicritus was inspired by Cynical and Stoic literature and tradition. – If it was Cleitarchus (the main source for Diodorus and Curtius) who separated the land of the Cathaeans from the land of Sopeithes (in order to show the latter in an idealistic way), chapter XV 1, 30 clearly shows that Strabo did not use Cleitarchus as his source at this point at all.

³⁹ KROLL (1919: 2513) is inclined to such a hypothesis, referring to an earlier assumption of LEZIUS (1887: 117). JACOBY (1930 [vol. II D]: 477), in turn, claims in his commentary to F 21 of Onesicritus that Strabo's text does not allow us to draw a conclusion that Onesicritus combined the description of the land of the Cathaeans with that of Sopeithes, as it was done neither by Diodorus nor by Arrian, which is agreed upon by LENS TUERO (1994: 25, n. 9).

⁴⁰ If such a hypothesis was to be followed, one would have to acknowledge – based, first of all, on LENS TUERO'S remarks (see n. 38) – that it is Cleitarchus' literary activity which can be traced in the clear separation of both lands, though independently of Onesicritus. The supposed secondary separation of the country of Sopeithes from the Cathaeans could have resulted (as is supposed by LENS TUERO) from the wish to present Sopeithes' realm in an idealistic way (with the superior idea of the outstanding love for beauty). Given such an assumption, it should be acknowledged that Cleitarchus was followed by Diodorus and Curtius, while Strabo used the original source, i.e. Onesicritus. Unfortunately, there is too little textual evidence to directly support such differentiation between the two Hellenistic sources (i.e. Onesicritus and Cleitarchus). Observations contained in this paper lead to the assumption that it is groundless to deny Onesicritus the original authorship of the information about ethnography and customs among both the Cathaeans and the people in the land of Sopeithes. What is more, a lot seems to indicate that it was already Onesicritus' literary activity that triggered the idea of idealizing the characters of Hellenistic rulers (as it can be seen, first of all, in the case of Alexander). It should also be remembered that Arrian, who follows a source independent of Onesicritus (Ptolemy), provides hints which suggest no historical combining of the land of the Cathaeans with that of Sopeithes. Only a suggestion can be put forward that Onesicritus, the author neglecting historical and geographical facts, could have not taken care to show a clear separation between the two lands (which does not have to mean that he combined both lands).

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. BROWN 1949: 54–55 (with n. 8), 57, 87, 91–93, 101–102; DUECK 2000: 160 f., 180 f., 185 f.

of the Cathaeans and that of Sopeithes – the lands and the peoples/tribes neighbouring each other and distinguished from among other people inhabiting this part of the Punjab by historians of Alexander – could have been not as obvious to the Greek geographer from the beginning of the first century AD as it was to the historians from the fourth century BC, participants in Alexander the Great's campaign and eye-witnesses. I have attempted to show in this paper that, regardless of its origin, Strabo's account contains information about the both peoples and customs attributed to them in a contaminated form. This leads to the question whether the final result of this contamination could not have been the close association of the land of Sopeithes and Sopeithes himself with the land of the Cathaeans, and, strictly speaking, appointing Sopeithes to lead the Cathaeans⁴².

The above considerations give rise to a suggestion that makes it worth pondering again over the word καί, placed by modern editors of Strabo in the first sentence of chapter XV 1, 30, a conjunction whose purpose is to separate the land of the Cathaeans from that of Sopeithes and which is not to be found in the manuscript tradition. If the conjecture of KORAIIS was omitted, Strabo's text could be understood as follows: Cathaea, a land ruled by Sopeithes, is located either between the Hydaspes and the Acesines Rivers or between Acesines and Hyarotis. The next sentences do not disturb such an understanding of the text (even though it first speaks about Cathaea and later about Sopeithes' country), and the syntax

⁴² Cf. also LENS TUERO 1994: 25. He notices (1994: 25, n. 9) that in the currently accepted reading of Strabo's text (with the conjecture καί), the Sopeithes kingdom may be recognized as a district of the lands of the Cathaeans, whereas the realm of the Cathaeans itself might be acknowledged as a monarchy. As for this hypothesis, however, there is no other piece of evidence than the text of Strabo, and only if one assumes the original existence of the second conjunction καί in the first sentence of Strabo XV 1, 30, which separates the two administrative units (which is being questioned here). There is no sign in Strabo of Sopeithes' subordination to the Cathaeans. There is no confirmation of the hypothesis in the other accounts about the Cathaeans and the land of Sopeithes, where – as was highlighted several times in this paper – both lands are presented as separate and independent of each other. Diodorus (XVII 91, 4) states, admittedly, that after conquering the Cathaeans, Alexander set off for the cities under the rule of Sopeithes, and not for the land/kingdom of Sopeithes, but the historian does it, most probably, because in this part of his narrative (as well as in the preceding part) he concentrates on Alexander's conquering of separate cities. One, the biggest city of the Cathaeans, was captured after much fighting and then burned, another was spared because its inhabitants surrendered without a fight. In the next part of his narrative (XVII 91, 7), Diodorus says that Sopeithes submitted his kingdom (τὴν βασιλείαν) to Alexander, and he calls Sopeithes βασιλεύς. Curtius (IX 1, 24) says clearly about the kingdom of Sophites: "Hinc in regnum Sophitis perventum est". On the one hand, Arrian defines the Cathaeans and people allied with them as αὐτόνομοι – "autonomous" (i.e. independent, guided by their own rules; *Anab.* V 22, 1), which LENS TUERO (1994: 23) interprets as oligarchic rules (devoid of a king; cf. n. 36 above). On the other hand, in another part of his work (*Anab.* VI 2, 2), Arrian speaks of kingly dwelling or capital of Sopeithes (τὰ Σωπειθίου βασιλεία). As it was mentioned, Diodorus names Sopeithes ὁ βασιλεύς Σωπειθῆς, and his realm ἡ βασιλεία (XVII 91, 7); Curtius calls him *rex Indus* (IX 1, 28), and his territory *regnum Sophitis* (IX 1, 24). In Strabo's account, Sopeithes was called νομάρχης, not βασιλεύς, but the term νομάρχης may mean here generally "a local ruler" (and as such is Sopeithes understood in translations of and commentaries on this passage).

of the first sentence seems to confirm the treatment of Cathaea = the land of Sopeithes as one administrative region/unit. What is significant here is the double usage of the proper noun ‘Cathaea’ in the first part of chapter XV 1, 30 (Κάθαια or Καθαία; the manuscript reading is Καθέα) – which does not appear in other authors – and not the Cathaeans/the land of the Cathaeans (‘the Cathaeans’ do not appear until the second part when the custom of widow-burning is mentioned⁴³. In the first sentence, Strabo talks about geographic characteristics and the two hypotheses concerning the location of Cathaea = the land of Sopeithes. While discussing the second hypothesis (i.e. the location between Acesines and Hyarotis) he adds some additional information claiming that the country, and not the countries (i.e. Cathaea and the land of Sopeithes), neighbours the land of the second Porus – the usage of the singular (ἄμωρον τῆ Πώρου τοῦ ἐτέρου) may be meaningful here. In the next sentence, as has been remarked several times, the customs attributed to the people of the land of Sopeithes by Diodorus and Curtius are attributed to Cathaea by Strabo. Did Strabo mean then customs common in Cathaea, i.e. (!) among the people or peoples ruled by Sopeithes? All the remarks presented above lead to an assumption that in his original account Strabo intended to name Cathaea the land of Sopeithes (ἢ Κάθαια ἢ Σωπειθους) and thus to unite two neighbouring lands, regardless of the historic, geographic and ethnographic reality. Much seems to indicate that this was in disagreement with that reality. Yet perhaps this very disagreement was characteristic of Strabo’s original account. Therefore, omitting the conjunction καί, not found in manuscript tradition, which separates both lands in the first sentence – and only there as far as Strabo’s account is concerned – is the logical consequence of this assumption. Hence, the comparison of Strabo’s passage with that of Diodorus, which inclined modern editors to insert the additional conjunction, may equally induce others to remove it.

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⁴³ The manuscripts of Strabo transmit the name of the Cathaea country in XV 1, 30 in the form of Καθέαν (acc. sing.) and later as Καθέα (dat. sing.), which has been changed by modern editors into Κάθαιαν (by TZSCHUCKE, KORAI and the later editors) in the former case, and into Καθαία in the latter case. These changes have been accepted by editors; cf. critical editions of Strabo, e.g. KRAMER 1852 (vol. III): 203 (with the reading Κάθαιαν); RADT 2005 (vol. IV): 174 (with the reading Καθαία); cf. also MEINEKE 1904 (vol. III): 974; JONES 1930 (vol. VII): 50.

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THE TITLES “DACICUS MAXIMUS” AND “CARPICUS MAXIMUS”
IN THE IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA OF THE THIRD
AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

by

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ABSTRACT: In the second half of the 230s, the Emperor Maximinus Thrax assumed the title “Dacicus Maximus” following his victory over the “free Dacians” who had most probably invaded the province of Pannonia. After nearly a hundred years, Constantine the Great added the same *cognomen* to his imperial titles in commemoration of his victory over the Goths in the former province of Dacia. This article intends to discuss the significance of the *cognomen* in the Roman imperial propaganda of the third and fourth centuries.

Trajan was the first Roman emperor to assume the *cognomen ex virtute* “Dacicus”. It occurred upon his victory in the first Dacian war in 102¹. After the conquest of Dacia, the *cognomen* disappeared from official imperial propaganda for more than a century. Although it is indeed attested in two inscriptions dedicated to Antoninus Pius² and one from the reign of Marcus Aurelius³, its unofficial character is obvious. This is confirmed by its absence in the papyri documents dating from the reigns of these two emperors as well as the very low number of inscriptions mentioning this *cognomen*⁴. Its appearance in reference to these rulers was most likely connected with the campaigns waged in Dacia. Armed clashes with the Dacians during the reign of Antoninus Pius are mentioned in the

¹ Cass. Dio LXVIII 10, 1 f.: Καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσήχθησαν, τὰ τε ὄπλα καταθέντες συνῆψαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι καὶ εἰπόν τέ τινα καὶ ἰκέτευσαν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπέισαντο καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπέλαβον. Τραϊανὸς δὲ τὰ τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ Δακικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, ἐν τε τῷ θεάτρῳ μονομάχους συνέβαλε (καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρεν αὐτοῖς), καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπανήγαγε (καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἦρα). See STEIN 1901: 1976; KNEISSL 1969: 70–74; GOSLAR 1975: 643; SIJPESTEIJN 1983: 359–366; JÖRDENS 1994: 214; KIENAST 1996: 123; BENNETT 1997: 98 f.; GOODMAN 1997: 68; BIRLEY 2000: 109–112.

² *CIL* VIII 12513 = *ILS* 343; *CIL* VIII 20424.

³ *IGR* III 449.

⁴ KNEISSL 1969: 96 f.; GOSLAR 1975: 643; KIENAST 1996: 135.

*Historia Augusta*⁵. The province would come to experience an even more volatile and turbulent period in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It fell victim to incursions from the territories of the *Barbaricum* during the Marcomannic wars. In 167, the invaders attacked the gold mines in Western Dacia (*CIL* III 921–960)⁶. In the both cases, the emperors did not recognize the repelling of the raids into Dacia as significant enough to reflect the fact in their imperial propaganda by assuming a suitable *cognomen*⁷. The circumstances of the fighting during the reigns of Commodus⁸ and Caracalla reflect a very similar pattern⁹.

In the decades following Trajan's reign, the first emperor who introduced the *cognomen* "Dacicus Maximus" into his official titles was Maximinus Thrax¹⁰. It can be found in a number of inscriptions and there can be no doubt as to its

⁵ *HA Ant.* 5, 4 f.: "Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos, in Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repressit".

⁶ See GEROV 1980: 369–374; BIRLEY 1999: 151; BIRLEY 2000: 167; GRUMEZA 2010: 204 f.

⁷ Antoninus Pius did not have any officially assumed *cognomina ex virtute* among his titles, whereas Marcus Aurelius assumed only *cognomina* in honour of his victories over the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges, during the Marcomannic Wars ("Germanicus" and "Sarmaticus"), as well as his victory over the Parthians and the subsequent capture of Ctesiphon ("Parthicus Maximus", "Armeniacus", and "Medicus"). On the *cognomina ex virtute* of Marcus Aurelius, see KNEISSL 1969: 97–110.

⁸ Cass. Dio LXXII 8, 1; *HA Comm.* 13, 5. See GEROV 1980: 374.

⁹ Cass. Dio LXXVIII 16, 7; *HA Car.* 5, 4. See ALFÖLDI 1939: 129. Scholars link the inscription found at Oescus (*CIL* III 14416 = *ILS* 7178) with the Carpi incursion into Moesia. Unfortunately, it is badly damaged and interpreting the name of the adversary is a very disputable question. The editorial reading of line 13 is *ADV]ERSVS HOSTES CA[R]POS*, while TUDOR (1960: 350–356) disagrees with this interpretation and reads *CE[NNES]*. I am not persuaded by this hypothesis. I have only seen a photograph of the inscription and, in my opinion, the condition of the preservation of the object does not make it possible to discern the second letter (*A* or *E*) and thus to identify the name of the enemy of the Romans.

¹⁰ *CIL* II 4696; *IRT* 47; *CIL* XIII 8861 = *CIL* XVII 312; *CIL* XIII 8862 = *CIL* XVII 313; *CIL* XIII 6375 = *IBR* 494 = *RIBW* 165 = *CIL* XVII 655; *CIL* XIII 11971; *CIL* VIII 10073; *IGRR* I 755 = *IGBulg* 1563; *CIL* VI 1086; *SNGAul* 5674; *SNGAul* 5675; *CIL* XII 5545; *CIL* VI 3788; *AE* 1934, 111; *AE* 1964, 220; *CIL* III 4630; *CIL* V 8076; *CIL* III 3740; *CIL* III 3736; *CIL* XVI 146; *AE* 1912, 59 = *CIL* XVI 146; *CIL* XIII 6547 = *RIBW* 422; *CIL* XIII 8863 = *CIL* XVII 315; *IRD* V 250 bis; *CIL* II 4731; *IRCP* 664; *AE* 1966, 217; *CIL* III 3732; *AE* 1926, 138 = *IRT* 925; *CIL* VIII 10021; *EE* VII 599 = *CIL* VIII 10025; *CIL* VIII 10075; *CIL* VIII 10083; *EE* VII 568 = *CIL* VIII 22020; *CIL* VIII 22123; *AE* 1912, 23 = *ILAT* 650 = *IRT* 924; *IRT* 933; *IRT* 934; *IRT* 936; *ITR* 946; *IRT* 967; *CIL* III 7612 = *IRD* V 223; *AE* 1914, 572; *AE* 1958, 194 = *CIL*, XVII 484; *EE*, II 764 = *CIL* III 10639; *AE* 1969/1970, 494; *AE* 1975, 701; *CIL* III 3722; *CIL* II 4816; *CIL* XII 5559 = *CIL* XVII 170; *CIL* III 3708; *CIL* VIII 10047 = *ILS* 488; *CIL* II 4834; *CIL* II 4826; *EE* IX 420 = *IRG* III 6; *ILER* 1985; *CIL* II 6228; *CIL* II 4756 = *ILS* 490; *CIL* II 4575; *CIL* II 4858; *CIL* II 4870; *CIL* II 4886; *AE* 1966, 218; *AE* 1971, 201; *CIL* II 4788; *CIL* II 4853; *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 7–11; *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107, 2–5; *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 23–32; *CPR* VII 11, 4–6, 16–18.

official character¹¹. Its first mention in the papyri dates from the summer of 237¹². The earliest known inscription bearing the *cognomen* is a diploma dated 7 January 237¹³. Maximinus Thrax must have assumed the title “Dacicus Maximus” in late 236 or early 237¹⁴. Unfortunately, we know very little about the war that served as a pretext for Maximinus’ assumption of the title “Dacicus Maximus”. In their accounts of his reign, the ancient authors tended to focus on his origin and the revolt of Gordian III. Our primary sources are very brief in their depictions of the campaigns under Maximinus Thrax and concentrate on providing accounts of the campaigns fought along the Rhine, not on the Danube. For instance, Herodian devotes several passages to the campaign against the Alamanni¹⁵. He goes on to spare one sentence on the Emperor’s passing the winter in Sirmium, where he made preparations for his next campaign¹⁶. Unfortunately, Herodian does not give us an account of the operation itself. Likewise, the *Historia Augusta* offers a very eloquent portrayal of Maximinus’ successful efforts in Germania. Subsequently, he mentions the emperor’s arrival at Sirmium and his intention to conquer the Sarmatian territories (the author of the *Historia Augusta* draws on Herodian, who is his main source)¹⁷. However, these works do not even make it clear if Maximinus Thrax did indeed carry out his Danubian campaign. Another confrontation is mentioned in Peter the Patrician’s work. This time, the invaders attacked Moesia and seized Istropolis. The fighting came to a close on the

¹¹ KNEISSL 1969: 175; PEACHIN 1990, 58 f.; KIENAST 1996: 184.

¹² *P. Lond.* 212b; *P. Oxy.* VIII 1114 (6 June 237); *SB* I 5136 (epeiph = June/July 237); *P. Grenf.* II 67 (epeiph = June/July 237).

¹³ *CIL* XVI 146.

¹⁴ ALFÖLDI 1939: 140; GEROV 1980: 377; PEACHIN 1990: 59; LIPPOLD 1991: 464. Contra: BICHIR 1976: 168. The Rumanian scholar noted that the inscriptions bearing the title “Dacicus Maximus” are interpreted erroneously or refer in fact to other emperors. This particular view is untenable.

¹⁵ Herod. VII 2, 1–8.

¹⁶ Herod. VII 2, 9: πολλοὺς δὲ χειρωσάμενος αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λείαν ἀπελάσας, χειμῶνος ἤδη καταλαμβάνοντος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Παίονας, ἐν τε Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων, τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐκεῖ πόλει δοκούσῃ, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐς τὸ ἔαρ παρεσκευάζετο. ἠπίλει γὰρ (καὶ ποιήσῃν ἔμελλεν) ἐκκόψῃν τε καὶ ὑποτάξῃν τὰ μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ Γερμανῶν ἔθνη βάρβαρα. It is not certain which winter Maximinus Thrax passed there. It might have been 236/237 or 237/238 (see FITZ 1972: 114; LIPPOLD 1991: 462). Some scholars believe that Maximinus Thrax passed the both winters at Sirmium in preparation for his campaigns against the Carpi and the Sarmatians (DRINKWATER 2005: 30), while others date his presence at Sirmium to the year 236 (BIRLEY 1998: 65).

¹⁷ *HA Max.* 13, 3 f.: “Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo concupiēns usque ad Oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam dicionem redigere; quod fecisset, si vixisset, ut Herodianus dicit, Graecus scriptor, qui ei, quantum videmus, in odium Alexandri plurimum favit”. See LIPPOLD 1991: 461–468. It is not clear here which Sarmatians the author of the *Historia Augusta* refers to. There are several possibilities: Iazyges, Roxolani, or both. We do not know from which source the author of the *Historia Augusta* derived the information on the ruler’s plans towards the Sarmatians, as Herodian (VII 2, 9) only refers to a conquest of all the lands as far as the “ocean”.

strength of an accord between the Romans and the Goths, as the latter agreed to retreat on condition of a subsidy payment. The Carpi demanded a similar agreement together with a tribute for their withdrawal and the release of captives, yet the Romans refused to comply¹⁸. Also, the *Historia Augusta*, in the biographies of Pupienus and Balbinus, makes reference to the Carpi incursion into Moesia¹⁹. The clash between the Goths and the Carpi, who are mentioned by Dexippus, is commonly dated to 238²⁰. This latter war started too late to have been the reason for Maximinus' assumption of the title "Dacicus Maximus".

As a matter of fact, everything we can say about the reasons for the establishment of the *cognomen* "Dacicus Maximus" during the reign of Maximinus Thrax is drawn from epigraphical sources. We know of two tombstones of Roman legionaries killed during the campaigns against the Dacians²¹. The first one was found at Bajno, between Budapest and Brigetio, and is dedicated to two brothers: Aurelius Satullus, a soldier stationed at Brigetio with his *I Legio Adiutrix*, who died during an invasion (*incursu*) of the "Dacians", and his 14-year-old brother²². The other one was dedicated to Aurelius Iustinus, a legionary of *II Legio Italica*, who was killed during a campaign against the "Dacians" (his parents were the founders of the tombstone)²³. The epitaphs in question bear testimony to a "Dacian" incursion into Pannonia. In all likelihood, Maximinus Thrax carried

¹⁸ Petr. Patr. fr. 8. See TUDOR 1965: 374; STRZELCZYK 1984: 88; WOLFRAM 1988: 44. Peter the Patrician describes the *hybris* of the Carpi, who demanded that subsidies be paid out to them, arguing that they posed a greater threat to Rome than the Goths. The governor, Tullius Menophilus, delayed receiving their delegation for several days and then refused to pay any subsidies. Some scholars give credence to this account (e.g. BICHR 1976: 168), but the governor's manner of dealing with the Carpi may have been emblematic of Roman political moralizing intended to show how the Romans ought to treat Barbarians (SOUTHERN 2001: 194; BATTY 2007: 387). It is not known whether the Carpi actually considered themselves stronger than the Goths, but they failed to obtain any subsidies. For a long time, the fall of Olbia and Tyras was linked with the fighting between the Romans and the Goths during the reign of Maximinus Thrax. In actual fact, the cities were captured by the Goths only as late as the years 269/270, since the documentation published after the excavations there does not provide evidence of any coins from the period between the issues of Claudius II and Diocletian (SARNOWSKI 1988: 145, 161). Likewise, Histria was not destroyed during that war (BICHR 1976: 168).

¹⁹ *HA Max. Balb.* 16, 3: "Sub his pugnatum est a Carpibus contra Moesos. Fuit et Scythici belli principium, fuit et Istriae excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Istricae civitatis". SOUTHERN (2001: 64) is of the opinion that this incursion into Moesia was repelled after the assassination of Maximinus Thrax.

²⁰ SOUTHERN 2001: 69; WOLFRAM 2003: 44. For a different view, see ALFÖLDI 1939: 140, who merged the wars waged in 236 and 238, and dated the negotiations between Tullius Menophilus and the Carpi to 236. A passage from the *Historia Augusta* (*HA Max. Balb.* 16, 3) contradicts this date.

²¹ *CIL* III 3660 = *ILS* 2308; *CIL* III 5218.

²² *CIL* III 3660 = *ILS* 2308. Unfortunately, the inscription does not refer to the circumstances of the younger brother's death.

²³ *CIL* III 5218.

on fighting within enemy territory after having repelled the attack²⁴. Herodian (followed by the *Historia Augusta*) takes note of Maximinus’ intent to conquer the territories as far as the ocean in the north, i.e., the entire Germania²⁵. This campaign took place in 236²⁶, or 237²⁷, or 236/237²⁸. It is also worth noting that in the reign of Maximinus Thrax the inhabitants of the *Imperium Romanum* called the invaders “Dacians” (*CIL* III 3660 = *ILS* 2308, *CIL* III 5218). If Pannonia had fallen victim to that incursion, the aggressor could not have been the Dacians inhabiting Muntenia (the Chilia-Militari Culture)²⁹, the Carpi identified with the Vrtișcoiu-Poienesti Culture, whose territory existed in Moldavia between the Carpathian range and the lower Prut³⁰, or the Carpathian Grave-Mounds Culture, which is attested in the territories along the Seret and the upper Prut (identified with the Costoboci)³¹. It means that the assailants should be traced to the area west of Roman Dacia, in the basin of the upper Tisa. During the Marcomannic Wars, those territories, previously inhabited by the Dacians, came under Vandal control³². This is archaeologically verifiable; the Dacian cultural background was superimposed by the Przeworsk Culture that would come to spread along the

²⁴ *II Legio Italica* was stationed at Lauriacum in Noricum. From the perspective of Aurelius Iustinus’ parents, i.e., the founders of the tomb, the Dacian campaign may have meant that reinforcements would have been dispatched to Pannonia to aid the emperor as well as bringing the warfare into the invaders’ territory.

²⁵ The passages referring to the plans for conquering Germania used to seem like a rhetorical overstatement by Herodian and the author of the *Historia Augusta*. Thanks to recent archaeological excavations (2008–2010), it has been discovered that the emperor fought a victorious battle against the Germanic tribes in the territory of present-day Lower Saxony, near the town of Kalefeld-Oldenrode in the Harz Mountains, during his campaign in the years 235/236. Prior to these excavations, no one had ventured to assume that the Roman troops could have reached so far into the territory of Germania.

²⁶ CHRISTOL 1997: 83; SOUTHERN 2001: 64.

²⁷ DRINKWATER 2005: 30.

²⁸ ENSSLIN 1939: 74; KOTULA 1992: 12; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 645.

²⁹ On this archaeological culture, see BICHIR 1980b: 157–180; BICHIR 1980a: 90–94; OPREANU 1998: 184–186.

³⁰ OPREANU 1998: 84. On the origin and the area inhabited by the Carpi, see BICHIR 1976: 137–142, 145–151.

³¹ OPREANU 1998: 184; MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA 1999: 313–332; BATTY 2007: 374–376.

³² According to Cassius Dio, the Hasdings led by Raus and Raptus arrived in Dacia in 171 or 172 and asked for permission to settle in the Roman territory. The Romans did not allow them to do so, but most likely persuaded them to attack the Costoboci, who would subsequently disappear from ancient sources. Following that victory, the Hasdings were defeated by the Lacingi/Dacringi, after which they would go on to settle along the upper Tisa near the area inhabited by the Quadi (Cass. Dio LXXII 12, 1 f.). Except for this passage, the Lacingi/Dacringi are mentioned among the enemies of Rome (alongside the Marcomanni, Hermundi, Suebi, Quadi, Sarmatians, Buri, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alans, Costoboci) in the *Historia Augusta* (*HA M. Aur.* 22, 1). The ethnic origin of the Lacingi is obscure. Scholars tend to regard them as a Germanic or Dacian tribe.

tributaries of the Tisa (Hornad, Bodrog, Crasna, Samoş)³³. It resulted in the formation of the Blažice-Bereg Culture, marked by the co-existence of features characteristic of both cultures. It may have been the reason why the Vandal invaders could have been perceived as “Dacians” by the inhabitants of the Roman Empire during the reign of Maximinus Thrax. Besides, the Romans had already become accustomed to the fact that those territories were inhabited by the Dacians. The Vandals were a relatively recently arrived group and as such they may not have been regarded as a new ethnic group by the Romans.

The Carpi returned to the Romans’ attention during the reign of Emperor Philip the Arab³⁴. He was the first to assume the title “Carpicus Maximus”. In all probability, this victory title was official, as confirmed by the relevant coinage and papyri³⁵. The first evidence of the cognomen “Carpicus Maximus” dates back to the year 248 (a medallion dated to *III ET II COS*)³⁶, whereas the earliest papyrus mentioning the title is dated to June 249³⁷. Philip the Arab included this cognomen in his titles shortly before 248³⁸. Ancient sources mention two Carpi incursions into the territory of the Roman Empire during Philip the Arab’s reign. The first is mentioned by Zosimus, who reports that the Carpi plundered the territories on the Danube (περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον). The Roman troops, commanded by the emperor himself, rushed to confront the enemy. The Romans prevailed and the Carpi had to take refuge in an unidentified stronghold. They quickly proceeded to launch a counterattack, yet were unable to withstand the confrontation with the Roman (Mauretanian) cavalry and surrendered, asking Philip the Arab for terms of peace. This incursion is most often dated to 246, the year of the beginning of a new era in the province of Dacia. However, this assumption is rather doubtful. The title appeared more than a year after the advent of the new era. At any rate, some scholars tentatively date the war to the years 245–247. Interestingly, it refers to the Carpi raid into Moesia (περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον), not into the Dacian provinces³⁹. It may have been the reason why the emperor assumed the more adequate title “Carpicus Maximus”, instead of the cognomen “Dacicus

³³ STRZELCZYK 1992: 57–79; OŁĘDZKI 2008: 151–154.

³⁴ Another incursion into Thrace and Moesia had reportedly taken place in the reign of Gordian III. According to the *Historia Augusta*, the emperor repelled the attack and the Barbarians suffered a crushing defeat (*HA Gord.* 26, 4). Some scholars consider that the invaders were the Carpi (BICHIR 1976: 169; BATTY 2007: 377). It is possible, but there is no epigraphical evidence for this victory.

³⁵ Coins: GNECCHI II, p. 97, no. 4. Papyri: *P. Oxy.* X 1276; *SB* V 7634; *P. Lond.* III 951. See KNEISSL 1969: 176; PEACHIN 1990: 65; KIENAST 1996: 198; KÖRNER 2002: 156 f.; WILKES 2005: 224; HUTTNER 2008: 196. Contrary view: GOSLAR 1975: 246 f..

³⁶ GNECCHI II, p. 97, no. 4. For more on the medallion, see ALFÖLDI 1970: 95 f.

³⁷ *P. Oxy.* X 1276.

³⁸ BURETH 1964: 115; KNEISSL 1969: 175; LORIOT 1975: 795; SİLPESTEIJN 1992: 99; KIENAST 1996: 198.

³⁹ GEROV 1980: 380; OPREANU 1998: 89.

Maximus”. During Philip the Arab’s reign, this newly introduced victory title more accurately reflected the political reality of the period (the title “Dacicus” was associated with the province of Dacia). It is reminiscent of the time when the *cognomen* “Gothicus Maximus” was introduced in order to make a distinction between the victories over the Goths (and other Germanic tribes along the Black Sea coast) and the ones over some other Germanic peoples (e.g., the Alamanni).

Another emperor who was granted the title “Dacicus Maximus” by his contemporaries was Decius⁴⁰. The *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus” cannot be found on the coins or in the papyri of that emperor. Hence, there is some doubt as to whether the Senate had indeed officially granted this particular title to Decius. It was certainly unofficial⁴¹. The *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus” is preserved in five extant inscriptions dedicated to Decius (three from Hispania, one from Africa, and one from Pannonia). One of the inscriptions contains no dating indications (*AE* 1969/1970, 525 from Pannonia Superior), three of them date from 251, and one from 250⁴². Moreover, the reign of Decius brought coinage bearing the inscriptions *DACIA*⁴³ and *DACIA FELIX*⁴⁴, ascribed to the celebration of his military victories in Dacia⁴⁵. One inscription dedicated to the emperor (Apulum in Dacia) bears testimony to the title “restorer of Dacia” (*restitutor Daciarum*)⁴⁶. It was also granted unofficially. An insecure situation in Dacia under Decius’ reign is attested in some of the coin hoards found there⁴⁷. It is not really clear who the Romans had to confront. In his account of the forces of Cniva clashing with Roman troops during the reigns of Philip the Arab and Decius, Jordanes mentions the presence of the Goths as well as the participation of the Carpi, Taiphali, Peucini, and Vandals⁴⁸. During the incursion, some of the fighting took place

⁴⁰ *CIL* II 4949; *AE* 1969/1970, 525; *CIL* II 4958; *CIL* II 4957 = *ILS* 517.

⁴¹ PEACHIN 1990: 68. Contra: MOREAU 1954: 215; WILKES 2005: 224.

⁴² *CIL* II 4949: Spain, the year 250 (it reads: *Tr. Pot. II Cos. II*); *CIL* II 4957: Spain (*Tr. Pot. IV Cos. III*); *CIL* II 4958: Spain (*Tr. Pot. IV Cos. III*); *AE* 1942/1943, 55: Africa (*Tr. Pot. IV Cos. III*).

⁴³ *RIC* IV 3 Trajan Decius, nos. 2, 12, 13, 35, 36, 101, 112, 113.

⁴⁴ *RIC* IV 3, Trajan Decius, nos. 14, 37, 114.

⁴⁵ However, it is not so obvious. On the one hand, the victories over the Goths were celebrated with the issue of coins bearing the legend *VICTORIA GERMANICA* (*RIC* III 4, Trajan Decius, nos. 43, 154), which would indicate a connection between the issue of the coins and the military success. On the other, the coinage bearing the title *PANNONIAE* (*RIC* III 4, Trajan Decius, nos. 5, 20, 21a, 21b, 22–26, 41, 124, 158–159) was struck under Decius, with no relation to any military conflict in that province.

⁴⁶ *CIL* III 1176. For more on this inscription, see MROZEWICZ 1998: 40.

⁴⁷ To date, eight hoards from Decius’ reign have been found in the territory of Dacia, namely Bârca (67 coins), Bârca (127), Bocşa Română (119), Ighişu Nou (156), Leurda (26), Mehadia (12), Moigrad (21), Recaş (70). See DEPEYROT, MOISIL 2008: 134–144.

⁴⁸ *Jord. Get.* 90. A similar grouping of peoples (Goths, Borani, Burgundians, and Carpi) is mentioned by Zosimus in his account of the Gothic incursions into the European provinces of the

in Dacia. According to Lactantius, the Carpi seized Dacia and Moesia (which is a rhetorical exaggeration). The Emperor Decius moved against the invaders, but his forces were defeated and he was killed in battle⁴⁹. On the basis of *De mortibus persecutorum* and some relevant inscriptions, scholars believe that the events unfolded as follows: the Carpi, allied with Cniva, invaded Dacia, but were subsequently defeated by Decius in 250⁵⁰. However, there is an obvious error in Lactantius' work. Decius was killed while fighting the Goths, not the Carpi⁵¹. The invaders included the Goths (under Cniva's command) as well as the Carpi, yet the latter did not lead the incursion. If Lactantius is wrong on this point, he may have erroneously attributed the assault on Dacia to the Carpi instead of the Goths (and, in that situation, the Carpi would have played a secondary role during the fighting)⁵². In any case, the Romans would most certainly have celebrated the victory of their army in Dacia (regardless of whether they had fought Goths or Carpi, or Goths and Carpi) much more than having stemmed the Carpi incursion⁵³.

The most enigmatic case is the granting of the title "Dacicus Maximus" to Gallienus⁵⁴. Only several inscriptions confirm this *cognomen*. One of them (*CIL* VIII 1430) is, to a great extent, a reconstruction and its interpretation is thus uncertain. Another one (*CIL* II 2200) has a very problematic date (*tr. pot.* IIII, *cos.* III), but it was most likely made in 257⁵⁵. The events that took place at that time

Roman Empire in the first half of the 250s (Zos. I 27, 1); see MOREAU 1954: 215; PASCHOUD 1971: 150.

⁴⁹ Lact. *Mort. pers.* 4, 3: „Nam profectus adversum Carpos, qui tum Daciam Moesiamque occupaverant, statimque circumventus a barbaris et cum magna exercitus parte deletus ne sepultura quidem potuit honorari, sed exutus ac nudus, ut hostem dei oportebat, pabulum feris ac volucris iacuit...”.

⁵⁰ ALFÖLDI 1939: 144.

⁵¹ Jord. *Get.* 18; Aur. *Vict.* 29, 5; *Epit. de Caes.* 29, 3–5; Eutrop. IX, 4; Zon. XII 20; *Chron. Pasch.* a. 251; Zos. I 23,1; Const. *Or. ad sanct. coet.* 24.

⁵² Some historians take Lactantius' account at face value (e.g. ALFÖLDI 1939: 143). The chronicler's obvious error demands a more sceptical approach to the information contained in his account.

⁵³ ALFÖLDI 1939: 140; MOREAU 1954: 215 f. Lactantius is not the only one who highlights the Carpi's significant role in the wars of the third century. Another noteworthy instance is Dexippus (Evagr. *HE* V 24).

⁵⁴ *CIL* VIII 1430; *CIL* II 2200 = *ILS* 552; *IRT* 927. It can be noted that the campaigning against the Goths in the Balkans took place during the early reign of Valerian and Gallienus (whereas in the later years the Goths would mostly use sea routes to carry out their raids into Asia Minor and the mainland Greece), see WOLFRAM 1988: 48–56.

⁵⁵ While Gallienus' third consulship in 257 is obvious, the assumption of *tribunicia potestas* by Valerian and Gallienus is definitely problematic. The emperors could renew their tribunal authority on the *dies imperii*, 10 December, or 1 January. According to PEACHIN (1990: 77–79) the first two possibilities are more likely, and he himself favours the second one. In that case, the IV *tr. pot.* would have expired in December 256. CHRISTOL (1975: 817) proposed VII instead of IIII. If we make an

probably became a pretext for granting this title to the emperor⁵⁶. In all likelihood, the *cognomen* was an unofficial one, as Gallienus did not make any references to Dacian victories in his propaganda (e.g., his coinage)⁵⁷. Unfortunately, the circumstances leading to the *cognomen*'s presence in his inscriptions are not clear at all. We cannot say anything about Gallienus' campaigns in Dacia⁵⁸. However, one should be aware of how little is known about the history of that province following the reign of Philip the Arab. Except for the aforementioned Lactantius' reference to the military operations against the Carpi during Decius' reign, the extant ancient sources offer no information relevant to Dacia for the period between the reign of Maximinus Thrax and Aurelian's withdrawal. As far as the territory of Dacia is concerned, there have been very few finds of coins issued by the successors of Philip the Arab⁵⁹. There are few Dacian coin hoards dating from Gallienus' reign, which is a striking contrast to their numbers in the provinces of Pannonia and Moesia⁶⁰. This situation is very different from the one during the Marcomannic Wars. At a great number of localities, we know of extremely few or no coins at all from the period past the reigns of Philip the Arab and Decius. Moreover, it can be seen that commercial and economic activity in the northern part of Dacia had been in decline, while it would have been still flourishing in the south. It was most likely connected with the ongoing depopulation of northern Dacia. Likewise, the number of well-dated inscriptions found in Dacia from the second half of the third century is very low⁶¹. Our knowledge of the history of Dacia during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus is so limited that it is impossible to say if the events unfolding there at the time may have had any effect on the honouring of the emperor Gallienus with the title “Dacicus Maximus”. In this situation, one could ask whether the reason for granting this title to Gallienus would have been the stopping of a Carpi incursion into some

allowance for this suggestion, the dates are still irreconcilable; the ruler's *tr. pot.* VII clearly falls after his third consulship.

⁵⁶ MANNI 1949: 20–31; ALFÖLDI 1967: 360. This view is firmly opposed by PEACHIN 1990: 81.

⁵⁷ PEACHIN 1990: 81. According to MOCSY (1974: 205) and WILKES (2005: 224), the title was officially assumed by the emperor, yet he offers no evidence in support of his view.

⁵⁸ See HALFMANN 1986: 237 f.; PEACHIN 1990: 81.

⁵⁹ GĂZDAC, GUDEA 2006: 23.

⁶⁰ We know of five coin hoards from Dacia dating from Valerian's reign. They were found at Aiud (194 coins), Diosig (65), Olteni (260), Stănești (1132), and Tulcea (131). For information on these hoards, see DEPEYROT, MOISIL 2008: 180–195. For Gallienus' reign, the following seven hoards have been discovered in Dacia: three found at Alba Iulia (101, 1213, 871 coins each), one at Hunedoara (1119) and Isaccea (1071), and two at Mangalia (77, 2175). See DEPEYROT, MOISIL 2008: 196–254.

⁶¹ *EE* II 453 = *CIL* III 8061 (Trebonianus Gallus, near Apulum); *CIL* III 1550 = *IDR* III 132 (dedication to Salonina, Tibiscum); *CIL* III 875 = *ILS* 4345 (Valerian, Gallienus, Licinius Valerian II [256–prior to July 258], near Potaissa); *CIL* III 7971 = *ILS* 554 (Licinius Valerian II [256–prior to July 258], Sarmizegetusa).

provinces other than Dacia. It is not very likely. Our sources do not mention any Carpi raids into the provinces of the Empire in the reigns of Gallienus and his father. Although the Carpi (along with the Burgundians and Borani) are indeed mentioned by Zosimus among the enemies of Rome attacking the territories of the Empire during Trebonianus Gallus' rule, alongside Germanic tribes led by the Goths⁶², they would have probably played a less prominent role during the incursion. As a result, we cannot say what induced the founders of the three surviving inscriptions to use the title "Dacicus Maximus" in reference to Gallienus. Likewise, we cannot know the identity of the adversary: the Carpi, the Goths, or the Goths aided by the Carpi.

After Philip the Arab, Aurelian was the next emperor to assume the title "Carpicus Maximus". This *cognomen* is confirmed by many inscriptions and papyri documents⁶³. The Carpi incursion in question took place in the late autumn of 272⁶⁴, targeting the territory of Moesia near Carsium⁶⁵. The Romans defeated them very quickly and some of the vanquished invaders were subsequently resettled in the Roman territory⁶⁶. The Romans had most probably withdrawn from Dacia beforehand (271) and evacuated some of the inhabitants of that province⁶⁷.

One of the inscriptions dedicated to Aurelian bears testimony to the *cognomen* "Carpicus Maximus" as well as to "Dacicus Maximus"⁶⁸. The inscription

⁶² Zos. I 27, 1.

⁶³ *CIL* XII 5561; *CIL* III 7586; *P.Lips.* I 119; *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3498; *P. Oxy.* XIV 1633; *CIL* VI 1112; *IRT* 943; *CIL* II 4506 = *IRB* 25; *CIL* XII 5548; *CIL* XII 2673; *CIL* XII 5549; *CIL* XIII 8973; *P. Oxy.* XII 1455.

⁶⁴ ALFÖLDI 1939: 140; BICHIR 1976: 171; HOMO 1904: 109 f.; WATSON 1999: XV, 80; SOUTHERN 2001: 117, 120; WILKES 2005: 224; BATTY 2007: 377; SUSKI 2008: 142 f. The war is dated to the year 273 by, e.g., CIZEK 1994: 113 f.

⁶⁵ *CIL* III 12456. On the war between the Romans and the Carpi, see *HA Aurel.* 30, 4 f.; *Aur. Vict.* 39, 43.

⁶⁶ *Aur. Vict.* 39, 43. The Carpi settlement in Moesia is mentioned in *Amm.* XXVII 5, 5; see BICHIR 1976: 171; SUSKI 2008: 141–145. The resettling of the Barbarians into the Roman Empire had been a long-running custom; for a relevant listing, see BATTY 2007: 411 f.

⁶⁷ *Eutrop.* IX 15, 1; *Festus* 8; *HA Aurel.* 39, 7. Some of the sources date the Roman withdrawal from Dacia to the reign of Gallienus; see *Aur. Vict.* 33, 3. Most probably, the Romans left Dacia after their victory over the Goths in 271 (GROAG 1903: 1379; ALFÖLDI 1939: 150–153; MATTINGLY 1939: 301; DEMOUGEOT 1969: 454–458; PASCHOUD 1971: 164; POTTER 1990: 62; SAUNDERS 1992: 203; BIRD 1993: 139; BIRD 1994: 137; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 959; KOTULA 1997: 83 f.; WATSON 1999: 155; ZIÓŁKOWSKI 2004: 519; POTTER 2004: 270). On the Romans' departure from Dacia, see BODOR 1973: 29–40; SAUNDERS 1992: 199–206; CIZEK 1994: 123–152; WATSON 1999: 155–157; SUSKI 2008: 207–228.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XIII 8973 = *ILS* 581 = *CIL* XVII 498. It is a milestone from Gallia Lugdunensis (from a site near Orleans), discovered in 1843 and kept at a museum in Orleans. Moreover, it was noticed that there was one more inscription with the title "Dacicus Maximus" used in reference to Aurelian (*AE* 1925, 57). The discoverer of that inscription, F. BULIĆ, its publishers R. CAGNAT and N. BESNIER (in *L'Année épigraphique*), and SOTGIU (1961: 22, 82) linked it with Aurelian's reign (271/272?). I do not agree with this opinion. In certainty, this particular inscription cannot be traced to Aurelian's

itself dates from the close of the emperor’s reign, most certainly from 275 (a reference is made to Aurelian’s third consulship). There is a considerable problem with the number of *tribunicia potestas*, as this is the only known inscription attesting to Aurelian’s seventh *tribunicia*. However, it did not have to be a mistake on the part of the stonemason or the founder of that inscription⁶⁹, as it also appears on the coins of this emperor⁷⁰. It can be explained by Aurelian’s acceptance of an additional *tribunicia* in 274⁷¹ or a very late date of the inscription’s execution (after 10 December 275)⁷². One way or another, the inscription does not have to be wrong (though, of course, it may be) in the stated number of *tribunicia potestas*, and it was carried out in the final year of Aurelian’s reign, perhaps very shortly before his assassination⁷³. The unofficial character of the title

reign (it includes the *cognomen ex virtute* “Sarmaticus Maximus”, which was not assumed by that emperor). Most probably, the inscription was made in honour of Maximinus Thrax (KNEISSL 1969: 177; KETTENHOFEN 1986: 142).

⁶⁹ PEACHIN 1990: 88–90 clarifies the confirmations of Aurelian’s seventh *tribunicia potestas* by adducing the errors made by the stonemason and minters. Errors can sometimes be found in coinage and inscriptions, yet the coincidence between the two types of sources leads us to consider a different solution. A number of Aurelian’s inscriptions state erroneous numbers of *tribunicia potestas*; see SUSKI 2007: 13–26. For a list of inscriptions indicating the numbers of the emperor’s *tribunicia potestas* and consulships, see BIVONA 1966: 107; REA 1972: 27.

⁷⁰ *Cos. II, tr. pot. VII: MIR 47, 384 = RIC V 1, Aurelian, 16, 186. Cos. III, tr. pot. VII: MIR 47, 384 = RIC V 1, Aurelian, 16, 186.*

⁷¹ REA 1972: 26; KIENAST 1990: 235. In that case, the emperor would have assumed it after his triumph and the celebration of the *quinquennalia*. Before Aurelian, Maximinus Thrax and Decius may have assumed similar “extraordinary” tribunal authority (REA 1972: 26).

⁷² PEACHIN 1990: 90. The date of Aurelian’s assassination is not certain. The last papyrus from the period of his reign comes from Egypt, 19 October 275 (*P. Oxy. XII 1455, 20–26*). The earliest known document mentioning Tacitus is dated 9 May 276 (*P. Cairo. Isid. 108, 17–19*). Most likely, however, Tacitus came to power prior to 10 December 275 (when he assumed his second *tribunicia potestas*). On the dating of Aurelian’s assassination, see SUSKI 2008: 197–200. In that case, Tacitus should have assumed his tribunal authority on 1 January, not 10 December (PEACHIN 1990: 92). It is possible, even though M. PEACHIN admits that this option is less likely. As the scholar asserts, all of the nearest predecessors and successors of Tacitus assumed their tribunal authority on 10 December. Such an interpretation of the inscriptions and coinage (*MIR 47, 384 = RIC V 1, Aurelian, 16, 186*) with Aurelian’s seventh *tribunicia potestas* is disproved by the dates of those particular issues of the emperor. According to R. GÖBL (1933: 41), they were not the last ones issued by the emperor.

⁷³ The inscription contains yet another conspicuous irregularity. The ending has two enigmatic characters *IM* (the rest of the text is missing), whose interpretation is uncertain. It may have been a spelling mistake, as the stonemason intended to carve a number representing the distance in miles. Another attempt at explaining their meaning leads to some far-fetched and implausible theories. If we were to consider the hypothesis of Severina’s regency after the death of her husband, it might be a very vague and tentative epigraphical confirmation of those speculations. On this interpretation, assuming the dating of the inscription in agreement with M. PEACHIN’s hypothesis (i.e., December 275) would be very tempting. However, as these hypotheses are very problematic and there is very little basis in evidence, we cannot rely on such suppositions.

“Dacicus Maximus” is obvious⁷⁴. The *cognomen*’s meaning may have referred to Aurelian’s victory over the Carpi in 272⁷⁵ or the emperor’s campaign in Dacia⁷⁶. Unfortunately, our limited knowledge of the final years of Aurelian’s reign does not make it possible to decide which one of these hypotheses is more plausible.

⁷⁴ GROAG 1903: 1356; SOTGIU 1961: 22; BODOR 1973: 30; KETTENHOFEN 1986: 142; PEACHIN 1990: 92.

⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the inscription honours this victory of the emperor with the official title “Carpicus Maximus”. In order to commemorate Aurelian’s victory over the Carpi, it would have been sufficient to use the official *cognomen* “Carpicus Maximus”. Of course, it is possible to imagine that the founder of the inscription added, out of zealotry, the title associated with the emperor’s war, thus doubling the officially assumed *cognomen*. He may have failed to comprehend the sense of imperial appellation assumed in the commemoration of the triumph over the Carpi. It is nonetheless the sole title of this inscription that fails to correspond to Aurelian’s official titles. All the other cases are standard *cognomina* of this emperor.

⁷⁶ Aurelian carried out one or two campaigns in Dacia. He defeated the Goths at the end of 271, and the confrontation resulted in the death of the Gothic ruler Cannabas. The war began with the Goths invading Roman territory, after which the fighting would move on into the area north of the Danube (*HA Aurel.* 22, 2; *Zos.* I 50, 2; *Eutrop.* IX 13,1; *Oros.* VII 23, 4; *Amm.* XXXI 5, 17. On Aurelian’s war with the Goths, see WOLFRAM 1988: 56 f.; WATSON 1999: 54–56; SUSKI 2008: 68–77). The large scale of the Roman victory led some scholars to ascribe Aurelian’s assumption of the title “Dacicus Maximus” to that victory (HOMO 1904: 90; SOTGIU 1961: 22). This hypothesis is unconvincing, since the emperor had officially assumed the *cognomen* “Gothicus Maximus”, which is also represented as part of the above-mentioned inscription. Another possibility is connected with the developments shortly before Aurelian’s death. Towards the end of his life, the ruler had been planning a new military operation. Our sources do not agree on who was to be the target of that campaign. According to the *Historia Augusta*, Aurelian had been preparing for a war against the Persians (*HA Aurel.* 35, 4 f.). Zonaras and Synkellos provide a different account of the events (*Zon.* XII 27; *Sync.* 722, 12). The campaign was launched against the “Scythians”, i.e., Goths (on the meaning of the term “Scythians” in late Roman historiography, see POTTER 2004: 245 f.). According to Synkellos, the emperor was killed by his own troops when he set out on his campaign against the “Scythians”. A similar account is given by Zonaras. The prospective campaign is also mentioned by Malalas, although he does not identify the adversary against whom it was launched (*Malal.* XII 30 [301]). Even though a great majority of modern historians reconstruct the events on the basis of the *Historia Augusta* (HOMO 1904: 314; GROAG 1903: 1402; DEMOUGEOT 1969: 430; SYME 1971: 243; CIZEK 1994: 191; PASCHOUD 1996: 173 f.; KOTULA 1997: 175; CHRISTOL 1997: 181; SOUTHERN 2001: 325 f.), some scholars prefer to give credence to the Byzantine chroniclers (SALAMON 1971: 137 f.; SAUNDERS 1992: 268–273; SOUTHERN 2001: 225 f.). On the other hand, according to A. WATSON’S (1999: 102–104) compromise view, the emperor had been campaigning against the Goths in the summer of 275, after which he died in the course of his preparations for a confrontation with Persia. As we know, the *Historia Augusta* is not a very reliable source and it repeatedly reverts to the theme of avenging Valerian’s humiliating defeat. Preparations for a campaign against Persia do not preclude earlier attempts at subjugating the Goths, the Carpi, and other peoples of the *Barbaricum* starting to occupy the former province of Dacia. Perhaps the founder of the inscription in question (*CIL* XIII 8973) had known of the emperor’s preparations for an expedition against the Goths and Carpi, possibly aimed ultimately at recovering Dacia (or it may have been in reaction to some unknown incursion, considering that our knowledge of the last dozen or so months of Aurelian’s reign is really very sketchy). The governor who had repaired the road near Orleans would have honoured the emperor in advance and attributed to him the victory in the war which had just begun.

Another bout of the conflict between the Roman Empire and the Carpi took place under the Emperor Diocletian, yet we do not know very much about the course of those wars. However, we do know that the outcome of the conflict was the resettlement of the Carpi into the Roman province of Pannonia⁷⁷. The chronology of the fighting remains a matter of controversy. The first of the wars occurred before the year 301; in the edict on maximum prices, Diocletian and his co-rulers possess the title “Carpicus Maximus”. The breviarists describing Diocletian’s reign take note of the conflict with the Carpi, although the wars waged during his reign are not enumerated in any chronological order⁷⁸. The defeat of the Carpi is mentioned in a panegyric in honour of Constantius Chlorus in 297⁷⁹. It is nonetheless difficult to specify the date of the campaign against the Carpi. According to the chronicles of Jerome and Hydatius, it took place in 295⁸⁰. Unfortunately, as it happens, events are often misdated in chronicles. It is most likely the case here, because in March 295 the Emperor Diocletian had been staying at Nicomedia and in May of the same year at Damascus⁸¹. Probably at that time, the emperor became preoccupied with the reorganization of the *limes* in Arabia⁸². Scholars propose various dates for this conflict: 294, 295, 296, 296/297, or, more generally, the years 295–297⁸³.

⁷⁷ Aur. Vict. 39, 43; Eutrop. IX 25, 2 (according to the breviarist, Bastarnae and Sarmatians had been resettled as well); Amm. XXVIII 1, 5; Jerome, *Chron.* p. 226 (HELM). Groups of the Carpi may have been successively relocated into the territories of the Roman Empire following each campaign launched by the Tetrarchs against them.

⁷⁸ NIXON, RODGERS 1994: 116. According to Aurelius Victor, the annihilation of the Marcomanni and the resettlement of the Carpi occurred at the same time (“et interea caesi”) as the fall of Allectus, which took place in 296 (*Pan. Lat.* 8 [5], 11). See BARNES 1982: 11, 60; CASEY 1994: 33–35; KUHOFF 2001: 157–160). For this reason, W. KUHOFF (2001: 165) dates the Carpi campaign to the year 296. In turn, the defeat of the Marcomanni took place in 299 (*Chr. min.* I 230). See BARNES 1976a: 187). As we can see, it is not possible to determine precisely the date of Diocletian’s campaign against the Carpi on the basis of Aurelius Victor’s work. According to Eutropius, the campaign followed the victory in the war with Persia that had taken place in the years 296–299 (BARNES 1982: 54; SUSKI 1999, 153–183; KUHOFF 2001: 166–186). Diocletian and Galerius assumed the title “Carpicus Maximus” four times over the years 301–304, as well as the title “Sarmaticus Maximus” IV in 299 (BARNES 1976a: 187). Eutropius’ mention probably refers to all the Balkan campaigns of the Tetrarchs, both in the 290s and the early fourth century.

⁷⁹ *Pan. Lat.* 8 (4), 5, 2; 10, 5.

⁸⁰ Jerome, *Chron.* p. 226 (HELM); *Con. Const.* a. 295.

⁸¹ BARNES 1976a: 186.

⁸² BARNES 1976a: 187.

⁸³ **294**: KULIKOWSKI 2006: 357; LEADBETTER 2009: 98. **295**: KOLENDO 1969: 383; BOWMAN 2005: 80; KULIKOWSKI 2006: 357; BATTY 2007: 377. **296**: MATTINGLY 1939: 334; BARNES 1976a: 187 f.; BARNES 1982: 54; BIRD 1993: 150; BIRD 1994: 173; KUHOFF 2001: 165; BOWMAN 2005: 80. **296/297**: MATTINGLY 1939: 334; SESTON 1946: 132; KIENAST 1996: 264. **295–297**: BICHIR 1976: 171.

Between the years 301 and 304, the Tetrarchs assumed the title “Carpicus Maximus” four times⁸⁴, although there is basically no information on those campaigns. The sole evidence that may shed some light on the wars in question are two mentions in Lactantius. In the first of these passages, he refers to the tearing up of the edict depriving the Christians of ranks and offices and subjecting them to torture irrespective of their social rank. The edict was promulgated at Nicomedia on 23 February 303. It was torn up by an unidentified Christian man, who, as Lactantius recounts, also derided the victories over the Goths and Sarmatians⁸⁵. According to BARNES, this would mean that Galerius fought against the Carpi and Sarmatians along the Danubian frontier either in the latter half of 302 or during the winter of 302/3⁸⁶. The other passage is equally mysterious. In his account of Maximinus Daia’s guards, Lactantius mentions some Barbarians most of whom came from a tribe expelled from their territories by the Goths during Galerius’ *vicennalia*⁸⁷. It is very likely that the Barbarians in question were of Carpi origin⁸⁸. Therefore, if we assume that Lactantius’ account is correct, the surrender and re-settlement of a certain number of the Carpi in the territory of the Roman Empire took place in 303⁸⁹. Nonetheless, considering the fact that the Tetrarchs had assumed the title “Carpicus Maximus” four times over the course of four years, it seems plausible that it would have been incorporated in their titles in each successive year during that period⁹⁰. It is also possible that Diocletian’s presence in the territory of the Danubian frontier in 304 may have been connected with

⁸⁴ In the *Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium* decreed between 20 November and 9 December 301 (*ILS* 642 = M. GIACCHERO, *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, vols. I–II, Genova 1974), the Tetrarchs possess just one *cognomen ex virtute* referring to their victory over the Carpi. However, in the diplomas of 7 January 304, found at Aeclanum (*CIL* X 1113 = *CIL* XVI 157 = *AE* 1960, 1958), and 7 January 306, from Campagnatico (*AE* 1961, 240), Galerius is honoured with the five-fold title “Carpicus Maximus”; see KOLENDO 1969: 378–382; BARNES 1976a: 190 f.; LEADBETTER 2009: 101.

⁸⁵ Lact. *Mort. pers.* 13, 2: “Quod edictum quidam etsi non recte, magno tamen animo deripuit et conscidit, cum irridens diceret victorias Gothorum et Sarmatarum propositas. Statimque perductus non modo ectortus, sed etiam legitime coctus cum admirabili patientia postremo exustus est”. See MOREAU 1954: 276–281.

⁸⁶ BICHIR 1976: 171; BARNES 1976a: 191; BARNES 1982: 64; KIENAST 1996: 281; BOWMAN 2005: 85.

⁸⁷ Lact. *Mort. pers.* 38, 6: “Nam fere nullus stipator in latere ei nisi ex gente eorum qui a Gothis tempore vicennalium terris suis pulsus Maximiano se tradiderant malo generis humani, ut illi barbaram servitutem fugientes in Romanos dominarentur. His satellibus et protectoribus cinctus orientem ludibrio habuit”.

⁸⁸ MOREAU 1954: 411 f. identifies the resettled people as Sarmatians, which is a fairly plausible proposition.

⁸⁹ BICHIR 1976: 171; BARNES 1982: 64; CREED 1984: 116; KIENAST 1996: 281; BOWMAN 2005: 85; LEADBETTER 2009: 99.

⁹⁰ BARNES 1976a: 190 f.

campaigning against the Carpi⁹¹. This supposition is based solely on Diocletian’s presence on the *limes* and we have no concrete information on those campaigns. We do not even know the area where the fighting took place (most probably in Moesia).

A similarly enigmatic occurrence is another conflict with the Carpi during the reign of Galerius (in his years as Augustus). In the tolerance edict cited by Eusebius of Caesarea, Galerius’ titles include the sixth *cognomen ex virtute* “Carpicus Maximus”⁹². The confrontation must have taken place between 306 and 311 (in the summer or autumn of 307). The Emperor unsuccessfully invaded Italy⁹³; at that time, there must have been no armed conflict in the territories along the Danube⁹⁴. The absence of this *cognomen* among Licinius’ titles is used for a more accurate dating of that event⁹⁵. It suggests that the war took place prior to the convocation at Carnuntum in November 308⁹⁶. This is not certain, however, since the *cognomina* in honour of the victories of Licinius’ co-rulers were not always included among his titles⁹⁷. The wars that led to the incorporation of the successive *cognomina ex virtute* “Carpicus Maximus” in the Tetrarchs’ titles resulted from the Carpi’s withdrawal from Moldavia under pressure from the Goths (the Sintana de Mureş culture) in the late third and early fourth century⁹⁸.

The *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus” is present among the Emperor Constantine’s titles in a letter addressed to the consuls, praetors, tribunes, and the Senate, which dates back to February 337 and survives in the text of an inscription⁹⁹. Due to the nature of this particular document, the official status of the *cognomen* is beyond any doubt. It is more problematic to determine the circumstances in which Constantine the Great assumed the *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus”. The emperor had shown his interest in Dacia since the late 320s. In 328, he had a bridge built across the Danube, between the towns Oescus and Sucidava¹⁰⁰.

⁹¹ POTTER 2004: 341; BOWMAN 2005: 85.

⁹² Eus. *HE* VIII 17, 3.

⁹³ BARNES 1982: 64.

⁹⁴ KULIKOWSKI (2007: 78) dates the war with the Carpi to the summer of 307.

⁹⁵ BARNES 1976a: 192; BARNES 1976b: 149 f.

⁹⁶ BARNES 1976a: 192; BARNES 1976b: 149 f.; BARNES 1982: 64; KIENAST 1996: 280; POTTER 2004: 351; KULIKOWSKI 2006: 357; LEADBETTER 2009: 197.

⁹⁷ BARNES 1976a: 192.

⁹⁸ BICHIR 1976: 143 f.

⁹⁹ *AE* 1934, 158.

¹⁰⁰ *Chron. Pasch.* p. 525 (L. DINDORF); *Aur. Vict.* 41, 18; *Epit. de Caes.* 41, 14. In July 328, Constantine the Great had been staying at Oescus (*C.Th.* VI 35, 5); it was, most probably, just then that the emperor had ordered the above-mentioned bridge over the Danube to be built (BARNES 1976b: 151; ODAHL 2005: 200). The emperor’s presence in the Balkans should be dated to the spring and summer of 328. He still resided at Nicomedia as early as March 328 (*C.Th.* XIV 24, 1); in mid-May

A fortress called Daphne was erected on the left bank of the Danube, at the mouth of the river Marica¹⁰¹. Nonetheless, it is not very likely that this success had been honoured with the title “Dacicus Maximus”, as it is not attested in the inscriptions from the early 330s. Another possible opportunity for Constantine to celebrate his victory was successful campaign against the Goths. It took place towards the end of his reign, as suggested in Festus’ *Breviarium*¹⁰². Eusebius of Caesarea describes the emperor’s subjugation of the “Scythians” (i.e., Goths), although his account is not very specific on this point¹⁰³. The defeat of the Goths is also mentioned in Eutropius and the *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*¹⁰⁴. These two chronicles date the campaign to 332¹⁰⁵, which is the reason why a number of scholars have followed this particular dating of the war¹⁰⁶. Other scholars date this conflict to the years 335/336¹⁰⁷. However, regardless of the source used, i.e., Festus or Jerome, one thing is certain: the site of the war was the territory of Dacia, which was inhabited by the Goths at the time (the Sintana de Mureş Culture).

Unfortunately, there are very few surviving inscriptions with the victory titles “Dacicus Maximus” and “Carpicus Maximus”. For this reason, we should be very cautious in drawing conclusions from the extant epigraphical material. Nevertheless, there are some regularities to be noticed, as we can see in the following table:

Emperor	Title	Status of the title	Adversary	Location of campaigns
Maximinus Thrax	Dacicus	official	“Free Dacians”, Vandals (?)	Pannonia (?)
Philip the Arab	Carpicus	official	Carpi	Moesia
Decius	Dacicus	unofficial	Goths, Carpi	Dacia

(18 May), he reached Serdica (*C.Th.* XI 7, 4). His presence at Trier is dated to late September 328 (27 Sept.) (*C.Th.* I 4, 2); see BARNES 1982: 77.

¹⁰¹ WOLFRAM 1988: 61; ODAHL 2005: 200 f.

¹⁰² Festus 26, 1: “Constantinus rerum dominus extremo vitae suae tempore expeditionem paravit in Persas, toto enim orbe pacatis gentibus et recenti de Gothis victoria gloriosior cunctis in Persas descendebat agminibus”.

¹⁰³ Eus. *V. Const.* IV 5. For a discussion of the credibility of this passage, see HEATHER 1991: 107–115; CAMERON, HALL 1999: 311 f.

¹⁰⁴ Eutrop. X 7, 1; *Anon. Vales.* 31.

¹⁰⁵ Jerome, *Chron.* p. 233 (HELM).

¹⁰⁶ EADIE 1967: 149; BARNES 1981: 258; KÖNIG 1987: 173; HEATHER, MATTHEWS 1991: 17; POHLSANDER 2004: 78.

¹⁰⁷ CAMERON, HALL 1999: 311 f.; ODAHL 2005: 233.

Gallienus	Dacicus	unofficial	?	? (Dacia?)
Aurelian	Carpicus	official	Carpi	Moesia
Diocletian and Galerius	Carpicus	official	Carpi	? (Moesia?)
Constantine	Dacicus	official	Goths	Dacia

Firstly, contrary to the view expressed by a number of scholars, not each individual title “Dacicus Maximus” or “Carpicus Maximus” has necessarily to signify that the fighting had taken place in Dacia. They simply commemorate the victories over the “Free Dacians” and the Carpi, not the actual location of the fighting¹⁰⁸. By the same token, suppressing the Jewish rebellions were considered as campaigning against the Jews irrespective of the location of the conflict: Judea, Cyrenaica, or Cyprus¹⁰⁹. Of course, the term “Dacians” was used to refer to some other peoples and tribes inhabiting the territories formerly settled by the Dacians. The *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus” was thus applied in order to commemorate victories over the Goths or perhaps even Vandals. Secondly, of all the aforementioned emperors, the titles in question were officially assumed by Maximinus Thrax, Philip the Arab and Aurelian, Diocletian and the Tetrarchs, and Constantine. After the year 236, the *cognomen* “Dacicus Maximus” was to disappear from among the imperial titles for almost a century. The citizens of the *Imperium Romanum* would continue to use the former title in reference to their emperors, which bears testimony to the longevity of this *cognomen* in the awareness of the Romans. Thirdly, while the meanings of both titles were fairly similar in the 230s (cf. the inscription *AE* 1965, 223), they would subsequently come to change. Most probably, the title “Carpicus Maximus” refers thus to victories over the Carpi in Moesia (in most cases), whereas “Dacicus Maximus” pertains to successful campaigns in Dacia (regardless of whether the actual enemies had been the Carpi or Goths). This allows us to understand why Constantine assumed the title “Dacicus Maximus” following his victory over the Goths¹¹⁰.

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¹⁰⁸ It was already noted many decades ago that the victories over the Barbarians in Pannonia and Moesia did not result in titles such as “Pannonicus” or “Moesiacus” (*ALFÖLDI* 1939: 140).

¹⁰⁹ E.g., *tumul[us] Iudaic[us]* in Cyrenaica during Trajan’s reign (*AE* 1951, 123; *AE* 1928, 2; *SEG* IX 252; *AE* 1951, 208).

¹¹⁰ The identification of the Goths with the Getae (a people related to the Dacians) can be traced back to the late fourth century (for the first time, in Jerome); see *WOLFRAM* 1988: 28 f.

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ZUR FRAGE DER ETYMOLOGIE VON KYMBH

von

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Das griechische Substantiv κύμβη kommt in der Bedeutung ‘Kahn, Schiff’ zum ersten Mal bei Sophokles (Fr. 127) vor. Seine Grundbedeutung ‘Trinkgefäß, Becher, Kelch, Becken, Schale’ erscheint erst in hellenistischer Zeit (seit Nic.)¹, aber die Diminutivform κυμβίον n. ‘kleines Trinkgefäß, Becher’ ist viel früher belegt (seit Theopomp.)². Interessant ist auch die kyprische Form κύββα, die Athenaios (11, 65 [483a]) dem glossographischen Werk von Apollodoros entnimmt: Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑτυμολογιῶν Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον καλεῖν κύββα³. Darüber hinaus liefern die griechischen Quellen das Maskulinum κύμβος (mit Dat. Sing. κύμβει und Dat. Plur. κύμβεσι) m. ‘Schale, Schüssel (zum Mischen verwendet)’ (Sophr.; Nic.)⁴ und zwei andere Diminutiva κυμβίδιον n. (Inscr.-3. Jh. v. Chr.) und κυμβεῖον n. (seit Pherecr.)⁵. Aus dem Griechischen stammt lat. *cumba* / *cymba* f. ‘Kahn, kleines Schiff’⁶ und nach Plinius dem Älteren (*Nat.* 7, 208) ist dieses Wasserfahrzeug eine phönizische Erfindung: *onerariam Hippus Tyrius invenit, lembum Cyrenenses, cumbam Phoenices, celetem Rhodii, cercyrum Cyprii*.

¹ Das Wort hat auch die Bedeutung ‘Schale einer Krabbe’ (Opp.). Des Weiteren vgl. Hsch. κύμβη· νεῶς εἶδος· καὶ ὀξύβαφον· καὶ πήρα; *EM* 545, 27 s.v. κύμβαχος: κύμβη γὰρ ἡ κεφαλή.

² Bei den Lexikographen ist κυμβίον auch als ‘Kahn, Schiff’ bezeugt: Hsch. κυμβίον· εἶδος ποτηρίου, καὶ πλοίου; ähnlich *Suda* s.v. κυμβίον.

³ Ähnlich Ath. 11, 64 [482e]: κύββα ποτήριον Ἀπολλόδωρος Παφίους. Vgl. auch Hsch. κύββα· ποτήριον.

⁴ Vgl. Hsch. κύβος· (...) Πάφιοι δὲ τὸ τρύβλιον (scil. λέγουσι κύβον) und κόμβος· κόσσυμβος· τὸ ἔκπωμα.

⁵ Zu κύμβη, κυμβίον und anderen Formen s. in erster Linie *LSJ*: 1009 (mit *Supplement*, S. 189).

⁶ Zum lateinischen Wort s. *OLD*: 470.

Die Frage der Herkunft des Wortes κύμβη wirft zuletzt G. BAI (2009: 67 f.) in seinem Buch über die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen auf. Er lehnt mit Recht – wie schon viele Forscher vor ihm – die Urverwandtschaft von κύμβη f. mit aind. *kumbá-* ‘Topf, Krug’, awest. *xumbá-* ‘Topf’, npers. *xumb* ‘ds.’, mir. *comm* ‘Gefäß’, *cummal* ‘Becher, Schale’ u.a. ab⁷ und schlägt eine semitische Etymologie vor. Seiner Hypothese zufolge geht κύμβη auf akkad. *kappu* ‘Handfläche, Hand; Schale’, ugar. *kp* ‘Handfläche; Waagschale’, hebr. *kaḇ* ‘die hohle, ausgebreitete Hand; metallene Schale’, syr. *kappā* ‘Handfläche, Hand; Becher u.a.’, arab. *kaff* ‘Handfläche, Hand; Waagschale u.a.’ zurück⁸. Nehmen wir die erwähnte Plinius-Stelle in Betracht und die Tatsache, dass die semitischen Wörter die Bedeutung ‘Schale’ haben, dann könnten wir diese Etymologie akzeptieren, doch aus phonetischen Gründen ist sie wenig überzeugend⁹. Darüber hinaus ist in der bisherigen Forschung eine andere semitische Etymologie vorgeschlagen worden, die in semantischer wie phonetischer Hinsicht viel wahrscheinlicher zu sein scheint – eine Hypothese, die gewöhnlich – auch von G. BAI – übersehen wird.

Es handelt sich hier um eine Etymologie, auf die zum ersten Mal F.C. MOVERS (1841–56: II.3, 162–164) hingewiesen hat. Er verbindet κύμβη unter anderem mit dem hebr. *qubbaʿat* ‘Becher’¹⁰. Diese Gleichsetzung überzeugt wegen des

⁷ Diese Etymologie findet sich z. B. in: CURTIUS 1879: 158 u. 528; BOISACQ 1916: 534; *WP*: I, 375 f.; *WH*: I, 298; HOFMANN 1950: 165; *IEW*: 592; vgl. PRELLWITZ 1905: 251; STOKES 1907: 247; COHEN 1927: 107 f.; *NDEW*: I, 429 f.; GUSMANI 1960: 45. Viele Forscher weisen aber auf erhebliche Schwierigkeiten bei der Rekonstruktion der Urform hin; dazu s. *GEW*: II, 48 (‘Wegen der Lautfolge *qumb(h)- (für *qumb(h)-) kann es sich ja um kein uraltes idg. Erbstück handeln; vielmehr liegt ein Wanderwort vor“); *DELG*: 599 (‘„il s’agit p.-ê. d’un mot d’emprunt, d’un mot voyageur“); *EWALIA*: I, 370 (‘„der Zusammenhang ist nur unter der Annahme eines Kultur-Wanderwortes zu akzeptieren“); *EDG*: 802 (‘„the word cannot be inherited. It is rather a ‘Wanderwort’ which fits a vessel term very well“); vgl. auch MERLINGEN 1958: 67; *KEWA*: I, 234; MATASOVIĆ 2009: 219 f. Darüber hinaus vgl. die Hypothese vorgriechischer Herkunft bei FURNÉE 1972: 284; ähnlich BEEKES 1997: 224 (in seiner Terminologie handelt es sich hier um „an ancient European loanword“). In der Forschungsgeschichte wurde noch eine – ganz unwahrscheinliche – indogermanische Etymologie vorgeschlagen und zwar aus der Wurzel *keF-/*koF-/*ku- zu κύρα n. ‘Nadelöhr, Ohröffnung’, κύτος n. ‘Rundung, Wölbung (eines Schildes, Gefäßes u.a.); Gefäß, Rumpf’, κύλιξ f. ‘Becher, Kelch’ und κοίλος ‘hohl; gewölbt; vertieft, tieflegend’; so HOFFMANN 1889: 98; vgl. PETERSSON 1914–15: 249; LEWY 1895: 152.

⁸ Außerdem erwähnt er das hethitische Wort *kappi-* ‘ein Gefäß (wohl Schale)’, wahrscheinlich aus dem Akkadischen entlehnt.

⁹ Für die Wiedergabe des semitischen Vokals *a* durch *υ* im Griechischen weist BAI auf den Pflanzennamen κύμινον n. ‘Kümmel’ hin, dem im Semitischen solche Formen wie akkad. *kamūnu* / *kammūnu* / *kamannu* ‘Kümmel’, hebr. *kammōn* ‘ds.’, arab. *kammūn* ‘ds.’ u.a. entsprechen; die Geminate *-pp-* sei als stimmhaft wiedergegeben worden (dann durch die Dissimilation *κυββ-* > *κυμβ-*).

¹⁰ Aus semantischen Gründen ist der von MOVERS vermutete Zusammenhang mit hebr. *qōḇaʿ* / *kōḇaʿ* ‘Helm’ sehr bedenklich. Die Ansicht, dass hebr. *qubbaʿat* und *qōḇaʿ* / *kōḇaʿ* miteinander verwandt sind, begegnet jedoch auch in der neueren Literatur; s. z. B. SZNYZER 1984: 116.

auslautenden *t* im hebräischen Wort¹¹ zwar nicht völlig, aber heutzutage können einige andere Formen aus den semitischen Sprachen herangezogen werden, weshalb diese Etymologie inzwischen mindestens zwei Anhänger gewonnen hat¹². Es ist jetzt allgemein anerkannt, dass das hebr. *qubba'at* 'Becher'¹³ mit folgenden Wörtern zusammenhängt: akkad. *qabūtu / qabuttu* 'Schale, Trinkgefäß'¹⁴, ugar. *qb'* 'Becher, Kelch'¹⁵, phön. *qb'* 'ds.'¹⁶ und reichsaram. *qb'* (emphatisch) 'ds.'¹⁷. In manchen Arbeiten wird auch das ägypt. *qbhw* 'Libationsgefäß'¹⁸ damit in Verbindung gebracht, doch es ist schwer zu bestimmen, in welchem Verhältnis das ägyptische Wort zu den semitischen Wörtern steht¹⁹.

Im Kontext der Untersuchung der Etymologie von κύμβη sind ugar. *qb'*, phön. *qb'* und reichsaram. *qb'* besonders wichtig, weil sie den Konsonanten *t* – gegenüber akkad. *qabūtu / qabuttu* und hebr. *qubba'at* – nicht aufweisen. Aufgrund dieser Formen können wir annehmen, dass das griechische Wort aus **qubba'* (bzw. aus einer ähnlichen Form) stammt und ursprünglich κύββα lautete²⁰. Beachtenswert ist, dass diese Form sich im kyprischen Dialekt erhalten hat. In anderen Dialekten fand dann die Dissimilation -ββ- > -μβ- statt, ähnlich wie z. B. im Instrumentennamen τύ(μ)πανον n. 'Handpauke, Handtrommel' (aus ugar. *tp* 'Trommel oder Tambourin', hebr. *tōp* 'Trommel, Tambourin', jüd.-aram. *twp / twp / twp' / tuppā* 'ds.' u.a.), wo die Dissimilation -ππ- > -μπ- (später auch > π wegen der Angleichung an τύπτω 'schlagen, stoßen') vorgegangen ist²¹. Im Falle des Maskulinums κύμβος, das bei der Annahme der postulierten

¹¹ Diese Etymologie nimmt LEWY 1895: 152 nicht an und stellt stattdessen κύμβη mit semit. *qbb* 'wölben', hebr. *qubbā* mit unsicherer Bedeutung (nach LEWY 'gewölbtes Zelt'), arab. *qubba* 'Gewölbe, Kuppel' zusammen; Zustimmung bei BANAŢEANU 1938: 119 u. 120; zurückgewiesen schon von BOISACQ 1916: 534.

¹² So BROWN 1971, 6f.; HALAT: 994. Skeptisch gegenüber dieser Hypothese äußern sich die Autoren von *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions (DNWSI: 983)*, die sie – ohne irgendwelche Argumente – als „highly uncertain interpretation“ bezeichnen.

¹³ HALAT: 994.

¹⁴ AHw: 890 ('Becher, Kelch'); CAD: XIII, 43f. ('a bowl').

¹⁵ DUL: 690.

¹⁶ DNWSI: 983; PPD: 423. Darüber hinaus s. AMADASI GUZZO 1990: 20f., die die phönizischen Belege ausführlich bespricht (die Mehrheit der Belege stammt aus Zypern).

¹⁷ DNWSI: 983. Dazu s. auch SZNYCER 1984: 115f.

¹⁸ Zu ägypt. *qbhw* s. WB: V, 27; GHw: 922.

¹⁹ KOEHLER 1940: 36 ist der Meinung, dass ägypt. *qbhw* ins Hebräische zweimal, als *qubba'at* und als *qābīā* 'Trinkschale; Kelch am Leuchter', entlehnt worden ist.; so auch HALAT: 994; vgl. SZNYCER 1984: 116.

²⁰ Zur Wiedergabe von semit. *q* als griech. κ und semit. ' als ø vgl. z. B. griech. κασία, ion. κασίη, später auch κασσία f. 'Kasienlorbeer (*Cinnamomum iners*), Art Zimt' gegenüber hebr. *qāšī'ā* 'Kassia, Zimtblüten (die für Raucherwerk getrockneten Blüten von Arten von *Cassia*)'; zu diesem Lehnwort s. in erster Linie MASSON 1967: 48–50.

²¹ Zu τύ(μ)πανον s. z. B. LEWY 1895: 166; MAYER 1960: 332f.; vgl. auch MASSON 1967: 94 f.

Etymologie als sekundär zu betrachten ist, haben wir es vermutlich mit einer Rückbildung aus dem Diminutivum *κυμβίον* zu tun.

Auf Grundlage der dargestellten Angaben können wir feststellen, dass *κύμβη* in der Tat aus einer semitischen Sprache entlehnt worden ist. Sein Etymon ist aber nicht – wie G. BAI behauptet – akkad. *kappu* ‘Handfläche, Hand; Schale’, ugar. *kp* ‘Handfläche; Waagschale’, hebr. *kaḥ* ‘die hohle, ausgebreitete Hand; metallene Schale’ u.a., sondern akkad. *qabūtu* / *qabuttu* ‘Schale, Trinkgefäß’, ugar. *qb* ‘Becher, Kelch’, hebr. *qubba‘at* ‘ds.’, phön. *qb* ‘ds.’ und reichsaram. *qb* ‘ds.’. Die Entwicklung des Wortes lässt sich folgendermaßen erschließen: semitisch (vielleicht phönizisch) **qubba* ‘o.ä.’ → griechisch *κύββα* (im Kyprischen belegt) → *κύμβη* (mit der Dissimilation -ββ- > -μβ-) → *κυμβίον* (Diminutivum) → *κύβος* (wohl eine Rückbildung aus *κυμβίον*). Als Parallele für die Bedeutungsverschiebung ‘Gefäß’ → ‘Wasserfahrzeug’ kann man z. B. auf *γαυλός* m. ‘Art Gefäß, Melkeimer, Schöpfeimer, Krug’ und *γαῦλος* m. ‘rundes Lastschiff’ verweisen, die auf akkad. *gullu* ‘ein Gefäß’, ugar. *gl* ‘Trinkschale, Becher’, hebr. *gullā* ‘Becken, Schale, Wasserbecken’, phön. *gln* ‘Trinkschale, Becher’ zurückgehen²².

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AN OUTLINE OF THE ORIGINS OF MODERN RESEARCH
ON IMPERIAL COURT OFFICES IN THE PRINCIPATE*

by

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ABSTRACT: The article presents the results of research concerning the origins of the historiographic discourse of the imperial court offices in the Principate. Drawing on the works of Th. MOMMSEN, J. MARQUARDT, O. HIRSCHFELD, G. KRETSCHMAR, J. N. MADVIG, L. FRIEDLÄNDER, E. HERZOG, É. CUQ and many others, the author investigates the origin of scholarly views on the subject and uncovers the mechanisms that formed the image of imperial administration in the European historiography in the second half of the 19th century.

The majority of historians specialising in Roman law or antiquity and presently doing research on the administration of the early Roman Empire incorporate the scholarly achievements of their nineteenth-century predecessors in their research. Distinguished scholars such as Th. MOMMSEN, J. MARQUARDT, O. HIRSCHFELD, J. N. MADVIG, L. FRIEDLÄNDER and É. CUQ are among the most widely quoted authors nowadays. There are several reasons that validate this practice. Firstly, these scholars pioneered modern research on the imperial administration. In their writings, they used a variety of sources, encompassing literary, legal, inscriptive or numismatic materials. Furthermore, their source base is not significantly different from what we know today, so it can be said that there are two primary goals of contemporary research on the Roman administration: updating scholarly findings by using newly discovered sources (mainly epigraphical and papyrological) as well as drawing new conclusions or developing new original theses from the same sources as the authors of the early works on the subject. All studies by contemporary scholars have one thing in common, at least in theory, namely that they need to address the issues raised by their predecessors.

The aim of this article is to highlight to the issues which have previously been absent from scientific discourse, namely to present the results of an analysis of the

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views of modern historiography on the topic of the imperial court offices of the Principate¹. Research on the subject began in the second half of the 19th century². In this period, the imperial court offices were of interest to German and also, to a lesser extent, French scholars³. In the collection of twenty-two studies that refer to the said topic, works written by German-speaking scholars prevail. There

¹ I carried out an in-depth analysis of the works from the second half of the 19th century in KŁODZIŃSKI 2012a: 63–152. The terms *officia maxima* or *officia palatina* are often translated as court offices, household offices or palatine offices. Some scholars also use the words secretariat and secretary rather than office and official. For the purposes of this article, the latter terms are adopted. Only the terms *officia maxima* and *principes officiorum* are confirmed in the sources from the Principate, see Suet. *Dom.* 7, 2; *AE* 1947, 182 = *AE* 1974, 654. For similar source phrases see Suet. *Aug.* 37; *HA Aur.* 8, 10; *Alex.* 32, 1; *C.* 9.51.1. Suetonius also wrote about *officium epistolarum* (*Vita Hor.* 5), *officium a voluptatibus* (*Tib.* 42, 2) and *officium admissionis* (*Vesp.* 14). Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 21. The terms *officium memoriae* and *officium a mandatis* are confirmed in two other inscriptions from the Principate (*CIL* VI 8619; *CIL* VI 8813 = *CIL* VI 33751). In this period, Tacitus (*Hist.* I 58) wrote about *ministeria principatus*. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII 53; XII 57. By contrast, the term *officia palatina* was used to describe court offices of the early Roman Empire by historiographers of the late Roman Empire, see Aur. Vict. *Epit. Caes.* 14, 11; *HA Gall.* 17, 8. It seems that LOUIS-LUCAS 1883: 410–415 n. 63 conducted the most extensive research on the origins of terminology related to household offices, including the Principate. For a contemporary analysis of this subject see KŁODZIŃSKI 2012a: 43–63. Modern research on the Roman imperial court draws mainly upon the sociological analysis of court societies by N. ELIAS. See PATERSON 2007: 121–156; SPAWFORTH 2007: 1–16; ACTON 2011: 103–124; POTTER 2011: 59–80; SMITH 2011: 125–151; WALLACE-HADRILL 2011: 91–102. Unless it is indicated otherwise all quotations in foreign languages are in double citation marks and their English versions are provided by the author in square brackets.

² Due to the complexity of the issue, it seems pointless to analyse the works from the second half of the 19th century that describe the history of the Roman Empire in general. For this reason I decided to illustrate the views of 19th-century historiography on the issue of the imperial court offices in the Principate using monographs and textbooks on Roman imperial administration or more generally on Roman public law. It was my intention to use only scholarly works on the subject available today. The value of such sources is guaranteed by the fact that contemporary experts on the subject often reference research done by their predecessors. The perspective I adopted is to provide a competent and integral presentation of the pioneering views on imperial court offices that underpinned fundamental scholarly traditions on this subject over a hundred years ago.

³ The second half of the 19th century was a period when German scholars dominated the historiography of Roman public law. See GOOCH 1913; DEMANDT 1992: 149–210; EBEL 1992: 449–485; WIEDEMANN 2005: 31–40. At that time English literature tended to omit issues connected with imperial administration and lacked descriptions of the imperial court offices in the Principate. Only at the beginning of the 20th century did A.H.J. GREENIDGE (1901: 418–420) describe in a general way “personal assistants” as part of the secretariate of the Principate. In the same year F.F. ABBOTT (1901: 362) described the principal bureaus attached to the imperial household. Anglo-saxon scholars stressed the exclusivity of German and French textbooks on Roman administration. T.M. TAYLOR (1899: V) wrote: “I have been led to write this History by the want I have often felt of a text-book, dealing with the origin and growth of the Roman institutions, which should be accessible to those not equipped with a knowledge of French and German”. H. MATTINGLY (1910: VII–VIII) wrote in a similar mood “[t]he modern literature on the subject is mainly in German, and I must frankly acknowledge a very deep debt to the work of several eminent German scholars. Above all others I must mention Otto Hirschfeld of Berlin, whose work must form the basis of all subsequent research on these lines, and Mommsen and Marquardt, whose great *Handbuch der römischen Altertümer* is a veritable treasure-house of information for the student of the Roman Empire”.

are twelve works available in German, eight in French, one in Latin and one in Italian⁴. Apart from a short 18-page study by FRIEDLÄNDER (1861), none of the modern scholars devoted a separate publication to the imperial court offices of the Principate. This administrative structure was typically mentioned in comprehensive textbooks on Roman public law and administration in the early Empire, often as a side note, while describing the organisation of the imperial household (court) and the imperial council. The rather exceptional monograph by CUQ (1881) described the offices at length, yet only in the context of *consilium principis*⁵.

Analysing this issue in the works from the second half of the 19th century allowed me to identify several recurrent historiographic tendencies in the works of that period and reach several interesting conclusions on the topic. Three publications: *Römisches Staatsrecht* by Th. MOMMSEN, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Bd. I: *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* by O. HIRSCHFELD and *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit. Von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* by L. FRIEDLÄNDER⁶ seem to have had an undeniable influence on all later works on Roman administration. The importance of these works for 19th century scholarship on the imperial offices is sufficiently illustrated merely by quoting the relevant passages from the chapters that describe the imperial court offices⁷. The above-mentioned work by FRIEDLÄNDER, a philologist from Königsberg, was the most widely quoted, with as many as fourteen scholars referencing his work. Thirteen scholars quoted two other works; a general study of the Roman constitutional system by MOMMSEN and a textbook on Roman administration by HIRSCHFELD⁸. A detailed analysis of the references to particular works indicates

⁴ FRIEDLÄNDER 1861; EGGER 1863: 220–258; BORGHESE 1869: 3–39; DURUY 1876: 266–276; MARQUARDT 1876: 95–106; MOMMSEN 1877: 806–810; HIRSCHFELD 1877: 201–218; KRETSCHMAR 1879; CUQ 1881: 77–138; MADVIG 1881: 553–560; MISPOULET 1882: 279–282; CUQ 1884: 361–401; KARLOWA 1885: 544–549; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1886: 164–165; LIEBENAM 1886: 51–58; HERZOG 1887: 778–790; WILLEMS 1888: 427–430; FRIEDLÄNDER 1888: 171–192; SCHILLER 1893: 93–96; ZOELLER 1895: 311–315; CARETTE 1895: 183–199; HIRSCHFELD 1905: 318–342.

⁵ CUQ 1884: 361–401. In French literature on the subject the close relationship between the imperial court offices and the imperial council was particularly emphasised. G. LACOUR-GAYET (1888: 54) summed up the relations between *consilium principis* and the imperial court offices in the following manner: “Sans la chancellerie, le «conseil du prince» aurait été une assemblée de parade; sans le «conseil du prince» la chancellerie aurait été un corps sans tête”.

⁶ MOMMSEN 1877; HIRSCHFELD 1877; FRIEDLÄNDER 1888.

⁷ An extensive list of palatine offices analysed by particular scholars and their impact on other works on the subject can be found in KŁODZIŃSKI 2012a: 197–201.

⁸ It should be noted that the present analysis includes the first (1877) and the second (1905) edition of HIRSCHFELD’s textbook. In his second book, HIRSCHFELD updated the sources and literature, and changed the title of the chapter “Die kaiserliche Kanzlei und der Staatsrath” to “Das kaiserliche Kabinett und der Staatsrat”. See HIRSCHFELD 1905: 307–342. Nevertheless, his main theses on the imperial court offices remained unchanged and particular sentences from the two chapters quoted are virtually the same in the previous edition of the book.

another regularity: German scholars often quoted works by foreign authors, in this case most frequently those by EGGER or CUQ. A similar tendency may be observed in French literature on the subject. For example, research included in the textbooks by BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ and WILLEMS was determined by the studies made by MOMMSEN and by HIRSCHFELD. However, it was not uncommon to quote only those scholars who wrote in the same language. Such a practice was followed by Th. MOMMSEN, G. KRETSCHMAR, E. HERZOG, M. ZOELLER from Germany, V. DURUY, E. CARETTE from France and J. N. MADVIG from Denmark⁹.

It should be indicated that the way we understand the character of imperial court offices nowadays is different than the one presented in 19th century scientific discourse. The subchapter of *Hof und Haushalt* by MOMMSEN (1877: 806–810), part of his classic study entitled *Römisches Staatsrecht*, incorporated a unique and pioneering description of the internal organisation of the emperor's palace and household that was initially accepted, then criticised and finally rejected by the next generations of scholars (see PATERSON 2007: 126–127). In the past, scholars such as MOMMSEN, HIRSCHFELD or KARLOWA accepted the dichotomous division in the organisation of the emperor's household (palace). This division concerned the characteristics of the administrative reality in the imperial household, that is, to use the words of A. WINTERLING, *verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Aspekten*, which were formulated on the basis of particular properties (e.g. the social and legal status of a given official). This research perspective gave rise to a general pattern preserved in the literature on the subject: public/private, state/home, political/non-political or free/enslaved¹⁰. These dichotomous divisions were reflected in the modern terminology adopted by the scholars. For example, in their eyes, imperial slaves and freedmen as *kaiserliche Gesinde* could only hold the posts of private assistants (*Gehilfenstellungen*) in the *kaiserliche Haushalt*. As WINTERLING (2009: 65) noted, even earlier on scholars shared the opinion that it was an abuse of the emperor's power when imperial freedmen (e.g. *ab epistulis* of Narcissus, *a libellis* of Polibius, *a cubiculo* of Cleander) gained political significance and rose in the ranks of imperial servants, classified as “private”; in other words, this practice was at variance with the legally binding official protocol of governing the Roman Empire, as MOMMSEN and HIRSCHFELD believed. By contrast, the imperial offices held by equites were described using

⁹ HIRSCHFELD, in the chapter “Die kaiserliche Kanzlei und der Staatsrath” from 1877 did not quote the pioneering work by EGGER from 1863 (first imprint 1858), yet while discussing the *a cognitionibus* office in the chapter “Das kaiserliche Kabinett und der Staatsrat” from 1905 he often quoted the works of another French scholar É. CUQ on the post of *magister sacrarum cognitionum* (CUQ 1881) and the imperial council (CUQ 1884).

¹⁰ WINTERLING 1999: 84. The divisions are also inscribed in the titles of German textbooks from the period: *Staats- und Privataltertümer* (see WINTERLING 1997: 3). The divisions correspond with the ancient terms: *publicus/privatus, polis/oikos, res publica/domus, res publica/res privata* and *ingenuus/servus*.

terms such as *Staatsämter* or *Hofämter* which indicated the public or the state specificity of the offices. Dichotomous divisions of this kind shaped the way of describing the administrative structures; this mode of description was criticised in the second half of the twentieth century¹¹. Again, according to WINTERLING (2009: 65), contemporary researchers of antiquity have adopted a stance that differs considerably from the historiographic tradition on this matter. G. BOULVERT as well as H. PAVIS D'ESCURAC decided that the organisation of the imperial palace should not be seen in terms of a private *domus*. In their opinion, the offices that employed imperial slaves and freedmen constituted a part of the *res publica*¹². PAVIS D'ESCURAC wrote that *affaires publiques et privées* were managed by imperial freedmen (from the reign of Claudius)¹³. Nowadays, palace servants are treated as a part of the administration of the Roman Empire; for example, equites holding the posts of praetorian prefects or prefects of Egypt and imperial freedmen holding the offices *ab epistulis*, *a libellis*, *a rationibus* may generally be described as public or state officials¹⁴.

In his work *Aula Caesaris: Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofes in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr.–192 n. Chr.)* published in 1999, WINTERLING discussed the above-mentioned historiographic tendency organised around the division *öffentlich (staatlich) / privat (häuslich)* in the evolution of the administrative reality in the structure of the emperor's palace, based on *Römisches Staatsrecht* by MOMMSEN and *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* by HIRSCHFELD¹⁵. As has been indicated in the quotations above, the importance of these works and their representative character for German historiography in the 19th century are undeniable.

¹¹ The practice of distinguishing the public and the private sphere in the social reality is widely discussed, especially in contemporary humanities. J. HABERMAS, a German philosopher and sociologist, as well as P. ARIÈS, a French medievalist, are among those who famously discussed the matter with regard to historiographic discourse. See GOODMAN 1992: 1–20.

¹² PAVIS D'ESCURAC 1987: 401: “La chancellerie impériale offre l'illustration la plus connue, la plus voyante, du rôle nouveau que prend sous Claude la familia impériale dans les affaires publiques touchant à la vie de l'État”. See BOULVERT 1974: 191–197; WINTERLING 1999: 114.

¹³ PAVIS D'ESCURAC 1987: 400: “Affaires privées et affaires publiques sont confiées à des bureaux différents”.

¹⁴ For example, S. H. RUTLEDGE (2002: 318), while reviewing the study by WINTERLING on *Aula Caesaris*, wrote that “[...] the *domus principis* was essentially a state apparatus (as witness the sale of slaves through the *aerarium*) and that its functionaries, from the *cubicularii* to the *ab epistulis*, were all, in essence, state officials. Hence Claudius's freedmen became state officials, such as the *a rationibus* or *a libellis* in their own right [...]”. W. ECK (1998: 70–71) classified the officials of *officia Palatina (Hofämter)* as equal to other equestrian officials such as *praefectus praetorio*, *praefectus vigilum* or *praefectus Aegypti* in the *große Aufgabengruppen*, a non-senatorial state administration that served the state from Augustus to Nero.

¹⁵ WINTERLING 1999: 84–86. See PANI 2003: 107; WINTERLING 2009: 65 n. 21.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that nearly thirty years elapsed between the publication of MOMMSEN's book in 1877 and the publication of HIRSCHFELD in 1905. Therefore, it seems justified to suggest a need for thorough research of the period in-between the two publications in order to fill in the gaps in our knowledge about a period that is virtually absent in scholarly works by the historians of antiquity. Such research would make it possible to determine whether numerous analyses of the imperial court offices written in other languages and set aside from the German historiographic classics were also affected by the same historiographic tendency. This is the goal that I hope to attain in this article.

In 1876 the division of palace offices into the household and the state sphere, based on the legal status of the officials in the palace, was presented by MARQUARDT (1876: 106) who wrote that the household assistants in the emperor's cabinet performed duties unrelated to any public office (*nicht Magistrate*). These posts were initially held by freedmen; once these private posts were transformed into public offices, they were given to equites. In 1879 G. F. KRETSCHMAR (1879: 22) pointed out that the imperial court offices were both private and public. Similarly to Marquardt, the scholar observed that imperial court offices were originally household offices held by the emperor's freedmen. The German Romanist also wrote about a major shift in the specificity of the said offices, which were changed into public posts during the reign of Hadrian. This shift was triggered by the fact that the offices that had previously belonged to freedmen were then taken over by equites. As a result imperial court offices attained the status of the highest procuratorial posts (KRETSCHMAR 1879: 22–23). Another German Romanist, O. KARLOWA, while describing the status of the palace offices and their officials, took the binary opposition between the private and the public sphere of imperial administration as his starting point. In his opinion, common servants should not be seen as state officials¹⁶. In the group of household and private posts, the German scholar included assistants (*Gehilfenstellungen*) and household posts (*Hausämter*), while in the group of public or rather state offices he included state offices (*Staatsämter*) and higher procuratorial posts (*höheren Prokuratoren*)¹⁷. M. ZOELLER (1895: 312–314) similarly presented the binarity of *verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Aspekten*. He noted that the posts in the imperial court offices, auxiliary posts (*bedeutenden Gehilfenstellungen* or *Gehilfenämter*), were changed into procuratorial posts during the reign of Hadrian. Furthermore, he also stated that, thanks to this change, palace offices held not by freedmen but by equites became an integral part of the imperial state administration¹⁸. The

¹⁶ KARLOWA 1885: 538: “[...] einfache Hausdiener, nicht als öffentliche Beamte angesehen”.

¹⁷ KARLOWA 1885: 539 emphatically concluded that “[...] sie streiften damit auch formell den privatrechtlichen Charakter ab und wurden in wirkliche Staatsämter verwandelt”.

¹⁸ ZOELLER 1895: 312: “welche materiell dem Gebiet der staatlichen Administration angehörten”.

evolutionary aspect of these changes is perhaps best summed up by ZOELLER himself who, while writing about the offices *ab epistulis* and *a libellis*, remarked that “[u]rsprünglich reine *officia palatina*, hatten sie sich allmählich in die wichtigsten Staatsämter verwandelt” (ZOELLER 1895: 313). Not unlike ZOELLER, H. SCHILLER (1893: 96) mentioned the difference between the private and the public imperial household. Nonetheless, he followed the dominant scholarly opinions of his time and stated that the emperor’s servants held influential but unofficial private posts.

This way of describing the administrative aspects of the Roman Empire was then typical for German historiography and with time became a particularly valuable and creative contribution by German scholars to the studies of antiquity, as their works served as a blueprint for describing imperial administration that was later adopted by French scholars. It seems that J.-B. MISPOULET (1882: 279) was the first to note the importance of the dichotomy within the structure of the palace offices. He decided that the offices held by slaves and freedmen were initially private in character. According to MISPOULET, public status was granted to palace officials as a result of the development and transformation of the monarchistic idea of government (p. 279 note 1). MISPOULET emphasised the public character of the office *ab epistulis* in the following manner “[...] n’acquiert que plus tard, sous Hadrien – ou peut-être déjà sous les Flaviens – son véritable caractère de fonction publique de rang équestre”¹⁹. In his textbook on Roman institutions, A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ (1886: 164) also paid attention to the freedmen who before the reign of Hadrian had held the posts of *domestiques particuliers de l’empereur* in the imperial household offices. The scholar noted that after Hadrian became Emperor the offices were reformed and household assistants were recruited from the equestrian order. Quoting the works of MISPOULET and BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, E. CARETTE (1895: 194) suggested a similar way of describing the imperial court offices.

French researchers were not the only ones to use the works of German scholars while describing the Roman administrative structure. The pioneering descriptions made by German scholars were also an important point of reference for T. DYDYŃSKI, an outstanding Polish Romanist and erudite from the end of the 19th century and the author of *Cesarz Hadryan. Studium historyczno-prawne [Emperor Hadrian. A Historical and Legal Study]*²⁰. In the said study, he

¹⁹ MISPOULET 1882: 280. Therein the French scholar (1882: 280 n. 6) cited HIRSCHFELD.

²⁰ DYDYŃSKI 1899. In the same year that DYDYŃSKI’s study was published, a review of his monograph was printed in the Warsaw monthly, *Ateneum. Pismo naukowe i literackie*. H. GALLE (1899: 547), a literary critic, recognized its unique value and stated that “studium prawne, oparte na szerokiej erudycji, jest u nas prawdziwą rzadkością. Z tém większą tedy przyjemnością witamy niniejszą pracę [...], zalecającą się sumienném wniknięciem w istotę i ducha prawa rzymskiego” [a legal study supported on the author’s erudition is of great value in Poland. Therefore we are even more happy to welcome this work [...] that with all due diligence reflects the essence and spirit of the Roman law].

described the character of the court servants as predominantly private rather than public (DYDYŃSKI 1899: 82). DYDYŃSKI wrote in rather a straightforward manner about an administrative process that involved the evolution of private palace offices into state offices. Recognizing the importance of Hadrian's reforms and quoting HIRSCHFELD, he expressed the view that during the reign of Hadrian, the imperial council was in a close relationship with the imperial court offices (*kancelarya cesarska*) were transformed from private institutions into public ones. They were no longer managed by freedmen, but by equites. Central court offices (*officia palatina*) *ab epistulis, a libellis, a memoria, a studiis, a cognitio-nibus* were then counted as state administrative offices (DYDYŃSKI 1899: 102). On a different page, DYDYŃSKI (1899: 84) remarked that the private character of the officials appointed by the emperor was gradually effaced and that their initially assistant, unofficial posts became public.

E. HERZOG (1887: 778–790), another German scholar, found a particularly interesting perspective on the matter in question and compared the imperial household to *domus privata* and the emperor himself to a private citizen (*Privatmann*). in a chapter of his work about the palace offices. HERZOG recognised (1887: 781) the political character of the departments within the imperial court offices. He also held the departments to be an important political service in the emperor's palace; however, his most interesting observations are concerned with discerning the character of the posts in the imperial court offices. In contrast to other scholars whose views I have described so far, HERZOG emphasised that the duties of officials had the same status as public service from the reign of Claudius, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that equites later took over the offices. More to the point, HERZOG noted that “[...] erst Claudius seine Freigelassenen wie Staatsbeamte und die obersten unter denselben wie Minister stellte” (1887: 780). Moreover, the German scholar observed that the exceptional duties carried out by different departments of the offices in the imperial court should not be seen as equal to those carried out in the houses of private citizens (1887: 781–782).

Taking into account the above deliberations, it should be concluded that WINTERLING'S opinion (2009: 65) that only contemporary scholars such as BOULVERT or PAVIS D'ESCURAC adopted a radically different approach to the question of the division into the private and the public sphere is not entirely justified, as it seems that HERZOG expressed a similar view in his book, printed in 1887, and so before the French scholars, who wrote in the second half of the 20th century. In his opinion, freedmen-officials were secretaries who performed public (state) duties as early as at the time of Claudius' reign. This assertion contradicted the theses of MOMMSEN or HIRSCHFELD which, as I have indicated, were regarded as a basis for the analyses in earlier historiography, not only in German, but also in French and Polish.

It seems important to add that scholars do not share a universal definition of the imperial court offices in the Principate, despite more or less general analyses

on this issue conducted in the second half of the 19th century. Defining the imperial court offices as a part of the imperial palace (household) composed of particular offices within a complete administrative structure proved problematic and this difficulty resulted in different modes of its description in the second half of the 19th century. Scholars of that period adopted specific criteria for classifying the offices in question. One of the major premises that affected the classification of the office within the imperial court offices was whether it was counted among the procuratorial offices. Basing on this criterion, some scholars excluded the *a rationibus* office (often described as *Reichsfinanzministerium*) from the imperial court offices. It seems that HIRSCHFELD was the first to use this classification in 1877. In a chapter devoted to imperial court offices, the researcher stated that the post *a rationibus* (*Verwaltungsamt*) was held by an equestrian procurator in the reign of Hadrian²¹. On the other hand, he regarded the offices *ab epistulis*, *a libellis*, *a memoria*, *a studiis* and *a cognitionibus* as posts unconnected with the *Finanzverwaltung* which were never held by competent procurators²². He described the posts in detail in the chapter *Die kaiserliche Kanzlei und der Staatsrath* (HIRSCHFELD 1877: 201–218). KARLOWA (1885: 538) described the relation between the palace offices and the procuratorial posts in a similar manner. KARLOWA deemed the case of *a rationibus* exceptional, since this office, unlike the *Hausämter*, was held by procurators. In the chapter on the imperial court offices, the German Romanist presented four posts in detail: *ab epistulis*, *a libellis*, *a cognitionibus* and *a memoria* (pp. 544–549). It should be noted that KARLOWA had a different understanding of the term ‘procuratorial post’ than HIRSCHFELD. KARLOWA defined the procurator as principally the representative of his sovereign

²¹ HIRSCHFELD 1877: 201: “Auszunehmen davon ist nur das Amt *a rationibus*, das schon früh zu einem wirklichen Verwaltungsamt geworden und auch äusserlich durch Hadrian zu einer ritterlichen Procurator gestempelt worden ist”. HIRSCHFELD, who realised that the freedmen who held the *a rationibus* office had the title of *procurator*, firmly believed that it was Hadrian who passed the *constitutioneller Act* that transferred the court offices from freedmen to equites, with the reservation that only the *Finanzamt*, the *a rationibus* office, could be classified as a procuratorial post from that time on. See HIRSCHFELD 1877: 32. HIRSCHFELD had a tendency to ascribe many important reforms to the emperor Hadrian in his writing. See DEMANDT 1992: 173. It appears that classifying the *a rationibus* office as an equestrian procuratorial post, a part of the administrative structure, since the reign of Trajan’s successor was not confirmed in the sources known at that time. See CUQ 1884: 395; *CIL* XIV 2104 = *ILS* 1475; *HA, Hadrianus* 22, 8. R.H. LACEY (1917: 40) wrote “[w]e have no sure example under Hadrian of the *a rationibus* [...]”. Quoting the FRIEDLÄNDER’s list of *a rationibus* officials, the scholar (1917: 40 n. 37) noted “[i]n the first century of the empire, the highest financial officer in the emperor’s service, the *procurator a rationibus*, was so far as known to us, a freedman”.

²² It appears important to add that MATTINGLY followed this research by HIRSCHFELD. MATTINGLY (1910: 86) wrote that “of these [*ministeria principatus*, K. K.] the ‘*a rationibus*’ alone could be regarded as a procuratorship; the ‘*ab epistulis*’, ‘*a libellis*’, ‘*a studiis*’, and ‘*a cognitionibus*’, on the other hand, lacked the financial character, which was bound up with the meaning of the word ‘procurator’”. ABBOTT (1911: 362) disagreed with these views and wrote that “the principal bureaus attached to the imperial household were those *a rationibus*, *ab epistulis*, *a libellis*, *a cognitionibus*, and *a memoria*”.

(the emperor) carrying out emperor's duties, whereas HIRSCHFELD usually associated the post of procurator with finance administration or dealing with financial matters. In addition, some of the scholars writing in the 19th century linked the *a rationibus* post with a procuratorial post and regarded one of the imperial freedmen as a procurator – Claudius Etruscus, described by Statius (*Silv.* 3, 3) and mentioned in the inscription (*CIL* XIV 2104) commissioned by T. Aurelius Aphrodisius, who was the *proc. Aug. a rationibus*²³. Still another group of scholars associated the *a rationibus* office with an equestrian procuratorial post established by Hadrian²⁴. Scholars recognised the title *proc. ab epistulis et a patrimonio* of Titinius Capito which was mentioned in the inscription (*CIL* VI 40489), but regarded it as wrong or contrary to the context of the inscription²⁵. The works of HIRSCHFELD and KARLOWA provided the impetus for other scholars. MISPOULET (1882: 280 n. 3), taking the note in HIRSCHFELD as his example, decided that “les employés de ces bureaux [*ab epistulis, a libellis, a memoria, a cognitionibus, K. K.*], à la différence du fonctionnaire financier *a rationibus*, ne furent jamais qualifiés *procuratores*” (MISPOULET 1882: 279–280). In contrast, ZOELLER (1895: 312–314) followed KARLOWA and excluded the *a rationibus* office from the structure of the imperial court offices, as he wrote that “doch verwandelt sich der *a rationibus* später in einen *procurator*” (p. 312). Nevertheless, other scholars such as MADVIG, BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, HERZOG or WILLEMS included the *a rationibus* post in the administrative structure in question²⁶. Quite interestingly, the scholars described the office as being for bookkeeping in the part of their works that were not devoted to the imperial court offices, but to financial matters²⁷. CUQ (1884: 394–397) described the *a rationibus* office in the chapter “Les principes officiorum”, yet at the beginning of his study he counted only *a libellis, a studiis, a cognitionibus* and *ab epistulis* as assistant posts that supported the work of *consilium principis* (p. 361).

There were also many other differences in the way scholars perceived the imperial court offices at that time. By applying the criterion of hierarchical structure, scholars formulated different conclusions with regard to the importance of particular offices within the administrative or political structures. HIRSCHFELD, KRETSCHMAR and HERZOG provided various explanations for their view that *a rationibus* was the most important or rather the most significant office. The first

²³ CUQ 1884: 395; HERZOG 1887: 667 n. 5. According to CUQ, the procuratorial post connected with bookkeeping was given to the members of *ordo equester* in the mid-second century. See CUQ 1884: 395.

²⁴ FRIEDLÄNDER 1888: 171–172; HIRSCHFELD 1877: 32; LIEBENAM 1886: 51.

²⁵ HIRSCHFELD 1877: 201 n. 1; MISPOULET 1882: 280 n. 3.

²⁶ MADVIG 1881: 559–560; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1886: 164; WILLEMS 1888: 428–429.

²⁷ MADVIG 1881: 560; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1886: 164 n. 3; WILLEMS 1888: 429; HERZOG 1887: 667.

of them pointed to the power and political significance of the *a rationibus* official Pallas and the importance of the procuratorial *Reichsfinanzministerium* in the Roman Empire²⁸. KRETSCHMAR, on the other hand, decided that for book-keeping (also described by him as *Art von Reichsfinanzministerium*) was the most important branch of the palace administration, since the *a rationibus* was responsible for all the emperor's bills and the expenses of the emperor's treasury²⁹. According to KRETSCHMAR (1879: 22), the *a libellis* and *ab epistulis* offices were "kaum geringere Bedeutung". Still, in the opinion of HERZOG, the privileged position of the *a rationibus* office resulted from the fact that later on only this official possessed the title of procurator with the palace offices³⁰. Furthermore, HERZOG (1887: 667) pointed to Claudius Etruscus, depicted by Statius, and stated that a freedman bearing the title *a rationibus* or *procurator a rationibus* was at the top of the whole administrative structure (*Spitze der ganzen Verwaltung*). Nonetheless, there were other competing views on the issue; ZOELLER noted that the *ab epistulis* and *a libellis* offices were the most significant among the palace offices and assistant posts³¹.

There are also other conclusions that may be drawn from the analysis of old descriptions of the imperial court offices in the Principate; the major one, nevertheless, seems to be the claim that late antique palace offices were regarded as a continuation of the administrative solutions adopted in the Principate and in this way influenced the choice of the most important office. For this reason some scholars, like MISPOULET, KARLOWA or BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, described only the posts *a cognitionibus*, *ab epistulis*, *a libellis* and *a memoria* in the chapters devoted to the offices of the Principate, taking the *scrinia: epistularum, libellorum et cognitionum sacrarum* and *memoriae*, held from the times of Diocletian, as their example³². After describing four offices from the early empire period,

²⁸ HIRSCHFELD 1877: 30–33; FRIEDLÄNDER 1888: 171. DYDYNŃSKI (1899: 102 n. 8), probably inspired by the views of HIRSCHFELD mentioned in the note, also regarded the *a rationibus* as the most important court office.

²⁹ KRETSCHMAR 1879: 22: "Das bedeutendste dieser Cabinetsämter ist das Rechnungsamt, *a rationibus*, in welchem die Einnahmen aller kaiserlichen Kassen zusammenfließen und von welchem aus die sämtlichen Ausgaben des Fiscus angewiesen werden und das man also in der That als eine Art von Reichsfinanzministerium bezeichnen kann".

³⁰ HERZOG 1887: 782: "Dieses zeigt seine Sonderstellung darin, dass es später allein von dieser Kategorie den Titel der Prokurator erhält".

³¹ ZOELLER 1895: 313: "Die wichtigsten der oben erwähnten Gehilfenämter waren die *ab epistulis* und *a libellis*. Ursprünglich reine officia palatina, hatten sie sich allmählich in die wichtigsten Staatsämter verwandelt".

³² MISPOULET 1882: 281–282, 328–329; KARLOWA 1885: 544–546, 834–836; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1886: 164–165. The title *magister libellorum et cognitionum sacrarum* mentioned in the inscription (*CIL VI 510 = ILS 4152*) from Rome reflects the connection of *scrinium libellorum* with *cognitiones*. The title is confirmed as being from the mid-fourth century, see LIEBS 2006: 141–142 n. 40. After holding the said office, the jurist Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius held other palace offices,

BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ (1886: 165) concluded: “La direction des quatre grands bureaux est alors centralisée, et les quatre chefs (*magistri scriniorum*) sont placés sous la dépendance directe du *magister officiorum* ou prévôt du palais”.

It would seem that the research on the imperial court offices may be divided according to the specialisation of a given scholar. Th. MOMMSEN, O. KARLOWA and É. CUQ would be grouped together as legal historians; É. EGGER and L. FRIEDLÄNDER as classical philologists; O. HIRSCHFELD as an epigraphist. Then their research could be seen from the angle of their expertise. However, this approach is applicable only to the contemporary specialisation of sciences in the studies of antiquity. A more positivist perspective was typical for nineteenth-century historiography and resulted in the belief that it was possible to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the period and fully understand it, while excellent research skills and outstanding expertise were the means to attain this goal. The researchers who described the imperial court offices of the Principate undoubtedly fulfilled these requirements³³. MOMMSEN, a Romanist who described the offices, had a wide knowledge of narrative sources, while HIRSCHFELD, an epigraphist, had expertise in legal sources of late antiquity. Moreover, it was not exceptional that classical philologists, like MADVIG or HERZOG, wrote textbooks on the administration (*Verwaltung*) and the constitution (*Verfassung*) in Roman law. Those interdependencies were summed up by KRETSCHMAR as early as 1879: “Das öffentliche Recht des römischen Staates ist ein Gebiet, auf welchem sich der Philolog, der Historiker und der romanistische Jurist begegnen” (p. 3). J. BERNAYS, who reviewed the study *Römisches Staatsrecht* by MOMMSEN, expressed a similar sentiment: “Nachdem während fast vier Jahrhunderten seit dem Anbrechen der modernen Wissenschaft Rom und alles Römische ein Feld der Arbeit und ein Stoff des Nachdenkens für Philologen, Juristen und Staatsmänner gewesen ist, beginnt erst jetzt Theodor Mommsen dem Mangel eines systematischen Staatsrecht abzuhelpfen”³⁴.

such as *magister epistularum* and *magister memoriae* before 355 (PLRE I: 15–16. See LIEBS 2010: 97–98 n. 29.2). *Magister scrinii libellorum sacrarumque cognitionum*, another title mentioned in *Codex Iustinianus* (C., *de novo cod. comp.* 1; *de Iustiniano cod. confirm.* 2), evinces the direct relationship of *cognitiones* with *scrinium libellorum*.

³³ For example, F. EBEL 1992: 476 wrote about MOMMSEN: “sein Geist kam ebenso der Philologie wie der Geschichte und der Rechtswissenschaft zugute”. At the beginning of the 20th century, a similar view was expressed by I. ŁYSKOWSKI, a Polish historian of Roman law. In a review of a two-volume textbook *Historia prawodawstwa rzymskiego* by F. ZOLL published in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, ŁYSKOWSKI (1907: 118) wrote: “W jak wysokim stopniu uwzględnienie historyi i filologii przyczynia się do wzmocnienia badań na polu prawa rzymskiego, to wykazał Mommsen, który równomiernie panował na wszystkich trzech polach” [The importance of history and philology in research on Roman law was evinced by Mommsen who mastered all three fields]. DYDYŃSKI also received a comprehensive education that allowed him to research issues related to Roman public law. See KŁODZIŃSKI 2012b: 403–422.

³⁴ BERNAYS 1885: 258. This review was first published by *Deutsche Rundschau*, Januar 1875, ed. J. RODENBERG, 54–68.

It should not be forgotten that the cultural background of the said research is of importance when assessing the significance of the research being presented³⁵. For French historiography, it was an important period of looking for the roots of the nineteenth-century French offices *Secrétairerie d'État* and *Conseil d'État*³⁶. V. DURUY (1876: 273) went as far as to compare the antique offices with the *organisation ministérielle* composed of *secrétaires d'État*. It seems that HIRSCHFELD (1905: 321), a German scholar, had in mind two institutions of different characters while writing about the cabinet of Roman emperors (*kaiserliche Kabinett*) in power since the reign of Claudius and the imperial court offices (*kaiserliche Kanzlei*) reformed by Hadrian. In his view, the *Kabinett* was mainly a political institution, wherein important freedmen had the key roles, whereas the *Kanzlei* was a state office managed by professional equites responsible for preparing imperial documentation. It is possible that modern terminological differentiation refers back to the times of the Roman Empire and resulted from the socio-cultural conditioning of nineteenth-century Germany, where the *Kabinett* had a political function, while the *Kanzlei* (especially with regard to the Middle Ages and the early Modern period) prepared the documentation (*Urkunden*) as an imperial, royal or episcopal institution³⁷.

All in all, one should not fail to notice that socio-administrative and formal-legal elements prevail in all the analysed descriptions of the imperial court offices of the Principate. Only the authors of monographs, such as CUQ or FRIEDLÄNDER, attempted to compile lists of officials and on that basis describe the history of particular offices. Still, in comparison with other studies of the imperial court offices in the Principate, the chapter written by HIRSCHFELD seems to be the most detailed and comprehensive. The list of several offices and their descriptions provided by HIRSCHFELD allow for a comparative study and, therefore, also for an approach that makes a thorough examination of the subject possible.

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³⁵ It is difficult to assess the actual cultural impact of these studies, this issue definitely merits further research.

³⁶ For more information on the French Council of State (*Conseil d'État*) and its political, administrative, legislative and jurisdictional activity in 1852–1919 – see PARODI 1974: 461–709.

³⁷ See TENNANT 1985: 69; MALITZ 1987: 51 n. 1.

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Carmelo SALEMME, *Le possibilità del reale. Lucrezio, De rerum natura 6, 96–534*, Napoli: Loffredo, 2009 (Studi Latini 67), 139 S., ISBN 978-88-7564-328-7, € 14.50.

Carmelo SALEMME, *Lucrezio e la formazione del mondo. De rerum natura 5, 416–508*, Napoli: Loffredo, 2010 (Studi Latini 73): 113 S., ISBN 978-88-7564-466-6, € 14.50.

Es sind zwei eigenwillige, dabei ganz ähnlich angelegte Arbeiten, die Carmelo SALEMME [= SA.] hier innerhalb eines Jahres vorgelegt hat. Beide widmen sich einem klar umrissenen Abschnitt aus Lukrezens *de rerum natura* – der Meteorologie in Buch VI (Verse 96–534) und der Kosmogonie in Buch V (Verse 416–508) – und haben den gleichen Aufbau: Am Anfang steht ein lateinischer Text des jeweiligen Passus mit kritischem Kurzapparat und italienischer Übersetzung; es folgen eine Art von Kommentar (SA. spricht von „note critico-esegetiche“ in dem früheren Band, im späteren von „note“) und interpretatorische Studien, denen die Bücher jeweils ihre Titel verdanken. Beide Arbeiten beschließen umfangreiche Bibliographien und knappe Indices. Der Schwerpunkt verlagert sich zwischen den beiden Büchern von der Kommentierung auf die Studien, die in der früheren Arbeit zu Buch VI weniger als ein Fünftel, in der zu Buch V dagegen fast zwei Drittel des Umfangs ausmachen.

SA. hat seinen Text in beiden Bänden konservativ (den in Buch V nach meinem Dafürhalten noch besonnen, den von VI überzogen konservativ) konstituiert und mit einem kritischen Kurzapparat ausgestattet. Ein solcher verschafft dem Editor die Möglichkeit, alles Belanglose (triviale Varianten, sichere Emendationen) zu übergehen und nur solche Stellen zu berücksichtigen, an denen die Textkonstitution problematisch ist. Gerade für den Text von Buch VI erweist sich SA.s Vorgehen aber vielfach als problematisch: Zum einen hätte eine Reihe plausibler Konjekturen, die SA. später im Kommentar diskutiert und dann verwirft, wenigstens im Apparat vermerkt werden sollen: z. B. 452 LACHMANN'S *supero*, 461 BENTLEY'S *furuae*, 475 LACHMANN'S *ollis* – alles Konjekturen, die unterschiedliche Editoren bis heute mit gutem Grund in ihren Text gesetzt haben. Zum anderen finden sich in SA.s Apparat immer wieder falsche oder unvollständige Angaben: So suggeriert er an einer Reihe von Stellen Sicherheit über die Lesart des Archetypus, obwohl die Hauptzeugen, der Codex Oblongus (O) und der Codex Quadratus (Q), auseinandergehen (z. B. in 103, 465). In 531 ist das von vielen Herausgebern in den Text genommene *auentis* nicht Lesart des Archetypus, sondern lediglich eine Verbesserung in O: Der Archetypus hatte *auintis*, woraus der humanistische Korrektor von Q *euntis* hergestellt hat, dem SA. sich zu Recht anschließt (über die Überlieferungslage richtig informiert er im Komm.). In 208 findet sich die Ergänzung von *est* nicht nur in der Handschrift F, sondern auch in der Handschrift C, die SA. sonst neben F berücksichtigt; in 309 steht die Konjektur *ipsius*, die SA. dem MARULLUS zuweist, bereits in der Handschrift A. Voller ärgerlicher Nachlässigkeiten ist schließlich das Siglenverzeichnis, das auf S. 9 dem Text voransteht: Ergänze jeweils zu Vossianus <Lat.> F30, Vossianus <Lat.> Q. 94, Placentinus Landi <33> (richtig im Komm. zu VI 131). Auf einen Korrektor des Oblongus im „saec XI“ gibt es keinen sicheren Hinweis; von den mindestens zwei mittelalterlichen Korrekturschichten¹ lässt sich mit Gewissheit eine dem irischen Mönch Dungal zuweisen, der ein Zeitgenosse des Schreibers

¹ Zu den Korrektoren des Oblongus siehe M.D. REEVE, *The Italian Tradition of Lucretius Revisited*, Aevum LXXIX 2005, S. 115–164, dort S. 157–161; wichtig ist auch die noch ungedruckte Arbeit von D. BUTTERFIELD, *The Early Textual Tradition of Lucretius' de rerum natura*, Diss. Cambridge 2010, dort Kap. IV.

von O war und dessen Aktivitäten (z. B. in 241) SA. gänzlich ignoriert. In der Arbeit zum fünften Buch fehlt ein entsprechendes Siglenverzeichnis ganz; der Apparat selbst weist aber merklich weniger Mängel auf: In 440 folgt SA. stillschweigend der Lesart von O *omnigenis e*, obwohl Lukrez das Adjektiv *omnigenus* nicht kennt. Q überliefert *omnigenus e*, woraus LACHMANN, lukrezischem Sprachgebrauch entsprechend, *omne genus de* hergestellt hat. In 485 kann man mit der Apparatangabe, dass BOCKEMÜLLER *partem* zu *partes* verbessert hat, nichts anfangen, weil nicht mitgeteilt wird, dass BOCKEMÜLLER zudem auch in 484 *terrae* für *terram* geschrieben hat (vollständig dagegen die Angaben im Komm. S. 35). All das sind gewiss nur Kleinigkeiten, aber sie sind trotzdem ärgerlich und verraten eine gewisse Flüchtigkeit, mit der SA. seine Edition erstellt hat. Es wäre daher vielleicht besser gewesen, einen reinen Lesetext ohne Apparat zu drucken und die Varianten und Konjekturen lediglich im Kommentar anzuführen, wo sie auch diskutiert werden.

SA., der zu keinem der beiden Bändchen ein Vorwort geschrieben hat, teilt nicht mit, wen er als Benutzer seiner kommentierten Ausgabe vorrangig im Auge hat. Man merkt aber rasch, dass sich seine Arbeit weniger an den Studenten und mehr an den mitforschenden Lukrezkenner richtet: Die Noten sind voraussetzungsreich und lassen vieles unberührt, was einem mit Lukrez nur wenig oder noch gar nicht vertrauten Leser unklar sein muss. Die Erklärung verzichtet auf das exakte Nachzeichnen des lukrezischen Gedankengangs im Ganzen, also der Verbindung einzelner Argumente und Erklärungen, sondern nimmt kleinere Teile in den Blick: einzelne Abschnitte, Sätze oder Wörter. Eine besondere Stärke ist die Analyse der lukrezischen Bildersprache, was das Interesse der anschließenden Essays vorwegnimmt. Doch liegt das Hauptaugenmerk auf der Erklärung exegetisch und textkritisch umstrittener Stellen, die SA. ausführlich und unter umfangreicher Heranziehung der wissenschaftlichen Literatur bespricht. Vor allem diesen Noten verdankt der Kommentar einen durchaus beträchtlichen Umfang, der etwa dem entspricht, den auch Carlo GIUSSANI in seinem klassischen Gesamtkommentar (Torino 1896–1898) diesen beiden Abschnitten gewidmet hat.

Eine gewisse Straffung hätte dem Kommentar gut getan, insbesondere dort, wo SA., im Stil der alten Varia-Variorum-Kommentare, Annahmen und Urteile älterer Forscher referiert, ohne sich eingehend mit deren Argumenten auseinanderzusetzen (z. B. in den Bemerkungen zu den Tilgungen von V 419–431 und innerhalb von VI 228 f.; zur Umstellung von V 437–445; zur Wendung *aequora mundi* in VI 108). Überflüssig und unergiebig ist außerdem die (in der Arbeit zum 5. Buch erfreulicherweise unterlassene) rhetorische Strategie, den eigenen (konservativen) Standpunkt mit polemischen Attacken gegen die Verfechter der Konjektur zu stützen (z. B. am Ende der unmöglichen Verteidigung von *paruum* in VI 131: siehe hierzu unten) und mit altklug-methodenstrenghem Pochen auf dem Prinzip der *lectio difficilior* zu untermauern (z. B. zu VI 296 bei der Verteidigung von *ualidam* oder zu VI 349 bei der Verteidigung von *transuiat*): Dagegen gehalten sei hier, um augenzwinkernd Gleiches mit Gleichem zu vergelten, ein Dictum von Paul MAAS: „Die klarsten Fälle von ‚lectio difficilior‘, die ich kenne, sind Korruptelen. Und ich kenne viele davon“².

Wenigstens ein Beispiel für das vergebliche Verteidigen einer offensichtlichen handschriftlichen Korruptel will ich etwas näher vor Augen führen: nämlich das Festhalten an überliefertem *paruum* in VI 131. Lukrez hat in 121–129 das Phänomen des Donners damit erklärt, dass ein heftiger Wind in eine Wolke eindringt: In ihr eingeschlossen wirbelt er, höhlt sie von innen aus, verhärtet dadurch ihre Außenwand und bringt sie schließlich zum Platzen. Als Analogie zu dieser Erklärung führt er das Zerplatzen einer Blase an (130 f.):

nec mirum, cum plena animae uensicula parua
saepe ita dat paruum sonitum displosa repente.

² Mitgeteilt ist das Dictum bei C.O. BRINK, *Paul Maas (1880–1964)*, Eikasmos IV 1993 [= W. SUERBAUM (Hg.), *Festgabe für E. Vogt*], S. 253.

Im frühen 16. Jahrhundert hat der italienische Humanist Bernardinus CIPPELLARIUS *paruum* durch *magnum* ersetzt – eine Konjektur, die der Sinnzusammenhang unmittelbar zu fordern scheint und die durch die Paraphrase unserer Stelle bei Isidor *Orig.* XIII 8 glänzend bestätigt wird: „cum procella uehementissimi uenti nubibus se repente immiserit, turbine inualescente exitumque quaerente, nubem quam excauauit impetu magno perscindit ac sic cum horrendo fragore defertur ad aures; quod mirari quis non debeat, cum uesicula quamuis parua magnum tamen sonitum displosa emittit“. SA. hält dagegen an dem handschriftlichen *paruum* fest und schließt sich der Verteidigung von Cyril BAILEY (in seiner großen kommentierten Oxford-Ausgabe von 1947) an, „che poi corrisponde al principio di rapportare i grandi fenomeni a quelli piccoli“ – „a little noise as contrasted with the vast noise of the thunder“. Aber Lukrezens Vergleich ist vielschichtiger und raffinierter: Bei der Schilderung des Donners zuvor hat er vor allem dessen Heftigkeit herausgestrichen: Er bringt alles zum Beben („concuissa [...] omnia [...] tremere“, 121 f.); man hat den Eindruck, als würden die „maxima [...] capacis moenia mundi“ (123) auseinander bersten – und all das, obwohl der (gewiss heftige) Wind (124: *uentus ualidus*) lediglich eine Wolke zum Platzen bringt: 126 f.: „nubem cogit [scil. uentus] uti fiat spisso caua corpore circum“; 129: „tum perterritorepo sonitu dat scissa [scil. nubes] fragorem“. Betont wird also der enorme Knall, den eine einzige zerplatzte Wolke hervorrufen kann. Genau dieser Gedanke hat dann aber auch in dem analogen Fall von der zerplatzen Blase hervorzutreten: Mag sie auch noch so klein sein, wie Lukrez mit *uensicula parua* (130) hervorhebt³, ihr Knall beim plötzlichen Zerplatzen (es entsprechen sich die Verschlüsse *diuolsa repente* in 122 und *displosa repente* in 131) ist gleichwohl enorm (es entsprechen sich *perterritorepo sonitu* in 129 und *magnum sonitum* in 131). Kleine Ursache, große Wirkung – dieser Leitgedanke verbindet Wolke und Blase. Er verlangt *magnum* und nicht *paruum* in 131. Es liegt ein sogenannter Perseverationsfehler vor (*parua* in 130 wirkt in 131 nach und führt zur Verdrängung von *magnum* durch *paruum*), ein Fehlertypus, den Konrad MÜLLER in der *adnotatio* seiner Zürcher Ausgabe von 1975 z. St. glänzend aus der Lukrezüberlieferung dokumentiert hat. Auch in VI 349 *quia transuiat ignis* scheint das unmögliche *transuiat* durch das voranstehende *quia* verursacht (SA. erwähnt eine entsprechende Vermutung M.D. REEVES, leider ohne sich ihr anzuschließen) und ist gewiss durch NAUGERIUS’ *transuolat* zu berichtigen.

Manche Anmerkungen zeigen, dass SA. nicht mit allen Feinheiten der lukrezischen Metrik und Stilistik vertraut ist. Sonst würde er eine Konjektur wie BARIGAZZIS *uti e* in VI 145 entweder gleich übergehen oder zu *ut e* weiter berichtigen (vgl. LACHMANN zu II 322 und III 954 zur unterlassenen Elision iambischer Wörter). Auch an der Richtigkeit von CIPPELLARIUS’ Herstellung von *saepe* aus *se* in VI 223 „praeterea sae<pe> accendunt (scil. fulmina) quoque tecta domorum“ darf man nicht zweifeln: Für gnomisches *saepe* in der Bedeutung ‘immer wieder’ hat unser Dichter eine besondere Vorliebe – und zwar gerade in Schilderungen sinnlich wahrnehmbarer Erscheinungen, um mit *saepe* deren Regelmäßigkeit (und damit deren regelmäßige Beobachtbarkeit) zu unterstreichen. Zu diesem Gebrauch von *saepe* vgl. bereits H.A.J. MUNRO im Komm. zu V 1231 und VI 714: Dort hat das gnomische *saepe* selbst einen BENTLEY in die Irre geführt, ebenso wie in IV 1096 einen HOUSMAN (in der zweiten Auflage seiner Juvenal-Ausgabe, S. LI). Einer von vielen Belegen ist die unten zitierte Stelle V 460; weitere Belege sind u. a. III 649, V 899 sowie II 1101 f. „tum

³ An überliefertem *uensicula parua* ist daher nicht zu rütteln; das von D. BUTTERFIELD, *Ten Lucretian Emendations*, Latomus LXVII 2008, S. 634–642, dort S. 639 „with due humility“ in Erwägung gezogene *animae uensicula paruae* scheint mir nicht richtig. Eigens zu betonen, dass sich in der Blase nur eine kleine Menge Luft befindet, korrespondiert nicht recht mit Lukrezens voranstehender Schilderung des in der Wolke so überaus heftig wirbelnden Windes. Das Attribut „klein“ gehört zur Blase. Zu *parua* als Attribut eines Deminutivs vgl. I 1114 *parua ... opella*. Isidor paraphrasiert den Lukreztext ganz richtig mit *uesicula quamuis parua* und hat in ihm, wie auch BUTTERFIELD gesehen hat, gewiss *parua*, nicht *paruae* gelesen.

fulmina mittat et aedes/ saepe⁴ suas disturbet“, was CIPPELLARIUS *saepe* in VI 223 noch einmal schön bestätigt. Auch Vergil gebraucht *saepe* gnomisch; vgl. die Kommentare zu Aen. I 148.

Trotz der angeführten Schwächen und Ärgernisse verdient SA. Anerkennung dafür, dass er sich den vielen und vielfältigen Problemen des Lukreztextes gestellt und in gründlicher Auseinandersetzung mit der Forschung an den kritisch und exegetisch umkämpften Stellen konsequent um eine eigene Position gerungen hat. Das Durcharbeiten des Kommentars bleibt daher nicht ohne Lohn; im fünften ist er größer als im sechsten Buch. Besonders herausheben möchte ich die Note zu *partibus* in V 458 (Lukrez schildert, wie sich bei der Entstehung unseres Kosmos die einzelnen Bereiche voneinander trennen und zunächst der Äther entweicht; 457–459): „ideo per rara foramina terrae/ partibus erumpens primus se sustulit aether/ ignifer et multos secum leuis abstulit ignis“. BAILEY hat in seinem großen Kommentar eine Reihe von Deutungen für *partibus* mitgeteilt, die alle nicht recht plausibel sind, auch nicht die, für die er sich schließlich ausspricht: „bursting forth from the region of earth through its loose-knit [...] openings“. *terrae partibus* go together [...] ‚from the part of the world now occupied by earth“. Aber der hier unterstellte Gedanke, „the part of the world *now* occupied by earth“ (d. h. damals noch nicht allein von der Erde, sondern von ihr und den von ihr noch nicht geschiedenen Bereichen wie z. B. dem Meer) wäre von Lukrez mit *partibus terrae* in unerträglicher Weise kryptisch zum Ausdruck gebracht. Außerdem wendet SA. zu Recht ein, dass der lukrezische Sprachgebrauch es gebietet, *terrae* mit *foramina* zu verbinden (die Klausel *foramina terrae* begegnet auch V 811 und VI 592, an diesen beiden Stellen mit Gewissheit als syntaktische Einheit). Für *partibus* holt er dann eine Deutung zurück ans Licht, die sich in dem heute (wegen unsäglicher Fehler nicht ganz zu Unrecht) weitestgehend vergessenen Lukrezkommentar von Friedrich BOCKEMÜLLER (Stade 1874) findet: „nicht als zusammenhängender Körper, sondern in einzelnen Partikelchen“. BOCKEMÜLLER selbst hat seine Deutung nicht näher begründet. SA. stützt sie hingegen zum einen mit dem Verweis auf *ThLL* X 1, 456, 81–457, 11, wo für den bloßen Ablativ *partibus* in der Bedeutung ‚particulatim‘ Belege zusammengestellt sind (gewiss nur wenige und alle aus der Prosa seit der frühen Kaiserzeit – aber das ist bei Lukrez kein Einzelfall), und zum anderen mit dem schlagenden Hinweis auf antithetisches „leuis ac diffusilis aether/ corpore concreto“ in 468: Nachdem der Äther in seinen einzelnen Partikelchen durch die spärlichen Poren der Erde herausgebrochen ist, steigt er auf und wächst zu einem eigenen Bereich des Kosmos zusammen. Hier scheint mir erstmals seit 140 Jahren eine schwierige Stelle wieder richtig verstanden und die richtige Erklärung zum ersten Mal überhaupt begründet worden zu sein. Auch die unmittelbar anschließenden Verse 460–464 sind nicht einfach und haben immer wieder konjekturale Eingriffe erfahren: „non alia longe ratione ac saepe uidemus,/ aurea cum primum gemmantis rore per herbas/ matutina rubent radiati lumina solis/ exhalantque lacus nebulam fluuiique perennes,/ ipsaque ut interdum tellus fumare uidetur“. SA. hält in meinen Augen zu Recht an der Überlieferung fest und schließt sich bei ihrer Deutung einer älteren Arbeit von E. STAMPINI (*Nel mondo latino. Studi di letteratura e filologia*, Torino 1921, dort S. 264–269) an, die der der gängigen Kommentatoren überlegen ist: „I vv. rappresentano una duplice comparazione: si chiarisce il fenomeno invisibile dell’ etere mediante due paragoni di fenomeni visibili, introdotti il primo da *non alia longe ratione ac* (v. 460), il secondo da *ut* [= *quemadmodum*] (464)“. Die Grundstruktur der Verse lautet also: „auf nicht andere Weise als wir (es) immer wieder sehen, wenn das Morgenlicht schimmert und Flüsse und Seen Nebel aushauchen, und wie man bisweilen die Erde selbst dampfen sieht“.

Der zuletzt besprochene Doppelvergleich führt uns in das Zentrum von SA.s literaturwissenschaftlichen Studien, die beide Bände beschließen. Es geht ihm um das Verständnis der lukrezischen Bildersprache, mit der der Dichter – durch die Verwendung vor allem von Metaphern,

⁴ Laktanz (*Div. inst.* III 17, 10) zitiert den Vers mit *ipse* statt mit *saepe*, aber dies ist ein bloßes Versehen: Vgl. H. DIELS im App. z. St. und zuletzt S. GATZEMEIER, *Ut ait Lucretius. Die Lukrezrezeption in der lateinischen Prosa bis Laktanz*, Göttingen 2013, S. 288, Anm. 321.

Gleichnissen oder Analogien – die meteorischen Phänomene bzw. die Vorgänge bei der Entstehung unseres Kosmos beschreibt. Die Erklärung dieser Erscheinungen entzieht sich unserer sinnlichen Wahrnehmung. Deshalb beanspruchen die Epikureer auch nicht, jene eine tatsächlich wahre Erklärung des Phänomens geben zu können, sondern führen verschiedene Möglichkeiten an, die Wirklichkeit zu erklären, die so lange berechtigt sind, wie sie nicht im Widerspruch zu unserer sonstigen sinnlichen Wahrnehmung stehen. Dieses methodische Prinzip, auf das sich Lukrez an zwei Stellen seines Werkes explizit beruft (V 526–533 und VI 703–711), hat zur Folge, dass der Dichter in der Meteorologie des sechsten Buches für die Entstehung von Donner, Blitz und Wolken eine Vielfalt von Erklärungen anführt und dabei in einem fort mit Analogien aus unserer wahrnehmbaren Welt operiert. SA.s These für die Meteorologie im sechsten Buch, die er in dem Kapitel „La possibilità del reale“ (S. 95–112) entfaltet, lautet dann, dass die von Lukrez verwendeten Bilder bei der Beschreibung dessen, was möglicherweise am Himmel geschieht, nicht bloß ornamentalen oder explikativen Charakter haben, sondern vielmehr selbst etwas konstituieren, was möglicherweise geschehen kann (S. 100): „In Lucrezio la metafora non è semplicemente ‚sostitutiva‘, ma predica una realtà nuova. [...] la metafora lucreziana possiede un referente che è la realtà stessa nelle sue possibilità“. Und tatsächlich zeigt SA. schön (zum Beispiel S. 105 f. durch die vergleichende Interpretation von VI 132–136 und von VI 151–155), wie Lukrez immer wieder Spezifika aus dem Bereich des Vergleichenen den meteorischen Phänomenen selbst zuweist und somit in der Tat über den Vergleich zur poetischen Schöpfung eines Stückes Wirklichkeit gelangt: In 132–136 erklärt Lukrez den Donner damit, dass ein Wind durch Wolken hindurch bläst, welche wie Zweige geformt sind und eine rauhe Außenfläche aufweisen, und vergleicht diesen Donner mit dem Geräusch des durch einen dichten Laubwald fegenden Windes. Durch die Beschreibung dieser Wolken (*nubila*) als *ramosa* und *aspera* verleiht er ihnen tatsächlich den Charakter von Zweigen. Daher kann er an späterer Stelle in 151–155 den Donner auf das plötzliche Entflammen und Verbrennen einer trockenen Wolke zurückführen, was einen Krach verursacht, wie er in Lorbeerwäldern zu hören ist, wenn ein vom Wind verbreitetes Feuer in ihnen lodert. In der entsprechenden Untersuchung für die Kosmogonie des fünften Buches, dem Kapitel „Un ‚modello‘ cosmogonico“ (pp. 79–86), formuliert S. seine These in noch etwas umfassenderer Weise (S. 84): „...le similitudini analogiche non costituiscono spiegazioni ‚con altre parole‘, né si riducono a ornamento ‚poetico‘, né rivestono alcun carattere ‚emozionale‘. Esse sono, al contrario, parte integrante nel contesto della descrizione del costituirsi del mondo, che riproducono come ‚in modello““. Auch hier führt er sie in eingehenden Textanalysen aus, besonders schön in der Interpretation der oben ausgeschriebenen Verse V 457 ff. (pp. 79–81). Die Vorgänge auf der Erde sind ein Modell für den Vorgang der Weltentstehung, an der wir somit noch heute mit unseren eigenen Augen teilhaben können, wenn wir im Morgenlicht Dampf aus der Erde aufsteigen sehen (S. 81): „Niente mi impedisce di vedere l’etere lucreziano nei vapori che dalla terra esalano in una luminosa giornata di sole. L’analogia non è semplice illustrazione [...]. Perché l’immagine nodale della terra che respira esalando oltrepassa l’analogia e ci costringe a vedere di più di quanto in essa contenuto. È un incremento di conoscenza“.

Es sind diese beiden kurzen Studien über die lukrezische Bildersprache, auf die beide Bücher recht eigentlich hinauslaufen. Ihrer Vorbereitung dient der Kommentar, in gewisser Weise aber auch der kontrastierende Verweis auf die entsprechende Behandlung der jeweiligen Phänomene bei Epikur: In der Arbeit zum sechsten Buch ermöglicht SA. den Vergleich zwischen Lukrez und Epikur lediglich in der Form einer Appendix (einem zweisprachigen Text des meteorischen Abschnitts aus Epikurs Brief an Pythokles 99–110: S. 113–122), in der zum fünften Buch hingegen durch ein wertvolles Kapitel über die philosophischen und philosophiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen von Lukrezens Kosmogonie („La formazione del mondo“: S. 39–78). In beiden Fällen verschafft der Kontrast zu seinem Vorbild erst eigentlich ein Verständnis für das, was Lukrez für die Philosophie Epikurs geleistet hat: Sein Gedicht steht zu den Briefen des Meisters in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis wie ein Dokumentarfilm über die Natur (auch über die unsichtbare!) zu einem dünnen Lehrbuch.

Der Aufwand, den SA. für diese beiden kurzen literaturwissenschaftlichen Studien betreibt, ist außerordentlich hoch. Dies macht seine Bücher eigenwillig, in gewisser Weise aber auch

vorbildlich (das zur Kosmogonie in höherem Maße als das zur Meteorologie): Zwar sagt uns SA. nicht, an wen zuvörderst er als Leser denkt. Aber gerade Literaturwissenschaftler können von ihm lernen, dass man ins Zentrum der lukrezischen Dichtung nur auf dem harten Weg philologischer und philosophischer Grundlagenarbeit gelangt.

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Frieda KLOTZ, Katerina OIKONOMOPOULOU (eds.), *The Philosopher's Banquet. Plutarch's "Table Talk" in the Intellectual Culture of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, XX + 279 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-958895-4, £ 58.00.

This collection of nine essays on Plutarch's *Table Talk*, the result of a colloquium held at the Institute of Classical Studies in London, in March 2007, is a judicious and balanced contribution to the criticism of the *Quaestiones Convivales*, stressing the correlation between this work, modelled on the in Greek well established genre of the symposium, and its context of the Graeco-Roman culture of the High Empire. This series of studies on Plutarch's work raises issues concerning philosophical and literary problems by exploring four angles, Traditions (Part I, pp. 35–73), Topics and Themes (Part II, pp. 77–157), Voice and Authority (Part III, pp. 161–203), and Contradictions (Part IV, pp. 207–237). These few tags produced by the contributors of the volume share one important feature: they approach Plutarch's sympotic dialogue as a product of a communicative intention on the part of its author. With new research and fresh perspective *The Philosopher's Banquet* tells the story of how the *pepaideumenos* of Roman Greece is reading from the archive – as Tim WHITMARSH calls it¹, “a set of cultural institution, including historical records, libraries and collective memories” accessible to the educated of the Imperial era – to become an important authority for readers in the shaping of their cultural imagination and engagement with the idea of cultural identity.

One of the main aims in this book has been to bring Plutarch's programmatic instability of content and form much more into the foreground than it has been in previous scholarship on the *Table Talk*. The perpetual struggle of opposed ideas (such as that of *spoude* and *geloion*, fiction and authenticity, education and pleasure, order and disorder), the mixing of pre-existent generic matrices, aesthetic perspectives and literary strategies, bind – in Plutarch's attitude towards the world's complexity – past, present and future together in a continuum, in which a backward-looking orientation tends to be dominant. This interdisciplinary view of the *Table Talk* promoted by the contributors of the volume must be called a solid achievement in Plutarchan studies. It is to be hoped that the book will appear as influential in further exploration, both detailed and general, of Plutarchan literary output.

The four above-mentioned parts of the book are preceded with an *Introduction* (pp. 1–31). The stress of the remarks presented here was laid on the correlation between literary-historical analysis and more theoretically oriented models of the interpretation of Plutarch's writing and the importance of the ambiguities regarding numerous issues of the *Table Talk*. The *Introduction* gives the reader a good idea of what the next chapters of the book are like, encapsulating the book's real contribution to Plutarchan criticism.

Part I consists of two valuable productions focused on the tradition. The central issue of the first one (Frances B. TITCHENER, *Plutarch's "Table Talk": Sampling a Rich Blend. A Survey of Scholarly Appraisal*, pp. 35–48) is the presentation of some views of the *Table Talk* in the modern scholarship. In the second paper (Teresa MORGAN, *The Miscellany and Plutarch*, pp. 49–73) a number of essential problems concerning the relationship of Plutarch's literary output to the ancient tradition of writing miscellaneous works has been taken up, and the old dispute whether the miscellany as a genre existed at all has been revisited. TITCHENER's contribution clearly shows how the shifting of scholars' assessments, from descriptive to analytic, and the employment of new conceptual tools in recent works on the *Table Talk* contribute to detect the processes by which Plutarch's text works its effects on its readers. MORGAN's reconsideration of the existence of the genre of miscellany clearly distinguishes modern classicists' use of the term ‘miscellany’ (denoting, as she says

¹ T. WHITMARSH, *Ancient Greek Literature*, Malden 2004, p. VIII.

on p. 54, “a genre composed of technical treatises, literary quotations, or flowers of culture culled by a collector from other authors”) from the wider definition of it comprising (p. 50) “works in any form, by one author or more, on one theme or more, brought together to form a larger work” which includes “works of poetry, history, natural history, geography, mythography, medicine, theology, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, popular ethics, letters, *belles-lettres* and many more”. By trying to determine the narrow and the wider sense of miscellanies MORGAN prepares the way for reconceptualisation of the genre. She argues that in the period of composition of the *Table Talk* the concept of *enkyklios paideia* gradually developed the significance of “a range of writing, from undoubtedly great literature to works that we might not call literature at all” (p. 60), significant for communicating Greek identity. Morgan links the invention of classicists’ definition of miscellany with the process of establishing the canon which answered the demands of educational purposes in nineteenth-century universities, which dismissed as ‘subliterary’ and unworthy of study a certain kind of literature. Although MORGAN’s account of the difficulties concerning generic definition of ‘miscellany’ seems carefully constructed, her approach must be considered somewhat extreme. The question of the limits of the genre of the miscellany still needs further investigation, as does the issue of the cross-breeding of genres in the Greek literature of the High Empire.

Part II has surveyed a number of essential questions in the scholarship on the philosophic ‘performance’ of wisdom in the *Table Talk*. The opening chapter of this part (Eleni KECHAGIA, *Philosophy in Plutarch’s “Table Talk”. In Jest or in Earnest?*, pp. 77–104) explores the suggestion that “Plutarch constructs and presents the work in such a way that philosophy becomes prominent not just as a topic of discussion, but also (and perhaps more importantly) as a method of approach, whatever the subject matter or question at issue may be” (p. 78). The author of the second chapter of Part II (Katerina OIKONOMOPOULOU, *Peripatetic Knowledge in Plutarch’s “Table Talk”*, pp. 107–130) engages directly with features of transmission of ancient knowledge reflected in the *Quaestiones Convivales*, while the crucial point in the third chapter of this part of the book (Maria VAMVOURI RUFFY, *Symposium, Physical and Social Health in Plutarch’s “Table Talk”*, pp. 131–157) is the presentation of the symposium as a cultural institution creating a paradigm for the *paideia* and healthy life in society.

KECHAGIA’S rediscovery of Plutarch’s taking on the well-established tradition of the literary-philosophical symposium, best represented by Plato’s and Xenophon’s *Symposia*, is in fact nothing more than a repetition of others’ thoroughgoing treatment of the problem. Much more interesting and innovative is her analysis of Plutarch’s programmatic statements: she sensibly provides a contrast to TEODORSSON’S² and his followers’ view who treat the proems only as summaries reflecting the content of the books and believe that they were written after the books themselves were composed. A counterweight to this naïve consideration is her examination of the proems as passages aspiring to offer some kind of metatextual instruction. The proems have here been persuasively argued to be programmatic passages with the help of which Plutarch “seems to conceive of and presents the *Table Talk* as a text with an educational agenda and a Platonist philosophical framework” (p. 90). KECHAGIA also shows, in my view conclusively, that the *Table Talk* presents the two-tier sympotic philosophy and provides instruction for “beginners” in philosophical inquiry as well as for the philosophically-versed readers.

OIKONOMOPOULOU presents the essential information concerning the recollection of Peripatetic knowledge in the *Table Talk*. She does not do it in *Quellenforschung*-like fashion, but tries to establish the place of Peripateticism within an oral framework, primarily – as she wrote on p. 107 – “in the *scenarios* of oral reception and transmission of Peripatetic knowledge”. Her discussion of the role of self-reflexivity in Plutarch’s work offers the readers a good preliminary overview of

² S.-T. TEODORSSON, *Principles of Composition in the “Quaestiones Convivales”*, in: J.A. FERNÁNDEZ DELGADO, F. PARDOMINGO PARDO (eds.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Aspectos Formales. Actas del IV Simposio Español sobre Plutarco*, Madrid 1996, pp. 39–48.

the areas that attract Jason KÖNIG's greatest attention in the chapter in Part III of the book. Being comparable, in methodology and scope, to others' modern approaches to memory as the key factor that helps people of the Imperial era to reactivate their knowledge, OIKONOMOPOULOU radically reevaluates the role of the performance of cultural memories in Plutarch's conception of education.

VAMVOURI RUFFY's main interest lies in medicine as an integral element of sympotic discourse. Her study contains useful observations concerning the therapeutic effects of philosophy as practised at the symposium. From the presentation of various aspects of 'being healthy' in the *Table Talk* the integration emerges which reveals Plutarch's vision of life in society.

It is worth saying that all three papers in this part of the book demonstrate beyond any doubt Plutarch's contribution to the discussion of the function of the symposium for obtaining well-being both in body and in soul. Plutarch's *Table Talk*, marked by a tasteful balance between entertainment and instruction, takes its place in the tradition of philosophical and rhetoric concern with the opposition *spoude/paidia*. Let us add in this place that it is very tempting to consider Plutarch's voice emerging from the *Table Talk* as the affirmation of a similar idea which has been expressed by an anonymous author of a progymnastic composition dated to the second half of the first century CE, probably connected with a Second Sophistic context³, that presents a physical origin of laughter/play and suggests another (probably intellectual) origin of *spoude*⁴. Convivial events are – in Plutarch's view – the best occasion for establishing a link between physical and mental training, showing that psychic and somatic affection, although different in their origins, are interrelated.

Two studies included in Part III (Frieda KLOTZ, *Imagining the Past. Plutarch's Play with Time*, pp. 161–178, and Jason KÖNIG, *Self-Promotion and Self-Effacement in Plutarch's "Table Talk"*, pp. 179–203) concentrate on particular points concerning the *Table Talk* as an engaging and eloquent work in which the auctorial voice is self-consciously constructed to reflect its implicit poetics. KLOTZ reprises themes from her article entitled *Portraits of the Philosopher: Plutarch's Self-Representation in the "Quaestiones Convivales"*, published in CQ LVII 2007, where she set out her view of Plutarch's paideutic logic and traced the paradigm of the philosopher-teacher. Here, as the title promises, she modified her earlier text to stress the importance of the achronological structure of self-presentation in the course of Plutarch's sympotic discourse, suggesting that such a play with time is an element encouraging the reader to detect consistency in the figure of the philosopher, despite the diversity of the character 'Plutarch'. KLOTZ's paper displays interpretative acumen and sensitivity to the nuances of a multi-faceted portrayal of Plutarch himself.

KÖNIG's chapter is one of the collection's highlights. It explores the problem of the use and avoidance of the first person in some scientific, miscellanistic and sympotic texts of the Imperial prose and situates Plutarch's practice in this respect against the background of his contemporaries' literary strategies. It also deals with the force of quotation, which in such works as the *Table Talk* is not a static ornament, but an important element through which the author builds "the tension [...] between the personal and the communal, between the personal ingenuity of the symposiast and the words of his long-dead predecessors" (p. 203). Citation, KÖNIG shows, is in Plutarch's hands not only a device used to advertise his own erudition, but a principal way of playing with cultural reference and an important tool with help of which he stresses the community with the Greek past. KÖNIG is well versed in modern approaches towards the problem of Plutarch's literary ego and convincingly presents himself as a scholar who brings renewed vitality and a fresh look to the traditional concerns.

³ *P. Oxy.* 5093 published by D. COLOMO, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XCVII 2011, pp. 94 f.

⁴ A part of the witty argumentation is: "In (our) bodies there are some origins of laughter – indeed by touching and palpating some parts (of the body) we produce laughter – but there is no origin of seriousness, since there is no part in us by touching which we will produce seriousness" (transl. by COLOMO). For the whole surviving text and commentary see COLOMO, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 84–96.

In the last part of the collection, Christopher PELLING's succinct contribution (*Putting -viv- into 'Convivial': The "Table Talk" and the "Lives"*, pp. 207–231) is directly concerned with Plutarch's method of work. The search for this involves looking at the phenomenon of 'cross-fertilization', i.e. cases where works read 'for' a particular *Life* can be seen to provide material for the *Table Talk* or vice versa. Although the chapter focuses narrowly on the small amount of evidence which proves that the *Lives*-material has been also elaborated in the *Table Talk*, it also paints a larger picture of Plutarch the writer, who does not routinely recycle material once used in his work. PELLING's point of view presented in this chapter, anticipated by his earlier papers published in the 1970s, instructively and clearly demonstrates how Plutarch uses his learning and puts his skill at the service of readers' pleasure.

The book ends with the *Conclusion* in which one aspect of the wide field of the *Table Talk's* *Nachleben* has been taken up, namely the presence of this work in Aulus Gellius' miscellanistic text (*Reading (from) the "Table Talk" in Aulus Gellius' "Attic Nights"*, pp. 233–237). The authors of this final part of the book develop further the recent general discussion of the nature of the process of cultural translation in the Imperial era. Concentrating their attention on the practice of evaluating by Plutarch's near-contemporary, they would agree, I dare say, that as for Taurus, the philosopher from Gellius's work, who calls the writer from Chaeronea "Plutarchus noster, vir doctissimus ac prudentissimus" (*NA* I 26), also for other members of Imperial elite Plutarch has already become a classic.

The reader who starts reading this important book from the very beginning finds its *Preface* (pp. V–VIII) very instructive. Therein, the illustration on the book's dust-jacket is described. It shows a detail from the mosaic from the House of Dionysus in Paphos on Cyprus which depicts the god of wine and two figures, named by the inscription above them as Acme and Icarus. The illustration does not only adorn the book, but is additionally intended to function as a visual motto for the book. It namely offers, as the authors explain, paradigms for understanding the activities the figures in the mosaic are engaged in, paradigms relevant to Plutarch's convivial pedagogy. It is a pity that some important elements of the mosaic have not been shown (the authors limited themselves only to the verbal description of them in the *Preface*) so that the reader must only imagine the figures of *hoi protoi oinon piontes*, the first drinkers, i.e. Icarus' neighbours who are representative of excessive drinking juxtaposed with Dionysus' and Acme's civilised way of tasting wine. It would be more convenient to have the illustration representing the figures from both ends of the panels inside the book itself, not on the dust-jacket, which in the libraries is usually removed from the book on open shelves (to whose, library staff's or readers', convenience?). By the way, the authors unquestioningly follow the mosaic's interpretation proposed by KONDOLEON⁵ who seems not entirely right to treat Acme only as the personification of temperance⁶, in the Greek sense 'nothing in excess'. It is upsetting not to find references to other important scholarly texts on the subject, for instance Wiktor DASZEWSKI's significant contribution⁷ which makes us aware of the ambiguity of Acme's significance and her occasional appearance in ancient myth and literature.

The book provides the reader with valuable discussion of a large amount of topics. They can be easily located by the use of indexes. The Greek quotations are given in the majority of cases in the original and in English translation which makes the passages from the ancient texts understandable also for those inexperienced in Greek. The authors aim the chapters of the book at scholars, but also hope "they will be read by students, just as we would like to think the *Table Talk* itself was read or heard by Plutarch's own students" (p. 31). They seem, however, sometimes to underrate

⁵ C. KONDOLEON, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca–London 1995, p. 183.

⁶ On p. VI the authors explicitly say: "the name signifies 'temperance'".

⁷ W.A. DASZEWSKI, *Figural Mosaic from Paphos: Subjects, Style, and Significance*, in: W.A. DASZEWSKI, D. MICHAELIDES (eds.), *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus*, Ravenna 1988, p. 171.

students' skill when they explain elementary things such as "Dionysus – the ancient Greek god of wine" (p. V) or – when speaking of an aetiological myth – they add: "from the Greek word *aition* or *aetion* in Latin form, meaning 'cause'" (p. VI).

To conclude, the *Philosopher's Banquet* is a book in which one can find convincing answers to many questions in the field of Plutarchan studies and that wider field of the culture-specific poetics of Graeco-Roman times. It will serve scholars for years.

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Carlos F. NOREÑA, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West. Representation, Circulation, Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 456 S., Zeichnungen, Karten, Tabellen, ISBN 978-1107-00508-2, £ 68.00.

Die Untersuchung des Einflusses der Macht auf die Kommunikationsformen in vorindustriellen Gesellschaften stellt für Historiker bis heute eine enorme Herausforderung dar. Die derzeitige Form dieser Relationen ist sehr gut bekannt, doch die Rekonstruktionsversuche für frühere Epochen, darunter auch für das Römische Reich, brachten bisher keine zufriedenstellenden Resultate. Daher muss die Arbeit von C.F. NOREÑA (= N.) über das symbolische System des Weströmischen Reiches (mit seiner zentralen Figur – dem Kaiser) und neuen Methoden seiner Analyse ein besonderes Interesse erwecken¹. Umso mehr, als N. nicht nur versucht, Zusammenhänge zwischen verschiedenen symbolischen „Gesichtern“ des Kaisers wiederherzustellen, sondern diese auch mit der in der Gesellschaft „zerstreuten“ Macht verbindet. Und was ebenso wichtig ist, er versucht das Gewicht verschiedener symbolischer Konstruktionen quantitativ zu bestimmen.

Das Buch besteht aus drei Teilen und ist mit einem Vorwort („Introduction“) versehen, in welchem der Autor erklärt, warum er, um den Einfluss des symbolischen Systems auf politische Strukturen, die gesellschaftliche Hierarchie und die Kultur des Römischen Reiches zu erfassen, sich auf die mit dem Kaiser verbundenen Ideen, Ideale und Werte konzentriert, die auf über 185 Tausend Silber- und Bronzemünzen und auf über 570 Inschriften aus dem westlichen Teil des Imperiums aus den Jahren 69–235 n. Chr. präsentiert sind.

Im ersten Teil („Representation“) analysiert N. die Rückseiten der Münzen, die durch die Darstellung der Person des Kaisers, der als moralisches Vorbild mit persönlichen Tugenden galt und als Wohltäter für die Bewohner des Reiches fungierte, von den damit verbundenen Idealen und Werten dominiert waren. Im Kapitel II („Values and Virtues. The Ethical Profile of the Emperor“) präsentiert der Autor ein ethisches Profil eines „guten“ Kaisers, beschrieben meist durch *aequitas*, *pietas*, *virtus*, *liberalitas* und *providentia*. N. verfolgt die Ikonographie, den sozialen und sprachlichen Kontext, in welchem sie erschienen sind und schließt daraus, dass *virtus* meistens mit Siegen und Militärerfolgen verbunden wurde. Den religiösen Aspekt der kaiserlichen Macht drückten *providentia* und *pietas* aus, *aequitas* und *liberalitas* bezogen sich hingegen auf die Garantien der Qualität der Münzenermission und auf die Großzügigkeit des Kaisers.

Im Kapitel III („The Benefits of Empire and Monarchy“) bemerkt N., dass die Macht des Kaisers nicht nur Rom allein, sondern auch den Einwohnern des Imperiums diente². Ein Beweis dafür sind durch Münzenermissionen präsentierte kaiserliche Wohltaten: auf den vor allem für höhere Schichten bestimmten Silbermünzen *pax* und *concordia*, und auf den Bronzemünzen – *fortuna* und *salus*. Auf der Münzrückseite erscheint jedoch am häufigsten *victoria* – „der Pfeiler“ der römischen Ideologie, die sich aus dem Attribut des Kaisers schnell in kaiserliche Wohltat umwandelte. Den Zusammenhang zwischen Glück und den materiellen Gütern drückte vor allem *felicitas* aus. Diese Ausdrucksform hatte jedoch einen stärker strategischen Charakter, als bisher angenommen wurde. Die Münzen waren nämlich über hundert Jahre im Umlauf, und die Anzahl der sich im Umlauf

¹ Princeps ist nach N. ein durch zahlreiche verschiedene Ideen und Praktiken konstruiertes Symbol. Vor vielen Jahren nannte Peter BURKE diesen Prozess – nach Erving GOFFMAN – eine „Fabrikation“; siehe P. BURKE, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven 1992.

² Identifikation der Aktivitäten des Staates mit den Entscheidungen des Kaisers nennt P. VEYNE *le style monarchique*; siehe *Bread and Circuses. Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, übers. von P. PEARCE, London 1990 (erste französische Ausgabe: Paris 1976).

befindlichen Münzen ließ die Differenzen zwischen der Darstellung des regierenden Kaisers, der herrschenden Dynastie und dem römischen Regierungssystem als solchem verschwinden.

Im Teil II („Circulation“) konzentriert sich N. auf die Chronologie und Geographie der Verbreitung der Münzen und versucht, den Identifizierungsgrad der lokalen Gemeinschaften mit der vom „Zentrum“ ausgehenden Kommunikation zu beurteilen. Im Kapitel IV („The Diffusion of Imperial Ideals in Time and Space“) stellt der Autor dar, dass die Münzen für die Übermittlung laufender Informationen ungeeignet waren, da das Resultat ihrer Auswirkung zeitversetzt ist und auch durch Programme anderer Medien unterstützt war. Sie alle bildeten ein kompliziertes System, in welchem viele individuelle und institutionelle Akteure tätig waren, die kollektiv und vielseitig den Kaiser „konstruierten“, indem sie ihm bestimmte Ideen und Werte zuschrieben. Obwohl dies anfangs (im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) in den Praktiken der Gesellschaft der Provinzen beinahe un bemerkt blieb, sprachen die zentrale Kommunikation und die lokalen Initiativen bereits ab der Zeit des Kaisers Nerva über den Kaiser mit einer Stimme. Mit der Zeit, besonders aber ab Beginn des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., ist die Beschreibung des Kaisers auf den Münzen und in den Inschriften „polyphon“ geworden.

Im Kapitel V („Central Communication and Local Response“) bemerkt N., dass obwohl die Anwendung einer bestimmten Terminologie in den Inschriften als lokale „Antwort“ auf die durch das „Zentrum“ kreierte Inhalte gelten kann, haben wir es jedoch in den Provinzen mit etwas mehr als nur einer Artikulierung kaiserlicher Ideen zu tun, und zwar mit einer Vereinigung lokaler Ehre, städtischer Benefizien und aristokratischer Selbstdarstellung. Ehrenwidmungen für den Kaiser waren also keinesfalls ein Ausdruck der Loyalität, sondern besaßen vor allem lokale Bedeutung. Durch die Idealisierung des Kaisers und die Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen ihm, den Göttern und der lokalen Aristokratie wurde die lokale Hierarchie und die Macht reproduziert³. Dieses System hörte erst Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. auf zu funktionieren, als der Kaiser nicht mehr *optimus* war, sondern der einzige *dominus* wurde. Die Aristokratie konnte ihn nicht mehr nachahmen, und in der Folge hörten die Wohltätigkeit und das Patronat auf, die lokale Macht zu legitimieren.

Im Teil III („Power“) weist N. wieder auf die Rolle hin, die kaiserliche Ideale und Werte in der Stärkung der zentralen Staatsmacht und der Autorität lokaler Aristokraten spielten. Im Kapitel VI („Ideological Unification and Social Power in the Roman West“) beschreibt er die öffentliche Darstellung und Idealisierung des Kaisers als „symbolischen Kitt“ des gesamten Imperiums. Der „Kaiser“ war jedoch ein komplexes, mit diversen Bedeutungen ausgestattetes Symbol. Dies beweist eine Analyse der Tugenden und Wohltaten, die ein System bildeten, und die militärischen, religiösen, materiellen und dynastischen Elemente der kaiserlichen Ideologie repräsentierten. Sie waren keinesfalls abstrakt und wurden gemäß ihrer spürbaren Folgen in der realen Welt beurteilt. Während sie in Griechenland infolge theoretischer Diskussionen und in hellenistischer Zeit infolge eines dialektischen Austauschprozesses zwischen Hof und König entstanden, wurden sie im Römischen Reich durch den Kaiser und seine unmittelbare Umgebung geschaffen. Von dort wurden sie im ganzen Imperium verbreitet, wo sich ihrer lokale Eliten für ihre eigenen Zwecke bedienten. Die größte Vereinheitlichung und ideologische Einigkeit des Römischen Reiches fällt in die Zeit zwischen Trajan und Marcus Aurelius (Jahre 98–180 n. Chr.).

Ein großer Erfolg der Arbeit von N. ist zweifelsohne, dass er neue Argumente im Streit der Anhänger der „kaiserlichen Propaganda“ mit den Befürwortern der „Entfaltung/Verbreitung

³ Auf diesen Aspekt haben bereits, z. B. im Kontext der Religion, S. PRICE (*Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984) und R. GORDON (*The Veil of Power: Emperors, Sacrifices and Benefactors*, in: M. BEARD, J. NORTH (Hgg.), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London 1990, S. 199–232), und im Kontext der Kunst P. ZANKER (*Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987), hingewiesen.

der Pracht“ durch römische Kaiser liefert⁴. Die bisherige Diskussion, die sich vor allem auf Argumente des gesunden Menschenverstandes und auf *ex silentio* konzentrierte, bevorzugte extreme Lösungen. N. hingegen bedient sich in Tabellen und Diagrammen dargestellten Zahldaten und führt Themenbereiche ein, die nicht so leicht ignoriert werden können. Einerseits, da er die extreme Versachlichung visueller Botschaften aufgibt und das Ausdrücken durch die Kunst der Kunst allein negierte, verleiht er der Reflexion über die Kommunikation eine überprüfbare Perspektive einer „langen Dauer“. Andererseits, da er die auf Subjektivität setzenden Interpretationen der Erscheinungen in den Provinzen verwendet, würdigt er auf diese Weise die lokale Initiative und verleiht ihr einen autonomen Wert. Das ist zweifelsohne sein großer Verdienst. Es kann jedoch nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass eine quantitative Sammelerfassung der Münzendarstellungen zwar ein kohärentes Bild des Kaisers darstellt, das jedoch zerstört worden wäre, hätte man auch andere darstellende Medien berücksichtigt. Die starke Argumentation, neue Methoden der Forschung zum römischen Symbolsystem und die Multidisziplinarität der Arbeit von N. können jedoch zweifellos einen starken Impuls für weitere Forschungen über das Bild des Kaisers und die soziale Kommunikation im Alten Rom geben.

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⁴ Über „Propaganda“ siehe zutreffende Anmerkungen von P. STEWART, *The Social History of Roman Art*, Cambridge 2008, S. 108–127; über „Entfaltung/Verbreitung von Pracht“ siehe VEYNE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), S. 378–383.

Steven E. SIDEBOTHAM, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011, 456 pp., ISBN 978-0-52-024430-6, \$ 55.00.

Many scholars have pondered the subject of Rome's Eastern trade, which remains perennially controversial and continues to baffle its researchers. The relative dearth of archaeological data and inaccessibility of many sites make the thorough investigation of this problem difficult at best. Steven E. SIDEBOTHAM [= S.], an archaeologist renowned for his excavations in Egypt's Eastern Desert, has recently published *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*, a work that inspects the dynamics of Eastern trade from the viewpoint of those inhabiting Berenike. An extremely remote trading settlement on the shores of the Red Sea, Berenike Troglodytica (Egyptian Baranis) nevertheless managed to thrive, sustained by enormous quantities of Western and Eastern goods that went through its harbours. S. presents the growth of Berenike as a result of the interplay of environmental, economic and political factors. The author effortlessly connects local events with larger developments within the Empire and beyond its borders, proving that the microhistory approach can indeed elucidate more general happenings.

The first two chapters constitute an introduction to the site itself and the surrounding region. In the first chapter, "Introduction" (pp. 1–6), S. defines the significant role Berenike played in the Maritime Spice Route, via which frankincense, myrrh and black peppercorns were imported into the Mediterranean. In the second chapter, "Geography, Climate, Ancient Authors, and Modern Visitors" (pp. 7–20), we find a lucid description of the factors enumerated above, setting the background for the analysis to follow. The author begins with a thorough discussion of geographical conditions in the Eastern Desert. S. depicts the winds and currents of the Red Sea and the desert flash floods: these sudden downpours replenish desert water table but promote bay silting through sediment accumulation, simultaneously fostering and hindering the development of the harbour in Berenike. In the subsequent part, the archaeologist enumerates and discusses briefly Ptolemaic and Roman authors who mentioned Berenike and goes on to summarise the history of the exploration of the site.

The next four chapters are devoted to the so-called early period in the history of Berenike – that is, the Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods – which culminated in the era of its greatest prosperity in the second half of the first century CE. Chapter three ("Pre-Roman Infrastructure in the Eastern Desert", pp. 21–31) initially analyses pre-Ptolemaic desert travel, to turn then to the Ptolemaic desert installations that supplied travellers with water and other necessities of life. The following chapter ("Ptolemaic Diplomatic-Military-Commercial Activities", pp. 32–54) expounds intricacies of the Ptolemaic exploration of the Eastern Desert, the two main goods to be procured being Nubian gold and elephants. Initiating a lengthy discussion about the difficulties involved in hunting and sea transport of these pachyderms, the author speculates about the role Berenike played in elephant transport. The fifth chapter ("Ptolemaic and Early Roman Berenike and Environs", pp. 55–67) entails the enumeration of archaeological finds in the city itself. The author describes lingering architectural remains, artefacts and ecofacts found in Berenike, providing a constant commentary about the city's development in the Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods; additionally, the hinterland desert installations are discussed. In chapter six ("Inhabitants of Berenike in Roman Times", pp. 68–86), the social make-up of Berenike's citizens is analysed. As S. demonstrates, the city was an ethnic melting pot, housing, among others, inhabitants of Arabic, Indian, Greek, Roman and Egyptian extraction, all these groups differing slightly in dietary and religious practices.

The following five chapters present the bigger picture: the author adopts a wider perspective, analysing the generalia of life in the Eastern Desert and the spice trade Berenike took part in. An exposition of water in the Eastern Desert is provided in chapter seven, "Water in the Desert and the Ports" (pp. 87–124). Among other things, the chapter provides a wealth of detail about

issues such as liquid requirements for animals and humans or water procurement and distribution methods; interestingly, the author briefly touches on the issue of water pollution that must have accompanied human activities in the desert. In turn, chapter eight, “Nile–Red Sea Roads” (pp. 125–174), presents the dense network of routes and stations that linked Red Sea ports with the Nile valley breadbasket. Matters given particular attention are physical appearance of roads and settlements and types into which they may be classified. Beginning with chapter nine, S. examines the particulars of trade on the Indian Ocean littoral. The chapter “Other Emporia” (pp. 175–194) focuses on remaining trade ports within and beyond the Roman Empire, strewn along the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. A map at the beginning of the chapter presents the position of all significant emporia; subsequently, S. discusses the probable sites of every emporium and enumerates their chief export products. Vessels that frequented the said ports are discussed in the “Merchant Ships” chapter (pp. 195–205), where the author analyses several aspects of these ships – such as design, seaworthiness and cargo capabilities – in respect to archaeological remains found at Berenike. These chapters set a frame of reference for the eleventh chapter, “Commercial Networks and Trade Costs” (pp. 206–220), in which S. investigates the issue of the trade balance between the East and the West that vexed many a scholar in the past. S. effectively demonstrates that both sides in the trade must have had gains, as no one would engage in trade that benefitted one side only. The final part of the book once again concentrates on archaeological data. The twelfth chapter, “Trade in Roman Berenike” (pp. 221–258) presents the finds of goods imported from the East in the Berenikean strata and the final, thirteenth chapter “Late Roman Berenike and Its Demise” (pp. 259–282) briefly summarises the century of renewed prosperity for Berenike that started circa 350 CE and reasons for the settlement’s subsequent abandonment.

What constitutes perhaps the main advantage of this work is its author’s versatility. S. masterfully embeds the finds at Berenike in the context of the Maritime Spice Route trade, drawing deftly from archaeological and literary sources to illustrate his points. His mastery over his interdisciplinary field is nothing short of amazing: he is deeply conversant with sources as diverse as modern hydrological data, *ostraka*/petroglyphs, *periploi*, ancient trade documents and food remains. As a highly experienced Eastern Desert excavator, S. is able to provide introductory reading for those unfamiliar with the specifics of that region. At the same time, he can seamlessly move into more arcane subjects, effortlessly linking what the reader has already learnt with novel developments in the field. What attracted my attention was the significant stagnation Berenike in S.’s view experienced in the later second and third centuries CE. The author convincingly demonstrates that the late Roman Berenike was not the same settlement that enjoyed its first *floruit* during the latter part of the first century CE. The earlier settlement was militarised and heavily dependent on the Nile Valley supplies. It was a temporary town for transient merchants who traded in Eastern commodities, with the government providing military protection and life essentials, but in turn levying heavy taxes on the transported cargoes. As such, Berenike accepted goods from almost all regions of the Mediterranean, acting as a meeting point of the Western and Eastern trade routes. The later settlement differed in many aspects from the previous one. The Late Roman Berenike was much more self-sustainable than in the previous, government-subsidised phase. The military presence in the area waned and contacts with the Nile valley became sporadic. Without the constant influx of Greco-Roman prospectors, the native, nomadic element began to predominate within the population. These newcomers were not passing merchants, but local Blemmye tribesmen who wished to settle. Eastern trade continued, but for personal – not governmental – gain; curiously enough, the Late Roman Berenike very rarely received goods from the western regions of the Mediterranean, even though the Western and Eastern portions of the Empire continued to trade. These observations of S. provide the context from which one may infer the general condition of Egypt at the dawn of the mediaeval era: increasing isolation and social pressures, combined with environmental factors, brought on the onset of transformation.

As for faults in the author’s work, they are negligible and their seriousness depends on the personal taste of the reader. S. often reiterates previously made points, at times copying verbatim

his previous sentences. It may be argued that this is done for the sake of clarity, but I must admit I found these repetitions jarring and unnecessarily padding out the already sizeable book. Of course, a balance between clarity and redundancy is notoriously difficult to achieve: some readers may appreciate these reiterations. Besides a small number of typing errors, the text is in pristine condition: the language flows smoothly and the author ensures that every foreign or obscure word is clarified. The book contains several maps and photographs to accompany the text. The amount is satisfactory; nonetheless, I would like to see more drawings, because, despite S.'s lucid style, some details of archaeological descriptions remain fuzzy. His previous work, *The Red Land: The Illustrated Archaeology of Egypt's Eastern Desert* (Cairo 2007) contains many sketches that elucidate the finer points of his arguments; it is a pity that *Berenike* does not equal its predecessor in that aspect. Overall, the work is highly commendable: a general introduction to the archaeology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt and the Eastern spice trade, it nevertheless contains a wealth of data many seasoned scholars will find indispensable. One can only wish that more authors would strike the perfect balance between being scholarly and accessible.

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J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Ambrose and John Chrysostom: Clerics between Desert and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 316 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-959664-5, £ 66.00.

In his new book, J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ [= L.], an outstanding historian of late antiquity, juxtaposes the figures of two individuals, Ambrose and John Chrysostom, each of whom played a key role in the history of the two parts of ancient Christianity, namely the Latin West and the Greek East respectively. What the two characters have in common is that they lived in the same epoch, attained a high position in the Church hierarchy, and had close relations with the courts of Christian emperors seated in the cities where they held their episcopal sees. What is more, having received a very good secular education, they were both very active writers and preachers. Among the moral views and opinions they voiced, numerous can be seen as convergent, especially those propagating the attitudes and actions which enjoyed considerable popularity in the late fourth century and were concerned with the then dynamically developing ascetic movement. However, notwithstanding all the external similarities so obvious to every person familiar with the history of the ancient Church, there are considerable differences between the two figures both in their practical implementation of the ascetic ideal as well as the form and, most importantly, the effectiveness of their political actions.

L. centres his comparative study of Ambrose and John Chrysostom around two categories, namely asceticism on the one hand and their outspokenness, which was uncompromising even if it involved harsh criticism of the ruling emperors, on the other.

In the opening part of the book, the author presents in a synthetic way, first, the classical tradition of ascetic practices and attitudes up until the emergence of the institutionalized and mass Christian monastic movement, and second the still republican provenance of outspokenness as a value whose importance gradually subsided along with the growing consolidation of the imperial system and which eventually almost completely disappeared in late antiquity. L. uses this background in the following two parts of his book to depict its eponymous protagonists. As the part devoted to Chrysostom is three times as long as the part covering Ambrose, it can be assumed that the sources we have provide significantly more information about the ascetic and political aspects of the activity and literary creativity of the bishop of Constantinople than about the bishop of Milan. It is undoubtedly so as far as asceticism and monasticism, especially in practical terms, are concerned. As we learn from a variety of ancient sources, John Chrysostom, before starting his career as a cleric and bishop, led an ascetic life as a monk, whereas Ambrose, before becoming the bishop of Milan, had prominent functions in the imperial administration and little is known about how he implemented the ascetic ideal.

This is not the first time L. has dealt with the political activity of the two great Christian Fathers in a systematic way, although undoubtedly he has so far devoted more time in his publications to John Chrysostom, who is the central figure of a number of longer and shorter pieces written by him, including primarily the monograph entitled *Bishops and Barbarians: Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford 1990). As far as Ambrose is concerned, the author's thorough study of the bishop resulted in an excellent English translation of and commentary on his political letters and speeches published by Liverpool University Press in 2010 in the Translated Texts for Historians series (*Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*, Liverpool 2010).

The second part of the book ("Ambrose", pp. 57–96), devoted to the bishop of Milan, starts with a chapter in which the author describes him as a great enthusiast and promoter of the ascetic and monastic movement, which was only just awakening in the Latin West. The whole body of his writings devoted to the virtues of virginity and widowhood, his strong words on the superiority of common property over private property as well as the founding of a monastery in Milan leave no

doubt in this respect. The portrait outlined by L. also depicts Ambrose as a bishop who not only propagated in theory but also followed in practice the ascetic principles of life. However, I believe that the sources we have encourage greater caution in expressing very definite judgements on this matter. The author of the book, citing *Vita Ambrosii* by Paulinus of Milan, the notary of Ambrose, writes that on taking up the post, the bishop of Milan donated all his property to the Church. What is more, as posthumously praised by the bishop in a commendation composed in his honour, his brother Satirus allegedly had similar intentions with regard to his share of the family estate (p. 65). Although there are not sufficient reasons to deny the truthfulness of Paulinus' words, in my opinion the author of the book should nevertheless remind the reader of their hagiographic context, which should make us perceive them as one of the elements creating the image of an ideal bishop. We must bear in mind that Paulinus wrote *Vita Ambrosii* in North Africa where he managed the property of the Church of Milan and allegedly was explicitly encouraged to write the piece by Augustine, a bishop for whom the disposing of private property was generally a preliminary requirement in order to start a clerical career in the Church of Hippo, which he managed.

Nor am I convinced that the sources really provide, as the author writes, sufficient basis to claim that Ambrose required the clergy of Milan to live a communal life and follow rules of celibacy (p. 65). Here L. refers to a letter written by Ambrose to the electors of a new bishop of Vercelli (*Ep. extr. coll.* 14). In this long letter, which is actually a treatise defending monastic values against the followers of Jovinian, questioning their special status, the bishop of Milan does praise the attitude of the bishop who not only led a monastic life, but also required the subordinate clerics to follow in his footsteps and live a communal life of celibacy. However, Ambrose clearly relates the ideal to a local tradition started in Vercelli a few decades earlier by Eusebius, a bishop who is commonly believed to have been the first in the West to require his clerics to live in a commune. It seems to me that if a monastic community of clerics established by Ambrose really existed in Milan, it would, in the first place, have been mentioned by his hagiographer, who, as I have already pointed out, was inspired to write his text by Augustine, a bishop and monk, but also listed *Vita Ambrosii* as part of the tradition of monastic hagiography ranging from *Vita Antonii*, through *Vita Martini*, to *Vita s. Pauli eremitae*; *Vita s. Hilarionis*; *Vita Malachi monachi captivi* by Jerome (*Vita Ambrosii*, praef.). It is also puzzling that no mention is made anywhere of any such a community by Augustine, who actually required his monks to live in a community in the bishop's house. After all, the bishop of Hippo on more than one occasion directly expressed his appreciation and admiration for Ambrose, yet the only "monastic" achievement Augustine referred to in his *Confessiones* was the foundation and supervision of the monastery near the walls of Milan.

L. cautiously formulates an interesting thesis that Ambrose's fervent promotion of ascetic practices at the outset of his career as a bishop, most notably of the so-called domestic monasticism and the closely related idea of consecrated virginity as well as his depreciation of private property, whose only *raison d'être* was to provide support for the poor, could have been a part of his peculiar strategy for building a very strong position in Milan. From the theological point of view, the subject caused no controversy between the supporters of the Nicene and anti-Nicene parties, who were fighting against each other at that time. What is more, taking it up could have been a response to palpable public feelings. The bishop could have had a premonition that monasticism would become a fashion in Milan similar to the trend well-established in the East and only recently developing in the circles of Roman aristocratic women (p. 71). Encouraging people to be charitable could certainly have boosted his popularity among the populace of the city (p. 76). However, the last argument is weakened a little by the sermon entitled *De virginitate*, given only a year after the publishing of the treatise *De virginibus*, in which Ambrose replies in a consistent manner to those who blame him for propagating virginity. This suggests the climate in Milan around the emerging monasticism was not so unequivocally positive, a fact which is indeed mentioned by the author of the book himself (pp. 70 f.).

In the chapter closing the second part of the book (pp. 85–91), L. analyses some well-known examples of Ambrose's effective political action, namely the conflict with Valentinian II, or more

precisely with his mother Justina concerned with handing over a basilica in Milan to Arians, the famous public penance imposed on Theodosius for the massacre of Thessalonica, and the effective diplomacy of the bishop of Milan against the restoration of the Altar of Victory in the Roman Senate House and against the punishment of the monks who destroyed a synagogue in Callinicum. Ambrose's attitude and reactions in all these cases, even if the objectivity of the information is somewhat questionable, because, as noted by L., they originate primarily from the writings of Ambrose (p. 94), prove that the bishop of Milan was both a very talented diplomat and an individual of bold courage. The liberties he took by communicating with Theodosius in such an outspoken manner must be considered exceptional, whereas his successful completion of all the actions in the face of the opposition of the imperial court is probably unparalleled, as L. rightly concludes, in the entire history of the Roman Empire (p. 94).

The third part of the book ("Chrysostom", pp. 97–250), following the guiding assumption of the author, depicts John Chrysostom as an ascetic, a theoretician of monasticism, and finally a high-ranking participant of political life. While describing and analysing these spheres of activity of the bishop of Constantinople, L. relies on the availability of both rich source materials and abundant reference books. Apart from a whole range of publications concerned with details and individual issues, he could refer to two still relevant books on Chrysostom which approach this outstanding Church Father from a similar perspective. These are works by J. KELLY (*Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, London 1995) and M. ILLERT (*Johannes Chrysostomus und das antiochenische Mönchtum: Studien zur Rhetorik und Kirchenpolitik im antiochenischen Schrifttum des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Zürich 2000). L., however, manages to find his own view on the protagonist of his book and critically uses the reference books he is very familiar with. Whenever he is in agreement with the findings of other researchers, he concedes the point, as is the case for example of the chronology of the life of Chrysostom suggested by KELLY, whereas, if his own research indicates to the contrary, he uses convincing arguments to challenge them. Consequently, on a number of occasions he refers the reader to the theses found in ILLERT'S book, and in some other cases he fundamentally disagrees with the arguments of the author questioning even his methodological approach to the interpretation of the works of the bishop of Constantinople (e.g. p. 130, n. 31; p. 134, n. 3).

Having outlined the broadly understood ascetic environment in which John Chrysostom started to act (pp. 97–109), L. gives a critical presentation of the literary sources covering his life prior to ordination (pp. 113–126). With respect to the fullest account we have on this period, provided by the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* by Palladius, the author would see this work rather as a reliable historical source and not a hagiographic story legendary in character, as is usually the case with the genre. A particularly noteworthy part of L.'s considerations is his interpretation of the testimony of Socrates Scholasticus, who was the only one among the ancient authors to write that John was ordained by Evagrius of Antioch. Even though the author of the book questions the fundamental part of the testimony and on this matter rather lends credence to Palladius, who says that the ordination was conferred by Flavianus, he nevertheless perceives it as reliable evidence of the existence of certain relations between Chrysostom and Evagrius. What is more, he assumes that the bishop Evagrius might be the same unidentified Evagrius who, according to another record made by Socrates, is supposed to have influenced the young Chrysostom and dissuaded him from pursuing a legal career in order to completely devote himself to Christian life instead. By using this hypothesis, L. explains why the bishop of Constantinople thought so highly of the *Vita Antonii*, a work translated into Latin by Evagrius, and why Chrysostom could be sure of support after his deposition from the see of Constantinople. He supposedly owed his favourable reception there as well as his knowledge of the internal situation of the Church of Italy to the acquaintanceship and contacts Evagrius had in the West (pp. 117–123).

In the following chapters, L. deals with Chrysostom's moral writings, reviewing them in chronological order and in close connection with his status in relation to the institutional Church, which changed over the years from an ascetic-monk through a priest to a bishop. The author focuses on

those of his views and opinions which can be found in the entire body of texts discussed here, such as the explicit reference to the Stoic moral programme, but also on those which evolved under the impact of all kinds of experiences connected with his official functions or social roles, ranging from a full and complete affirmation of monasticism in his earliest writings to an attitude of great reserve towards this phenomenon which he assumed in his works dating to the times when he was already active in teaching in the name of the institutional Church. One example of the specific evolution of Chrysostom's moral appraisal of attitudes in life to be named here is his changing view on the institution of marriage and family life, with which he acquainted himself more closely only while carrying out his ministry (p. 177).

The last chapter of the book is devoted to Chrysostom's treatment of the political situation in Constantinople which he faced, most notably in his relations with the imperial court (pp. 224–250). Admittedly, unlike Ambrose, he did not manage to establish close personal relations with the emperor, but he nevertheless actively participated, though much less successfully than the bishop of Milan, in events considerably affecting the political situation in the capital. A case in point is the mission he embarked on during the events connected with the so-called rebellion of Gainas. In this chapter, L. writes extensively about the relations between Chrysostom and the Empress Eudoxia. He clearly reconstructs the gradual deterioration of their relations, starting from complete harmony when Chrysostom only started to serve as a bishop, when there was a strong and unequivocal anti-Arian bond between them, and ending with the role Arcadius' wife could have played in his ultimate downfall and banishment. Here, the author draws attention to the obvious parallel between the long-lasting conflict between Ambrose and Justina and the dispute between Chrysostom and Eudoxia. He even advances a bold thesis that the bishop of Constantinople might have been aware of how the bishop of Milan acted under similar circumstances and the conspicuous concurrence of arguments used by both of them is not necessarily a result of the general similarity of the historical contexts they found themselves in (p. 243).

The book ends with a part entitled "Conclusion" (pp. 251–261), in which L. gives a synthetic presentation of the similarities and differences to be noted between the two great Fathers of the Church. He tries in the first place to find an answer to the question why, despite all the similarities in their views and positions in relation to the official state authorities, their careers in politics and the Church ended so differently. The author believes, referring in this respect to the conclusions drawn from the excellent monograph written by N. McLynn (*Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1994), that a key role was played by Ambrose's political sense, and consequently considerably greater skills than in the case of Chrysostom, of finding his way in the world of real politics. However, the main difference in the somewhat controversial activity aimed at propagating the ascetic lifestyle consisted in the fact that the bishop of Milan addressed his teachings on this matter primarily to consecrated virgins and widows, whereas the bishop of Constantinople promoted the universal nature of ascetic virtues.

The book brings together the biographies of an outstanding Roman and an outstanding Greek, making up a comparative composition, a specific syncrisis in which the author compares the protagonists. Finally, it has once again been proved that the composition concept known since ancient times, so brilliantly implemented by Plutarch, can be an attractive model to be copied even in modern scholarly writing.

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Terentius TUNBERG, *De rationibus quibus homines docti artem Latine colloquendi et ex tempore dicendi saeculis XVI et XVII coluerunt*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012 (Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia XXXI), 144 pp., ISBN 978-90-5867-916-1, € 44.50.

Res est profecto nunc rarissima: liber doctus non solum Latine compositus, sed elegantissima Latinitate nitens. Minus id mirabitur, qui auctoris vitam atque opera consideraverit. Is est enim Terentius ille TUNBERG, Universitatis Kentuckianae professor, qui cum studentibus Latine tantum loquitur et quotannis ad Conventiculum Latinum Lexingtonianum linguae Romanorum amatores invitat.

Statim in initio censurae meae eum, qui librum est lecturus, debeo monere, quid ab auctore exspectare possit. Timeo enim, ne spe deceptus clamet “Ubinam est caro bovina?”¹ Nempe in titulo libri TUNBERG promittere videtur se aliquid dicturum de singulis vocibus et locutionibus, quae quadringentos et quingentos ante annos in colloquiis Latinis usurpatae sint. Ego quidem liberter certior fiam, quae sit origo phraseon, quas recentioris aevi scriptores iuventuti studiosae in usum cottidianum commendant: quae earum sint ex Plauti Terentiique comoediis haustae, quae ex corruptis codicum lectionibus originem ducant, quae ad instar locutionum in linguis vernaculis occurrentium sint formatae. Etiam capituli titulus *De pronuntiatu* quasi pollicetur nos docere, quomodo pronuntiatum sint in variis terris variae litterae Latinae, ubi – verbi causa – *genus* ut *ienus* sonuerit, *pectus* autem ut *pettus*.

De talibus non tractat liber Tunbergianus, nam auctor de rebus in genere potius quam in specie disserere mavult. Attamen lectoribus taedium non affert, quia multas res scitu dignas narrat inveteratisque opinionibus audacter adversatur (saepe facit id in annotationibus, ergo cave omittas eas in legendo). Quarum opinionum maximi momenti est ea, secundum quam occiderunt linguam Latinam, prius in sermonibus et scriptis vigentem, ii, qui iubebant eam ubique ad normam Ciceronianam aptari. TUNBERG affirmat etiam ante Longolium aliosque Ciceronianos linguam Latinam a paucis tantum viris doctis usurpatam esse putatque reditum ad normas antiquas Latinitatem non debilitasse, immo roborasse post vulnera a scholasticis philosophis inflictam². Arguit etiam auctor noster linguas vernaculas semper faciliores ad discendum fuisse quam Latinam idque etiam ab Erasmo eiusdemque aevi scriptoribus esse observatum³.

Mihi quidem res non tam simplex videtur. Differentiam enim suspicor esse non in linguis ipsis, sed in fine, quo nobis proposito eas discimus. Quisquis utitur libellis, in quibus locutiones ad colloquia Latina idoneae continentur, facile discet rogare panem aut salem, de se aliquid narrare, de caeli temperie disserere. Haud multo plura discunt ii, qui in schola linguis hodiernis operam dant. Certe toto caelo difficilius est tam bene cognoscere linguam Latinam, ut eleganter eruditeque de omnibus rebus loquaris. Sed qui discipulus sperare potest se tam bene, verbi causa, Anglice locuturum, ut niteat eruditione aequae ac baro Petrus Wimsey, persona librorum a Dorothea Sayers scriptorum, cuius colloquia cottidiana plena sint flosculis ex operibus Guilelmi Seisencheos (vulgo Shakespeare), Ioannis Keats, Roberti Browning multorumque aliorum auctorum decerptis? At talis fere esse debeat perfectus Latinitatis cultor.

Si pueri, qui in scholis Latine tantum loqui cogebantur, saepe peccabant lingua vernacula utentes, id non debet nobis esse argumento linguam Latinam difficillimam esse. Quisque est enim propensus ad sua lingua loquendum cum eiusdem nationis hominibus. Nulla est lingua facilior

¹ De origine et usu huius locutionis Americanae vide paginam interretialem http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Where%27s_the_beef%3F.

² P. 12, annot. 3.

³ Pp. 13 sq.

quam Esperantica, at in congressibus Esperantistarum saepe Poloni inter se Polonice, Francogalli autem Francogallice sermocinantur (talibus hominibus infame nomen “crocodilorum” inditur).

Usus linguae vernaculae magnopere displicebat scholarum Latinarum praeceptoribus, qui, ut eum eradicarent, decurrerant ad turpia remedia, nempe inter discipulos captabant delatores, qui sibi indicarent pueros aliam ac Latinam linguam usurpantes. De talibus delatoribus scribit TUNBERG Hermanni Schottennii testimonio fultus⁴. At in posterioribus saeculis inventa est ratio, qua adhibita omnes fere discipuli eo ingrato officio fungerentur. Nam ut narrat Andreas Kitowicz in sua *Descriptione morum Augusto III regnante vigentium*, saeculo duodevicesimo in scholis Polonicis discipulus vernacula lingua loquens accipere cogebatur tabellam litteris NL (“Nota linguae”) inscriptam. Quisquis eam tabellam mane aut post prandium apud se habebat, verberabatur. Non est cur miremur eius possessorem per fas et nefas conatum esse alteri discipulo eam tradere. Exempli causa, rogabat eum: “Quomodo hoc explicatur Polonice?”, et vocabulo vernaculo sic elicit tabella sese liberabat⁵.

Liber Tunbergianus docet nos colloquia Latina multo minoris aestimasse eos, quorum lingua vernacula proxima Latinae erat, nempe Italos et Hispanos⁶. Multis enim horum placebat dictum: “Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem”. Librum tali titulo inditum edidit Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis, qui in academia Salmaticensi artis grammaticae professor fuit⁷, sed TUNBERG notat eum hanc sententiam a Petro Bembo eiusque asseclis mutuatum esse⁸.

Scitu dignissima sunt ea, quae scribit auctor de modo verba Latina pronuntiandi ab Anglis adhibito. Saeculo enim sexto decimo ineunte omnes laudabant Anglos, quia clare et distincte Latine loquerentur, at post aliquot decennia nemo eos intellegere poterat⁹. TUNBERG videt duas causas, quibus hoc possit explicari: mutationem vocalium (vulgo *the Great Vowel Shift*), quae tum linguam Anglicam atque Anglorum Latinitatem affecit, et seclusionem Angliae a reliqua Europa, postquam Henricus VIII propriam Ecclesiam, Romae non oboedientem, fundaverat¹⁰.

Multos Polonos aegre laturus puto citata in hoc libro verba Ioannis Matthiae Gesneri, qui saeculo duodevicesimo loquitur de “Latino culinario, hussarico aut Polonico”¹¹. Ipsi tamen libenter repetimus vetus dictum: “Nos Póloni non cúramus quantítatem syllábarum”¹². Addam mihi hoc dictum non placere, nam proni sumus potius ad paenultimam syllabam temere clariore voce proferebam, ergo dicendum esset: “Nos Sarmátae syllábas tónicas neglegimus”.

⁴ Pp. 24 sq.; Hermannus Schottennius HESSUS, *Confabulationes tironum litterariorum*, ed. P. MACARDLE, Mancestriae 2007 [ed. pr.: Coloniae Agrippinae 1525], p. 84.

⁵ Jędrzej KITOWICZ, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, pp. 62 sq. (quem librum invenies apud: Wirtualna Biblioteka Literatury Polskiej Instytutu Filologii Polskiej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego [http://www.biblioteka.vilo.bialystok.pl/lektury/Barok/Jędrzej_Kitowicz_Opis_obyczajow.pdf]).

⁶ Pp. 23 et 34–36.

⁷ Cf. J.M. MAESTRE MAESTRE, *El Brocense contra el Inglés Henry Jason: una nueva interpretación de la paradoja Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem y de sus posteriores cambios textuales*, in: *La filología latina. Mil años mas*, ed. P.P. CONDE PARRADO, I. VELÁZQUEZ, vol. II, Burgos–Madrid 2009, pp. 1225–1288.

⁸ P. 34, annot. 50.

⁹ Pp. 71–74.

¹⁰ P. 74, annot. 21.

¹¹ P. 84; Ioannes Matthias GESNERUS, *Primae lineae isagoges in eruditionem universalem*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1784, p. 113.

¹² Huius sententiae primus mentionem facere videtur (sine perversis accentibus) circa annum 1705 Ioannes WARDYŃSKI in codice Bibliothecae Cornicensis 00407, p. 213. Vide paginam interretialem <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=224022&dirds=1&tab=1#>.

Colloquiorum Latinorum libri sexto decimo saeculo compositi tam utiles discipulis fuerunt, ut etiam hodie quaedam manualia Latine sermocinandi illis nitantur: talem librum anno 1970 editum TUNBERG invenit¹³. Quamquam enim Latinitatem duorum saeculorum, sexti decimi et septimi decimi, diligenter investigat, etiam in priora posterioraque tempora libenter excurrit. Facit etiam mentionem dialogorum, qui saeculo tertio post Christum natum compositi sunt ad usum Graecorum linguam Latinam discentium¹⁴.

Viri docti, qui varias linguas scrutantur, saepe plures faciunt sermones, quos ope magnetophoni asservant, quam opera litteraria, eorum enim linguam ut facticiam despiciunt. At in linguis antiquis ex contrario scriptorum opera documenta linguae genuina videntur, colloquia autem, quamvis saepe veterum scriptis fulta, sunt tantummodo philologorum aut magistrorum figmenta. Nemo mirabitur sic hodie rem se habere. Sed TUNBERG monstrat iam Quintilianum iuvenibus fere cottidie declamationes scribentibus commendasse, ut in exordiis simplicitatem ordinarii sermonis imitarentur¹⁵. Iam tunc igitur vir litteratus arte indigebat, ut arte carere videretur.

Ut dixi in initio, Latinitas Tunbergiana summas laudes meretur. Lectori voluptatem afferunt verba ad antiquorum scriptorum libros alludentia, utpote legentibus de lingua Latina “sensim sine sensu” discenda¹⁶ in mentem venit id, quod apud Tullium dicit Cato maior de litterarum studiis a senioribus colendis: “ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit”¹⁷.

In libro paucissimae mendae inveniuntur. Paginis 99 et 101 correctione indigent quidam antiquorum auctorum loci, ad quos lector refertur:

est	esse debet
Cic., <i>Ad Att.</i> , XIII, 33a, 4	Cic., <i>Ad Att.</i> , XIII, 33a, 1
Quint., <i>Inst.</i> , VI, 111	Quint., <i>Inst.</i> , VI, 3, 111
Plin., <i>Epist.</i> , II, 3, 2	Plin., <i>Epist.</i> , II, 3, 1–2.

In annotationibus displicet mihi mentio “operis Iacobi Pontani, cui titulus *Progymnasmatum Latinitatis*”: deberet potius scribi “*Progymnasmata Latinitatis*” aut “*Progymnasmatum Latinitatis volumen I*”.

Sed omittamus quisquillas. Liber Tunbergianus numerari debet inter splendida opera circuli philologorum e variis nationibus ortorum, qui secum invicem multa communia habent: morem Latine loquendi et scribendi, studium litterarum Latinarum omnium temporum, praecipue autem sexti decimi et septimi decimi saeculi, et mutuas amicitias. Cuius circuli fundator fuit vir doctissimus, piae memoriae Iosephus IJSEWIJN, eius participes sunt autem, praeter ipsum Terentium TUNBERG, Theodoricus SACRÉ, Milena MINKOVA et Antonius HAAKER, ut alios omittam. Ea omnia nomina saepe apparent in hoc volumine atque in conspectu librorum et commentationum.

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¹³ P. 95; Iosephus Maria MIR, *Nova verba Latina*, Barcinonae 1970.

¹⁴ P. 41, annot. 6.

¹⁵ P. 99; Quint. *Inst.* IV 1, 54.

¹⁶ P. 15.

¹⁷ Cic. *Cato* 38.