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w ramach Narodowego Programu Rozwoju Humanistyki (projekt nr 31H 11 0076 80)

To mark the publication of the centennial volume of this journal we are delighted to offer to our readers this *fasciculus extra ordinem editus electronicus* comprising twenty-five papers originally published in "Eos" in Polish and now translated into English. They span the period from 1904 (Sinko on the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*) to 1987 (Mrozewicz on the resettlements across the Rhine and the Danube under the early Roman Empire), and they give a fairly representative sample of topics covered in our journal. One field has intentionally been given particular emphasis, namely the reception of classical culture in mediaeval and early modern times, especially in Poland (see e.g. Plezia, Brożek 1973, Czerniatowicz). Our intention was to shed some light on matters which certainly deserve attention but usually pass unnoticed outside the Polish-speaking scholarly community.

On reflection, we decided that the papers would not be updated, supplemented or modified. Therefore, e.g., we have not corrected Sinko's (1905) view on the relative chronology of the Greek novel (putting Achilles Tatius at the end of the development of the genre, after Heliodorus and Longus); and we have retained Manteuffel's (1940–1946) opinion about a separate collection of Callimachus "songs". What we have done is only to correct obvious mistakes and printing errors in the original versions and, occasionally, to add some information for the benefit of international readers (all such additions are in square brackets). The papers obviously belong to the periods in which they were written and they are presented in this volume in the order of their original publication – although we believe that they are more than simply documents in the history of classical scholarship. The readers are advised to always check the date of the original Polish version.

The translation of the papers, and the publication of this CD, would not have been possible without the generous support of the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education and its National Programme for the Development of the Humanities (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki, NPRH). This project's registration number is 31 H 11 0076 80.

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LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY: CURRENT THEORY AND PRACTICE*

By

TADEUSZ SINKO[1]

Until the middle of the last [19th] century, most Latin authors were read in the so-called vulgate, that is, in the form of the text (*textus receptus*) which had been transmitted by the great philologists of the past on the basis of a few and often randomly chosen manuscripts. There was no knowledge of the interrelationship of *codices*, of a history of manuscript tradition, and thus no possibility of an adequate critical apparatus. However, any lexicon meriting the name of 'scholarly'[2] must transmit what the manuscripts actually contain and not the corrections, assumptions and additions of scholars. Karl Lachmann and Friedrich Ritschl pioneered the systematic and methodical unearthing and use of all available manuscript sources, the determination of their relationships and worth and thus the field of textual criticism, which, aided by *auctores*, *imitatores* and *testimonia*, cleared up the ancient rubble of uncertain readings and even more uncertain corrections, and laid down the immutable principles which now constitute a firm foundation for any future Latin studies. On this foundation of critical editions of authors and complete collections of fragments and inscriptions it became possible to attempt the creation of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* of which F.A. Wolff could only dream in 1820 and which was demanded by K. Halm 38 years later.

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" X 1904, fasc. 1, pp. 59–71.

1 (The editor's [1904] note:) The author of this article is in his second year of working as an assistant at the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* and can therefore inform the reader of the aims of the *Thesaurus* and of the work it requires not only from a theoretical but also from a practical perspective.

2 A short and also inadequate history of Latin lexicography was provided by F. Heerdegen (of Erlangen) in the second volume of the well-known *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* published by Iwan von Müller. Those interested must read the prefaces of Robertus Stephanus and I.M. Gesner. The best bibliography of 19th century lexicography was provided by Georges until 1886 in "Bursians Jahresbericht". After Georges, K. Wagner from Bremen took charge of this department and, in volume CXIV 1902, pp. 83–187, provided an excellent overview of relevant literature from 1886–1899.

Clearly, such an enormous undertaking, such a huge challenge had to be preceded by the preparation of plans and outlines, not just after the means of realization had become possible, but even before the challenge could be fully met. Before the decision to commit large amounts of both time and money could be made, it was necessary to show what the proposed *Thesaurus* would comprise, what would be its goals and how the collaborating contributors would achieve them; it was necessary to demonstrate the scholarly achievements and advantages of this new 'Treasury'. In short, it was necessary to create a new theory of Latin lexicography and to illustrate it on the basis of appropriate examples. Up to this point Latin lexica, some very ample, were being created but the principles guiding their creation were purely empirical and dependent on how copious the collections and notes of any particular scholar were. Lexicography was mechanical endeavour rather than an independent field of study.

The individual whose efforts gave rise to this field of study is Eduard Wölfflin, the man who replaced K. Halm at the University of Munich, the spiritual and material father of the new *Thesaurus linguae Latinae.* He was a leading pioneer in the investigation of vulgar and provincial Latin and their links with Romance languages, in statistical studies of existing words, of how words were dropped from use and how they were combined by various authors in different periods and in the investigation of the historical development of style and language in various writers and literary genres. Then in 1882, he proclaimed *Utinam sim bonus lexicographus!*[3] and two years later began publishing his "Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik" (= ALL), thus blazing the trail to the 'Treasury' of Latin.

The first matter that had to be resolved even before the collection of lexicographic data of the Latin language could begin was the following: What is understood by 'Latin language'? Which written sources constitute this language? Archaic, classical and Silver Latin authors (the 'pagan' authors) were universally accepted as sources; the primary challenge was to determine which later authors should be included in the *Thesaurus* and where to draw the boundary separating ancient Latin authors from medieval ones. Earlier lexicographers, who on principle would include only 'pagan', classical sources and only occasionally take Christian writers under consideration, would also in theory include the transitional Bronze Age (up to the 4th century AD) and the Iron Age, or, as it was called by Forcellini, the Clay Age (*aetas lutea*), probably an allusion to the 'feet of clay' of the Biblical idol. Robertus Stephanus (Robert Estienne), the father of the more illustrious Henricus, defined its lower limit as the 12th century, including Bernard of Clairvaux and John of Salisbury, just before the great flowering of scholastic Latin. This limit was pushed back by Forcellini to the 9th century and the Carolingian Renaissance. Scheller and others would include among

[3] *Über die Aufgaben der lateinischen Lexicographie*, RhM XXXVII 1882, pp. 83–123.

their excerpts only those authors of the 7th and 8th century who drew copiously from ancient sources, such as Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede and Paul the Deacon. A seemingly more rational definition is proposed by W. Freund, who writes that he is compiling a lexicon of 'national Latin', an inventory of the 'Roman nation'. But to Freund, the 'Roman nation' is equivalent to an independent *imperium Romanum*; therefore, for him, 'national Roman' literature ends in 476 AD. In reality it does not, since after the fall of the Western Roman Empire many Romans continue to write in Latin, among others Boethius, Ennodius, Priscian, Sidonius, Claudian and Mamertus. Dräger's limitation of the Latin lexicographer and grammarian to the study of a 'living and vital' Latin has more charm than accuracy. Grave errors accompanied by the loss of discernment of what is appropriate in Latin begin to appear only at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century, constituting the upper limit of interest of Latin scholarship. Today, such formulations of the span and development of a language are regarded as mere curiosities and these so-called errors and blemishes are considered in a different light. But it is due to Wölfflin that philologists came to regard this despised *latinitas barbara* as a legitimate descendant of Golden Age Latin. The Romance scholar G. Gröber, in the first volume of ALL[4], specifies this matter with the more practical goal of lexicographical excerpting from texts. He correctly maintains that spoken, vulgar Latin never died but rather kept continually and continuously evolving until its development into the Romance languages. From this standpoint, Latin can be regarded as the most ancient form of Romance languages, while they in turn can be regarded as the most recent phase of Latin. Modern scholarship has to a great degree discredited the spurious hypotheses of how the diverse Romance languages were developed from provincial Latin through the influence of various barbarian languages. If vulgar Latin slowly developed into the Romance languages through internal development, it becomes difficult to establish accurately where Latin ends and the Romance languages begin. Gröber dates this dividing line to the beginning on the 7th century only for reasons of practicality, marking as boundary posts the two Gregories, Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great, and including Isidore of Seville as well. This limit is not much different from the historical or political one if one considers the cessation of Byzantium's efforts to influence the western provinces and the arising of the Germanic kingdoms in Gaul, Spain and Italian Peninsula: Gaul passes to the Franks under Childebert I in the middle of the 6th century, the Visigoths take over the remaining coastal Roman cities in Spain at the beginning of the 7th century, while in the middle of the 7th century Rothari conquers the last purely Roman areas in Langobardia. These dates are also in agreement with the codification of Germanic law: the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Visigothorum* arise in the time of the two Gregories. The above-mentioned separation between ancient

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4 *Sprachquellen und Wortquellen des lateinischen Wörterbuchs*, pp. 35–67.

and medieval Latin is not an unnatural one, as the following observations demonstrate. At the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, the level of liberal arts education falls alarmingly: the complaints of Gregory of Tours about the illiteracy of clergy and court, the minimal requirements demanded of clerics by Isidore are clearly borne out in the so-called Latin-barbarian documents and decrees from the beginning of the 6th century onwards, in which changes in declensions and conjugations, confusion between genders and emergence of articles become apparent and only slightly disguised by the veneer of tradition. Here must end our sources for Latin lexicography, for unattested words obtained through reconstruction from Romance languages, even though they are the building blocks of those languages, cannot be included in the *Thesaurus* unless they are validated by glosses, the final and very important lexicographic source.

In this way, the decision was made to draw upon the Latin language spanning more than eight centuries of literature, i.e., from the middle of the 3rd century BC until the end of the 6th century AD. The documents pertaining to this biography of the language comprise approximately 250 volumes if one includes the 125 volumes each of 25 leaves of Latin authors included in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, the 60 volumes each of 50 leaves of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* and the 70 even larger volumes of all remaining Latin literature (grammarians, legal texts, scholiasts and inscriptions)[5]. How was this material to be made ready for the lexicographer? By whom? It was immediately evident that this task could not be undertaken by one person but that this would have to be a group effort. How was this group to be organized? How was it to function? Halm and his associates, who in 1858 were counting on the promised financial support of Friedrich Maximilian of Bavaria, kept demanding specialized lexica for each Golden Age Latin author and the most important Silver Age authors as well as excerpts for later authors. These excerpts were to be prepared on a volunteer basis by scholars who were experts in a particular author. They were also to take into consideration whatever was particularly 'important or interesting'. And yet, in the history of a language, it is impossible to ascertain the relative importance of a linguistic phenomenon or of a word. Even the seemingly least important matter assumes new significance when considered from a new perspective. In addition, the consideration of relative importance opened wide the door to a subjectivity which cannot be permitted in scholarly inquiry. Yet again, Wölfflin demonstrated the inadequacy of existing lexica for individual authors and the difficulties caused by their limitations. Most importantly, he proved the absolute

[5] The *Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, Lipsiae 1904, which gives an alphabetical listing of authors and inscriptions included in the *Thesaurus*, along with various notes concerning chronology and the best editions, is a tremendously valuable and desirable tool of every Latin scholar.

necessity of a complete inventory of all words of all authors[6]. Only such a complete inventory permits the creation of philological statistical data and negative observation, i.e., concluding that certain words are not found in any particular author or period. During the history of a language, statistical data and negative observation are the most important indicators of the development and loss of words. This is illustrated by the following examples. Whoever has attempted the dating of Plato's writings or has glanced at the statistical tables of his stylistic features compiled by W. Lutosławski must have wondered at the placing of certain particles or expressions in the various dialogues. Perhaps from the perusal of Tycho Mommsen's work on Greek prepositions one remembers that σύν is limited to Xenophon and Greek poetry, while in prose μετά is normally found. These examples are sufficient reminders that before and during Wölfflin's time[7], philological statistical data existed for Greek and that he was the main proponent of philological statistical data for Latin[8].

The occurrence of the concessive particle *etsi* in a Latin text does not appear noteworthy: it is regarded as something very common. Yet it is not really as common as it appears. Vergil does not use it, nor Horace, Sallust or Quintilian. It occurs only three times in the Old Testament Vulgate text. Sallust uses *tametsi*, *etiamsi* or *si* followed by *tamen*. Caesar regularly avoids *fluvius*, *amnis*, *nequeo*, *nescio*, *reor*, *igitur*, *quamquam*, *absque*, and *mox*. Other similar observations are due to the intelligence and diligence of various scholars: Professor Morawski formulated the interesting relationship of *ob* and *propter* in the Roman historians and drew attention to the curious development of *beneficio alicuius rei* in Silver Latin. But only a member of the *Thesaurus* team, having the complete materials at his disposal, will be able to specify in the first paragraph of his entry that a particular particle occurs so many times in such and such an author, that it is lacking in another and in which author it disappears completely. For example, *mox*, which is rather common in old Latin, is not favoured by Cicero who used it 4 times in his speeches (and 2 are in quotations from Terence), 5 times in his rhetorical writings and once in his correspondence with Atticus. Nepos and Caesar avoid this adverb and Seneca the Elder uses it only once. On the other hand, Velleius uses *mox* about 50 times and Tacitus, more than 300 times. Thus *mox* belongs to Silver Latin. These types of observations play a great role in solving the puzzles of so-called higher criticism, i.e., in judging the authenticity or non-

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[6] The sum of all Latin words known today (not including proper names) can be easily assessed at 50,000 with the help of O. Gradenwitz's *Laterculi vocum latinarum*, Leipzig 1904. The completed *Thesaurus* will enlarge this number by several hundred words.

[7] For German scholars had gathered the linguistic-statistical data of Lutosławski long before his English work on Plato's logic was published (*The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*, London 1897).

[8] *Die neuen Aufgaben des Thesaurus linguae latinae*, München 1894; idem, *Moderne Lexicographie*, ALL XII 1902, pp. 373–400.

authenticity of various texts. Obviously, statistical data will be available for all words, not just particles. Thus, in the *Thesaurus* one reads that *auditio* is found in prose writers beginning with Cicero while *auditor* is found in the speeches and grammarians beginning with *Rhet. ad Her.*; it occurs once only in Plautus and Varro. From the later poets Horace uses it four times in hexameter, Ovid once, Martial three times and Juvenal once. As soon as the *Thesaurus* is completed (circa 1930), both the outline and overview of the lexicographic resources of each author will exist showing how frequently (or infrequently) a particular word occurs and how its use wanes until it finally drops out of the language. Thus the beautiful image painted by Horace of words falling like leaves in the winter to make room for new ones will be reflected in strict lexical statistical data.

The accuracy of lexical statistical data remains quite variable even when accompanied by the complete compilation of the literature as it is dependent on the materials available. At the earliest period of literature such materials are mounds of rubble, while in its decline they are a disordered clutter of raw materials. Even if, by chance, the earliest currently posited occurrence of a word should in fact happen to be its oldest attestation in literature, the possibility still exists that this word was found in spoken language long before it was recorded in literature. For example, *scribo*, *-onis*, a derivation of *scriba*, is not found before Gregory the Great. This word is of no importance in the Romance languages, which use as their base *scribanus*, as demonstrated by Fr. *écrivain* and It. *scribano*. The word *scribo*, however, must be several hundred years older than it is first attested in literature, because the name *gens Scribonia* could only be derived from *scribo*. Most probably soldiers would call their camp writers, the clerks, by this term with the vulgar suffix *-on*; academic language, on the other hand, kept to the proper *scriba*.

Cases do exist, however, in which the 'birth certificate' of a given word can be attested. Well-known cases include Cicero's excuses when he coins Latin *providentia* for the Greek philosophical expression πρόνοια, or Seneca's invention of *essentia* as the equivalent of Greek οὐσία. A whole series of philosophical and rhetorical terms arise in the same way, by translation from Greek, e.g., case names in Latin. A second category of innovation is composed of words created by the poets specifically to replace words that cannot be used in hexameter verse. When Lucretius and Vergil write *maximitas* instead of *magnitudo* and *nominito* instead of *nomino*, they can be considered as the creators of these forms, unless, of course, they had previously been used by Ennius in his lost works. It will frequently be stated in the *Thesaurus* that a particular word introduced by the hexameter poets becomes popular in literature, e.g., the use of *supervacuus* (instead of the older *supervacaneus* found in prose) is spread thanks to Horace and Ovid although it is not known who was the first to use the adjective. Other innovations do not persist. For example, *pacalis* from *pax* (by analogy of *legalis* from *lex*) was most probably first created by Ovid but its use did not spread to

other authors. It was not a term created by *necessitas metri*: no adjective meaning 'peaceful' was in use among the war-loving Romans.

Philosophy and the study of Greek influenced classical and Silver Latin authors to coin new words, to provide new meanings and features to the existing ones. Christianity influenced the authors of the Church in the same way. One such concept, one word among the many (and one whose development is well attested by various authors) is *Salvator mundi* (saviour). From the following passage from the second *Verrine Oration* (154) it is evident that the term was not in use before Cicero, and unknown to this author as well. Verres demanded to be praised not only as the *patronus Siciliae* but also as *Soter* and Cicero asks him: "hoc quantum est? ita magnum, ut latine uno verbo exprimi non possit. Id est nimirum soter, qui salutem dedit". A comment on these words is found in Mart. Cap. V 510: "Cicero Soterem salvatorem noluit nominare: illud enim nimium insolens erat". Cicero could not form the noun *salvator* because he did not use the verb *salvare*, replacing it by *servare*, *salvum facere or reddere*. For Christians, *servator* did not suffice, meaning as it did 'preserver' or 'maintainer', but not 'saviour', although Arnobius calls Christ *generis humani conservator*. However the translators of the so-called 'Itala', basing themselves on the vulgar *salvare*, were able to render the Greek σωτήρ as *salvator*. It is impossible to create an agent noun in *-tor* from *salvus*: there is no *bonator* from *bonus*, no *malator* from *malus*. The grammarians did not approve of this Christian innovation, as is demonstrated by the following words of St. Augustine (*Trin.* XIII 10, 14): "Iesus id est Salvator. Nec quaerunt grammatici, quam sit Latinum, sed Christiani, quam verum. Salvare et salvator non fuerunt haec Latina, antequam veniret Salvator; quando ad Latinos venit, et haec Latina fecit" (cf. *ibid.*: "verbum [*scil.* salvator] Latina lingua antea non habebat, sed habere poterat, sicut potuit, quando voluit").

Even when complete statistical data is available, it is quite difficult to indicate exactly when the last occurrence of any particular word takes place. If it is not found in the Romance languages, it must have died out on the lips of the people; when its demise took place is more difficult to determine because literary tradition insists on its continued use. Yet even in this case, complete statistical data is helpful. Obviously, it must be compiled from the writings of uneducated authors for they, not as much influenced by educational and literary trends, more faithfully reflect the spoken language of their time. Comparison of these uneducated authors with the sources from which they draw is also very informative: Solinus, while keeping the contents of Pliny, changes some of his words, as does Orosius with Justin[9]. Such departures from the language of original sources are clear evidence of a change in linguistic usage. Thus any very common Latin word that

[9] The not-yet-attempted comparison of the translations of Plato's *Timaeus* by Cicero and by Chalcidius would provide an excellent contribution to both the history of the language and to the terminology of philosophy.

is not continued in the Romance languages should be carefully examined to see whether already in Latin the frequency of its usage diminished and it was lost; if it was lost, which words were used as replacements and finally which one of these triumphed and was continued in the Romance languages. In this battle for survival, the sensual appeal, the specificity and fullness of meaning as well as the sound of a word were important factors. For example, the adverb *saepe* was not continued in the Romance languages and its decline can be observed quite early. It competes with *subinde* (Fr. *souvent*) and *frequenter*. The relative frequency of each of these 3 competing words is as follows: in Pomponius Mela, *saepe* occurs thrice and *subinde* 12 times, in the first four books of astrology by Firmicus Maternus, *saepe* is very rare (three instances) whereas *frequenter* abounds (almost 60 times), and in Cassius Felix, *saepe* is also used thrice but there are almost 70 occurrences of *frequenter*, which was not used at all by Sallust and Caesar. Similar results are obtained for the word *omnes* which, due to its similarity to *homines* and beginning with Apuleius was systematically replaced with *toti* which was continued into the Romance languages. The loss of *mus* can already be observed in Latin and is confirmed by the fact that the French call a mouse *souris* from the species *sorex*, while the Spanish use a word meaning 'rat' and Italians use *topo* (from *talpa* meaning 'mole'). Similarly, a multitude of words competing with *edere* can be found, among them *comedere*, *cibari*, *manducare*, *esitare*, *gustare*. As early as 385, *Peregrinatio Egeriae* does not use *edere* although eating is often mentioned, nor does Caelius Aurelius, an African doctor in the 5th century, nor the dietician Anthimus at the beginning of the 6th century, while in the Old Testament Vulgate almost 500 uses of *comedere* occur for just 30 *edere*, even joined in the phrase *comedere et bibere*. Valerius Maximus and Suetonius repeat without alteration Cicero's phrase, "ut biberent, quoniam esse nolent", uttered by Appius Claudius Caecus when drowning the augur's chickens unwilling to eat. Already somewhere in the middle of the 3rd century, however, the *Periochae* of Livy (XIX) says "pullos, qui cibari nolebant". The battle for survival of words with similar meanings is not directly of interest to the lexicographer who, for *saepe*, formulates the statistical data and adds "cf. *subinde*, *frequenter*" and does the same for *edere* and its synonyms and for all similar cases. Once all the data has been formulated for all the synonyms of a given word, collectively it will give the history of the concept, and the history of concepts is the history of the culture. A sample of such a history can be obtained from three papers published in ALL: *Was heisst 'Leute'?* (VI 1889, pp. 341 ff.), *Was heisst 'die Kinder'?* (VII 1892, pp. 78 ff.) and *Was heisst 'das Pferd'?* (VII 1892, pp. 313 ff.).

While the documenting of the disappearance of a word and its battle to survive against its competitors are only indirectly of interest to the lexicographer, Wölfflin's further proposal, to take into account local differences and characteristics of Latin, is virtually impossible to achieve. Theoretically, Wölfflin is right

when he concludes that the characteristics of Latin were not uniform in all the countries in which it was spoken. On the contrary, in addition to variations over time, local variations surely existed. This local differentiation accompanied by other influences gave rise to the multiplicity of Romance languages. In practice, however, 'African' and 'Spanish' Latin (as proposed by Wölfflin in ALL II, VI, VII, VIII–X) as well as 'Gallic' Latin (as proposed by P. Geyer in ALL II, VII, VIII) rest on a very frail foundation of a few, at most several, observations. Even the *Thesaurus* will not be able to increase their number. Wölfflin observed that a group of writers of African descent of the 2nd and 3rd century, including Fronto but more importantly Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius and others, exhibit several common characteristics that do not occur in earlier writers: expressions such as *saecula saeculorum*, *caeli caelorum*, or the so-called genitive of identity including *cupiditates libidinum* and *imperii iussio*, as well as the replacement of the ablative of comparison by a periphrasis with the ablative, e.g., *doctior ab illo*. Wölfflin attributed these changes to the influence of the Semitic Punic language (of which nothing is known). *Africitas* was popular in Wölfflin's circles for a few years until the author himself thoroughly reduced it after many and often sharp comments from without. He himself admits today that many 'Africanisms' can be explained by the influence of the Asiatic rhetorical style and others could well prove to be common to all Latin if more European authors of the 2nd and 3rd centuries were extant. Still, he believes in *Africitas*, theoretically, and therefore harmlessly. Wölfflin based his hypothesis of 'Spanish' Latin on three observations from Columella and the two Senecas and the evidence for 'Gallic' Latin is just as poor. While comparison with *plus* in French and with *magis* in Spanish can be traced back to the 5th century: Gallic writers, Sidonius Apollinaris and Alcimus Avitus, both use *plus* while the Spaniard Orosius uses *magis*. Such individual observations, however, do not entitle the lexicographer to label words as provincial Gallic, Spanish or African. This only becomes possible with proper names if they occur very frequently in inscriptions from a one province and not at all in others.

In the solutions of the lexicographical problems discussed above statistical data drawn from all materials of all authors up to the 7th century played a great role. Unfortunately, the *Thesaurus* has access to complete materials only for Gold and Silver Age Latin: Apuleius and Fronto are the last authors to be completely analysed and it is for them alone that full statistical data are available. Christian literature is prepared only in very incomplete, random excerpts comprising 'important and interesting' items (on the value, cf. above). In addition, these excerpts were prepared for the most part by secular scholars with little expertise in the theological writers. Either, through haste, theologians were not consulted, or else they did not volunteer their services. It suffices to say that the philologist excerpting Tertullian did not annotate the very common *gratia* although it is in Tertullian that it appears for the first time with the meaning of

Christian grace. Why would a philologist marvel at and note the word *sanctus* in the Church Fathers? Yet the vicissitudes of this word in the Christian tradition alone are very interesting. Such is more or less the state of all Christian terminology: everything found in the indices of the Viennese *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* was copied, everything else was excerpted. Only the letters of St. Jerome and the *De civ. Dei* of St. Augustine were completely analysed. Thankfully, Biblical concordances were also available. Thus, with such material the *Thesaurus* cannot fulfill Wölfflin's aims, and for this Wölfflin himself is to blame. For in 1894, when a consortium of five German academic institutions[10] guaranteed half a million marks over a period of 20 years, his voice was the most influential in the question of Christian literature. He included it in the *Thesaurus* and, had he demanded the full analysis of Christian writers from at least the first four centuries, his directive would have prevailed. Desirous of seeing at least the initial stages of the *Thesaurus* begun in his lifetime, he insisted on excerpts instead and took responsibility for their provision. He provided many himself and made efforts to obtain others. Unfortunately, all this resulted in the *Thesaurus* being, at least as far as the history of Christian Latin is concerned, very much incomplete. This weakness, enhanced by the inadequacy of reference works which could be consulted, prevents the non-theologian from properly exploiting the meagre materials that do exist. For factual information relating to pagan antiquity, the *Thesaurus* draws upon the *RE* by Pauly–Wissowa, Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire* and on various works on law and antiquities both public and private. There are very few works, however, to aid in comparable Christian studies, particularly since existing encyclopaedias or histories of Church Latin are based on very meagre philological material.

This Achilles' heel of the *Thesaurus*, however, is not generally known, and as reviewers do not have access to the Church writers materials, no such criticism has as yet been forthcoming[11]. The only criticism came from one of the members of the *Thesaurus* team, H. Diels and it concerned the relationship of Latin to Greek culture. Diels observed that, since Latin philosophical terminology and the entire spiritual aspect of Roman life is dependent on Greek influence, it is warranted to demand that the scholar who prepares the history of a particular Greek concept in Latin literature should also know its history in Greek literature. This, however, will only become possible when the civilised world will mandate the creation of a new *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*. It may be possible

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[10] E. Wöllflin, *Zwei Gutachten über das Unternehmen eines lateinischen Wörterbuches*, ALL VII 1892, p. 506.

[11] The reviews and discussion of the first volumes of the *Thesaurus* were collected by Wagener in the already-mentioned "Bursians Jahresbericht" (n. 2) while the techniques and difficulties of writing the entries were presented by the editor-in-chief, Friedrich Vollmer, at the last (October 1903) philological conference in Halle. This paper was published under the title of *Vom Thesaurus linguae Latinae* in Neue Jahrb. XIII 1904, pp. 46–56.

to achieve this in a hundred years, maybe much later or even never. In any case, the publication of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* before the publication of the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* is a ὕστερον πρότερον, an anachronism. One cannot adequately discuss the history of a word such as *affectus*, *animus* and the like without knowing its history in Greek. Nor can one imagine a good history of *elementum* in Latin without knowing it in Greek. Diels provided the history of *elementum* in both Greek and Latin, but even if he had only Latin materials at his disposal, his history of *elementum* in Latin would have remained the same. The task of the lexicographer is to understand the usage of a particular word every time it appears in a given author, and then, according to the word's meanings, to arrange the authors in chronological order. Once a word entered the Latin language, it existed independently and without constant reference to its Greek source. The knowledge of such a source may help explain why a certain author used this word in this particular context. The lexicographer, however, determines facts and does not delve into motivation. Thus if even Diels had used πάθος and ψυχή as their foils, his entries on *affectus* and *animus* would not have changed in any way, and from his discussion of *elementum*, only the annotation "v. Diels, *Elementum*" will be included in the *Thesaurus*. An author does not need to read the Greek section, just as he does not need to constantly seek enlightenment from the Greek *Thesaurus* by Stephanus. This does not mean, however, that the knowledge of Greek is completely superfluous. In fact the author, after grouping Latin passages according to the meaning of a certain word, expression or construction, observes that it owes its meaning to Greek. If one takes together the appearances of *vir bonus* in Cicero or Apuleius, one sees even without further research that it is the equivalent of Greek καλός κἀγαθός, its appearance in Seneca clearly indicates its relation to Greek σοφός, and Quintilian's periphrasis of *vir bonus* by *vir civilis* reflects the sophists' ἀνήρ πολιτικός. Still, using Greek to construe Latin must be done with great care. Observing Latin *bene* or *male audire* it would be very easy to write "cf. καλῶς or κακῶς ἀκούειν" and to conclude that this peculiar Latin construction follows the Greek. A review of the earliest Latin examples, however, proves its purely Latin development.

Following the discussion of these important issues, it is now possible to briefly present what else is included in each entry in the *Thesaurus*. The lexicographer, by taking under consideration manuscript tradition, inscriptions, and grammatical evidence, is able to establish the orthography of a word and list all secondary forms which are often very important in Romance studies, e.g., *besta*, the secondary form of *bestia* (French *bête*[12]) or *meletrix* and *menetrix*, the secondary forms of *meretrix*. He gives all irregular forms of declensions, grading or conjugation and notes the absence of certain inflectional forms and gives their replacements

[12] The history of this word was given by Professor Miodoński in Rozprawy Akademii Krakowskiej XI 1886.

and he restores the proper order to existing forms: the *Thesaurus* informs us that the perfect of *audio* is *audivi*, *audiisti*, *audiit*, *audivimus*, *audivistis*. Finally, the first paragraph contains a review of ancient etymologies and the continuation of the word in Romance languages and dialects.

The etymology of a word should lead into its "biography", the development of its meaning: the meaning that most closely matches its etymology should be considered as the most ancient, and its later meanings develop according to the laws of semasiology. Unfortunately, both etymology and semasiology shed even now so little light that they cannot function as guiding lights in the labyrinth of the development of word meaning. Etymological annotations in the *Thesaurus* are there to give at least some information, but from Thurneysen's observations such as "incertae originis", "cf.", "esse videtur cum" it is probable that no one will learn much more than that the greatest attribute of etymology today is *ars nesciendi*. It will only be on the basis of the complete *Thesaurus* that the semasiologist will be able to seek the proof for his laws: up to that time, only the observation that the concrete meaning of a word is usually older than its abstract or rather figurative meaning may be acceptable. However, cf. *afluo*. Abandoned by etymology and semasiology, the lexicographer will find help in chronology, for the earliest occurrences of a word usually convey its earliest meaning. He will often be aided by Festus and the grammarians. It is not only words, however, but also their combinations, formulae and phrases in a historical order that are noted by the *Thesaurus* collaborator. The data that today's scholars are labouring to collect in research papers devoted to a given author or in separate, laborious monographs, such as Professor Morawski in a series of observations on the rhetoricians and their influence on literature, will be given in a complete chronology, all *ampullae rhetorum*, all *flores* and *colores*. Such associations will permit many places to be corrected and completed and will also often permit the proper identification of sources. Textual criticism with the *Thesaurus* in hand will be based on firm principles. Even a lawyer, a doctor, agronomist or natural scientist will find in the contents of the *Thesaurus* if not instruction, then a very rich lode of material for his studies. For the new *Thesaurus* will be nothing else than an ordered inventory, a treasury of Latin.

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GREEK ROMANCE: ITS ORIGIN AND THE SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENRE*

By

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In May 1905 the Spaniards were celebrating the 300th anniversary of the first edition of the most illustrious romance in world literature, *Vida y hechos del ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Its author, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, while writing his immortal satire on the stupidity of those who were wasting their time on reading tales about the adventures of chivlaric knights, like the Amadis de Gaula, and who – due to the oversight of other duties and pursuits – were losing contact with real life, by the same token put an end to the mediaeval genre of fantastic chivlaric tales, called since its very beginning in the 13th century – romances, *romanz*. This term, applied for the first time in the *Romanz des Français*, indicated in the first place, or rather solely, a plebeian language used in those poetic works. For in opposition to literary Latin this *lingua laica* was called *Romancia seu lingua romansalis*. And it is only in the *Roman de Troie* by a French *trouvère* Benoît de Sainte-Maure that the series of events and adventures (*geste*) includes a love story, one of Troilus and Cressida; and thereafter all literary works of this type – be they based on an ancient or mediaeval motif – turn around love, that means, around what in our everyday speech we call 'romance'.

"The thing reads as a romance" – is what we say with approval about some scholarly work, at any rate a historical work, whose content, or rather subject matter, consists of unusual, uncommon events and whose form is such that it does not require from its reader any effort or particular attention. On the contrary – the reading provides pleasure, is entertaining and relaxing. The above trite saying indicates that we expect the romance to be absorbing and easy to read. But also in the pejorative sense we are used to say about a scholar that – instead of providing us with rigorous arguments and proofs – he "is telling romances", that is – extravagant fabrications not based on solid foundations. In this case

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the reference to romance echoes those 'fabricated stories' which constituted the essence of a certain type of tales, recounted – since the 15th century – in prose. In Polish this term is an equivalent of 'banialuki' (rubbish), by which are designated the products or rather figments of imagination, in memory of "a fair princess Banialuka from the eastern land", the heroine of the *Antyspasty małżeńskie* (Marital Antispasts) by Hieronim Morsztyn. We may add here one more expression: "Everything ended as in a romance", which means that despite the most difficult obstacles, Numa – by the very odd turn of fortune in her favour – was finally able to marry Pompilius; and so we have all the echoes which quite faithfully render the main characteristics of the Greek romance.

The notion of 'Greek romance', in spite of its romano-hellenic form, is not a hybrid. For in fact it was a fictitious and quite often fantastic tale about a loving couple which – after having been engaged or married – was separated by the hostile fortune and tossed around the whole world through various dangers and adventures. The lovers, even when they are lured by the most intense temptations, remain faithful to each other. As a result they triumph in the end over their defeated foes, so that they may enjoy in peace the recompense for their virtue.

Therefore is it true that all modern as well as ancient tales about the kidnapped and saved maidens, like Helena, Oleńka, Basia, Danuśka [characters from Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novels], have something in common with the Greeks? With respect to the development and the history of literary genres they are a direct offspring of the Greek romances. Starting from Alexandre Dumas *père*, the backward path goes through the heroic romance of the 17th century, represented by such authors as Gomberville and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, down to the tale about the toils of Persiles and Sigismunda (*Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*), whose author was Cervantes, "the slayer of the chivalric romance". The guide of *Don Quijote*'s author in the newly created literary genre was a Greek writer Heliodorus, the author of the Ethiopian tale about Theagenes and Chariclea. The history of the influence of Greek romance upon the European literature starting from 1535 (date of the first edition of Heliodorus) is best presented in the inestimable book by the Scottish author John Dunlop, *The History of Prose Fiction* (Edinburgh 1814, 1816; London 1843), popularised in German version by Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, Berlin 1851). The path from Bernardin de Saint Pierre (*Paul et Virginie*), from the bucolic prose writer Gessner and from the authors of pastoral romances again goes back to Longus as well as to Heliodorus, Xenophon of Ephesus and Achilles Tatius. And one who realizes what role in the mediaeval literature was played by the tale about Apollonius, the king of Tyre, as well as all those stories about Alexander the Great and about the destruction of Troy, will hardly be surprised by the vivid interest with which the historians of world literature did and still do examine the ancient romance. A scholar working on Polish literature who would wish to understand the comments by our Polish Solomon, Stanisław H. Lubomirski,

in his *Rozmowy Artaxerxesa z Ewandrem* (Discussions between Artaxerxes and Euander) on invented stories which are called "romana", should consult Dunlop's work, which would lead him back as far as antiquity.

The classicists look at this particular field of studies from a different perspective. In their view, the Greek romance has nothing to do with classicism, that is – with its alleged perfection or supreme standard; therefore, according to them it rather brings disrepute than adds glory to the literature of Homer and Sophocles. Accordingly, it is not worth dealing with it nor yet knowing it. Even for a "serious scholar" it is sufficient to be aware of the existence of a fundamental book on this topic, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* by Erwin Rohde (Leipzig [1]1876, [2]1900), but he does not have to bother reading it. For even if he begins to read it, he will learn nothing about Greek romance as such on the few hundreds of pages, and so – tired of pedantic comments on erotic elements in the Alexandrian poetry or on utopian and travel literature – he will put this book aside without reading its last chapter, and instead, he will try to find an easier way to get some pertinent information by consulting a more concise work on this topic, namely *Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman* by E. Schwartz (Berlin 1896). Unfortunately, he won't find it there either, even if he goes through the first four lectures, allegedly devoted to the Greek romance itself. Not giving up yet on his search for knowledge and desperately looking for salvation, he turns to French literature on the topic, since French scholars are considered to be able to treat even the dullest subjects in a light and accessible manner. He may however go through such work as the one decorated by the French Academy, that is *Histoire du roman chez les Grecs et les Romains* (Paris [1]1859, [2]1862) by M. Chassang and still he will get lost in the overabundance of romance motives starting from Homer, but not touching upon the proper Greek romance authors.

Such disappointment, experienced by a philologist willing to acquire some knowledge on this topic, indicates that the problem of the sources and the origin of Greek romance is very difficult and complicated, if the basic treatises on the subject by Chassang and Rohde contain a very detailed analysis of the works created by the predecessors of Greek romance, while providing only a superficial presentation of actual specimens of this genre which survived until today. Much better coped with this problem the first historian of romance, bishop Huet who suggested – in the letter addressed to the secretary of countess de la Fayette (authoress of the novel entitled *Zayde*) – that Greek novels derive from eastern tales. Huet's *Lettre* [...] *de l'origine des romans* (Paris 1670), translated into Latin under the title *Huetii liber de origine fabularum romanensium* (Hagae Comitis 1682), during two centuries was a fundamental work on the poetics of the genre. It was the basis of research work for the aforementioned Dunlop and also for the well-known minister of education during the reign of Louis Philippe, A.F. Villemain in his *Essai sur les romans grecs*; whereas it was Chassang's

book that served as a model for the German scholar Nicolai, who compiled its epitome under the title *Entstehung und Wesen des griechischen Romans* (Berlin 1867).

Much more significant than the above mentioned attempts by the scholars (and we actually enumerated them all) towards the clarification of the genesis of Greek romance and its history was the publication of the Egyptian papyri and parchments during the last 12 years. In 1893 Ulrich Wilcken published two fragments of the romance about Ninus and Semiramis, *Ein neuer griechischer Roman* (Hermes XXVIII 1893, pp. 161–193), conventionally known as *Der Ninusroman*), containing over 300 lines, among which some are damaged, in narrow columns (on average 20 characters per line). The quality of the papyrus (now in Berlin, *Pap. Berol*. 6926) and of the calligraphic uncials indicates that we are dealing here with a bookseller's copy. The accounts inscribed on its verso provide us with the date before which the manuscript was written and then destined for recycling; they are dated between the 1st of the month of Payni in the 3rd year of Trajan and the 1st of Payni in the 4th, that is from May 26, 100 AD to May 26, 101 AD. On the basis of this evidence, the latest date for the composition of this romance would be the middle of the 1st century AD, but we may equally place it by the end of the 1st century BC or even in the Ptolemaic period. Following the publication of these fragments, supplemented by E. Piccolomini (see: RAL [s. V] II 1893, pp. 313–332 and Nuova Antologia XLVI 1893, fasc. 15) and by Lionell Levi (RFIC I [XXIII] 1894), scholars including Wilamowitz (Hermes XXXV 1900, p. 8; GGA CLXIII 1901, pp. 30 ff. and earlier in *Aristoteles und Athen*, vol. II, Berlin 1893, p. 32) took over the Chassang's theory, rejected by Rohde, stating that Greek romance derived from the degenerated Ionian historiography of the 4th century BC.

A twenty-six verse column from the Berlin papyrus of the 2nd century AD, published in 1895 by Krebs and annotated by Kaibel and Robert (Hermes XXX 1895, pp. 144 ff.), opened new perspectives to the connection between romance and the sophist school of rhetoric, as well as mythology and legend. A fragment published by Mahaffy (RAL [s. V] VI 1897), written on the verso of accounts from the times of Domitian, confirmed that the motive of storms and shipwrecks, very common in later romances, appeared already in the 2nd century AD, although O. Crusius opposes this view (Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung 1897, 145, 3 July 1897, München). Also three excerpts from the romance about princess Chione (62 verses of 12 characters each), which Wilcken deciphered under the text in Coptic on parchment folia, purchased by him in Egyptian Thebes (they were consumed by fire together with the ship in the harbour of Hamburg in 1899) and published in 1901 (APF I, fasc. 2, pp. 255 ff.) furnished the material, which could be compared to e.g. *Historia Apollonii*. And even if this romance was treated by E. Krebs (*Die Erzählung des Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899) as an original Roman work, composed during the 1st half of the 3rd century AD and

modified in the 5th century by some Christian author, Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 258, n. 2) and K. Bürger (*Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Romans*, vol. II, Blankenburg am Harz 1903) brought forth sufficient arguments as to the existence of a Greek original and included it among the preserved Greek romances. Less significant were the remarks by G. Thiele (*Zum griechischen Roman*, in the collective work entitled *Aus der Anomia: archäologische Beiträge Carl Robert zur Erinnerung an Berlin dargebracht*, Berlin 1890, pp. 124 ff.) who concluded – on the evidence of *Rhet. ad Her.* I 12, Cic. *De inv.* I 27 and Anon. Seguer. *Rh. gr.* I, p. 435 – that there existed a tale, which was very similar to later romances, in Greek and Roman schools of rhetoric already during the times of Sulla; the same applies to comments made by Bürger (*Der antike Roman vor Petronius*, Hermes XXVII 1892, pp. 345–358) which – in spite of vehement objections of Rohde (RhM XLIII 1893, p. 125) – were taken over by R. Heinze (*Petron und der griechische Roman*, Hermes XXXIV 1899, pp. 494–519), who attempted to prove that Petronius' satire is nothing more than a parody of the pompous Greek romance, which – according to him – existed in its conventional form already at the beginning of the 1st century AD. Of much higher value, however, is a paper by Bürger (*Zu Xenophon von Ephesus*, Hermes XXVII 1899, pp. 36–67), where it is argued that the form, in which the romance by Xenophon of Ephesus was preserved until our times, is not the same as it originally was, but comes from some later editor who kept certain parts of the genuine text intact, while drastically rescinding other parts. This important discovery was corroborated by the analogy with Chariton's novel. Six parchment folia, purchased by Wilcken in Thebes (hence it is called Codex Thebanus), contain (or rather had contained before they perished in flames) two chapters from the book VIII of Chariton's novel (VIII 5, 9–6, 1; 6, 8–7, 3) which differ from the text contained in the only other existing codex (Florentinus). The collation of the two codices indicates that they belong to two different versions of the lost original of Chariton's work. Where they both agree, the wording is identical; where they do not, the fuller version must be closer to the original. The Theban version comes from the 7th/8th century. It was already W. Schmid who in his article on Chariton in the Pauly–Wissowa assumed that the original was created in the 2nd century AD. His assumption, based mainly on linguistic and stylistic criteria, was confirmed by the papyrus: Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth (*Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London 1900) published a 2nd century AD papyrus containing a fragment of Chariton's romance. In Rohde's view it was the last link in the chain of preserved romances and it was dated by him sometime during the 6th century AD. As a starting point Rohde took the summary of Antonius Diogenes' romance and told the prehistory of travel fiction in the 2nd chapter of his book ("Ethnographische Utopien, Fabeln und Romane"), whereas the harbingers of the erotic romances were presented by him and very rigorously characterized in the 1st chapter ("Die erotische Erzälung der hellenistischen Dichter"). From these two chapters, and particularly from

the second, a historian of Greek romance is now able to draw only a few valuable details; other details are useless. Of more worth for him is the 3rd chapter ("Die griechische Sophistik der Kaiserzeit"), while from the 4th chapter ("Die einzelnen sophistischen Liebesromane") he may use only a few elements. The construction based on the following chronology: Antonius Diogenes, Iamblichus, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Longus is in ruins. That Rohde did not want to accept it and that he omitted even the romance on Ninus, is not so surprising. What is however surprising is that the editor of the 2nd edition of Rohde's book, Friedrich Scholl, makes the following comment: "Rohde würde kaum Veranlassung gehabt haben an den Grundlagen und wesentlichen Auffassungen der ersten Darstellung zu ändern". In fact the very foundations and essential concepts of Rohde regarding the Greek romance were altered, which was pointed out by Wilhelm Schmid, the author of a treatise on Atticism (and also of several entries in the Pauly–Wissowa on some romance writers – Achilles Tatius, Antonius Diogenes, Chariton), in his lecture given in Stuttgart during the conference of the professors from the Wirtemberg gymnasia (7 May 1904) and published in Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum VII 1904. His article (*Der griechische Roman*), updating our knowledge of the nature and the origin of Greek romance, is for the most part filled with critical remarks on Thiele's arguments, but it does not deal with the history of this genre, probably leaving this aspect of the problem to some successor of Rohde, such as e.g. the author of *Der Mimus*, Hermann Reich, who in the 2nd volume of his monumental work is expected to talk about the influence of the mime on the romance. In any case, before a new great work on Greek romance is published, which would be of some value to those scholars for whom Rohde is obsolete, here is a concise history of Greek romance, which takes into account the results of the research hitherto undertaken and also offers some further considerations.

One of the reasons which delayed the study of the essence of Greek romance is the lack of any ancient treatise on the poetics or theory of this particular literary genre. It appeared only after the classical period which was very productive in the field of literary genres, systemised by Aristotle and his followers, though none of them formulated a theory of this genre. That is why there is no ancient technical term for it. Among the authors of fully preserved works, Chariton describes his as διήγημα πάθους ἐρωτικοῦ (cf. πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενον διηγήσομαι, I 1); Heliodorus (end of X) as σύνταγμα τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικῶν. In his epitome the patriarch Photius calls Iamblichus' romance Ἰαμβλίχου δραματικὸν, ἔρωτας ὑποκρινόμενον (p. 221, 1 Hercher), that of Antonius Diogenes τῶν ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπίστων λόγοι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, and then he calls it δραματικόν (p. 233, 2 Hercher) and applies the same term to the work of Achilles Tatius (cod. 87) and of Heliodorus (σύνταγμα δραματικόν, cod. 75 f.) and he calls the works of all those three authors ἐρωτικῶν δραμάτων ὑποθέσεις (cod. 94 f.). Therefore the term ἐρωτικὰ

δράματα refers on the one hand to the content of these romances, full of dangerous events and adventures (δράματα appears already in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, ROHDE[2], p. 376, n. 3), and on the other hand it draws from the Byzantine terminology (e.g. Εὐμαθίου τὸ καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν δρᾶμα). However it is also possible to suspect that the term δραματικόν (s*cil*. διήγημα or σύνταγμα) was borrowed from the terminology of rhetoric schools.

Among school exercises (προγυμνάσματα), the orators list tales (διηγήματα or διηγήσεις), which are not connected with trial or court (not ἐπὶ κριτῶν but καθ' ἑαυτάς), and within those they distinguish διηγήσεις βιωτικαί, ἱστορικαί, μυθικαί and περιπετικαί (e.g. Anon. Seguer. *Rh. gr.*, p. 435, 12 ff.). Historical and mythological tales do not need to be defined; these are declamations on topics from history or mythology. And the nature of "biotic" and "peripetic" tales will become clear if we find out that orators treat them as διηγήματα πλασματικά (e.g. Nicolaus, *Progymn.* 2, p. 22, 44 ff., in: SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. III), and also – that they refer mime to "biotic" tales, whereas they define the term διήγημα πλασματικόν by δραματικόν (Aphthon. *Progymn.* 2, p. 22, 44 ff., in: SPENGEL, *Rhet.*, vol. II). And since in drama περιπέτεια is obligatory, διήγημα δραματικόν is also called περιπετικόν. ROHDE was searching for examples of such dramatic and peripetic tales in the controversies of Seneca the Elder and in declamations of Quintilianus (pp. 361–366). Topics were invented (hence πλασματικόν) by the teacher, and the student had to work on them. Here are a couple of examples of such tales, akin to motifs from the preserved romances. A virgin, kidnapped by pirates, was put on sale. She was bought by a pimp who placed her in his brothel. There she used to beg her clients to leave the fee for the pimp without touching her. A soldier did not heed to her prayers, and so she killed him when he tried to rape her. She had to stand trial, but was released by the judges, who sent her back home to her family. – For Seneca it was supposed to be the example of a quasi legal speech, and so he makes her demand to have her priesthood restored and defend against the citizens who claim that "sacerdos casta e castis, pura e puris sit" (*Contr.* I 2).

Another example: A young man, captured by pirates, asks his father in a letter to be bought out. The father does not respond. The daughter of the leader of pirates falls in love with the captive and promises to set him free if he swears that he will marry her after his release. He takes an oath and they both escape to the parents of the youth and they get married there. At some point an orphan cousin of the youth turns out and the father decides to abide by the law and to marry her to his only son. The latter refuses to divorce his saviour, and so his father disinherits him. – And again, Seneca turns it into a legal case where the son has to defend himself against his father's decision.

The above two examples should suffice as a proof that Roman (and also Greek) youth, already in the Augustan period, was trained in dealing with fictitious topics, abounding in dramatic turns. However these were only brief school

declamations, similar to our school exercises, and not romances. The theory of such exercises was formulated already by the orators form pre-Sullan times, as witnessed by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and by Cicero (*De inv.* I 27). Herennius' teacher calls διήγηνα πλασματικόν *argumentum* and distinguishes its two types: "unum (genus), quod in negotiis, alterum, quod in personis positum est". A fictitious tale about a subject (*in negotiis*, *in rebus positum*) is the ἔκφρασις πραγμάτων, description of wars, battles, travels, but also landscapes, works of art (see: Rohde[2], pp. 358–361). A tale about a person does not differ from the aforementioned διήγημα δραματικόν (περιπετικόν). Here, the Roman rhetorician would expect the following characteristics:

> Illud genus narrationis, quod in personis positum est, debet habere: sermonis festivitatem, animorum dissimilitudinem, gravitatem levitatem, spem metum, suspicionem desiderium, dissimulationem misericordiam, rerum varietates fortunae commutationem, insperatum incommodum subitam laetitiam, iucundum exitum rerum.

Both form and substance are defined here. As far as form is concerned, a tale should be pleasant, that is – graceful and light. As pertains to substance, first the contrast of characters of persons involved is mentioned: some should be serious (*graves*), some fickle (*leves*); they should be exposed to various adventures (*rerum varietates*) and turns of fortune (*fortunae commutatio*). And what emotions should fill their hearts is indicated by the word *desiderium*, which in this context may only mean the amorous desire. And so love should constitute an axis of the action. It fills the lovers' hearts with hope and trepidation, provokes scenes of jealousy (*suspicio*), entices to pretend indifference (*dissimulatio*), and finally it makes one pity the unhappy lover. Lovers, affected by unexpected misfortunes (*insperatum incommodum*), at last find favour on the part of fortune and everything ends happily, which means that those who were separated are reunited and will live together in eternal bliss.

Such interpretation of the passage of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is not possible without the knowledge of the preserved Greek romances which contain all the above mentioned motives, yet, it may be accurate, if we clearly identify its range. Thiele saw in this passage a formulation of poetics of the existing romances, but he must have forgotten how narrow its scope was; for such *argumentum in personis positum* was not even a long speech, but rather a small exercise or assignment. Also the fact that Roman orators do not analyse very closely other types of non-judicial tales, as if they took it for granted that readers know them well, whereas they discuss this particular type in depth, is a proof of its novelty. Had it been already by then a conventional literary genre, they would have used a specific term to name it and would have mentioned a specific work to illustrate it. So it was not in the telling of romances or composing them, that the Roman youth was being trained in schools of rhetoric. One thing, however, is certain: anonymous author, who was first to write a romance, must have gone through

rhetorical education, must have known how to talk about a subject (*narratio, quae in negotiis versatur*), about complicated experiences of persons (*narratio in personis posita*), and must have been familiar with all other types of rhetorical exercises. In this sense we may say that romance derives from the schools of rhetoric.

In order to answer the question – when was it that the first romance was produced – we should recall first which literary genres contained the subject matter typical for later romances. In Alexandrian epoch the erotic plot was a narrative axis of the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes (Jason and Medea); it was also an important motif in the *Μεσσηνιακά* by Rhianus of Crete, where an adulterous Messenian woman caused the fall of the citadel of Ira; a girl who freed Aristomenes from slavery is given in marriage to the hero's son, whereas the hero himself marries the daughter of Damagenes. Other epic poems by Rhianus, such as *Ἀχαϊκά*, *Ἠλιακά*, *Θεσσαλικά*, i.e. the Achaian, Eleian and Thessalian Tales respectively, were surely not devoid of local erotic legends either. However, the most proper vessel for such legends was on the one hand the objective Alexandrian elegy, and on the other – the epyllion. A little book by Virgil's Greek teacher [Parthenius of Nicaea] about unfortunate love affairs (περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων) provides a sufficient proof of this. The majority of those love stories had an unhappy or even tragic ending. Yet, there were some which ended happily, such as – in the first place – the famous elegy by Callimachus about Acontius and Kidyppe, adorning his *Αἴτια*. The fact that earlier this year was published my brief monograph on the Alexandrian poetry (*Poezya Aleksandryjska, próba charakterystyki*, in: *Sprawozdanie Dyrektora c. k. Gimnazyum Nowodworskiego czyli Św. Anny w Krakowie za rok szkolny 1905*) makes me skip the in-depth discussion of the erotic poetry from that period and of its forms. Suffice to remark here that – as long as the romantic epos and particularly the epyllion was produced – there was no room for the romance in prose. The epos was supplanted by the epyllion. The latter, just like the bucolic, already in Moschus and then – to a higher degree – in Bion degenerates into the ἐρωτύλον, μελύδριον, i.e. the Anacreontic in hexameters. The ausonian poet who – in the beginning of the 1st century BC – mourns over Bion's death and laments that καὶ τὸ μέλος τέθνακε καὶ ὤλετο Δωρὶς ἀοιδά, uses these words in reference to the death of not only the bucolic poetry, but also of the great Alexandrian poetry as a whole. From that period only the epigram survived, written by such authors as Antipater of Sidon, Meleager of Gadara, Archias of Antioch, Philodemus of Gadara, that means – by the whole circle of near-east Greeks and hellenised Semites.

It cannot be by pure accident that – from among the romancers – Chariton's birthplace is Aphrodisias in Caria, Jamblichus' – Syria, Heliodorus' – Syrian Emesa. Neither should it be attributed to mere chance that in all Greek romances the action takes place somewhere in Asia Minor, Far East and Egypt. None of them is located in Greece or Italy. Only Sicily is used by Chariton as the theatre

of events. Yet, his Syracusan tale is located mainly in Miletus; the main heroes of Antonius Diogenes' romance are from Tyre and return to Tyre; in the same city, as well as in Tarsus and Ephesus, are active the characters of the history of Apollonius. On the other hand, as a "far-away land" functions Cyrene and also Egypt. Ephesus gave name to the romance of Xenophon, who sends the pair of his heroes from Egypt to Sicily and to southern Italy. The only classical location in his romance is Rhodes, just as in Heliodorus – Delphi. However the latter immediately transfers the action to the outskirts of Ethiopia. Only Longus does not move beyond the isle of Lesbos. Achilles Tatius returns to Tyre. This Anatolian origin of many romancers and their focus on Anatolian shores, as well as their avoidance of classical locations, are indications of the fact that the fountainhead of the Greek romance was Asia Minor. It is there that Aristides of Miletus – at the beginning of the 1st century BC – collected some frivolous Milesian tales under the title *Μιλησιακά*; it is also there that – around the same time – the Asian rhetoricians were composing their romances.

Rohde searches for the roots of the romance in the period as late as the overwhelming rule of Asianism during the reign of Hadrian and – pointing out to the hostility of sophists towards rhythmic poetry of all kind (pp. 357 ff.) – is of the opinion that romance was one of the rivals aiming at supplanting poetry. However, he does not take into account a gap of two centuries between the last Alexandrian bucolics or epyllia and Antonius Diogenes. The organic development and decline of literary genres, which are being continually substituted one for another, suggests to us that we should rather look back at the beginning of the 1st century BC. Although we do not have all the links connecting the founder of the Asianism, Hegesias of Magnesia (ca. 250 BC), and the sophists of Hadrian's period, yet we notice traces of Asianism in the authors of epigrams, such as Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antioch and others. That at this period Greeks did not write epyllia anymore, may only indicate that they found new form for the old subject matter, or rather – that they borrowed it from historiographers. If the *Suda* uses the term "historians" with respect to Xenophon of Ephesus and his two namesakes, the authors of the *Βαβυλωνιακά* and *Κυπριακά*, he is simply following a tradition of including this literary genre into historiography. The affiliation between romances and historiography is signalled by the romancers themselves in the titles such as *Βαβυλωνιακά*, *Ἐφεσιακά*, *Αἰθιωπικά*, which only with the addition of the names of the loving couple, as e.g. τὰ κατὰ Ἀνθείαν καὶ Ἀβροκόμην, or τὰ περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν, become proper romance titles. Besides, the usage of historical figures as romance characters, like e.g. Ninus and Semiramis, or creating a pseudo-historical background, as is the case of the novels of Chariton or Antonius Diogenes, even more eloquently speak in favour of the thesis stating that romance did originate from historiography.

Obviously the ancestor of the romance itself was very romantic indeed. Ctesias of Cnidus, a physician at the court of Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes

II and Cyrus the Younger, in his *Περσικά*, published around 390 BC, was very critical of the negligent treatment of sources by Herodotus and of his untruthfulness. However, what he himself allegedly transcribed from the supposedly vast royal archives, was no more than the old Ionian legend about Ninus, an Assyrian hero, conqueror of all Asia, and about the daughter of Derceto, a hetaera Semiramis, who as a wife of Ninus displayed no lesser wisdom than courage; and finally – about an effeminate debauchee Sardanapalus, who died as a hero. On top of that – later events, including those which he may have known from eyewitness account, were treated by him as a purely literary subject matter and used arbitrarily to add drama to various scenes and episodes. And so very justifiably the ancient critics called him ποιητής in the sense similar to Old Polish "wymysłek" [Eng. "taleteller"]. Xenophon, while writing his fictitious *Κύρου παιδεία*, did not even pretend to have used any Persian sources. He was just enjoying the privilege attributed to a philosopher-historian who – for paedagogical or hortatory reasons – is allowed to transmit his own thoughts and precepts set in historical background. If the dialogue by Antisthenes about the ideal (cynical) ruler – *Κῦρος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας* – was considered as belonging to philosophical literature, the *Cyrus* by Xenophon was treated by the Greeks as a historical work. Here a determining criterion was the historicity of certain figures and events, and – in the first place – the historical narration. A famous episode involving Pantheia and Abradatas is a mere imitation of erotic motives of this type, so cherished by the Ionian historians. E. Schwartz recalls an eastern love story found in the work of the Alexandrian historian, Chares of Mytilene (fr. 37 Müller; Athen. XIII, 575 B ff.):

> Hystaspes had a brother named Zariadres. In the opinion of their compatriots they were sons of Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes ruled over Media and the land bordering Media from down under, whereas Zariadres governed the land stretching from the Caspian gates up to the Tanais river. And Homartes who was king of the Marathi, beyond the Tanais, had a daughter named Odatis. About her it is recorded in histories that she saw Zariadres in a dream and fell in love with him, while he felt the same passion for her. And so they kept on longing for each other because of the imaginings of sleep. Odatis was the most beautiful woman in Asia, and Zariadres also was handsome. However when Zariadres declareded to Homartes through messengers a desire to marry his daughter, Homartes would not agree to the match, because he lacked male offspring and so wished to give her to a male of his own household.

And then in this artificially simple style, modelled on Herodotus, Chares recounts how the king invited princes, friends and relatives from all parts of the land and organized a huge nuptial feast without announcing the identity of the bride-groom. When Odatis entered the room, her father informed her that this was her wedding and told her to offer a cup filled with wine to the one whom

she would choose to be her husband. The princess looked around and ran away in tears. She let Zariadres know about the upcoming wedding but he was not around. However, he did not disappoint his beloved. Having travelled day and night, he left his chariot in a secluded spot; and then, in company of his chariot-driver dressed in Scythian clothes, arrived at the entrance of the palace, where the weeping Odatis was slowly mixing wine in a cup. He stood before her and said: "Odatis, here I am according to your desire, I – Zariadres". Odatis recognized him as a man of her dreams, gave him the cup and let him drive her away in the chariot which had been hidden nearby. Slaves and servant maids, tough aware of the princess' love affair, did not inform the king about the kidnapping; instead, they assured him that they knew nothing about her whereabouts.

> This love affair is held in remembrance among the Asian barbarians who give it as an example to follow; they even picture this story in their temples and palaces and even in private dwellings. Also many princes bestow the name Odatis on their own daughters.

The eastern origin of this story is not the fruit of Chares' imagination, as is attested by analogous motifs from later Persian and Arabic tales. The Greeks got to know these when Alexander the Great opened for them the gates to mysterious eastern lands. And as ivy entwines a huge column, a fantastic legend wreathed itself around the heroic figure of the conqueror of East. His historian, Clitarchus of Colophon wrote his *Persica* in a "poetic" manner of Ctesias, a cynic Onesicritus of Aegina models his Alexander on Cyrus of Xenophon and presents him as an ideal king-philosopher. The marvels of Bactrian and Indian nature provide a very picturesque background to those "histories"; and cynic diatribes are put in the mouth of Indian sages, the *gymnosophistae*. Over those literary compositions the common folk preferred the "more authentic" letters from Alexander to his mother Olympia or to his tutor Aristotle. And finally – the Egyptian priests had their share in popularising the figure of Alexander at least in Egypt, when in order to add lustre and to legitimise his *diadochi*, they were intimating that Alexander was the son of Zeus Ammon, or rather of his priest Nectanebo, the last descendant of the Pharaohs.

When the Asiatic orators from the 1st century BC included in the programme of school exercises fictitious stories like the one about Zariadres and Odatis, they profited from the material collected and shaped by the aforementioned Ionian historians about the marvels of the East. From there comes this eastern scenery and eastern atmosphere of the preserved romances. The story about Odatis contained in the first place – contrasting characters (*gravis* Homartes vs. *levis* Zariadres), then – amorous yearning of lovers separated from each other (*desiderium*), an unexpected misfortune (Odatis is about to marry her relative) and a sudden joy (in the last moment a saviour turns out). One who got used to be dwelling on such topics at school, later also was keen on elaborating on them. In order to fulfil this

need the scope of the school exercises was widened. What if Homartes decided to pursue Zariadres? What if he waged war with the seducer or with his brother? Zariadres in Chares' work was the son of Aphrodite for a reason, which means that after several adventures she must have granted him a blissful reunion with Odatis.

That such origin of romances is probable, is confirmed by the fragments of romances published from the papyri, as we have mentioned at the outset. Some rhetorician chooses Ninus and Semiramis as his main characters. The convention of school declamation demands that the lovers be young and innocent. Therefore Semiramis, instead of being a prostitute, becomes a thirteen years old maiden who has not yet crossed the threshold of her chamber, and Ninus is a seventeen years old boy. He has just returned in triumph from some military expedition and – having fallen in love with his cousin – addresses her mother Derceto with a speech which is organised along all the principles of school rhetoric and in which he asks for permission to accelerate the wedding. His argument was that – according to Assyrian law – girls were not allowed to marry before the age of fifteen. But the laws of nature are much stronger. And thus – thirteen years old girls become mothers; boys at the age of fifteen do not only taste, but even enjoy the gifts of love. And he, mindful of the oath which he has sworn, despite many temptations, preserved his chastity intact. And now he neither clandestinely nor surreptitiously, but frankly and publicly, demands the hand of her who was promised to be his wife. Two years of waiting is a very long time, and very uncertain, especially for a warrior like him. So in case he eventually perishes on land or at sea, let at least a descendant remain of him. His aunt promises to aid him, while the maiden is supposed to conciliate Thambe, her aunt and Ninus' mother. Unfortunately she is not able to give a nice speech, especially when the topic is marriage. She blushes or grows pale in turn, stumbles in her speech and gets confused; and in the end – weeping profusely – puts her head on Thambe's lap. The latter realises what is going on, so she just showers her niece with kisses and assures her of her goodwill. The artificial chiasmus between the characters changes into parallelism. Both aunts get together and deliver their speeches (not preserved), which results in the wedding of the young lovers. The parallelism did not materialise immediately, because the shy maiden, who had been unable to pronounce the word "marriage", is more scared of its actual consumption. Yet the eloquence and persuasiveness of Ninus makes her overcome all such objections, so that – even if all this happens in wintertime – for the young couple it is a paradise on earth. Eros does not let Koros ("excess") in. Their bliss ends in spring when Ninus leads the expedition against the rebellious Armenians. Idyllic images are replaced by warlike accounts, like the march of 70,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry of the Assyrians and of Greek and Carian mercenaries with 150 elephants, the crossing of huge rivers and the passage through high mountain chains, the stationing of the army on the Armenian plane, the setting of the troops in the battle array, the speech of Ninus before the battle.

Here the fragment ends. In order to fill in what is missing, we should recollect how the author changed the traditional character traits of Semiramis. According to Ctesias (in Diodorus II 44 ff.; Iustin. I 2) the hetaera married an Assyrian satrap Onues, who was in the camp of Ninus during the siege of Bactra. The siege was dragging on, so the officers brought their wives to camp. Semiramis was among them and it was due to her wise advice that the city was finally sacked. This did not escape the king's notice; he fell in love with her and took her as wife. It means that Ninus seduced somebody else's wife. The author who enjoys in character switches made her be kidnapped by some enamoured prince, probably during Ninus' absence. Having found out what had happened, Ninus sets off in pursuit of the seducer. After many adventures he regains his wife and here the romance ends.

The connection between the author and the Ionian historians, such as Ctesias, is clearly shown by the choice of the topic, whereas the influence of school oratory may be detected in speeches of which all fragments abound. The mention of Greek and Carian mercenaries within the army of Ninus, and especially of elephants, indicates that the author had some vague knowledge about the contingent of Egyptian mercenaries led by Psammetichus and about the tactical role of elephants in the army of the *diadochi*.

The Ninus romance fits perfectly the framework of the Ionian historiography, although traditional characters are modelled according to school conventions. The above mentioned episode from the eastern tale by Chares about the princess Odatis and the prince Zariadres has its counterpart in the fragments of the romance about Chione and Chrestus. The king addresses his council: The kingdom will be inherited by his future son-in-law. Therefore a thorough deliberation is needed before one is chosen as such. Thirty days are given for the reflection on this (fr. 1). Several members of the council would wish to win the hand of the princess. And so they deliberate which of them it should be. Apparently they are ready to kidnap Chione if the king decided to destine her to a stranger, for they are despised by the people because of their menacing and coward-like stance. Why would none of them ask openly for the princess' hand? Chione learns about it all from her mother (fr. 2). In the following passage (fr. 3) Chrestus, her long-time lover, suggests to her to flee with the aid of their common friend Megamedes. However the princess does not trust the latter anymore. Yet, since there is no other chance for her to escape and to live happily with her beloved, she decides to die together with him. And so the scene is set for further complications. The fulfillment of the father's plans is hindered both by his daughter's choice of old standing and also by the plot of the princes whose position at the royal court was threatened. Chrestus may have gained the king's favour by some heroic deed and thus may have won the princess' hand. If so, the princes would have conspired against him. The other possibility is that Chrestus kidnaps Chione with the help of Megamedes, who eventually turns out to be unworthy of his trust,

just as the princess suspected. At any rate, we may extrapolate the development of Chione's story from Ovid (*Met.* XI 301 ff.). A fourteen years old daughter of Daedalion, a girl of extraordinary beauty, is wooed by countless suitors. Among them are two gods. Hermes, having seen her, lulls her to sleep and becomes the father of Autolycus. Apollo kept watch until the nightfall and then approached the girl in the guise of an old woman, and thus became the father of Philammon. The mother, proud of her sons, insulted the goddess Diana and was killed by her. The author of the romance most probably replaced the gods by the humans and invented some other justification of the goddess' wrath. He also changed the ending by making the story take a favourable turn. But just like Semiramis is only a reflection of a traditional Assyrian queen, so Chione, as a heroine of the romance, is modelled upon a character of some Alexandrian epyllion.

The same attitude towards the tradition can be detected in the fragments containing the story of Parthenope and Metiochus. According to the mythographic tradition (Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg. 358 f.) a beautiful girl named Parthenope, impervious to amorous advances of countless suitors, wished to preserve her virginity. This apparently provoked the anger of Aphrodite, who aroused in the girl's heart a fierce passion for a Phrygian Metiochus. In order to escape her heart's command, Parthenope cut her hair, disfigured herself and eloped to Campania, where Dionysus made her his priestess and – after her death – granted her immortality. Parthenope was also one of those figures, whose traits of character were reversed by the romancers. Lucian (*De saltat.* 2) lists Parthenope together with Phaedra and Rhodope as γύναιον ἐρωτικὸν μαχλότατον. He also mentions Metiochus (*Pseudol.* 25), along with Ninus and Achilles, as a heroic figure. It seems that the romancers transferred the motif of sexual indifference from Parthenope to him and made of Parthenope a voluptuous seductress. It is surely not insignificant that a different tradition (Eustath. *loc. cit.*) counted her among the Sirens. The above mentioned jugglery is confirmed by a surviving fragment, in which a certain stranger pronounces a conventional praise of Eros, similar to speeches delivered by Plato's banqueters. Metiochus, who happened to be present there, declares that even if he himself has not yet fallen in love, the falsity of mythological eulogies of Eros may be shown on the basis of pure logic. Philosophy and physiology demonstrate that Eros is merely an intellectual agitation (κίνημα διανοίας), caused by excessively good life and nourishment (ὑπὸ τρυφῆς γιγνόμενον) and maintained or increased by the contacts with the object of this agitation (ὑπὸ συνηθείας αὐξόμενον). Parthenope standing nearby overhears these remarks and is glad that Metiochus has not yet experienced love. Apparemtly she is in love with him. It is not hard to figure out what happened next, even if the fragment stops here. Eros punishes the insensible youth by bringing Parthenope before his eyes and inciting in him a fierce passion for her. Before the wedding or soon after, certain impediments occur which cause the separation of the lovers, who only after many sufferings are reunited.

We mentioned at the outset that the dating of the papyri enables us to place the Ninus romance in the 1st century AD. The same applies to the romance about Metiochus. However, nothing goes against an earlier dating. Actually a very strong connection between these romances and the Alexandrian historiography and poetry would advocate for placing them at the earliest stage of the development of the genre, i.e. in the 1st century BC. As we learn from Grenfell's papyrus from Fayum, the romance of Chariton was known in manuscript form in the 2nd century AD. Its relation to the romance by Iamblichus (dated at 170 AD) indicates that it should be dated no later than the beginning of the 2nd century AD. We will show below that the 2nd century AD was a period of the most intense development of this literary genre.

Just like some time earlier Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus, so also Chariton begins his tale about Chaereas and Callirhoe (*Τὰ περὶ Χαιρέαν καὶ Καλλιῤῥόην*, ed. J.Ph. d'Orville, Amsterdam [1]1750; 144 pp. of text; 788 pp. of commentary; 3 vols.) with a self-introduction: "I Chariton of Aphrodisias, a clerk of the attorney Athenagoras, shall relate the story which occurred in Syracuse". This remark used to be taken as an allegory, in view of which Chariton named himself after Charites in order to underline the charm of his novel. The city of his birth was sacred to Aphrodite, the goddess of love, because he writes about love. The name of Athenagoras was supposed to recall the historical background on which we will elaborate later on. But does the mention of himself as a lawyer's secretary have also a hidden meaning? Yes, Chariton is fond of court-room scenes and legal speeches. All these clever assumptions turned out to be futile with the publication of inscriptions found in Aphrodisias in Caria. Among them we find Χαρίτων (*CIG* 2846) and Ἀθηναγόρας (e.g. *CIG* 2782, 2783). Against such evidence there is no room for any conjectures. Chariton was really born in the city of Aphrodisias, he was writing indictments on behalf of his boss, and in his time of leisure he was composing romances.

Hermocrates, a Syracusan *strategos*, the victor over the Athenians (obviously in 413 BC), had a daughter named Callirhoe, whose exquisite beauty attracted countless suitors from Sicily, Italy and Epirus. Clearly she did not favour any of them, as Eros was planning a very peculiar union for her. To sum up – a political rival of Hermocrates, Aristo (who in Thucydides is called Athenagoras and who is his adversary between 413 and 408 BC; Chariton had already mentioned his own employer, the latter's namesake, so he changed the name of the *strategos*) had a very handsome son Chaereas whom Eros wished to use as a token of reconciliation between the two hostile clans. Accordingly – when Callirhoe was going with her mother to the site of the feast of Aphrodite – Eros made Chaereas appear on her path after he left the palaestra. One mutual glimpse sufficed to kindle a fiery passion in the young couple's hearts. Upon his return home, Chaereas sensed a deep wound in his heart and – simultaneously – the maiden addressed a prayer to Aphrodite: "Give me, Mistress, for a husband that man whom you

have just shown me!" Since then, both were spending sleepless nights and days filled with yearning. The girl remains silent. The boy discloses his secret to his father, who does not like at all the perspective of his son being linked with the daughter of his political foe. Chaereas, devoured by the fever of love, stops visiting the palaestra; his friends are seeking the reason for that and – upon finding out – are trying to find some help for him at the people's assembly. The head of the assembly is Hermocrates. People implore him to grant his daughter's hand to Chaereas, and so he as a good democrat yields to the popular will. Immediately, the *prytaneis* and the people follow the *strategos* to his house, chanting wedding songs on their way there. The frightened maiden starts weeping and then, when she learns from her nurse that it is the people who chose a husband for her, she faints. However, a moment later, Chaereas, already aware of the happy outcome, wakes her up with kisses. Soon the wedding ceremony is celebrated with the participation of the whole populace, similar to that of Peleus and Thetis in bygone days. But instead of Eris, it is Φθόνος that turns out here.

At this point of the story an Alexandrian epyllion would have ended. A romancer however introduces a new intrigue. The suitors, frustrated in their expectations, form a coalition in the name of common hatred and debate on how to take vengeance on Chaereas, who so effortlessly took such a treasure away from them. The son of the tyrant from Rhegium suggests that they should interrupt the wedding ceremony by force. More favourably though is received the speech of the tyrant of Acragas who takes it upon himself to split the happy couple by using ruse and stirring jealousy. Chaereas indeed seemed to be very prone to suspicion, for already on the second day after the wedding, having noticed the remnants from the overnight partying (κῶμος), abandoned by the suitors in front of his wife's house, he made a terrible scene, which only through kisses and caresses was eventually appeased. And on this weak point of Chaereas' character the sly Acragantian decides to base his scheme. He tells one of his followers, a handsome parasite, to seduce Callirhoe's maid and to arrange an overnight date in her room. At the same time he sends to the palaestra, where Chaereas used to practice, a perfidious old man who is supposed to inform the young man of the alleged infidelity of his wife. The old man promises to Chaereas that he would give him proofs of that, and then he convinces him to announce to his wife that he must depart in the evening. After that he should hide somewhere near his house, so that he may notice the arrival of his wife's lover. And as a matter of fact he sees a man, very elegantly dressed, who enters surreptitiously through the door which lay open for him. It was the Acragantian's parasite whom the maid let in. Having entered he hides behind the door and then slips away into the darkness of the night, after Chaereas, mad with jealousy, darted into his wife's chamber. Callirhoe was still awake; she was sitting on the edge of her bed, longing for her husband. Upon hearing his footsteps, she rushed joyfully to greet him. His response, however, was a kick below the breasts. Callirhoe fell dead on the floor.

It was impossible to resuscitate her. The following day, however, the whole truth is revealed. The maid under torture confessed everything. Chaereas in despair would have committed suicide, had not his friend Polycharmus intervened. Yet, he accuses himself of murder before the people of Syracuse and asks for death penalty, but due to the intercession of the dead girl's father he is declared innocent. The burial of the victim of his jealousy is celebrated with great pomp; piles of nice dresses and of jewellery are enclosed with her in the tomb.

The whole scene was observed by a group of robbers, marauding in the area under the command of Theron, who decided to pillage the tomb. Callirhoe, while locked in the grave, recovers her senses, for the kick which she had received only plunged her into a coma; now she is fearfully expecting death from hunger. Suddenly, she realizes that somebody is opening the tomb. A robber, upon seeing a resurrected corpse, runs away, and so Theron himself takes possession of all the goods and of the maiden, for whom he could expect a non-negligible ransom. And even if at the council of robbers some voices were raised with the suggestion that the girl should be brought back to Hermocrates in return for some rescue fee, they had no courage to stand in front of the *strategos* with their guilty conscience. And so they boarded the ship, which they themselves had prepared beforehand, and put to sea, leaving the shores of Sicily behind. They sailed past Athens and continued towards Miletus in Ionia. They landed not far away from the city. At some point Theron noticed a noble man, attended by a large suite and plunged in deep sorrow and mourning, who, as he found out from a passer-by, was the most prominent of the Milesians, named Dionysius, distraught after the recent loss of his wife. The passer-by was Leonas, a steward of Dionysius. Theron told him that he has a beautiful and well educated slave-girl from Sybaris for sale, whom he purchased from her jealous mistress. She might provide solace for Dionysius. Leonas, overwhelmed by joy, invites the merchant to his place. After a banquet they appoint a meeting place, where Leonas is supposed to take over the girl in exchange for a recompense for Theron. The latter makes Callirhoe put on a nice dress under the pretext that he wants to leave her under the tutelage of his friends, so that she does not have to be exposed to toils and dangers of the travel to Lycia. Callirhoe asks for a permission to keep just one ring and awaits her fate. For the time being Leonas offered only the down-payment, one silver talent. The balance was to be paid by Dionysius himself. Theron is glad that – without attracting the attention of the authorities – he earned at least the portion of the whole sum, so he hands down the slave-girl and hastily sails away. Leonas entrusts the beautiful girl to Plango, wife of Phocas, the administrator of the same master's estates.

At dawn Leonas rushes to meet Dionysius; he tells him about the purchase and asks for money. Having received it, he goes to the spot where he was meant to encounter Theron, but does not find him there or anywhere else. He suspects that the merchant sold him a kidnapped slave-girl, but in spite of this he decides

to keep her for his master. So he asks Dionysius to come to Phocas' estate and shows him in the nearby temple of Aphrodite the slave-girl whom he had purchased. Dionysus and the whole populace alike take her for the goddess herself. After this first encounter Dionysius is unable to remain calm. He knows that he cannot permit himself to fall in love with a slave-girl who on top of that was stolen from somebody else, but he is out of control of his passion. Therefore, he returns to the temple of Aphrodite and asks the slave-girl about her pedigree. She begs him to show the magnanimity of a Greek lord and requests from him the preservation of her secret. She has never been a slave; never been to Sybaris. Cruel fates brought her to Miletus. Dionysius the more eagerly takes care of Phocas' estate. One day Plango came to Callirhoe and implored her to appeal to angry Dionysius for leniency on behalf of her and her husband. Callirhoe obliges, so that Dionysius – due to her intercession – forgives the alleged wrongdoers. The whole thing was only a comedy, improvised by Plango. In the end, Dionysius gives Callirhoe a kiss.

That kiss was a drop which made the cup run over. The alternative for him was either to possess Callirhoe or perish. He was saved from perishing by a lucky incident. While Callirhoe was bathing, Plango noticed a strange modification of her body. The girl's marriage – although short-lived – did not remain fruitless. Callirhoe, distraught by this discovery, asks Plango for help, for she supposedly would not wish her child to be the offspring of a slave-girl, and thus – to live in slavery. Plango promises to help her, but actually is very slow with providing any aid; instead, she arouses in her a pity for the fruit of her womb. Finally she gives her the following advice: If she marries Dionysius, her son would pass for a progeny of the leader of the Ionians, and would become his heir. Callirhoe hesitates; she wants to consult her husband, whose effigy is displayed on her ring. Chaereas appears to her in a dream and entrusts to her the care of their son, which she interprets as his benediction to accept Plango's advice. She draws the same conclusion from her son's silence, and finally convinces herself of the rightfulness of her decision. Therefore she asks Plango, her protectress and temptress, to inform the master that she is ready to marry him.

Dionysius was already on the brink of starving himself to death, when Plango told him about Callirhoe' willingness to marry him. He ceased to consider this union as a *mésalliance*, since he has learned that she was a daughter of the *strategos* of Syracuse, Hermocrates to whom even the Great King of Persia sends gifts in recognition of him being the victor over the Athenians. Thus a very sumptuous wedding ceremony is held. Seven months later Callirhoe crowns her husband's joy with a son. The author remarks, "What happened next, I will tell later. But first I shall relate what was going on at the same time in the city of Syracuse" (III 2). Chaereas, while making offerings at his wife's grave, noticed that the tomb was open. In panic he rushes to the city. People arrive at the tomb and find out that the jewellery was stolen and the corpse disappeared. Chaereas suspects

in his distress that some god must have snatched his wife to heavens. Much more sober Hermocrates immediately issues the order to seek for the tomb-robbers. Chaereas sets sails across the Ionian sea and hits upon a pirate ship, whose whole crew turns out to be dead. On the board he finds precious goods stolen from Callirhoe's grave and discovers one man alive, hiding in some niche, who explains that he was held captive by the pirates. Because of divine wrath the ship could not put in at any port, so that – due to lack of drinking water – everybody died. Only he survived, apparently on account of his probity and piety. Upon returning to Syracuse, Chaereas gives an account of his expedition before the people's assembly, where Theron also repeats his fictitious story. For he was that alleged passenger, miraculously saved from death, who actually owed his life to the fact that he hid a water container from his companions. Yet, at the assembly a certain fisherman recognizes him as one who was lurking around the harbour on the day of Callirhoe's burial. On the order of Hemocrates, Theron is put to torture and reveals everything up to the sale of Callirhoe to Dionysius. Chaereas immediately sets sail on a trireme to Miletus, where during his initial prayer in the temple of Aphrodite he notices a golden statue of his wife, and then learns of her whereabouts from a priestess. Before Chaereas decided what he should do next, Phocas – having realized at what danger is exposed his master's happiness – informed a Persian contingent which was stationed nearby that a pirate ship put in at the shore near Miletus. During the night the Persians attack the companions of Chaereas and some of them they kill and some take prisoner. Among the captives were Chaereas and Polycharmus, whom the Persians hand over to Mithridates, the satrap of Caria. In Miletus a rumour is spread that all the strangers were killed. Callirhoe deduces from the accounts by the priests that her husband did visit the temple; now she is convinced that he is dead, and so with the permission of Hermocrates she erects on the sea shore a cenotaph for Chaereas, similar to the one she herself had in Syracuse. The aforementioned Mithridates saw her once making some offerings at the grave and, naturally, fell madly in love with her. Yet, it seemed to him to be a very risky enterprise to seduce the wife of the most prominent Milesian, a friend of the Persian king. However, fate willed it that he was given an unexpected opportunity. A group of slaves, among whom was our pair of Syracusan friends, rose in revolt against their guards. The revolt was stamped out and the culprits were sentenced to death by hanging. Polycharmus – while on his way to the place of execution – heaved a sigh: "It is because of you, Callirhoe, that we suffer so. You are responsible for all this". Upon overhearing it, a guard suspected that the rebel mentioned the name of some fellow mutineer or maybe of the revolt's firebrand. Therefore he brought Polycharmus to Mithridates to whom the captive revealed the cause of his moaning. Immediately Mithridates demanded that Chaereas be conveyed to him, and then, having expressed great sympathy for him, the son of heroic Hermocrates, he promised to offer his help in the recovery of Callirhoe. The only thing which

Chaereas was meant to do was to write a letter to her, announcing the upcoming salvation. Mithridates himself writes another letter and assures Callirhoe of his help. Obviously, he did not intend to recover Callirhoe for Chaereas, but for himself. However, both letters are intercepted by Dionysius who considers the information about Chaereas being alive as a pure invention and a stratagem of Mithridates. Therefore, through the satrap of a neighbouring region, he sends to the king a complaint against Mithridates. The king summons the accused and the accuser together with his wife to Babylon. Initially Mithridates plans to openly rebel against the king and sever all ties with him. Yet, wise calculation prevails, and so he goes in company of Chaereas to Babylon. On his part, Dionysius is reluctant to take his wife on such a long trip, but finally decides to abide by the king's order.

And now (books V and VI), Chariton gives a summary of the up-to-date events and talks at length about the enormous impression which Callirhoe's beauty was making on the barbarians during her travel to Babylon. On the day of the trial the whole city in great excitement gathers in front of the court. After a brief debate (whose account betrays the authorship of an attorney's secretary), Mithridates provides a living proof of his veracity: he presents Chaereas before the jury. Callirhoe is greatly distressed; Dionysius even more so. A fierce dispute takes place between the two husbands. For the time being, the king decides only to grant pardon to Mithridates, while the quarrel between the two husbands of Callirhoe is to be resolved at a later trial. The "cause of the quarrel" is transferred to the harem and left to the care of Statira, the king's wife. However, the king – who already during the hearing fell in love with Callirhoe – keeps on postponing the date of the trial and in the meantime tries in vain to seduce Callirhoe, using his faithful eunuch as a go-between. The resulting delay of the trial is no less annoying to Dionysius than it is to Chaereas.

Suddenly the news of a rebellion in Egypt arrive (there is no historical record of any such mutiny during the reign of Artaxerxes II). The king gathers the army and – having taken the whole harem including Callirhoe – goes to war against the rebels. In this expedition he is joined by Dionysius to whom he promised the return of his wife after the campaign. That is at least the information which Chaereas receives. Dejected by these tidings, he contacts the self-proclaimed king of the Egyptian rebels and offers him his services. The Egyptian gives to him – the son of the victor over the Athenians – the command over the fleet. In this capacity Chaereas defeats the Persian fleet and then conquers Tyre and Aradus. There he captures the whole royal harem with Statira and Callirhoe. During the distribution of the captives he learns that one of them – with her face veiled – sought refuge in the temple of Aphrodite, where she declared that she would not let anybody abduct her alive. Chaereas decides to find out who she is.

At this point (VIII 1), the author remarks that in his opinion his last book should be the most pleasurable one for the readers, since everything that until

then was dark and gloomy will lighten and brighten up. In the temple's entrance Chaereas recognizes Callirhoe. Soon after he is informed of the defeat of the Egyptian king. Thus he does no longer have to fight against the Persian ruler. He sends back to him Statira with all her servant-maids and commends himself to his graces. Then he takes the fleet to Syracuse, because his Egyptian companions do not want to part with him. When Statira was about to depart, Callirhoe gave her a secret note for Dionysius in which she was asking him to care for her son, without admitting that it is Chaereas' child. Neither did she reveal to Chaereas the existence of that child. Statira commended to the king the magnanimity of Chaereas. Dionysius found solace in Callirhoe's goodwill as well as in the son left under his care. In Syracuse Chaereas relates at the assembly his adventures and then demands that his Egyptian companions be granted Syracusan citizenship. This demand was accepted. Callirhoe goes to Aphrodite's shrine where she expresses her gratitude to the goddess for her care and prays for happy life and simultaneous death for herself and her husband.

"And that is what I wrote about Callirhoe", adds the author, and it is quite right that he mentions only the heroine's name in the end. For only she contrives any plans and carries them into effect; she displays calm judgement in her dealings with the pirates and shows quick wits in her relations with Dionysius by abandoning him in a very tactful way and leaving him the son whom he truly believed to be his own. The character of Chaereas, which from the very beginning was presented (in a rather cumbersome manner) as marred by suspiciousness and impetuosity, arouses our antipathy in the scene of him brutally kicking his wife, which action we are unable to forgive him, even if through six books he is weeping and moaning and keeps declaring his readiness to commit suicide. His metamorphosis into a heroic warrior, a worthy son of Hermocrates, occurs so rapidly (book VII), that we can hardly identify him as the former cry-baby, tutored by wise Polycharmus. Just as the main characters, so also the other figures in this novel are sketched in a very unsound and irresolute manner. Only the leader of the band of robbers, Theron, and the satrap Mithridates, as well as the procuress Plango, have some distinct traits in their perfidious wickedness. On the contrary, the two noble rivals of Chaereas – Dionysius and Artaxerxes – are strangely soft-mannered and humane. The Greek may even be considered as no less than a refined gentleman. He tortures himself incessantly with qualms of conscience that he fell in love with a slave-girl, is scared of a *mésalliance* and is beaming with joy at the thought of having as wife the daughter of Hermocrates. He is not aware of the fact that he actually induces her into bigamy. The same applies to queen Statira who abstains from persecuting her rival, even as she knows about her husband's passion for her. Actually, it is quite the opposite – she takes great care of her. The author, who plunged all individuals in the atmosphere of good-natured kindness, was not prone – or rather had no talent – to draw wicked characters. Mild nervousness and tearfulness, their profound sighs and

sentimental monologues attest to the author's gift of lyricism. However, this lyric component does not go beyond the convention of school oratory. On any given occasion the author produces well-constructed speeches or rather declamations. As for the epic component, he offers nothing but banalities and commonplaces.

His narrative is straightforward with no digressions or episodes. The structure of the whole, with repeated summaries of previous events, is clear but unoriginal. The formulaic expressions like: "Enough of that. Now I would like to talk about..." indicate a serious inability to compose a coherent work. The psychology is limited to a catalogue of sentiments and emotions, e.g. – the resurrected Callirhoe hears some noise at the entrance to her tomb (I 9): "She was overcome by all kinds of emotions – fear, joy, sadness, astonishment, hope and disbelief". Or – Dionysius reads the letters intercepted from Mithridates (IV 5): "He was filled by various sentiments – confidence, despair, trepidation, incredulity". And in each such instance it is the same.

Where there are no well-drawn characters, where sentiments and feelings are not properly expressed, there the narrative must rely on external events and on chance. And actually, the goddess of chance, Τύχη, is above all events and characters; it is she to whom the miserable heroes address their complaints. In relation to her the other deities play a secondary role. Even if Aphrodite is quite frequently an addressee of prayers, her own and her son Eros' activity is barely noticeable. It seems that it is the fault of the author who – at the very beginning – failed to underline the motif of Callirhoe's imperviousness to the advances of the suitors and of her priding in her beauty and thus offending Aphrodite. Chaereas alike drew upon himself the wrath of Eros. The two offended deities united them, but they did so with intent of separating them instantly and leaving them at the mercy of Tyche. Only upon the completion of the penance, the deities would anew become favourable towards them.

Chariton's romance was a pretty early specimen of this genre. This may explain it being passed under silence in ancient times and in Byzantine period. However, it had a significant influence on the development of the genre as a model and a storehouse of motifs for all the authors of the preserved romances. Even the number of eight books, taken from Thucydides whose style in the first place Chariton imitates (see C.G. Cobet, Mnemosyne VIII 1859, p. 251), was meaningful, even if it was the multiplication of eight, for the followers of Chariton – while imitating him – try to surpass or outbid him.

This in the first place was the case of a Syrian author, Iamblichus, whose lost romance entitled *Τῶν περὶ Σινωνὶν καὶ Ῥοδάνην Βαβυλωνιακῶν λόγοι ις'* (XVI) was summarized by Photius in the 94th codex of his *Library*. Its conventional subject matter was completely exhausted already in book XVI. Therefore the figures of XXXV or XXXVI books, as provided by the *Suda*, must be faulty. Just like Chariton at the beginning of his work, so also Iamblichus talks about himself midway through the romance where – in the midst of the passage devoted

to Babylonian sorcery – he remarks that he has the first-hand knowledge of this subject, for he himself is a Babylonian sorcerer (ch. 10, Photius). He lived during the reign of the Armenian ruler Soaemus, a former Roman senator and consul (obviously – titular). Cassius Dio (LXX, vol. IV, p. 171, ed. Dindorf) relates that the aforementioned Soaemus was installed on the throne by Lucius Verus after the completion of the famous war with the Parthians which lasted four years. Supposedly this war and its course were predicted to the Romans by Iamblichus. A marginal note in the Bessarion codex (A) of the *Library* of Photius, probably based on the integral text, offers some additional information to the above referred data, shedding light on the Babylonian erudition of Iamblichus. The emperor Trajan after the sack of Babylon (115/116 AD), captured a highly educated sorcerer, who was then purchased by the Syrian tutors of Iamblichus and appointed a caretaker of the boy. And it was he who taught Iamblichus both the language and the sorcery of the Babylonians, and also told him the Babylonian story of Sinonis and Rhodanes. This last detail seems to be merely an invention of the commentator, since the content of Iamblichus' tale fits perfectly the conventional pattern of a romance.

Chariton was talking about the amorous passion of a barbarian ruler for the wife of his subject. The same motif is used by Iamblichus as the axis of his novel, though he replaces the lenient Artaxerxes by the cruel Babylonian king Garmus, who was infatuated with beautiful Sinonis, young wife of Rhodanes. She scorns his enticements; therefore he gives the order to put her in golden chains and to crucify Rhodanes. And while Chaereas was saved by the mention of the name of Callirhoe, Rhodanes is rescued from imminent death by Sinonis who arranges their escape. The king sends two eunuchs, Sacas nad Damas, on pursuit. Damas discovers some vestiges leading to a meadow where Rhodanes unearthed a hidden treasure, but there is no trace of the two fugitives. The only thing that Damas finds there is the wreath of Sinonis which he sends to the king as proof that he is at the couple's heels. Poisonous bees enable the couple to avoid being captured by the pursuing soldiers led by Damas, who were trying to penetrate into the cave where the two were hiding. However, the fact that they swallowed the honey of those poisonous bees makes them lose conscience upon leaving the cave. The soldiers are convinced that the two are dead; therefore – according to a Babylonian custom – they cover the corpses with clothes, loafs of bread and pieces of meat. Damas sends to the king the braid of Sinonis which he found in the cave. The ravens, fighting for meat on the allegedly dead bodies, make them regain consciousness. So they collect all the offerings left by the soldiers of Damas and – having packed them on two asses which were grazing on a nearby pasture – run away, until they arrive at an inn. The inn-keeper was killed that night by his brother, but the suspicion for this murder falls on the two arrivals. Eventually the murderer admits his guilt, so Rhodanes – having picked up some venom which was used by the murderer – flees with his wife,

until they stop at the house of a cannibal robber, whom the soldiers od Damas have just rounded up. The house is set on fire. Rhodanes kills the stolen asses, throws the carcasses on the flames in order to make a path by which they both escape. The soldiers take them for the ghosts of the dead and let them pass by. In their flight they hit upon a burial ceremony of a girl whom some sorcerer restores to life. The sorcerer foretells to Rhodanes that he will become a king. The future ruler, though, is for the time being happy that he and his wife may take a rest in an empty tomb of the girl and may refresh themselves with the burial offerings. They also decide to keep the clothes of the resurrected girl. Yet, these very clothes were the reason why they are taken for tomb robbers, arrested and brought before the judge called Saraechus the Just. Saraechus decides that the couple should be sent over as a gift to king Garmus. Therefore Rhodanes determines to poison himself and his wife with the venom he had picked up at the inn. Very timely, however, a faithful slave-girl submitted to him and to his wife a soporific, so that against their will they are brought when sleeping to Babylon. They wake up on the outskirts of the city. Rhodanes throws himself on the sword and gets badly wounded. Saraechus inquires about the reason for this gesture and – having learned the story of the couple – resolves to keep them away from the wrath of the king; and so he conveys them to the island of Aphrodite, situated where the Tigris and Euphrates join up.

A priestess of Aphrodite had two sons – Euphrates and Tigris, very much resembling Rhodanes, and a daughter Mesopotamia, a double of Sinonis. Tigris passed away not long before, so the priestess considers the newly arriving Rhodanes as her resurrected son who was accompanied by Persephone on his way back from the underworld, for she takes Sinonis for that goddess. Rhodanes had already recovered from his wounds, when Damas learned of his whereabouts and of the protection of Saraechus. Damas arrests Saraechus and sends a doctor with a letter to the priestess, in which he requests from her the immediate return of the runaways. However, the doctor drowns while traversing the river on the back of a camel. Rhodanes finds the letter, hidden inside the ear of the castaway camel, and so he runs away together with his wife. Then he liberates Saraechus, who joins them in their flight. Damas arrived too late to find the fugitives on the island, yet, upon hearing a priest addressing Euphrates by the name of Rhodanes, as he was not able to distinguish between the two look-alikes, Damas seized Euphrates and told the king of his capture. In the meantime Mesopotamia ran away in order to escape the lot destined for Sinonis.

The fugitive threesome put up in the house of a man whose daughter – with her hair cut short after the recent loss of her husband – is asked to give the golden necklace of Sinonis in gage to a goldsmith. The latter recognizes it as his own work and is convinced that the girl with short hair is Sinonis. He decides to keep an eye on her and informs Damas of his discovery. The girl runs away from her pursuers and hides in an apparently empty house, where – as it turns out – a slave

is murdering his lover and then is taking his own life. Stained with blood, the girl flees from there and – when back home – recounts to her father the incident with the goldsmith. The lovers decide to look for some other hideout. When they leave, Sinonis notices traces of blood on Rhodanes' lips. The reason for this was that Rhodanes – upon their departure – planted a kiss on the lips of the blood-stained daughter of their host. Sinonis suspects that this kiss was only one of many instances of Rhodanes' infidelity, and so makes him a terrible scene of jealousy (like Chaereas to Callirhoe) and goes back to the house of the adulterous girl, intending to punish her. On her way there she is invited to stay at a rich debauchee's place, whom she kills overnight while fending off his advances. The slaves of the victim capture her and send her to the king. The king has already learnt from the goldsmith's letter that Sinonis had been found. Therefore he issues the edict announcing the liberation of all prisoners. Accordingly, the murderess of that debauchee was also set free. However Mesopotamia and Euphrates are despatched by Sacas to the king as Sinonis and Rhodanes respectively.

In the meantime, inside the aforementioned house, the hound of Rhodanes found the bodies of the slave and his lover and ate their flesh to the bones. The father of Sinonis, who happened to arrive at that scene, recognized the hound of his son-in-law, so he killed and buried the beast and then – having placed on the grave the inscription saying: "Here rests beautiful Sinonis" – hung himself on the spot. Soon after Rhodanes arrives at this place in search of his wife. Having read the inscription on the grave, he wounded himself and with his own blood wrote on the wall: "And also handsome Rhodanes". When he was about to commit suicide, suddenly appears the blood-stained girl – so ill-fatedly kissed by Rhodanes – and informs him that Sinonis is alive. Then she snatches the sword from Rhodanes and the noose from Saraechus and goes back with them to her father's place. Upon their return, when the girl and wounded Rhodanes happened to be alone in some chamber, jealous Sinonis bursts inside and attacks with the sword her alleged rival. Rhodanes prevents the murder, so Sinonis runs away exclaiming: "Feel invited today to my wedding with Garmus!"

Meanwhile Garmus had already realized that the couple sent to him was not genuine, so he ordered to kill them both. The executioner, though, fell in love with Mesopotamia and handed her over to the Egyptian queen, Berenice, who took great care of the girl. In revenge Garmus declared war against the queen. Euphrates also avoided death somehow, as did Saraechus who – after being captured – was supposed to be crucified on the same meadow on which Rhodanes had the other day discovered a treasure, but instead, he bribes the mercenaries of Garmus, the Alani, who were escorting him, and then – having become their king – goes to war against Garmus and defeats him decisively. However, before all this happened, Rhodanes is to be crucified in the presence of Garmus. During the execution Sacas delivers a letter to the king with the news about the upcoming marriage of Sinonis and the Syrian king. And as was the case with Dionysius and Artaxerxes, similarly

here – Rhodanes is set free and is supposed to fight on the side of Garmus, so that in case of victory he might recover his wife. And although Garmus gave secret orders to kill Rhodanes after a victorious campaign, yet, those orders could not be carried out, because – before Rhodanes defeated the Syrians and recovered his wife – Saraechus overthrew Garmus and then handed the Babylonian kingdom over to the conqueror of Syria upon his return from battle.

Into this bizarre story of persecutions and flights, Iamblichus inserted numerous episodes of various nature – antiquarian, as e.g. his discourse on different sorts of sorcery, ethnological and novelistic. And so the tale of the suitors of Mesopotamia, daughter of a priestess of Aphrodite (ch. 8, Phot.), has its counterparts in eastern sagas. Aphrodite must have played in the adventures of the lovers a function similar to that which she played in – e.g. – Chariton. Yet, in the concise summary by Photius there is no mention of it. Neither are we able to deduce from that epitome what was the main thread of the story; the only thing we can see there is a hotchpotch of various adventures.

Many surviving excerpts (in the *Erotici scriptores Graeci* ed. by Hercher) suggest a great popularity of Iamblichus in Byzantium. Having read this romance Photius commented that it is a pity that so beautiful style and such compositional skill were wasted for this childish tomfoolery (παίγνια καὶ πλάσματα), and he lamented that Iamblichus did not choose some more weighty subject matter (σπουδαῖα πράγματα). Most probably Iamblichus did not treat too seriously his Babylonian traditions. At any rate, his work enjoyed great popularity, so that as late as in the 17th century AD he found an imitator of his work, namely Philip von Zesen, the author of the *African Sophonisbe*, modelled on the Sophonisbe by Mademoiselle de Scudéri.

No less famous than the Babylonian, or rather more so, in Christian era was the Egyptian sorcery, which was introduced into the romance by Antonius Diogenes, the author of 24 books (triple Chariton) of the *Incredible Wonders Beyond Thule* (*Τῶν ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπίστων λόγοι κδ'*). The very title indicates that the antiquarian and ethnological content of Iamblichus is replaced here by paradoxography, which was so abundantly represented in the Alexandrian epoch. Photius, to whom we owe (cod. 166) the outline of this work, states clearly (ch. 11, Phot.) that Antonius Diogenes referred to ancient authors whose works he had laboriously excerpted. Some idea about this type of literature is provided by *True History* of Lucian, although we should not (as Photius and Rohde do) consider this text to be a parody of Antonius. Lucian only pokes fun at fantastic travel tales. Had he meant Diogenes, he would have been obliged to introduce the motif of a pair of lovers. And the occurrence of certain common elements here and there may easily be explained by the fact that Lucian parodies the authors whom Antonius was also using as models.

The function of a persecutor Garmus is here taken over by the Egyptian sorcerer Paapis, while the role of a protector Saraechus – by Astraeus, a Pythagorean.

The persecuted pair is not a married couple, but a pair of siblings. They are called Mantinias and Dercillis. An Arcadian named Deinias met them in Thule where he stopped with a group of friends, in whose company he was travelling in search of adventures. At the time of this encounter the two siblings were in a bizarre state – during the day they were dead, while at night they were brought back to life. Deinias fell in love with Dercillis, who had just the night-time at her disposal for making various acquaintances and for flirting. She explained to him the cause of her half-death. The two siblings lived with their parents in Tyre, where one day they were visited by an Egyptian priest Paapis, who convinced the brother and sister to give some soporific powder to their parents. Having swallowed it, the parents died, so the unaware poisoners had to flee in order to avoid being held responsible for this act. After visiting Rhodes, Crete and Etruria, they reached the land of the Cimmerians, where Dercillis descended to Hades and learned from her deceased servant named Myrto the secrets of the underworld. The two siblings are constantly persecuted by Paapis. In the land of the Cimmerians they split, so that Dercillis continues her journey with her lover Ceryllus and a mysterious companion named Astraeus, a disciple of Pythagoras. Astraeus protects her from all dangers, yet, he is unable to make Ceryllus avoid death on account of a pristine guilt which he was bearing. Through the land of the Iberians, the Celts, the Aquitanians and the Artabrians, about whom the author was telling various incredible stories, Dercyllis reaches the land of the Asturians, where she is abandoned by Astraeus. Then she travels to Sicily. Here she is submitted to the authority of Aenesidemus, the tyrant of Leontini (ca. 490 BC), at whose court she is confronted by Paapis. But to her delight, she also meets there Mantinias, with whose help she steals the magic books of Paapis together with some magical plants. The two siblings flee over to Rhegium and then to Metapontus. In this centre of Pythagorean studies they meet Astraeus, who helps them escape from the pursuing Paapis and brings them over to his former companion Zalmoxis, of the Getae tribe. Zalmoxis purifies them from the old guilt and predicts that the final atonement for their crime will necessarily occur in Thule. So the siblings are off to Thule. On their way they are hunted down by Paapis, who – upon catching up with them – spits in their faces, thus submitting them to deathlike existence during the daytime. And even though Paapis is killed by one of Dercyllis' lovers, the spell remains. And it is only after Azulis, a companion of Deinias, finds in a book of Paapis a salutary formula, that the siblings are back to normal life. Both return immediately to Tyre in order to resuscitate their parents with the help of the books of magic. Deinias visits the Moon with his companions, where the Sybil grants him the fulfillment of one request. Deinias demands to be brought back to Tyre and be reunited with Dercillis. Upon his immediate return he finds both the siblings alive and well and their parents resuscitated. He marries his lover from Thule and decides not to go back to Arcadia. When an Arcadian named Cymbas arrived in the name of the

state to bring him back to his motherland, he responded that at his age he had no intention to travel anywhere, but instead, told him the story of his life and asked that his account be written down in two copies. One of these was for Cymbas, the other was to be deposited in Deinias' tomb.

When Alexander the Great conquered Tyre, recounts his officer Balagrus in a letter to his wife Phila, in a tomb near the city walls six stone sarcophagi were discovered, adorned with such inscriptions: "Mantinias, son of Mnason, lived 42 years, then 760 nights; Dercillis, daughter of Mnason, lived 39 years, then 760 nights, etc.". The secret behind these inscriptions was elucidated by the discovery inside the grave of a box containing tablets of cypress wood, on which was written down the story of Deinias. Balagrus asked that the copy of it be made for his wife. From that copy Antonius Diogenes makes another duplicate, which he sends to his sister Isidora, wife of Faustinus. She is the addressee of the dedication in the preface to his work, where he talks about the origin of this romance. The Ἄπιστα constitute only the bait or the enticement to the public, eager for such adventurous stories. The real purpose of this novel was the promotion of neo-Pythagorean teaching whose advocates were Astraeus and Zalmoxis. The idea of sin (the poisoning of the parents), atonement and absolution of evil, through the precepts and tutelage of Astraeus and Zalmoxis, is so overexposed that in view of its predominance even the erotic content becomes secondary. All this places the romance of Antonius in the circle of those neo-Pythagoreans whose saintly leader was Apollonius of Tyana. In that circle was revived the ancient fantastic biography of Pythagoras, written back in the 4th century BC by Aristoxenus of Tarent. Apollonius blew this biography up into a monumental history of a holy thaumaturge, while other Pythagoreans were propagating their teaching through the stories about men under the spell, whom only the teaching of Pythagoras was able to redeem. A parody of such tales was written after 100 AD by Lucius of Patrae, who related his transformation into an ass, his sufferings while in the asinine body, and his rescue in the end. This story is quite faithfully recounted in the text preserved among the works of Lucian – *Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος*, whereas the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius adds anew the religious spirit to a parody of Pythagoreanism, though only by the end of the work, where the allegoric light is projected on the very realistic narrative. Lust and intemperance transformed man into a beast. The mysteries of Isis allow him to regain human dignity. The same principal idea is instilled into the tale of Amor and Psyche by Apuleius. Initially it was a popular saga about a princess who was wed to an unknown husband, about whose origin she was not allowed to inquire. Nonetheless, the princess did inquire and this resulted in the transformation of the prince into a dragon and subsequently – his disappearance. And only through the penance of the princess and her many sufferings and misfortunes, the prince regained human form and the princess – her husband. This saga was allegorized by some Greek author who gave to the heroine the name of Psyche and to the hero – Eros. And

then a subsequent motif was inserted into the story, that of Aphrodite's wrath against Psyche, which, however, had no impact on the very narrative. At any rate – the names themselves gave the clue to this tale: the human *psyche* loses the divine Eros through some trespassing and recovers it through penance.

The introduction of popular motifs into the romance and the permeation of the whole with moralizing tendency are the common traits shared by the Greek author of the *History of Apollonius* with Antonius Diogenes and with the author of *Eros and Psyche*. If we are to trust Klebs that the first Latin version of this work comes from the first part of the 3rd century AD, it is beyond doubt – in view of the arguments brought forth by Wilcken and Bürger – that the Greek original should be dated by the end of the 2nd century AD. The Christian editor of the preserved text removed the motif of the protection of the heroes by the pagan deities, but even in this doctored text of his the edifying tendency of this romance is obvious: gods kill incestuous Antiochus and his daughter with a thunder, while miraculously rescuing Archestratis. Just like in the romance of Iamblichus, here also a dead girl who is about to be buried is brought to life by a doctor. The gods provide their protection to little Tharsia, they arouse pity in the heart of the slave who is on the brink of murdering her, and also – do not permit her to lose chastity, even during her forced stay in the brothel. Evil stepmother or rather caretaker of Tharsia and her husband are justly punished, while Apollonius – upon his return from Egypt – recovers his daughter and his wife and on top of that – wins the crown of Tyre and Cyrene.

To this group of moralizing romances belong also five books of the *Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes* (*Τῶν κατὰ Ἀνθείαν καὶ Ἀβροκόμην Ἐφησιακῶν βιβλία ε'*) by Xenophon of Ephesus ([1]1726; earlier in Italian 1723). Linguistic peculiarities (no sophistic ἀφέλεια, no dual, fut. perf., rare usage of the optative) and compositional characteristics would suggest to place him close to Chariton. First-hand knowledge of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus which was destroyed by the Goths in 264 AD, blossoming status of the Clarian Apollo's oracle, which ceased to function after the 3rd century AD, provide the *terminus ante quem*. The overview of the motifs employed by the author suggests that he should be placed after both Iamblichus and the author of the Apollonius tale. The preliminaries are similar to Chariton's work. In Ephesus lived an attractive young man named Habrocomes, worshipped as a god, who had Eros in contempt. At the festival of Artemis he spotted Anthia, a girl even more beautiful than he was, wearing the costume of Artemis or of one of her companions. Upon seeing them side by side, people exclaim: "Oh, how well-matched pair they would form!" Anthia senses that she is being observed by Habrocomes while she makes offerings, and so reveals as many of her charms as she can (μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐγύμνωσεν ἂν τὰ δύνατα) for Habrocomes to see, and keeps conversing with her friends, so that he might listen to her voice. Upon his return home, the young fellow has to admit to himself that he has become a slave of Eros. He suffers but says nothing. Anthia too

is love-sick. The parents in despair (like the parents of Cydippe in Callimachus) consult the oracle of Apollo in Colophon for advice. The oracle responds that there is one cure for them, but adds that they will have to face many wanderings and persecutions, before they happily return home from the shores of the river Nile. The wedding is arranged and the married life begins for them – as the author recounts in a very detailed way (I, 9 – like in the story of Ninus). They are not too preoccupied by the verdict of the oracle. More perturbed are the parents, who see in the prediction of wanderings the order to go on travel (just like Zalmoxis' command for the guilty siblings to go to Thule), so they prepare the ship for the young couple to set sail, unaware of the reason and destination of their voyage. En route through the sea they pledge to remain faithful to each other. From this point on the whole novel is a eulogy of marital fidelity, which obviously was the leading theme in the *Odyssey*. They stop at Rhodes, make votive offerings in the shrine of Helios and resume their travel. The hero is warned in sleep of an upcoming misfortune, which soon comes true, when the Phoenician pirates attack the Ephesian ship and set it aflame. They kill the whole crew and take Anthia and Habrocomes captive. The pirates were in the pay of a rich Tyrian merchant, Apsyrtus, to whom they convey their prey. En route to Tyre, Corymbus, the captain of the pirate ship, falls in love with Habrocomes, while his subordinate Euxinus – with Anthia. Both try to obtain the reciprocation from their respective love objects, and so Corymbus pleads with Anthia for Euxinus, and the latter with Habrocomes for Corymbus. The distraught couple interpret these advances as a punishment for their former neglect of Eros, and begin to think about the suicide. Before anything of this could occur, Apsyrtus appears and decides to keep the captives for himself. A few days later he goes on some business to Syria. His daughter Manto intends to profit from his absence, and so – using her maids as intermediaries – sends a note to Habrocomes with a declaration of love (like in Chariton – the king and Callirhoe); she promises to marry him and asks for a secret encounter. Habrocomes responds that he would rather die than accept her advances. Manto is seeking vengeance. Thus when her father returns bringing with him Moeris, a young man destined to become Manto's husband, she – acting like Phaedra – accuses the slave of an attempt at her virtue and brings it about that Habrocomes is whipped in the presence of Anthia. Habrocomes is imprisoned. Manto takes Anthia as her slave-girl and goes with Moeris, now her husband, to Syria. Here she has Anthia married to a goatherd Lampo who, however, is ready to accept his wife's request not to use his marital rights (like the peasant to whom Clytaemnestra gave Electra as a wife in Euripides). Yet, when Moeris began to court the beautiful wife of the goatherd, Manto gives orders to murder her stealthily (as does Tharsia's caretaker towards her). However Lampo (like Tharsia's slave) takes pity on his marvellous wife and, instead, sells her to Cilician merchants.

Manto sends a letter to her father in which she informs him that she sold Anthia in order to prevent Moeris from committing adultery. In the meantime

Apsyrtus finds out that Habrocomes was innocent (from Manto's love note left behind in jail) and makes him a manager of his house. He also revealed to Habrocomes the contents of Manto's letter. Habrocomes leaves immediately for Syria, where he learns from Lampo that Anthia was sold to Cilicia, so he goes there in search for her. Over there, in the forest, he meets Hippothous, the leader of the group of robbers, which was ambushed and dismantled by Perilaus of Tarsus, the chief law enforcement official in Cilicia (ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ προεστώς). In the company of the robber, Habrocomes travels around Cappadocia; one day, during the supper, his companion tells him the story of his life. From a decent citizen of Perinthus he turned into a brigand because of his boyish love. He recounts also that his comrades were supposed to sacrifice to Ares a beautiful captive girl. They tied her to a tree and when they were about to slaughter her, Perilaus attacked them with his troops and set the girl free. The description of the girl is a clear indication for Habrocomes that the girl in question was his wife. So he goes to Tarsus, where he is told that Anthia is dead. As he learns, Perilaus fell in love with her and wished to marry her. She in turn made him promise to wait thirty days before the wedding, and on the day of the wedding swallowed some substance, given to her by an Ephesian physician, and passed away. Perilaus interred her with great ceremony. In the tomb she awoke from the coma (like Sinonis after taking Saraechus' drug), but had no time to ponder on her situation, because soon she was carried off by the tomb robbers (like Callirhoe). Obviously, Habrocomes is ignorant of Chariton's tale about Callirhoe, so in mourning for his dead wife he goes – without Hippothous' knowledge – to Alexandria in hope of finding there at least the body of his kidnapped wife. The tomb-raiders also went to Alexandria, where they sold Anthia to Psammis, an Indian prince. The captive convinced the superstitious barbarian that he must wait one year to have her hand, unless he wishes to incur the wrath of Isis to whom she is consecrated.

Meanwhile Habrocomes is captured by a band of Egyptian thieves, called the Shepherds (βουκόλοι), who sell him into slavery to an old man named Araxus. In his house Habrocomes will have to assume the role of Hippolytus towards the old man's lustful wife Cyno. She imagines that it is only due to her husband's presence that the slave hesitates to submit to her advances, so she kills the old man, but this causes an even greater reluctance on the part of her beloved. She is burning with the desire for vengeance and so accuses him of murdering his master, and hands him over for punishment to the governor (ἄρχων) of Egypt. Habrocomes is sentenced to death by crucifixion. The executioners put him on the cross upon a cliff overlooking the Nile. Habrocomes prays to Helios begging for his mercy, whereupon a violent wind blows the cross into the river, and Habrocomes is carried downstream to the mouth of the Nile. He is recaptured there by the soldiers and returned to the governor, who now orders that he be burned on the stake. However, after his another prayer for mercy, the rising wa-

ters of the Nile extinguish the flames, which the governor interprets as a result of divine intervention, and so he demands that the case of Araxus be re-examined. Having learned the truth, he releases Habrocomes and orders that Cyno be put to death.

Meanwhile Psammis, en route in Anthia's company to India, is attacked by the robbers led by Hippothous, who in the meantime resumed his former trade. Anthia is taken prisoner. Hippothous does not recognize her (now calling herself Memphitis) and gives her as booty to his fellow robber Anchialus. He in turn lusts so eagerly after her that in defence of her virtue she kills him (Sinonis does the same with the old debauchee). The robbers cast her in punishment into a deep pit with two fierce dogs, expecting her either to die of hunger or be devoured by the hounds. But a guard named Amphinomus – out of love for her – brings her secretly bread and water, which also the dogs consume and thus become more and more benign.

In the meantime Habrocomes goes to Syracuse where he is entertained by an old fisherman who keeps at home the mummified body of his wife, about whom he tells his guest a very romantic story.

The prefect of Egypt – while clearing the country of robbers with the help of his relative Polyidus – destroyed the band of Hippothous. Among the prisoners whom Polyidus caught were also Amphinomus and Anthia. The warrior fell in love with his captive girl who escaped his advances by taking refuge in the temple of Isis. Polyidus' wife learned about it, so during her husband's absence she decided to sell Anthia to a pimp (as is the case of Tharsia in Apollonius). Anthia is purchased by a procurer from Tarent, but he is unable to make any profit from her charms, since Anthia keeps feigning a cataleptic fit. Therefore he puts her on sale on the slave-market, where she is bought by Hippothous, who had by then abandoned his former way of life as a robber, married a rich widow in Tauromenium and – after her death – was leading a very luxurious life in Italy. He recognized in his recent acquisition his former captive from Egypt whom he had thrown into a pit to be devoured by the dogs, but he did not know yet that she was the wife of his friend Habrocomes. Therefore he did not have any qualms of conscience to fall in love with her, but some time later he found who she was. And now he decides to go on search of his friend, intending to return his wife to him. En route to Ephesus he stops at Rhodes. Anthia goes to the shrine of Helios to pay tribute to the god and leaves there – next to her votive gift – the lock of hair. She is recognized by her former slaves, now rich freedmen, who invite her for a stay at their house. On the next day Habrocomes, being already fed up with his work as a stone-cutter on Sicily, arrives at Rhodes, and here in the temple of Helios recognizes Anthia's lock of hair (the motif of recognition of Orestes by Electra), and – with the help of his faithful servants – finally finds her. All, including Hippothous, erupt in joy. The husband and his wife, having assured each other of mutual fidelity, return to Ephesus, and here pay tribute to

Artemis. To their offerings for the goddess they add a description of their tribulation and adventures (τὴν γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα τ᾽ ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἔδρασαν)[1]. Hippothous, the noble brigand, was also partaking in their bliss.

Xenophon composed his narrative from the motifs used by Chariton, Iamblichus and the author of the Apollonius romance, and enriched it with elements drawn from tragedy and with the introduction of robbers into the framework of the action. The robbers appeared already in Chariton's work, but merely as tomb raiders, whereas here Hippothous is an integral participant of the action and, in the view of the author, his less noble occupation does not undermine the nobility of his character. That is why he is placed at the table of jubilation together with virtuous people. While the motif of the wrath of Eros, directed against the young man, is not consistently developed, but at the very beginning is replaced by the motif of the oracle, which sets in motion the adventures of the heroes, the pair's mutual pledges of fidelity constitute the main effective cause of the subsequent events. However, the episodes in which their fidelity is put to test are overabundant, so that the author keeps on repeating the same situations again and again. Xenophon does not explain clearly the purpose of the travels undertaken by his characters. The real reason seems to be that – since Chariton placed his romance on Sicily and since the heroes of Antonius Diogenes dwelled there and also in southern Italy – therefore Xenophon's characters too go to those places without any logical justifications. On the other hand, unlike his predecessors, Xenophon does not include a historical background, does not mention any historical kings, but, instead, does not hesitate to refer to Roman officials: the archon of Egypt (*praefectus Aegypti*) and the law enforcement officer or the irenarch. This novel is thus meant to be a contemporary work. The other innovation of Xenophon is the omission of the self-portrayal in his novel, whereas Chariton, Iamblichus and Antonius Diogenes were talking about themselves also. Xenophon avoids as well the usage of such formulaic statements as: "about this I have already narrated", "now I will tell what happened" etc. However, apart from similar motifs, there is one common element which Xenophon shares with his predecessors, and that is the religious dimension. On any given occasion the characters send their prayers to Artemis, Isis, Apis and – particularly – to Helios, and they are always granted a manifest protection by these deities.

Xenophon removed from his work the burden of erudite digressions, typical for Iamblichus and Diogenes, while enriching a simple narrative of Chariton with a number of new motifs. But in the plethora of these motifs, he had neither time nor space to deepen human psychology and to sketch more distinctly the background of the action. His work is deprived of any local colour. The avoidance of all these deficiencies was the aim of Heliodorus, the author of the

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[1] Similarly in Apollonius: "casus [...] suos ipse descripsit et duo volumina fecit, unum in templo Dianae Ephesiorum, alterum bibliothecae suae".

largest ancient novel in ten books (double Xenophon) – the *Aethiopian Story* (*Αἰθιοπικῶν βιβλία δέκα*, [1]1534, [2]1596 with Latin translation by Stanislaus [Stanisław] Warszewicki) about Theagenes and Chariclea. Heliodorus put together the Babylonian erudition of Iamblichus, Pythagorean wisdom of Diogenes and Xenophon's roguish background, and thus produced a "ruffiano-sacerdotal" novel. He knew about the trip of the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo to Macedonia, and so sent the Egyptian priests to Delphi and the Delphic priests to Egypt, with the intention of magnifying the glory of Helios. At any rate, he did not have to concern himself with inventing the motifs. He simply made a selection of pertinent ones from his predecessors, while applying his entire care toward the composition. Already in Xenophon many past events were presented through a story told by one of the characters. Heliodorus uses this device to a very large extent. The meaning of the episodes described in the beginning of book I, as well as the real identity of characters involved, became clear only by the end of book VI. Thus the celebrated ἀναστροφὴ τῆς τάξεως, modelled on Odysseus *apologoi* to Alcinous, reigns here supreme. Even the names of characters are not immediately provided. First we see them in action, and then only gradually their secrets are being brought to the open.

A band of robbers goes to a hilly area near the mouth of the Nile, where they notice a pile of dead bodies among the remnants of a feast, and a woman dressed as Aphrodite holding on her knees the body of a beautiful youth and tearfully speaking to him. The young man gives some signs of life. From what is said, we conclude that their names are Chariclea and Theagenes respectively. The robbers are about to seize the pair, but another band of brigands supervenes to capture the spoils of the dead and to abduct the girl with the wounded youth. They bring them to a lacustrine village on the marshes of the Nile and leave them under the guard of some non-Egyptian man. The latter, having overheard the captives talking to each other in Greek, reveals himself as a Greek, named Cnemon, and spends the whole night on telling them the story of his life. Due to the unwanted advances of his stepmother and the treachery of a slave-girl, called Thisbe, he was forced to flee, until he was taken prisoner by a band of Egyptian robbers, the so-called Shepherds, under the command of Thyamis. Formerly he was a priest in Memphis, but – having been deprived of this function by his brother – he became a robber. Thyamis falls in love with Chariclea who pretended that Theagenes was her brother, and proposes to marry her immediately. However, Chariclea asks for a delay, necessary to complete certain obligations toward the gods. The former priest accepts these fake religious qualms and decides to wait. Meanwhile Theagenes, disappointed with his alleged role of a brother, intends to announce that he is Chariclea's husband, but she begs him to wait until an occasion occurs to make their wedlock legal and formally sworn (ἐνώμοτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι γάμον, ἔνθεσμον, εἴ πῃ γένοιτο, περισκοποῦσα, I 25). So Theagenes also bides his time, but at some point the band of robbers, mentioned at the be-

ginning of the novel as those who had to withdraw empty-handed, attacks the village and sets it aflame. Before the confrontation with the invaders Thyamis concealed Chariclea in the underground hideout (in Xenophon too, Anthia was placed in a pit), and then, realizing that he is defeated and wounded, rushes to the hideout, willing to be united with his beloved – let alone in death. At the entrance he hears a woman's voice asking in Greek: "Who is it?" Convinced that it was Chariclea, he kills her and runs away. When the battle is over, Cnemon and Theagenes enter into the hideout. Theagenes believes that the woman's body is that of Chariclea, but soon after he sees his beloved alive. From a tablet found in the hand of the dead woman, Cnemon learns that this is the body of his nemesis, Thisbe, who came to Egypt in company of a rich merchant and was captured here by a robber Thermutis, who seized her and concealed in this very cave. He too arrives thither after the battle and is convinced that the men whom he met there must be responsible for the murder. The Greeks plead not guilty and, trying to get rid of him, send him on the reconnoitring mission. Thermutis refuses to part alone, so Cnemon joins him, but during their march he keeps complaining about stomachache. Repeatedly he stops in the thicket and rejoins his companion, until the latter's vigilance is put to sleep, so that he is able to flee and go to a village, where he was supposed to meet Chariclea and Theagenes, but does not find them there. Instead, he hits upon an old Greek-speaking Egyptian, who conveys him to the house of a rich merchant, Nausicles. The merchant is not at home, for he went on search of his slave-girl Thisbe, taken from him by the robbers. And so in his absence it is the host's daughter who entertains Cnemon. During the banquet the Greek-speaking Egyptian tells the story of his past adventures. His name is Calasiris; he used to be a priest in Memphis. Yet, his intention to avoid temptations of women and the perspective of deadly combat between his sons, foretold by the oracle, contributed to his decision of leaving Egypt. He went to Delphi in order to acquaint himself with priestly knowledge there, and soon befriended Charicles, the priest of Apollo. The latter, having lost his wife and daughter, went to Egypt to seek consolation (like Apollonius), where a certain Ethiopian priest entrusted to him a seven years old girl with some tokens. Charicles brought her back to Delphi, gave her the name of Chariclea, and was raising her as if she were his daughter. When she grew up, she became a priestess of Artemis, and as such did not wish to ever marry. Only when she saw handsome Theagenes who came there to make some ceremonial offerings in the name of the Thessalians, and whom she herself crowned as a winner in the games, she finally realized what love is. Calasiris who was Theagenes' friend wanted to help the young pair, especially after having read the inscription in Ethiopian characters on Chariclea's headband, written by Persine, wife of king Hydaspes, who explained that the reason for exposing her daughter was her white complexion. According to this inscription, it resulted from Persine's gazing intently at the painting of Andromeda in the chamber of her husband. Fearing that the black father might search for

another explanation of the white colour of his daughter's skin, she gave her to Sisimithres, a priest, who sent her somewhere. Calasiris knew Persine well and promised to go on search of her daughter. So now he reveals to Chariclea the secret of her birth and persuades her to flee to Egypt. Theagenes abducts her, and so all three embark on a ship. They are captured by the pirates, whose captain Trachinus becomes enamoured of the captive girl. Calasiris persuades another pirate, named Pelorus, that Chariclea is in love with him. The two rivals have a bitter quarrel during the distribution of the booty; the fierce fight erupts, which leads to the scene depicted at the beginning of the romance.

Before he finished his tale, Nausicles returned bringing with him a beautiful slave-girl, whom he had presented to the satrap Mithridates as the lost Thisbe. Calasiris recognizes Chariclea and purchases her from Nausicles for a marvellous amethyst ring and goes with her (Cnemon got engaged with the daughter of Nausicles, and so stayed by her) in search of Theagenes. In order to make it easier to procure food, they disguise themselves as beggars, but also take their priestly clothes packed inside the bags. They heard from Nausicles that Mithridates sent the beautiful youth to the king. On their way they hit upon a battlefield, where a band of robbers destroyed Mithridates' force. A dead boy, resuscitated by his mother, a witch, predicts a happy outcome for them, so they continue their travel, until they arrive at Memphis. The city was by then besieged by the band of Thyamis, who demanded to be restored to the priesthood, of which he had been deprived by his brother Petosiris. Arsace, wife of the satrap Oroondates, who ruled the city in her husband's absence, suggests that the dispute between the two brothers should be settled in a duel. But the cowardly Petosiris withdraws from combat at the very sight of Thyamis, and runs away from him around the city walls. Thyamis wants to spare him, but still decides to humiliate him by slightly wounding him. At that moment Calasiris steps in between the two adversaries, removes his beggar's cloak and, having reconciled the quarrelling brothers with his paternal authority, returns with them in triumph to the city. In his combat Thyamis was assisted by Theagenes, whom Chariclea, forgetting about her mendicant's rags, tries to embrace, only to be rebuffed and struck by him. Her beloved took her for a courtesan, but when she threw off her rags, he recognized in her his missing lover. The youth's joy is somewhat dimmed by the sudden death of Calasiris and – no less so – by Arsace's invitation to stay in her palace. Theagenes has already noticed how lustfully was leering at him the satrap's notoriously lascivious wife. The role of a temptress of Theagenes and of the go-between is given to the old chamber-woman, Cybele. However, her entreaties and pleas are to no avail. Cybele's son Achaemenes recognizes Theagenes as a former captive of Mithridates, and informs the mistress about it. She in turn makes Theagenes her servant and promises Chariclea's hand to Achaemenes, who for some time already has been lusting after her. At this point Theagenes pretends to comply with the demands of the satrap's wife in return for one favour: let Chariclea who is his

wife and not his sister – as he has claimed until then – be prevented from marrying Achaemenes. Arsace accepts it, for she did not care at all about Achaemenes. Yet, when Theagenes even then refuses to respond to her passionate advances, she puts him in jail where Chariclea was also locked, having been accused of poisoning Cybele. Eventually she was condemned to the stake but – thanks to her magical ring – was saved from the flames. Therefore she had to share again the prison cell with her beloved, until both of them were summoned by the eunuch Bagos to Oroondates, who was told by Achaemenes about the misconduct of his wife. As a result of this denunciation, the two were conveyed to the Persian camp. By then Oroondates was a leader of the expedition against the Ethiopians. Arsace, upon learning about Bagos' mission, killed herself. The hero and the heroine are captured by the Ethiopians, the conquerors of Oroondates. According to the Ethiopian custom, every few years several boys and girls had to be sacrificed to Helios, the supreme Ethiopian god. The sacrifice was supposed to take place on the meadow near the capital city, Meroe. In the presence of the ruling couple and the royal court, the trial of chastity of the victims is being held; those who are pure, remain unscathed by the fire. Theagenes and Chariclea pass the test. But when the sacrifice is about to begin – despite the protests of the *gymnosophistae* who are in attendance – Chariclea falls at the feet of Sisimithres and – as tokens of recognition – shows to Persine certain objects and a mark on her arm. Persine acknowledges her as her daughter. Hydaspes announces to the people that he has recovered his unique daughter, but – if it be the people's will – he is ready to sacrifice her. However, the crowd demands that the princess be set free. Therefore only Theagenes is to be sacrificed. But just before the ceremony, the youth gives the display of bravery by taming a raging bull and then defeating a fierce Ethiopian wrestler (an imitation of the fight between Polydeuces and Amycus in Theocritus). And now he asks for one favour: let Chariclea be the one who would kill him as sacrificial victim. Chariclea asks for the same, intending to kill herself after killing her lover. But only a married woman is allowed to make a sacrifice, while she is still a virgin. At this critical moment the tension is additionally augmented by the arrival of Greek envoys, who demand that the daughter of a Delphic priest Charicles be released. Charicles recognizes the abductor of his daughter and – screaming angrily – charges him. And here Sisimithres intervenes; he explains everything and announces the abolition of human sacrifice. The young couple returns in triumph to Meroe to celebrate the nuptial rites.

"And thus ends the Ethiopian story of Theagenes and Chariclea. It was written by a Phoenician from Emesa, from the family of the priests of Helios, son of Theodosius, Heliodorus". There is no single detail in this romance which would prevent us from treating this work's personal epilogue as believable. For everything here is aimed at glorifying Helios, who saves the heroine through the intervention of his priest Sisimithres, who – in the form of the god Apollo – takes care of her in Delphi, who prophesizes the happy return to Ethiopia, and who in

the last moment grants salvation to those who are supposed to be his sacrificial victims. His glory is being quite emphatically proclaimed by the two main characters and also by other personages of the romance. And a peculiar predilection for priests (Sisimithres, Charicles, Calasiris, Thyamis, *gymnosophistae*) can only be explained by the priesthood of the author himself. That is why – on any given occasion – the Egyptian priest would praise the wisdom of his Greek counterpart, the Greek one – that of the Egyptian, and both would laud the Ethiopian *gymnosophistae*. It seems that the author produced his work in the period of a very advanced convergence of various religions with a common denominator of the universal cult of Helios, named Mithra in the Christian era. And even if Heliodorus never uses that name, does not Theagenes taming a raging bull constitute an allusion to a figure – known from the Mithraic reliefs – of a young man slaying a rushing bull? In comparison to Helios, other deities are presented as very pale figures. Only the Moirae and Tyche play a fairly significant role, as do also some unnamed daemons. If to this theological apparatus, abounding in presages and prophetic dreams, one adds – for the sake of comparison – the abstinence from meat and wine, observed by Calasiris, or if one recalls the condemnation of all bloody sacrifices, pronounced by the *gymnosophistae*, one must – in concord with Rohde – label Heliodorus as neo-Pythagorean, who probably had already come through the fanciful biography of Apollonius of Tyana, written by one of the Philostrati. And the sacrifice which Calasiris – upon seeing Odysseus in a dream – orders to be made by the hero in Ithaca (V 25), refers us to the *Heroicus* by Philostratus. However, there are no traces of neo-Platonism here, which indicates that Heliodorus wrote his romance before the expansion of this philosophico-religious movement. The fighting in the region of the Upper Nile and the hegemony of the Ethiopians seem to be the echo of the power of the Abyssinian Auxumitae, to whom Diocletian had to pay tribute. It is not without significance that the Auxumitae arrive at the court of Hydaspes as envoys from an independent nation, connected with the Ethiopian ruler by the treaty of friendship. Therefore the historical reminiscences point out roughly to the 3rd century AD. And the mention of the Persian satraps in Egypt should be considered as an anachronistic remnant from the earlier romances.

These combinations, based on the internal evidence of the work itself, cannot be undermined by the information transmitted by Socrates, the church historian (V 22), who remarks that a certain ecclesiastical regulation was established by the bishop of Tricca, Heliodorus, who is said (λέγεται) to have written in his youth an Ethiopian romance. This seems to be a mere speculation, based on the contamination of some Heliodorus, a bishop of Tricca, and Heliodorus, a romancer. Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. eccles.* XII 34) adds to this tradition an anecdote, according to which Heliodorus – having been ordered by the synod to burn his book which was judged harmful for the youth – preferred to renounce his episcopal function than his book.

Heliodorus was a priest and a Pythagorean philosopher. But he was also a theatre lover, for almost on every page he indulges in comparisons and metaphors drawn from the theatre (they were collected by J.H.W. Walden in HSCPh V 1895, pp. 1–43). And in the first place – he was a rhetor. Hence his grandiloquent style with elaborate periodic sentences, hence frequent descriptions (ἐκφράσεις) and aetiological comments, hence the whole range of rhetorical devices. In his grandiloquence (σεμνότης), Heliodorus is able to produce things which verge on beautiful. However, any attempts at interspersing the narrative with humorous inserts lead either to such concepts as the repeated gastric indisposition of Cnemon, or to laboured puns and plays on ideas. Yet, the unbearably ideal figures of priests are very nicely counterweighed by the personage of cunning Cnemon with his Attic background, consisting of a mixture of tragic and comic motifs. An excessively loose connection of the latter's figure with the main plot indicates that Heliodorus was the first to introduce – of his own initiative – a secondary plot with a secondary hero, instead of episodic insertions. And thus, in place of a simple romance, interrupted by excurses alien to the plot, he creates a complex novel, which is supposed to be both solemn and ethical (obviously, in the ancient meaning of this word – Arist. *Poet.* 18, 2). The psychological aspect is taken into consideration and is marked in many – at times very profound – comments on lovers and love itself.

In grandiloquence it was very hard to surpass Heliodorus. After his romance the only path to take for a romancer was that of realism, which was noticeable in embryonic form already in the *Aethiopica*. Yet, in order to have enough space for the portrayal of the environment and for the description of everyday life and customs, it was necessary to simplify the narrative and to reduce the number of the events to the minimum. And indeed, such attempt was undertaken. We have two specimens of this trend: four books of a pastoral novel about Daphnis and Chloe (*Ποιμενικῶν τῶν κατὰ Δάφνιν καὶ Χλόην λόγοι δ'*, [1]1598; earlier – in Latin hexameters in 1569 and in French by Amyot in 1559) and eight books of the romance about Leucippe and Clitophon (*Τῶν κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα λόγοι η'*, [1]1601). Both these realistic romances aspire at psychology also, but this could not be successful in antiquity, for it was made impossible by the rhetoric and the sophistry.

It cannot be denied that the idyllic element of Longus is somewhat connected with certain letters of peasants and fishermen by Alciphron, a contemporary of Lucian, and with the letters of peasants (ἀγροικαὶ ἐπιστολαί) by Claudius Aelianus from the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Yet, there is an even closer affinity with the 7th oration of Dio of Prusa – *Εὐβοϊκὸς ἢ κυνηγός*. Despite this all, one should not – on the grounds of similarity of expressions and of idyllic descriptions – consider Longus as an imitator of Dio; even less justifiable would be to regard him as an epigone of Alciphron. The occurrence of a few identical locutions referring to life in the country is a too weak basis to suggest a mutual

dependence of these authors, among whom Aelianus would allegedly copy Longus. Such a thesis is formulated by H. Reich (*De Alciphronis Longique aetate*, diss. Regimonti 1894), who places Longus between Alciphron and Aelianus at thre end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century. The arguments brought forth by Reich are very feeble and, consequently, the only clue to determine the dates of Longus may be the consideration of the systematic development of the Greek romance. And this consideration leads one to the conclusion that the simplicity and the idyllic character of Longus' work was a reaction to the complexity and the grandiloquence of Heliodorus. The motif of the heroine's exposure and her eventual recognition, introduced into the romance for the first time by Heliodorus, was used by Longus as the principal element of his narrative. And the proof that he was not the first one to use this motif, is – among other – its duality, for the hero as well was exposed as a child and in the end – was similarly recognized. Despite a radical simplification of the action, it is not difficult to notice that Longus repeats – or rather hints at – the whole repertory of motifs from the elaborate romances, but in miniature. And so the hero in his amorous advances towards the heroine has rivals – Dorcon and Lampis. The former tries to seduce her by stealth, the latter – actually abducts her. Besides – the hero is exposed to temptations by a libidinous married woman and a lecherous sponger (cf. Corymbus and Habrocomes in Xenophon of Ephesus). The novelty and originality of Longus consists in the fact that, for the first time in Greek romances, the hero, although unknowingly, breaks the oath of fidelity to his beloved by allowing Lycaenium to introduce him into the secrets of lovemaking. No less did the heroine step away from the rigorous rule of Heliodorus by kissing the dying Dorcon. Apart from these temptations on both sides, Longus took over from his predecessors also the motif of pirates, who kidnap Daphnis, as well as the machinery of war, resulting in the abduction of Chloe into captivity. Yet, these novelistic clichés are so tightly wrapped in abundant idyllic elements that the scholars failed to notice them and to refer them to the predecessors of Longus, and, instead, always considered him to be a completely distinct phenomenon, which does not fit the evolutionary pattern of this genre. However, already the above observations provide certain guidelines into the affiliations of Longus with the rest of the romancers. He also follows their religious propensity, and even – as an epigone – is pushing it to the limits: the fortunes of the heroes are continuously under control of pastoral deities – the Nymphs and the god Pan. The whole story is merely an illustration of the commonplace that the innocent simpletons are under constant protection of the gods, who save them from all afflictions. Young people honour the gods best by remaining pure in love. To show how such pure love is born and how it evolves in the hearts of two innocent youths, to present the germination, the growth and the blossoming of the passion against the background of nature, and to harmonize it all with the four seasons of the year, is a task worthy of a psychologist. Let us see to what extent did Longus accomplish this task.

One day a slave of a rich Mytilenean citizen, a goatherd named Lamon, found under a she-goat an infant boy sucking the merciful animal, so he took home the child together with certain precious objects, which were lying by the side of the foundling, and gave him to his wife to be brought up. He bestowed on him the name of Daphnis. Two years after this occurrence, Dryas, a neighbouring shepherd, found in similar circumstances a female infant, whom since then – under the name of Chloe – he was raising as if she had been his own daughter. And because the aforementioned precious tokens pointed out to the more noble origin of these children, the herdsmen were feeding them well and taught them to read and write. Fifteen years after Daphnis was found, the respective alleged parents, urged during their sleep by the Nymphs, sent the children into the fields to tend the flocks.

Common occupations and amusements bring the youth close to each other. One day Daphnis fell into a pit; after his rescue, Chloe was washing his wounds in the cave of the Nymphs, and suddenly sensed something strange in her heart.

> I am ill, but what my malady is I know not; I am in pain, and yet I see no wound. I feel grief, and yet I have lost none of my flock; I am burning, and yet I am sitting in the shade. How often have brambles torn my skin, without me shedding a single tear! How often have the bees stung me, and yet I could still enjoy my meals! Whatever it is which now torments my heart, is much more bitter than all other pains.

Daphnis suffers from the same torture ever since he kissed Chloe as a winner in pastoral competition with Dorcon, the ox-herd (like Theagenes who – upon winning the wrestling match – was awarded by Chariclea). Dorcon also fell in love with Chloe, and being unable to convince her either by gifts – which she would promptly hand over to Daphnis – or by tempting Dryas, decided to turn to trickery. Dressed up in a wolf skin, he tried to attack and rape Chloe near the spring, but was tracked down by the hunting dogs and he owed his survival only to the help of the two tenders of flocks.

This was going on in springtime. In the summer their amorous passion becomes even more enflamed. Daphnis, while searching for a grasshopper on the lap of sleeping Chloe, notices for the first time the charms which he was ignoring before and the girl becomes even dearer to him, since she has rescued him from the pirates. For when Daphnis was snatched by them and abducted on a ship, Chloe blew into the flute, which she received from dying Dorcon as a gift for a kiss; on this sign, the stolen herds jumped into the water, the ship capsized and the heavily armed robbers drowned, whereas Daphnis unconstrained swam back to the shore. For some reason, unknown to herself, Chloe concealed from him the kissing incident with Dorcon.

In the autumn, after the grape harvest, an old shepherd Philetas, a former lover of Amaryllis, tells the two lovers a story about his encounter in the garden with a winged boy who – as he announced to him – took Daphnis and Chloe

under his protection. And the one who is under tutelage of Eros – for he was that winged boy – can neither eat, nor sleep, nor find joy anywhere. The only medicine against this disease is a kiss and an embrace – καὶ συγκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασιν. The young couple apply diligently the first and the second medicine, but do not feel any relief. Daphnis intends to try the third medicine, but a group of men from Methymne, who were given a rough handling by the herdsmen in revenge for hunting on their (i.e. also on Daphnis') fields, organize an armed expedition of their fellow citizens, loot the area near Mytilene and kidnap Chloe. Yet, the god Pan forced them to return the booty and the captive girls, so that the war ended without bloodshed, and the young couple exchanged the oaths of everlasting love and fidelity in the cave of the Nymphs (like Habrocomes and Anthia in Xenophon, *Ephes.* I 11).

Severe winter came on and put an end to the encounters of the young in the open air. However, even then, smart Daphnis finds a way to meet his beloved in her parents' house. With the arrival of spring the two return to their flocks and to the cures prescribed by Philetas. The third type of cure is explained to Daphnis by a certain Lecaenium, who at the same time warned him of a possibility of Chloe suffering some pain, while undergoing this cure. The very thought of this makes Daphnis delay the application of Lycaenium's precepts, especially since he was faced with a new preoccupation. Several rich shepherds were trying to win Chloe's hand, so Daphnis – due to his poverty – had little chance to gain the favour of Dryas. However, he was aided by the Nymphs, who – in his dream – indicated to him a place on the shore where lay three thousand drachmas. This dowry dispelled all doubts of Dryas. Lamon too agreed to the marriage of the young. For the wedding to be celebrated, the consent of their common master Dionysophanes was required, and he announced his arrival to the village.

For his visit Lamon prepared a beautiful garden. However, one night, Lampis, one of the long date suitors of Chloe, destroys all flowers, so that only the benevolence of the son of Dionysophanes, Astylus, who took the blame upon himself, prevents the distraught shepherd from taking his own life. Yet, the very benefactor becomes the cause of a great sorrow for the whole pastoral community, for his parasite, named Gnathon, fell in love with Daphnis and demanded that the latter be made his slave. At this point Lamon reveals to the king – who has just arrived thither with his wife – that Daphnis is neither his son nor a slave, inasmuch as may be judged by the precious objects that were found at the infant's side. It turns out that it was the abandoned child of Dionysophanes, who – having already three sons – got rid of the fourth heir in the manner so common in the ancient times. And now, after the death of two of his children, he gladly accepts the newly recovered son. For the time being, Chloe is out of the picture. She was kidnaped by Lampis, but Gnathon recovered her from the hands of the abductor, and brought back to his master. As a slave-girl, she could not become Daphnis' wife. But the objects which were found with her indicate that she was not born as a slave

either. Therefore the two may marry. During the feast, organized in Mytilene by Dionysophanes, the noble guests look at the precious objects which were found long ago with Chloe, and one of them, Megacles, recognizes them and realizes that she is his formerly exposed daughter. The wedding ceremony – on the request of the young couple – takes place in the village, near the cave of the Nymphs.

This is the story which Longus told

> as an offering to Eros, the Nymphs and Pan, and also as a work that will provide pleasure to many, in the hope that it may heal the sick, console the sorrowful, refresh the memory of one who once has loved, and instruct one who has not yet fallen in love.

The author did not mention his name in this romance, but is it without significance that Dionysophanes was composing a long love-story (μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο συνέταττε λόγον καὶ ἐρωτικὸν καὶ μακρόν)? Isn't it our romance that is meant? In Dionysophanes' garden there was an altar of Dionysus; besides – the name of the king is related to that deity.

While in the narrative we notice a great dependence on the pattern of the heroic romance (the assault by the robbers, the abduction of the hero and the heroine), in the form, or style, Longus is completely different from the rest. On the basis of artificial simplicity and unpretentiousness or sophistic nonchalance (*ἀφέλεια*), he produced his refinedly naive form of expression, seemingly quite congruent with the conversations between herdsmen and peasants, but actually tiresome in the narrative. And just like through this *apheleia* of style one can see a competent sophist, similarly – from under the sheepskin of a raconteur describing the innocent children's caresses – sticks out the hoof of a lascivious faun. But who knows if this Greek sensuality is not the only reason why the whole story does not plunge into an abstract sentimentalism?

The essence of Longus' narrative was its simplicity, discretely variegated by the echoes of the romance of adventure. Yet, this very simplicity was actually hindering the development of the bucolic romance. One who did not wish to repeat the motif of idyllic frolicking of an enamoured herdsman and his beloved, had to give up on writing a bucolic romance. At any rate, we do not know of any romancer who would carry this genre on. The pastoral literature lives on, since the times of Alciphron and Claudius Aelianus, in the form of a letter, e.g. of Aristaenetus (5th century AD) or Theophylactus Simocattes (7th century AD).

All this does not mean that Longus was not imitated at all in antiquity. The last ancient romancer, Achilles Tatius, not only copies his style, but also borrows certain ideas from him. He too begins his work with the description of a picture, here one representing the rape of Europa by Zeus in form of a bull, that is the triumph of Eros over the supreme god. At this point, a young man appears and argues for the power of Eros by making references to his own experience; and then – at the request of the narrator – he tells him about his past adventures,

while sitting on the bank of a stream, in the shadow under the patulous plane-tree. In the same scenery the Platonic Socrates was once talking with Phaedrus about the essence of soul and love.

It is not without reason that Achilles Tatius reverts to Plato in this way, for he too intends to present the psychology of love and aims at solving the problem which has been posited by Heliodorus and then treated by Longus. Yet, replacing the mystical idealism of Plato with some rationalistic realism bears only paltry fruits. Drawing from Plato (*Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Leges* VIII 5–8 etc.), from Xenophon (*Symposium*) and from other authors who were dealing with love and marriage[2], Achilles collects an anthology of remarks and opinions about this topic, and on any given occasion makes it a subject of declarations and discussions. As the result, instead of the psychology of love, we are offered nothing but trivial declamations or disputes on this subject.

Similarly, Achilles is not very successful in his search for realism. The hero's first love is a virgin, but he has already mingled with harlots (ὁμιλήσας ταῖς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην πολουμέναις, II 27), and he is not very rigorously observing the principles of fidelity (V 27). Miraculous escapes are explained by the author in a rationalistic manner, while the religious component recedes into the background. Apart from that, all personages and events are taken from the common stock of previous romances.

Clitophon from Tyre is supposed to marry his own half-sister Calligone; however, one day his aunt arrives to his parents' house with her daughter Leucippe. The young man at once became enamoured of the maiden, and gained her love with the help of his friend Clinias, and his smart servant Satyrus. Having been liberated – just before the nuptials – from Calligone, who was mistakenly kidnapped as Leucippe by the latter's suitor of old, Callisthenes of Byzantium, Clitophon is on the verge of enjoying the fruit of his advances in Leucippe's chamber, when suddenly the virgin's mother enters thither. In order to avoid his own and the maiden's humiliation, Clitophon elopes with Leucippe, Clinias and Satyrus. The ship capsizes and the shipwrecked heroes fall into the hands of the Egyptian robbers. Leucippe is to be killed as a sacrificial victim. Clitophon sees from afar the robbers piercing the lap of the virgin with a knife and then – apparently – ripping off her entrails, but he is unable to come to her rescue; only when her body is cast into a trench, he rushes toward the supposed corpse and there he hits upon Satyrus and his new acquaintance, named Menelaus. It turns out that the latter had taken upon himself the role of the sacrificer in order to save her. Therefore, while performing the sacrificial ritual, he resorted to theatrical trickery by using a knife with the sliding blade and attaching to Leucippe's lap a bag full of blood. Later on, in company of some soldiers, who defeated the band of their abductors,

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[2] Cf. A.W. Winckelmann, *Plutarchi Eroticus*, Turici 1836, pp. 96 ff.; F. Wilhelm, *Zu Achilles Tatius*, RhM LVII 1902, pp. 55–75.

the heroic pair continues their voyage, during which the head of the detachment, named Charmides, harasses Leucippe with his amorous advances; one of the soldiers serves her some love potion, which sends the heroine into fits of extravagant frenzy. No sooner was she cured than another soldier, called Chaereas, abducts her on a ship from the harbour in Pharos, and – upon being pursued – decapitates her before her lover's eyes and throws the decapitated body into the sea. Clitophon, heartbroken and devoid of any hope, decides to agree to marry Melite, a rich Ephesian woman, whose husband perished at sea during some expedition. The wedding is to take place in Ephesus. At some point, however, Clitophon – while visiting the country residence of his wife-to-be – finds out that one of her slave-girls was Leucippe. Therefore he keeps on postponing the wedding, until it turns out that the wedding cannot take place anyway – due to a sudden return of Thersander, Melite's husband, who actually had not perished by shipwreck. The husband throws the rival – or rather the adulterer – into fetters in his own house; while under custody, Clitophon duly responds to Melite's courtship, so she in turn gives him her clothes and thus enables him to escape. However, not long after his flight, he falls into Thersander's hands and is lodged in prison. Here one of his cell-mates tells him that a friend of his was commanded by Melite to kill a certain Leucippe, but it was he himself who was accused of the deed. Clitophon is supposed to stand trial on the charge of having committed adultery with Melite. Clitophon not only pleads guilty of this trespass, but also accuses himself of Leucippe's murder which he allegedly perpetrated on the urging of Melite. In spite of Clinias' speech in his defence, he was condemned to death and only the arrival of a group of envoys at the temple of Artemis caused the suspension of the execution. At the head of this group was Leucippe's father, who now requests from Clitophon the return of his daughter. They all go to the temple of Artemis where they find Leucippe who has escaped from a hut in which she had been detained by Thersander, enamoured of her. Now a new trial is held in the temple; the high priest of Artemis pleads Clitophon's case. Melite's innocence and Leucippe's chastity are to be determined by divine verdict (as in Heliodorus). And so Melite swears that she had not have any intercourse with Clitophon in Thersander's absence, and she comes out intact of the Stygian water, whereas Leucippe's chastity is confirmed by the music from Pan's cave (as in Longus). Thersander loses the case; Leucippe explains how was it that it was not she who was killed on the ship and the whole company returns happily to Tyre. Callisthenes was exculpated of the abduction of Calligone and received the permission to marry her. And thus this realistic romance turns somehow into a humorous novel, and by the same token becomes very similar to the unique original Roman novel, the *Satyricon* by Petronius. And even if Petronius did not write a romance but a Menippean satire in the form taken from Alexandrian mimes and farcical plays, i.e. in prose with poetic insertions, nonetheless he must have had the Greek romances before his eyes. The portrayal of the trio of vagabonds, pursued by the wrath of Priapus,

is a parody of the romantic stereotype. Giton replaces a beloved heroine; and in the role of a hero appears Encolpius, a rogue *par excellence*, who must constantly struggle for the favours of his beloved. Yet, the Roman realism of Petronius, which was connected with the Italian substratum of the times of Nero, has nothing to do with the abstract conventional Greek idealism. Therefore, we refer the readers to an excellent study by Professor K. Morawski, *Petroniusz Arbiter i jego romans* (Przegląd Polski XIII 1879, fasc. 4) and we return to the problem of determining the dates of Achilles Tatius.

Rohde was convinced that he lived after Musaeus, the author of an epyllion about Hero and Leander. And indeed, certain expressions and situations are similar in both these writers. However, these similarities may be related to a common Alexandrian source. Besides, in view of the systematic development of literary genres, the romance of Achilles must have preceded the epyllion of Musaeus. For, just as the first romance was created after the epyllion had died out, and its topics had been absorbed in new form by school oratory, so also – after the renaissance of the epyllion in the circle of Nonnus (towards the end of the 4th century AD) – the romance ceased to have any reason for further existence, since its narrative found anew a proper form in the epyllion. Therefore, we do not hesitate to place Achilles roughly by the end of the 4th century AD, i.e. before Musaeus.

Byzantine men of letters were eagerly perusing those literary products of the decaying Hellenism, but – faced with the rebirth of both the epic and the epyllion – they were writing only poetic works. The public at large, the Christian populace, never got to know those fruits of the feverish imagination of the rhetors. The common folk were fond of spiritual edifying novels about Barlaam and Ioasaph, about Syntipas the philosopher and the seven sages, about two sly jackals named Stephanites and Ichnelates; all these stories were of Eastern origin – from Arabia and India (cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, München ²1897, pp. 886 ff.). The renaissance of the 11th century provoked a renewed interest in the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, as attested by the romances of Eumathius, Theodorus Prodromus, Nicetas Eugenianus and Constantinus Manasses (cf. Krumbacher, p. 643), but these degenerated fruits of Byzantine fantasy were not met with great appreciation of the public. Just as since the 7th century AD it was the East wherefrom the plots of the novels were drawn, so since the 13th century AD the West took over as the source of these plots. The crusaders brought with them to Byzantium the western tales and chivalrous romances, which until the 16th century constituted the favourite readings of the Byzantine society (cf. Krumbacher, pp. 854 ff.). And when in the West these chivalrous romances eventually became extinct, the way was paved for the imitators of Heliodorus and of other Greek romancers. And thus the Greek romance, in spite of its feeble aesthetic value, plays an extremely important role in the history of the European literature, and so – for the sake of this role – it merits to be known.

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CALLIMACHUS AND ROMAN POETRY*

By

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I. CALLIMACHUS' TEXTS DISCOVERED AND PUBLISHED IN RECENT YEARS

It has happened in the history of papyrus discoveries that one lucky strike brought about the recovery of long stretches of text by lost authors. Such was the case with Bacchylides, Herondas and Menander, to limit oneself to authors of absolutely highest rank in Greek poetry.

Callimachus, however, is among the authors whose poetry has only been returned to us by the sands of Egypt in small portions. In such cases the progress of knowledge is slow and at times only made possible by arduous inquiry. It is a test both for the efficiency of philological criticism, and for the strength of the method itself.

It is only in recent years that Callimachus has risen to a prominent place in research, a fact we owe to the work of English and Italian scholars.

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The modern period of investigating Callimachus' work began in 1873, when O. Schneider published his *Callimachea*, excellent for his times, carefully collecting in it all of the poet's legacy that had reached us via the mediaeval tradition, whether directly or indirectly.

New papyrus discoveries from before 1923 were then published, with exhaustive critical apparatus, by R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachi fragmenta nuper reperta*, Bonn 1923. Apart from shorter fragments, his work contains the following items of significance:

P. Oxy. VII (1910) 1011, with longer passages from the *Aetia* (especially the famous elegy on Acontius and Cydippe), *Iambi* and trochaic poems;

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" XLI 1940–1946, fasc. 1, pp. 73–108. Apart from the "Addendum", the paper was written in 1941.

P. Ber., with fragments of the *Songs*: in Archebulean metre for the death of Arsinoe, and the *Pannychis* in Euripidean metre;

P. Oxy. XI (1915) 1362, containing a passage (important from the point of view of its structure) from the *Aetia* describing a feast at Pollis;

P. Oxy. XV (1922) 1793, with some very short fragments of the *Coma Berenices*, a poem for a victory of Magas and Berenice, an elegiac epinician for Sosibius, and short fragments of scholia etc[1].

Again, a number of momentous texts by Callimachus has been published since Pfeiffer's book:

First of all, *P. Oxy*. XVII (1927) 2079 and 2080 with the so-called Telchines elegy and a longer excerpt from book II of the *Aetia*;

PSI IX (1929) 1092, which yielded 20 verses from the *Coma Berenices*;

PSI IX 1094 and XI 1216 with fragments of the *Iambi*.

Finally, there is the latest great find, the discovery of a largely preserved scroll containing so-called *Διηγήσεις*, or summaries of Callimachus' poems. Its first edition came out in 1934: *ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis*, ed. M. Norsa, G. Vitelli, Firenze 1934; then another one with one extra fragment, much commentary and many digressions in *Papiri della Reale Università di Milano*, ed. Achille Vogliano et al., vol. I, Milano 1937, no. 18.

In addition, there are important commentaries on Callimachus in *P. London Lit*. 181 (= H.I. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1927) = *P. Oxy*. XVII, pp. 55 f. and the so-called *Scholia Florentina* in *PSI* XI 1219.

Those *Διηγήσεις* from the Milan papyrus, already famous today, and the *Scholia Florentina*, are similarly arranged and probably come from the same source. They are summaries, or else narrative reports, of Callimachus' individual poems, sometimes resembling extracts or ἐπιτομαί. In both these texts after every indented line, so-called ἔκθεσις, which is at the same time the title of a poem or of a part of a poem, there follows a shorter or longer extract from its content, or part thereof; in the case of the *Aetia* the *Διηγήσεις* list only the core of the content, the custom or event described. The summaries generally observe the convention of mythological narrative, as do those for some of the *Iambi* and the *Hecale*. Moreover in the *Iambi*, especially in places where the poet's personality asserts itself as he mentions himself or people around him, the epitomist may add some information on those personal allusions.

As they have been preserved, and with the extra fragment included, the *Διηγήσεις* contain the summaries of the *Cydippe*, the last four elegies of book III, 17 *aitia* from book IV, the *Iambi*, including the epodic poems, the *Songs*, the *Hecale*, parts of *Hymn* I and half of *Hymn* II. The last column of the scroll is mostly empty, indicating that the epitomist was interrupted in his task.

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[1] E. Cahen, *Callimaque*, Paris 1922 is not sufficient for scholarly purposes.

The *Scholia Florentina* also supplement the Milan scroll, providing a fragmentary summary of the prologue to the *Aetia* and of elegies 1 and 2–4 from book I, and the British Museum papyrus (*P. London Lit.* 181) has a commentary on the prologue and selected *aitia*.

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According to those new materials, Callimachus' poems come in the following order: first, the *Aetia*, preceded by the prologue, or the so-called Telchines elegy, starting with the line οἶδ' ὅτι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῇ. We currently have of this work one 40-verse column and fragments of another, both from *P. Oxy*. XVII 2079, which contains the famous literary-aesthetic debate between Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes and his followers, where he outlines his aesthetic view of poetry. Almost half of the debate had already been known previously from as many as 17 loose quotations in other authors. Next comes Callimachus' dream, the same whose echo rings out through Roman poetry in the times of Augustus and whose motif would inspire the epigrammatists of the *Anthologia Palatina*, followed by a many-coloured strand of aetiological stories of highly artful arrangement and motifs ever more varied, beginning with the cult of the Charites on Paros and ending with the braid of queen Berenice, spotted among the constellations in the sky. Among the *aitia* of book I there are, besides the one on the cult of the Charites, the story about the Argonauts at Anaphe, and about Heracles in Lindos and among the Dryopes; we still do not know the rest of the book. *P. Oxy*. XVII 2080 gives us some idea as to the ordering of book II: the poet lists a number of Sicilian cities, all of whose founders are known; the one exception is Drepanum, and he learns why from the Muse Clio, to then ask her more questions.

According to P. Maas' calculation[2], book III consisted of 17 elegiac stories.

The beginning of the *Διηγήσεις* for this book has been lost; in the preserved fragment there is an epitome of the *Cydippe*. The next two elegies are also missing and continuous text only begins with elegy 16 of this book: why women call on Artemis in childbirth. *Aition* 17 looks into the reasons for honouring the statue of Euthymus, a victor at Olympia.

Book IV, the only one summarised in the *Διηγήσεις* with nothing missing, together with the Epilogue follows a strict pattern of composition, since it starts with an invocation to the Muses to sing Zeus: Μοῦσαί μοι βασιλῆ[α θεῶν ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ἀεί]δειν (*Dieg*. col. II 10) and in the Epilogue ends with: χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα καὶ σύ, σάω δ' [ἑὸν] οἶκον ἀνάκτων (fr. 9 Pf., line 88; cf. my *Studia Callimachea*, Eos XLI 1940–1946, p. 100). The first elegy is about Pythian Apollo; in its wake come variegated aetiological stories: the *aition* of Abdera, the myth of Ino and

[2] In: *Papiri della Reale Università di Milano*, ed. A. Vogliano (et al.), vol. I, Milano 1937, pp. 155 f.

Melicertes, an Italic legend of the wrath of Artemis, a story of the Pelasgic wall in Athens, of Euthymus who was a victor at Olympia, the *aitia* of the statues of Hera in Argos and on Samos, then of the temple of Hera in Ephesus, of the port in Phalerum, a legend from Paros about fighting the inhabitants of Thasos, and a story about the sacrificial smoke splitting in two at the funeral of Oedipus' sons. Elegy 15, particularly characteristic, has an Italic legend about Gaius the Roman who lived at the time of a supposed siege of Rome by the tribe of Peucetii; number 16 is the *aition* of the temple of Athena in Cyzicus, and finally 17, the last one, is, much to our surprise, the story of Berenice's braid. The Epilogue treats of Cyrene, the home city of Berenice and Callimachus alike, and ends with an announcement of moving on to the *Iambi*: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν (fr. 9 Pf., line 89).

The *Iambi* are a collection of 13 poems of fairly varied metrical structure; 1–4, as well as 13 (the transition to the *Songs*), in choliambic trimeter; 11–12 in iambic trimeter catalectic; 6 in epodic metres (trimeter and ithyphallic); 9 in trimeter and Archilochean verse; 8 in trimeter and lecythion (?); 7 and 10 in trimeter combined with an epodic element unknown to us; finally 5 in choliambic trimeter with iambic dimeter acatalectic. Cf. Maas, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 169.

Just like their metre, the subject matter of the *Iambi* is most varied. In 1, Hipponax, raised from the dead, addresses to philosophers (or philologists?) gathered in the Serapeion a speech on the subject of Bathycles' cup; 2 has a fable of the times when animals could speak but having offended Zeus lost the power, and the god granted it to various people; that poem has a strong ring of satire about it. 3 is aimed against striving for riches and advises virtue, so it is a protreptic poem; 4 introduces the reader to the rivalry among Alexandrian poets and is again satirical: after a personal introduction, the poet tells a vivid story of the conflict between the ivy and the olive; 5 turns against a teacher befouling his own disciples.

After those satirical iambi come aetiological ones: in 6 Callimachus explains to a relative the details regarding the throne of Zeus at Olympia; 7 is an *aition* of Hermes' cult in Thracian Aenus; 8–10 are *aitia* of the agon Ὑδροφόρεια, the statue of Hermes in a palaestra, and Castnian Aphrodite. 11 contains the explanation of a proverb, and 12–13 are personal. In 12, prompted by his granddaughter's birthday, the poet confesses that he was chosen for song by Apollo. Undoubtedly the last iambus, beginning with Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κἄπολλον οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω, would be the most interesting; in it the poet defended himself from the charge that the poetic genres he practiced were too diverse. In response he said he trod in the footsteps of Ion the tragician, and the charges were unjust since nobody would reproach e.g. architects for introducing variety into their buildings. Unfortunately that poem has only reached us in the summary.

The above listing demonstrates how vastly important Callimachus' poetry is for history of literature, especially as it can be seen as an intermediate stage between Archilochus and Horace.

We further learn from the *Διηγήσεις* that Callimachus' *Songs* were four in number and fairly long, from which it follows that as early as the 2nd century AD, for that is the dating of the scroll, his shorter poems were counted among the *Epigrams*.

The first of the *Songs* begins with the words ἡ Λῆμνος τὸ παλαιὸν εἴ τις ἄλλη, observes the Phalaecian metre and has a paraenetic tone; the subject is the old blessed Lemnos in the times before the killing of the men.

The second, in Euripidean metre, starts with the lines ἔνεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῷ χορῷ· τῆς λύρης ἀκούω· καὶ τῶν Ἐρώτων ᾠσθόμην· ἔστι κἀφροδίτη, and was already known fragmentarily before (fr. 2 Pf.). It addresses the Dioscuri and Helen, as well as banqueters, calling them to a vigil, or so-called παννυχίς.

The next, in Archebulean, reads Ἀγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν in a style that could be called baroque, it includes apotheosis of the dead queen Arsinoe. It, too, was known before in fragments (fr. 1 Pf.)

Finally, the last song applies choriambic pentameter: Δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ Διδύμων γενάρχα (*Dieg*. col. X 14 = fr. 36 Schn.). It tells the story of the shepherd Branchus which was quite popular in antiquity.

Most of the *Songs* were until recently considered separate poems.

The *Διηγήσεις* continue with a very cursory summary of the *Hecale*, which adds nothing new to the previously known fragments and unfortunately does not indicate that the famous epyllion had highly artful composition.

Finally, selected parts of the *Hymn* I and II are summarised at the end.

We have given the Milan *Διηγήσεις* so much attention, because they are not as yet broadly available in Poland, and the wealth of material they contain makes them absolutely worth getting familiar with[3].

Only now do we have a broader view of the diversity of subject matter and wealth of motifs in Callimachus, who with such virtuosity reconciles the erudition of Alexandrian poetry with the high art of composition and elegance of form – although the latter is rather attested to by the fragments themselves. Uninterrupted diversification of motifs and of ways of telling the story are without any doubt among the dominant features of his poetry.

II. CALLIMACHUS IN NEOTERIC POETRY

Before we investigate echoes of Callimachus in Neoteric poetry, it is fitting to note that the first to graft the Greek elegiac metre onto Roman ground was Ennius in his *Epigrams*. It is also Ennius who first drew on Callimachus (and Hesiod) in his dream motif in the *Annales*. It is however still a very general reminiscence.

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[3] Cf. also my *Studia Callimachea*, Eos XLI 1940–1946, pp. 81–103, where I propose a number of completions.

The first tangible trace of Callimachus in Latin poetry, indeed an adaptation of a poem of his, is to be found in Q. Lutatius Catulus. Catulus and his circle in Rome imitated the Alexandrian epigrammatists, and primarily, it seems, Callimachus, always considered in Rome the greatest of the Alexandrians. In the preserved fragment of Catulus, who flourished around the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC, – *Aufugit mi animus*, one can clearly hear something of Callimachus' epigram 41:

Ἥμισύ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ' οὐκ οἶδ'
εἴτ' Ἔρος εἴτ' Ἀίδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές.

Lutatius probably took the above poem from Meleager's *Garland*, since recently Hubaux put forward the convincing hypothesis according to which that epigrammatic anthology was brought to Rome by the poet Archias, himself an imitator of Meleager, who then introduced Lutatius Catulus' poetic circle to it[4].

While we do not know the exact date when the *Garland* was published, adopting Hubaux's hypothesis does explain the somewhat sudden proliferation of the Alexandrian erotic epigram in the poetic circles of Rome at that time. During the same time, Laevius, a member of Lutatius Catulus' circle, writes an Alexandrian παίγνιον in Rome under the title *Erotopaegnia*.

We do not know either whether Callimachus' influence was present, or to what extent, in the work of the leader of the Neoterics in Rome, Valerius Cato. If the hypothesis is true that at least part of the *Dirae* from the *Appendix Vergiliana* is his, then we should rather guess that Cato professed the idyllic trend in Alexandrian poetry.

In Calvus' poems there might have been echoes of Alexandrian eroticism, and some have seen in them a reference to Callimachus' *Io*, but of course we cannot consider that proven. Varro Atacinus on the other hand more likely followed in the footsteps of Apollonius of Rhodes, well known as Callimachus' opponent[5].

And so we are getting close to the most talented of the Neoterics, Valerius Catullus. Perhaps we should not take Cicero's scornful term for them, *cantores Euphorionis*, too literally. Possibly he wanted to emphasise that they were not yet a match for their Hellenistic models; after all it is common knowledge that it was Euphorion who mannerised Callimachus' style.

The works of Catullus to receive the most attention in recent years are *carmen* 66, a poetic translation of Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*, and the dedication to Hortensius Hortalus contained in *carmen* 65, and to certain extent also *carmen* 63. The latter was written in elegiambic metre and supposedly modelled on

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[4] J. Hubaux, *Les thèmes bucoliques dans la poésie latine*, Bruxelles 1930.

[5] Cf. E.A. Barber's introduction in the edition of Propertius by H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, Oxford 1933, pp. LV f.

Callimachus' *Attis*, of which however we hardly know anything. It could have formed part of the *Aetia*; cf. Ovid. *Ib*. 453 f.

In *carmen* 65 the poet reveals that, mourning his brother's death, he has neglected the Muses, or, as he calls them, *doctas sorores*, and proceeds to add that from now on, he will only compose threnodies. Even so, he continues (lines 15 f.):

> Sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Hortale, mitto
> haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae,

meaning of course his *carmen* 66, and keeping his promise, so that Hortalus' exhortations should not scatter (lines 19 f.)

> Ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum
> procurrit casto virginis e gremio...

which perhaps shows a reminiscence of Callimachus too, as indicated even by the close proximity of 66[6].

Today we can compare this poem, and especially lines 45–64, with Callimachus' original, preserved in the papyrus scroll *PSI* IX 1092, originating in the 1st century BC[7].

The technique and artistic value of Catullus' translation were analysed in detail by E. Fraenkel, B. Lavagnini and R. Helm[8]. They demonstrated that in general Catullus aimed at faithful translation, even preserving the couplets of the original, although sometimes he would refrain from that, e.g. fr. 34 Schn. is Catullus' lines 7 f. The faithfulness of his translation also shows in pairs of excerpts such as line 48, Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος: "ut Chalybon omne genus pereat"; or line 58, Κανωπίτου ναιέτις αἰγιαλοῦ: "Canopeis incola litoribus".

Here and there he omitted words, and added others, e.g., line 47, τί πλόκαμοι ῥέξωμεν, ὅτ' οὔρεα τοῖα σιδήρῳ εἴκουσιν: "quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?" The resulting word order is sometimes slightly artificial, e.g. lines 45 f.:

> Βούπορος Ἀρσινόη[ς, ἐφύη]ς σέο καὶ διὰ μέ[σσου]
> Μηδείων ὀλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἄθω.

Cf.:

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[6] Cf. A. Vogliano in: *Papiri*... (n. 2), p. 73, n. 1 and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, vol. II, Berlin 1924, pp. 304 f.

[7] In addition, we have short parts of *Coma Berenices* in fr. 34 and 35 a–d Schn., fr. 60 Pf., and *Dieg*. (= *Papiri*... [n. 2]), col. V 40.

[8] E. Fraenkel, Gnomon V 1929, pp. 265 f.; B. Lavagnini, Annuario 1928/29 del Liceo Ginnasio G. Carducci in Viareggio, Pisa 1929; R. Helm, Phil. Wochenschr. L 1930, p. 234; cf. also M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, SIFC (n.s.) VII 1929, fasc. 2, pp. 113 f.; and F. Ageno, Aegyptus X 1929, p. 171, n. 1.

cum Medi peperere novom mare, cumque iuventus
per medium classi barbara navit Athon[9].

Catullus often adds some artificiality of expression, as in line 51, "abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores lugebant":

[ἤδη ἀπ]οτμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί,

and introduces ornamentation, e.g. in line 62, [καὶ Βερ]ενίκειος καλὸς ἐγὼ πλόκαμος: "devotae flavi verticis exuviae" etc.

The recently recovered fragment of Callimachus proved helpful in the textual criticism of Catullus' poem and amend some of the errors which slipped into its manuscripts. It has also demonstrated how mistaken certain modern interpretations of parts of the often quite convoluted *carmen* 66 were. That is especially true of lines 52 ff., as has already been proven by A. Vitelli, the distinguished editor of Callimachus' new text. Lines 51 ff. of Catullus read

Abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores
lugebant, cum se Memnonis Aethiopis
unigena impellens nutantibus aera pennis
obtulit Arsinoes Locricos alisequos,
isque per aetherias me tollens avolat umbras
et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.

Since Monti, who referred here to a description in Pausanias of a painting depicting Arsinoe on Helicon riding an ostrich, Catullus' enigmatic *unigena* has been thought to mean that bird. However, the original leaves no room for doubt that the poet intended Zephyrus:

[ἤδη ἀπ]οτμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί,
[καὶ] πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπο[ς]
ἵ[ε]το κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θῆλυς ἀήτης
[πτηνὸς] ἰο[ζ]ώνου Λοκρικὸς Ἀρσινόης.
[κοῦφα δέ μ]ε πνοιῆι[σι δι' ἠέρος οὗτος ἀείρας]
[Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κόλ[πον σεμνὸν ἔνεικε θεῆς].

In the article cited above (n. 8), E. Fraenkel, based on line 53 (let me on my part add 45, and probably 59 too), reaches the conclusion that in his translation Catullus used some commented edition of Callimachus, equipped with encyclopaedic explanations and listing synonyms for the more difficult expressions.

As a courtly poet's work, the *Coma Berenices* has, as I noted not long ago in my *Studia Callimachea*, much Hellenistic flavour. Let me illustrate:

In lines 45 f. quoted above, after complaining about the power of iron that nothing can resist, the Lock mentions the excavation of Mount Athos, according

[9] Cf. my *Studia Callimachea* (n. 3), pp. 82 ff.

to legend, as we know, done at Xerxes' orders. Callimachus in a courtly manner calls the resulting channel "Arsinoe's straits", βούπορος Ἀρσινόης, since she had a strong connection to Thrace, at whose shores Mount Athos stands. Before she married Ptolemy Philadelphus and became the queen of Egypt, Arsinoe had already been married twice, to Lysimachus of Thrace and Ptolemy Keraunos. After her death, Philadelphus erected a temple to her on Samothrace[10]. Now in Arsinoe's apotheosis (fr. 1 Pf.), when he mentions the smoke rising from sacrifices at her funeral, Callimachus adds that it spreads across the sea towards Thrace. Naturally the Romans of Catullus' time could no longer appreciate the subtle gesture without a commentary, so the translator poet was content with the general expression *novom mare*.

And another example: in lines 59 ff. the Lock describes the place in the sky where Aphrodite has put it, and according to my reconstruction that place is the vicinity of the constellation Hydra, near Corona Borealis (or Ariadne's Wreath). In the far reaching coils of that constellation the Egyptians saw a heavenly image of their Nile; thus in honouring his queen, Callimachus put her hair over the Nile of the heavens. And more examples could be adduced.

Comparing the Greek original and its Roman adaptation in general terms, one must note that the translation does not equal the original; Callimachus is more witty and lighter, but also clearer, subtler in its allusions and simpler of form. Catullus' version has a distinct Roman texture to it, with cruder features and artificial ornamentation. Moreover, the Roman poet was not able to hide the difficulties he was facing, resulting in a certain artificiality, and in some places even clumsiness of form.

Similar remarks could be made of Catullus' other Hellenistic adaptations.

III. CALLIMACHUS IN THE AUGUSTAN POETRY

A. GENERAL INFLUENCE

When browsing Roman poetry from the times of Augustus, one receives the impression that its authors were for the most part familiar with Callimachus, although the familiarity was in general superficial, based on a few selected poems interpreted in schools. Thus works written by poets in their youth are more reminiscent of the Alexandrian; in their later years and as their talents grow, they either become more independent, or conversely they bend to the currents and catchwords of their times and rather turn towards the literature of free Greece. Elegiac poets are the exception, particularly Propertius and, even more so, Ovid. In their case superficial knowledge of Callimachus, probably acquired at school, turns

[10] Cf. S. Witkowski, *Historia Egiptu w epoce Ptolemeuszów*, Lwów 1938, pp. 257 ff.

into an in-depth study of him as they consciously strive to improve the quality of their poetry and search for new inspiration and a broader range of motifs.

And so as regards that general influence, Callimachus' most popular poem in Rome was the Telchines elegy, or the prologue to the *Aetia*, written towards the end of the poet's life, perhaps when he was working on its second edition for the publication of his collected poems[11]. The main reason was that it was in that famous elegy, for the most part only recently recovered, that Callimachus expressed his views on the aesthetics of poetry.

The poet says that the Telchines scold him for not writing a continuous poem (ἄεισμα διηνεκές) thousands of lines long to sing kings and heroes and instead spinning short works like a child: ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἑλίσσω παῖς ἅτε (lines 5 f.). In response to the accusations, he points to Philetas and Mimnermus, whose charm is to be found precisely in the short forms (αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν) and adds the famous sentence: poetry is to be measured by its art, and not with a Persian standard (lines 17 f.):

> ἔλλετε, βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος, αὖθι δὲ τέχνῃ
> κρίνετε, μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην,

and thunder is of Zeus and not a poet's doing. When he first started writing, Apollo told him that one ought to take care that the herd be fat, and the muse, subtle. He obeyed and followed the unfrequented path imitating the voice of the grasshopper and avoiding the braying of an ass (lines 21–30). Then Callimachus briefly characterises his work[12].

In the epilogue to the *Aetia*, after honouring his home city of Cyrene, and Berenice, who was celebrated in the final elegy of book IV, the author confesses that he has followed Hesiod, greets Zeus, and announces the upcoming transition to the *Iambi* (fr. 9 Pf., line 89):

> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν.

Certain expressions, whole turns of phrase and the Apollo motif are repeated in a number of Roman poets.

Let us start with the former. We encounter the Callimachean ἄεισμα διηνεκές in Horace (*Carm*. I 7, 6: "carmine perpetuo celebrare") and Ovid (*Met*. I 4), and its opposite in Hor. *Epist*. II 1, 225 ("tenui deducta poemata filo"). There are similar phrases in Propertius (II 1, 5: *carmen tenuare*) and Vergil (*Ecl*. 6, 5: *deductum carmen*); cf. line 24 in Callimachus (μοῦσα λεπταλέα). The final words of the epilogue can be found in Horace (*Serm*. II 6, 17: "quid prius

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[11] Cf. R. Pfeiffer, Hermes LXIII 1928, p. 39; H. Herten, *RE* Suppl. V (1931), col. 410.

[12] *P. Oxy*. XVII 2079; cf. E. Lobel, Hermes LXX 1935, pp. 32 f.

inlustrem saturis musaque pedestri"). Reminiscences of the prologue are more frequent (lines 1 f.):

> Οἶδ' ὅτ]ι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῇ
> [νήιδε]ς οἳ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι.

The prologue echoes through Hor. *Epist*. II 2. Having mentioned Callimachus and Mimnermus, Horace confesses:

> (102) multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum
> (106) ridentur mala qui componunt carmina.

Cf. lines 17 f. of the prologue:

> ἔλλετε, βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος, αὖθι δὲ τέχνῃ
> κρίνετε, μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην.

Reminiscences of the Apollo scene are almost a standing motif in Roman poetry. *P. Oxy.* XVII 2079, lines 21 ff. has:

> καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
> [γούνασιν], Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
> ἦ δέον ἄμμιν ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
> [βόσκειν, τὴ]ν μοῦσαν δ' ὦ 'γαθέ, λεπταλέην.

Cf. Verg. *Ecl*. 6, 3 ff.:

> Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
> vellit et admonuit: pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
> pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen;

Hor. *Carm*. IV 15, 1 ff.:

> Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
> victas et urbis increpuit lyra,
> ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
> vela darem...

and *Serm*. II 6, 5 ff.:

> Maia nate [...] hac prece te oro:
> pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
> ingenium...[13]

Cf. also Prop. IV 1, 131 ff.; III 3, 13; and Ov. *Ars am.* II 493; compare Callimachus' prologue, lines 3 and 19 f. with Prop. II 1, 17 and IV 1, 133.

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[13] Cf. E. Bignone, RFIC (n.s.) VII 1929, pp. 473 ff.

General reminiscences of the prologue to the *Aetia* are also clear in Propertius III 1, 1 ff.:

> Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae
> in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
> Primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
> Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
> Dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro? (1–5)
> [...]
> scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas
> quid frustra missis in me certatis habenis?
> Non datur ad Musas currere lata via. (12–14)

A freer kind of literary discussion combined with a clear influence of Callimachus is found in Hor. *Serm*. I 10, 31 ff. As we know today thanks to the *Scholia Florentina*, the dream of Callimachus came directly after the prologue. Both it and the reminiscence of Hesiod's vision left a strong trace in Roman poets. Cf. Prop. III 3, 1 ff.:

> Visus eram molli recubans Heliconis in umbra,
> Bellerophontei qua fluit umor equi,
> reges, Alba, tuos et regum facta tuorum,
> tantum operis, nervis hiscere posse meis,

and II 34 b, 31:

> et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

Finally there are softer echoes of the prologue in Virgil (*Georg*. III 291 ff.):

> Sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis
> raptat amor: iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum
> Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo;

cf. Callimachus' prologue, lines 25 ff.:

> [πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἅμαξαι
> [τὰ στείβει]ν, ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμὰ
> [δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν· ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
> [καινοτέρ]ας εἰ καὶ στε[ι]νοτέρην ἐλάσεις.

Cf. Hor. *Epist.* I 19, 21 ff. and Callim. fr. 293 Schn.

The above list of examples demonstrates how many Roman poems contain traces of the prologue[14].

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[14] For Callimachus' general influence on Roman poetry cf. also: fr. 114 Schn. and Hor. *Carm*. I 3, 8; fr. 121 Schn. and Hor. *Epist*. II 1, 268–270; fr. 52 Schn. and [Verg.] *Ciris* 349–352; cf.

B. CALLIMACHUS IN ROMAN ELEGY

Of course that general influence of Callimachus on Augustan poetry is even more striking in elegiac poets, although here, too, there are two clear-cut tendencies: one represented by Tibullus and the circle of poets surrounding Messala, and the other by Propertius, who liked to call himself the Roman Callimachus, and even more so by Ovid, although his narrative style as such is often very different from that of the Alexandrian poet.

Tibullus

Tibullus is among the Roman elegiasts the foremost representative of the idyllic, which he additionally dyes with sentimentality; in his poems, eroticism is much less intertwined with mythology and erudition, so characteristic of Alexandrian poetry and its Roman followers. Tibullus' elegies, somehow soft, develop the themes of Greek epigrams, and very clearly contain so-called topical situations of Graeco-Roman erotic poetry. The poet is not in the habit of mentioning his sources of inspiration.

It seems that Callimachus' influence is not yet too strong in Tibullus, although here and there perceivable. Wilamowitz[15] pointed out that there is an echo of Callimachus' narrative about Osiris (fr. 176 Schn.; cf. fr. 241 with commentary, 445 and 182 Schn.) in Tibullus' elegy I 7, 21 ff. Cf. especially line 28: (*pubes*) *barbara, Memphiten plangere docta bovem* and Callimachus' fr. 176: Εἰδυῖαν φάλιον ταῦρον ἰηλεμίσαι. It is also possible that his tale of Busiris (fr. 182 Schn.), which appears repeatedly in Ovid (*Ars am.* I 647 ff.; *Tr.* III 11, 39; *Pont.* III 6, 41) influenced Tibullus as well. However, that influence is clearer in elegy I 4, which deals with pederasty and is wholly based on reusable literary motifs, reminiscent of a passage in book I of the *Aetia*. In I 4, 79 f., Tibullus says:

> Tempus erit, cum me Veneris praecepta ferentem
> deducat iuvenum sedula turba senem,

to be found also in a Callimachus fragment preserved in Stobaeus, *Flor*. 115, 11 = fr. 11 Schn.:

> Γηράσκει δὲ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον·
> κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσιν, ἑὸν δέ μιν οἷα γονῆα
> χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρις ἄγουσι θύρην.

Besides, Tibullus' very principle of composition, i.e. casting the poem as a dialogue between himself and Priapus, vividly resembles certain stretches in

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O. Schneider, *Callimachea*, vol. II, Lipsiae 1873, pp. 2 ff.; possibly also fr. 418 Schn. and Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 62 f.

[15] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *op. cit.* (n. 6), vol. I, p. 238.

the *Aetia*, and taking into account how this elegy is motif-based throughout, one may suspect that Callimachus' influence runs deeper here. However, with almost all of book I of the *Aetia* lost, we must be content with hypotheses. As we know from the *Διηγήσεις*, Callimachus' *Iambus* 9 also treated of παιδικὸς ἔρως.

Propertius

Here we have a more temperamental soul, with stronger individuality and more distinct features. He, too, begins his career with love elegy. In the *Monobiblos* his own feelings intertwine with literary motifs and mythological comparisons seasoned with erudition. Propertius also continues the erotic epigram of the Greeks and follows in Mimnermus' footsteps. Echoes of Callimachus are slight. Thus if some scholars relate the motif from his elegy I 18, and especially its lines 19–22, where he speaks of cutting his lover's name in the bark of trees, to Callimachus' fr. 101 Schn. (and cf. his commentary), which runs:

> Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φλοιοῖσι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε
> γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσσ' ἐρέουσι καλήν,

then, in my opinion, it is difficult to prove any direct influence of Callimachus. Rather, it is a trite erotic motif; cf. Verg. *Ecl*. 10, 52–54:

> Certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum
> malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
> arboribus; crescent illae, crescetis, amores.

The shared source was probably Gallus. Prop. I 18, 19 ff. has:

> Vos eritis testes, siquos habet arbor amores
> fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo,
> a quotiens teneras resonant mea verba sub umbras
> scribitur et vestris Cynthia corticibus.

Beginning with book II of the elegies, direct following of Greek models becomes clearer. Propertius becomes *poeta doctus*, though as late as elegy II 1 he confesses that it is not Calliope or Apollo singing, but rather "ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit". Still, that very poem is filled with literary reminiscences, with echoes of Callimachus' prologue in lines 17 and 39, while lines II 10, 25 f. ("Nondum etiam Ascraeas norunt mea carmina fontes, sed modo Permessi flumine lavit Amor") are only partly truthful. He will achieve his goal in full in the elegies of books III and IV.

Love elegies, those personal confessions with meandering erotic motifs, have more mythological comparisons and allusions in book II, and in particular in the final poems of this book some combinations of mythological associations point directly to Callimachus: Demophoon in II 22, Perillus in II 25, and especially the sick girl, whose sufferings the poet compares to the troubles of Io, Ino, Callisto

and Semele, all characters in the *Aetia*, thus clearly indicating their origin. He is especially fond of comparisons to Io (II 30 and II 33). Some even suspected that these comparisons were from a poem entitled *Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις*, but today we have some reason to hypothesise that it would have formed part of the *Aetia*, the same as the *Coma Berenices*. In particular, the extensive narrative about Io in II 33, further expanded by reminiscences of Icarus and Polyphemus, directs the reader with its associations to Callimachus.

From book III on, Propertius' lyre rings a more exalted note. That is partly because of Maecenas, who tried to persuade Propertius, as well as other poets of the time, into writing a historical epic. Not feeling up to the task, the poet gave up on the epic, but instead took up aetiological elegies, an undertaking already distinct in the opening poem of book III:

> Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
> in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus,

while in elegy III 3 he referred to the famous dream of Callimachus. Just as the Muses appeared to the Greek poet on Helicon to instruct him on the origins of various customs, traditions and monuments, so various personages of Roman past appeared to Propertius, and his conversation with Phoebus and Calliope likewise has its model in the *Aetia*. And so Propertius transplants Callimachus' aetiological elegy to Roman ground quite consciously. And since his talent is too original for that and, too aware of its individual worth, he is not content with mere imitation of Greek poems and their motifs, but conversely feels in himself the power of independent creation and proudly claims to be the Callimachus of Rome. Namely in IV 1, 62 he calls on Bacchus to crown him, and says that his homeland ought to be proud of him, "Umbria Romani patria Callimachi". Possibly Roman pride and arrogance carried the poet a little too far here, but his elegies of book IV at least are indeed examples of great Roman poetry, reflect the character of Callimachus' mature art and quite consciously emulate his narrative technique: e.g. in elegies 1 and 2 we see the poet dialoguing with Horus and Vertumnus. Elegy IV 9 on Hercules and Cacus, which also contains digressions on Pallas bathing and blinding Teiresias (from Callimachus' *Hymn* V) is completely in Callimachus' style, as is the *aition* of Juppiter Feretrius in IV 10. Finally in IV 6 after a solemn introduction the poet himself takes on the role of a priest, referring again to Philetas and Callimachus, and addresses the muse Calliope.

The above brief outline makes it clear that while Propertius may introduce fewer of Callimachus motifs and less of his subject matter, with time fully masters his poetic style and technique, applying it in his elegies to motifs drawn from the Roman past.

And from that perspective he does deserve the name, "Roman Callimachus".

Ovid

Ovid is the most exemplary Roman emulator of the Alexandrians, and in particular of Callimachus, not so much in terms of poetic art, as in terms of motifs and external compositional form. However, he also needed time to appreciate Callimachus' art with its wealth of motifs and poetic invention. In a youthful poem (*Am*. I 15, 13 f.) he expressed a very superficial opinion of Callimachus, saying "Battiades [...] quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet". And so only as he evolved as a poet, ever aiming at richer and broader literary horizons, did he increasingly draw from Callimachus. In his search for new artistic incitement and fresh motifs Ovid did not limit himself to browsing the mythographers; on the contrary, he read widely in Greek poetry, as proven by his numerous and almost literal borrowings from Callimachus. Moreover, Callimachus' influence on Ovid always grew, and so steadily that I would not hesitate to claim that the doubtful and complex chronology of some of his works can be determined according to how much in them was borrowed from him.

The influence is so vast, and the reminiscences (closer or more distant) so many that they could not possibly all fit into this relatively modest space. At any rate that influence has already been largely investigated[16] as new texts by Callimachus were rediscovered and then recently after the first edition of the Milan *Διηγήσεις* were published, namely by the Italian scholar M. de Cola[17], who in my opinion is even somewhat too willing to see it in Ovid.

Thus my task here is not to exhaust the list of all of Ovid's possible borrowings and reminiscences from Callimachus, but to plot the line of his development in that regard in the three periods of his poetry.

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In the *Amores* Callimachus' influence, if indeed it can already be called that, is very small. These elegies are usually reduced to a development of the erotic epigram. The echoes of the prologue to the *Aetia* in III 15, 15 could be directly from Callimachus, but the indirect path via Propertius is possible too. Only in the elegy III 10, 20 ff., perhaps only included in the second edition, is there apparently a direct reminiscence. Referring to the proverb Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψευσταί (cf. Callimachus' *Hymn* I 8 ff.), the poet says

> Cretes erunt testes; nec fingunt omnia Cretes;
> Crete nutrito terra superba Iove...

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[16] G. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, Paris 1904; R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählungen*, Leipzig 1919; L. Castiglioni, *Studi intorno alle Metamorfosi di Ovidio*, Pisa 1906; L. Malten, Hermes LIII 1918, pp. 148 ff.

[17] M. de Cola, *Callimaco e Ovidio*, Palermo 1937.

That is all the more likely with the subject matter of this poem, a festival of Ceres, itself bringing Callimachus to mind. Those reminiscences could come from a selection of Callimachus' works.

The *Heroides* were written in pathetic style with a large admixture of rhetoric, so they are far from Callimachus' narrative, subtle in its simplicity. The subject of the second in that collection of 15 letters, *Phyllis Demophoonti*, is today widely considered borrowed from Callimachus. But since the same subject will return in the *Ars Amatoria* (III 37 ff.) and *Remedia Amoris* (597 ff.), where it is based on the *aition* of ἐννέα ὁδοί or closely reflects Callimachus' turn of phrase, which cannot yet be said of the *Amores*, it spontaneously occurs to one that the poet had the theme for that letter from a mythographic handbook based in turn on Callimachus.

Ovid's other letters, written later in his life, will be discussed after the didactic poems.

Those didactic poems already fall in the intermediate period between Ovid's erotic elegies and his Alexandrian works. In that intermediate period the poet seems to be preparing for his exquisite, variegated *Metamorphoses* by reading widely, and not only in mythographies, but also Greek poetry, the only reading that could inspire his art. Thus in those intermediate works one can already spot traces of reading Callimachus, among others. As in *Ars am.* I 27 ff., where we find

> Nec mihi sunt visae Clio eiusque sorores
> servanti pecudes vallibus, Ascra, tuis...

Besides the allusion to Hesiod there is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the epilogue of *Aetia*, whereas in the *Ars Amatoria* II 493 ff. Ovid refers to its prologue directly. As for mythical digressions, Callimachus' influence is undeniable, e.g. in the story of Busiris, combined in *Ars am.* I 645 ff. with the legend of Phalaris of Sicily; cf. also *Tr*. III 11, 39, and fragments 25, 176, 182 and 194 Schn. of Callimachus. Next we know that Ovid owes to Callimachus one of his most beautiful stories, namely that about Daedalus and Icarus from *Ars am.* II 21 ff., later recast in epic style in *Met*. VIII 183 ff.; here cf. fr. 5 Schn., and scholia *AD* to Homer, *Il*. II 145.

Likewise the legend of Phyllis, presented as an extensive story in the *Heroides*, repeats itself in the form of brief mentions in various places in the *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris*, of which some at least exactly match certain fragments from Callimachus. One such pair is fr. 505 Schn.: Νύμφιε Δημοφόων, ἄδικε ξένε, and *Rem. am.* 597:

> Perfide Demophoon! Surdas clamabat ad undas,

while *Ars am.* III 37 f.:

> Quaere, novem cur una viae dicantur, et audi
> depositis silvas Phyllida flesse comis

is even more closely related to the *aition* of the ἐννέα ὁδοί. Cf. also *Rem. am.* 55 f.:

> Vixisset Phyllis, si me foret usa magistro,
> et per quod novies, saepius isset iter[18].

At last, there are reminiscences here of some of Callimachus' epigrams.

And so ends the first period of Ovid's poetry.

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The second period brings with it full development of his poetic talent, as well as Ovid's best works – the *Metamorphoses*, probably the most Hellenistic of Roman poems, and the *Fasti*, Roman aetiological elegies in six books. Thus even the overall character of those works indicates Callimachus as a source of inspiration. In fact, as I will argue below, during that time Ovid became profoundly familiar with Callimachus' poetry, adapting not only his topics and motifs, but often also taking his composition technique for his model.

The other three pairs of letters exchanged by mythical characters are also from this period. The question of their authenticity has not yet been completely resolved, but just as it used to be answered for the most part in the negative, so recently more and more voices have been raised in defence of their authenticity[19], supported by many arguments. The latter can be augmented with the following observation: two of those three pairs, as scholars suspect, draw their subject matter from Callimachus. Regarding the letters of Acontius and Cydippe, the matter is settled. Proving that the letters of Hero and Leander also come from Callimachus is still difficult at the present level of recovery of his works, and even the so-called *Scholia Florentina* have not confirmed certain attempts at reconstruction undertaken by Knaack[20]; even so, Rohde and Knaack's hypothesis that in his poem Musaeus drew on a Hellenistic source, which was probably Callimachus himself, remains very attractive. Still, we cannot draw any reliable conclusions regarding this[21].

Those scholars who are of the opinion that these letters are not authentic bring up among other things the differences between the undoubtedly genuine original collection of 15 letters (I shall here ignore the problem of letter 15, as irrelevant)

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[18] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 16 and 28 ff.

[19] Cf. H. Bornecque's introduction in: *Ovide, Héroides*, Paris 1928, pp. XV ff.

[20] Cf. G. Knaack, *Hero und Leander*, in: *Festgabe für F. Susemihl*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 46–82; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig ²1900, p. 142.

[21] After writing this paper I undertook a more serious investigation into the Hellenistic original for *Hero and Leander*. The results were published when this paper was already in print, in Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności [Proceedings of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences] XLIII 1946, fasc. 4, pp. 128 ff. They prove beyond any doubt that Musaeus' model was not an elegy but an Alexandrian epyllion. Therefore the hypothesis that the original was by Callimachus must be irrevocably abandoned.

and this later addition; the former are light and fresh in their narrative, whereas the latter are much longer, overly rhetoricised and for that reason paler and more trivial. Now there is no denying that differences between them do exist, especially in terms of style (as attempts to demonstrate marked lexical differences have failed). However, I am convinced that they are not enough to question the authenticity of those poems; instead, they are arguments for believing they were written already at the beginning of the Christian era, during the time when Ovid was switching from the elegiac to the epic note. In fact, their style is far from that of Callimachus', but that is the result of various factors, such as the specificity of Ovid's poetic talent, his amazing ease of versification, finally dividing the material each time into two complementary letters. It has also been noted that Acontius' argument in his letter that a promise ought to be kept is too long, but could that not follow from the very character of the Romans and does it not have the feel of their poetic texture? Which would undermine any suspicions of a late forgery. If further Acontius relies on the advice of the *Ars Amatoria* too much in his effort to win Cydippe's favour, let us not forget that these letters must have been written at about the same time when Ovid was occupied with that kind of amatory didactic, or right afterwards. Perhaps then Ovid decided to follow his friend the poet Sabinus, who according to *Am.* II 18, 27 composed replies to his heroines' letters, and to try such mutual correspondence himself[22].

With the exception of Ovid it is impossible to find a poet writing at the beginning of the 1st century AD who was so strongly influenced by Callimachus. In my opinion the above argument tilts the scales in favour of the authenticity of this additional collection of love letters, and when combined with the general assumptions made in this paper it seems to indicate that he wrote them at some point close to the beginning of the second period of his poetry[23].

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As has already been noted, the *Metamorphoses* reflect the character of an Alexandrian poem in the fullest. The idea itself was borrowed by Ovid from Nicander and his *Ἑτεροιούμενα*, and partly also from Parthenius. Still, theirs were probably poems of less literary value, and so in execution and composition Ovid modelled himself on the greatest artist among the Alexandrian poets, i.e. Callimachus, at the same time drawing on him for many ideas and themes he would use in his own poetry. The similarities are clear in spite of all the difference between Callimachus' style with its short and asymmetrical stories and Ovid's epic size and lush ornamentation. In terms of composition itself, Ovid owes to Callimachus the use of the so-called framework narrative, or binding

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[22] Cf. K. Morawski, *Owidiusz i elegicy w epoce Augusta*, Kraków 1917, p. 109.

[23] Callimachus' *Cydippe* includes fr. 9 a–h Pf., partly overlapping with fr. 26, 101 f., 210 and 229 Schn. and fr. 9 fol. I^{v} Pf.

very different tales into a single harmonious whole; and frequent changes in the form of the story, so as to avoid monotony and tediousness. Now, those are exactly the artistic and compositional virtues of the *Aetia*.

The sources of particular significance for understanding the composition of Callimachus' *Aetia* and comparing them to the *Metamorphoses* are: *P. Oxy*. XVII 2080 on the cities of Sicily, where the poet himself converses with Clio; *P. Oxy*. XI 1362 = fr. 9 Pf. with the episode of Pollis' feast, the only preserved framework narrative of the *Aetia*; and finally the Milan *Διηγήσεις*, which make available to us, especially for book IV, the many-coloured and ever glittering strand of Callimachus' aetiological tales. Here, too, the poet modifies the form of his story all the time; now he speaks to himself; now he learns a mythical motif from the Muse; now he narrates it as its main character or even as the Pelasgic wall in Athens or as queen Berenice's lock.

Almost exactly the same figures come up in the tales told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*[24]. The *Metamorphoses*, so colourful and exquisite, so rich in poetic ingenuity, outdo the *Fasti* even as regards composition; there, the very form of a calendar greatly limits the poet's freedom and creative imagination.

As for motifs, Callimachus' are scattered throughout the *Metamorphoses*, being especially many at the end of book VIII and at the beginning of book IX. From the very start our poet owes to Callimachus many beautiful tales: he connects the beautiful myth about Daphne with another of the wanderings of Io, a borrowing from Callimachus, as we have seen, then he gives the story of Callisto, once in epic style in *Met.* II 410–530 and once in elegiac in *Fasti* II 153–190, also attested as Callimachean (fr. 385 Schn.); perhaps one should also mention here certain motifs from the bath of Pallas (Callim. *Hymn* V).

In the story of Coronis (II 542 ff.) the poet displays complete independence in the way he uses Callimachus' motif, but lines 536 ff. indicate reminiscences of the *Hecale*: fr. 34 col. IV 47 f. Pf.

The treatment of Actaeon (III 140 ff.) shows the influence of *Hymn* V. Comparing those two versions is all the more instructive because this is the only elegy by Callimachus that has been wholly preserved; Callimachus' version is quite devoid of pathos, and marked by discretion and moderation, two characteristics which Ovid loses in this scene. According to the *Suda*, the myth of Semele was there in Callimachus too. It is also to him, and some other sources besides, that the Roman poet owes the original descriptions of Tiresias, Ino and Athamas re-used in his book IV.

The rape of Proserpina is again there twice, in an epic version in *Met*. V 341–661, and in an elegiac one in *Fasti* IV 417–610. Callimachus' influence can

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[24] On the compositional influence of the *Aetia* on Ovid, see Malten, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 471 ff.

be seen in certain lines and expressions found in his *Hymn* VI and the *Aetia* as well as in Ovid[25].

The tale of Daedalus and Icarus has already been discussed above with the didactic poems.

The end of book VIII and the start of the next comprise a framework narrative of the same kind as Pollis' feast in Callimachus. This one is also a feast, served by Achelous to Theseus and his companions at the Calydonian hunt. Those gathered there tell various stories, including two of particularly strong connection to Callimachus: about Philemon and Baucis, and about Erysichthon.

These two stories perfectly illustrate the various ways in which Callimachus influenced Ovid. The first contains a Phrygian legend of the oak and the linden, so a theme absent from Callimachus, although Ovid is much in his debt as regards the way he presents it. It is the only strict genre tale in the *Metamorphoses*. Following Callimachus, Ovid applies in it the episodic technique: he describes the house of the old couple in detail, managing the realism so rare in his works, and the welcome they had for Jupiter, to skim over the end, that is the metamorphosis itself, in a few sentences.

Thus we have here Callimachus' style, and especially that of the *Hecale*, the epyllion famous in antiquity. Even comparing the details reveals a number of reminiscences from Callimachus, and some lines or expressions were almost literally quoted. Cf. e.g. *Met.* VIII 639, "Membra senex posito iussit relevare sedili", and Callim. fr. 237 Schn.: Τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἀσκάντα κάθισεν. Or lines 664 f.:

> Ponitur hic bicolor sincerae baca Minervae
> conditaque in liquida corna autumnalia faece,

and Callim. fr. 50 Schn.: Γεργέριμον πίτυρίν τε καὶ ἣν ἀπεθήκατο λευκὴν εἰν ἁλὶ νήχεσθαι φθινοπωρίδα. That influence of the *Hecale* is further complemented by reminiscences of Callimachus' depiction of Heracles being made welcome by Molorchus in the *Aetia*, another prominent genre tale. That is especially true of the feast being meagre; just as Molorchus was going to offer Heracles the only lamb he had, so Baucis gave Jupiter the only cockerel. Cf. lines 684 ff. and Callim. fr. 6 Schn., as well as Probus' commentary on Verg. *Georg*. III 19[26].

The tale of Erysichthon is altogether different. In Callimachus Erysichthon is guilty of offending the goddess Demeter, for which he is punished with devastating hunger; the narrative is simple and natural. Ovid expands it by introducing Erysichthon's daughter Mestra, whom he had to take over from some other source, or else the tale would have no metamorphosis to it. His version has the

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[25] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 510.

[26] Cf. de Cola, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 61 ff.

tone of a pompous Roman epic. He introduces more fantastic elements and more dramatism; cf. *Met.* VIII 738 ff. and Callim. *Hymn* VI 25 ff[27].

The beginning of book IX of the *Metamorphoses* is devoted to Heracles, a frequent character in Callimachus' *Aetia*.

It is on purpose that I here omit certain episodes from the final books of the *Metamorphoses*, which are still too problematic.

In book XII, during the feast of Achaean commanders, Nestor tells of Caeneus (459 ff.), following the version attested for Callimachus by Phlegon (cf. fr. 416 Schn.), that is, in connection with the fighting between the Centaurs and the Lapiths; hardly a coincidence.

One of the favourite themes of Hellenistic poetry, the tale of Polyphemus and Galatea, combines in Ovid (*Met.* XIII 750 ff.) material from several sources, the most important one being, according to one hypothesis, Callimachus' supposed epyllion entitled *Galatea*[28]. That hypothesis seems justified in that in Ovid this tale is combined with a version of the story of Glaucus, who according to the *Suda* featured in Callimachus too, perhaps even in a separate poem: cf. Schneider, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 165.

Then in turn Glaucus, in love with Scylla (cf. fr. 184 Schn.), tells his story in book XIII, again concatenated with a number of other myths, Callimachus-like, into one compositional framework.

Even in the story of Pythagoras in book XV, which is independent of Callimachus[29], there is a line containing a literal reminiscence from book III of the *Aetia*, from the elegy on Acontius and Cydippe, repeated again in the *Fasti*. Cf. *Met.* XV 134 f.: "percussaque sanguine cultros inficit in liquida praevisos forsitan unda"; *Fasti* I 329: "quia praevisos in aqua timet hostia cultros"; and Callim, fr. 9 Pf., lines 10 f.:

ἠῷοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν
οἱ βόες ὀξεῖαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα.

The *Aetia*, as we today know, end with queen Berenice's lock being placed among the stars in the sky; the *Metamorphoses*, with Caesar's soul turning into a comet[30]. Another similarity to Callimachus comes to mind here: Caesar's soul flees and rises above the moon (line 846): "Luna volat altius illa"; and in Callimachus' apotheosis of Arsinoe (fr. 1 Pf., line 6) we read: κλεπτομέν]α· παρέθει σελάνᾳ. And again in *Met.* XV 839 ff.:

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[27] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 67 ff.; and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *op. cit.* (n. 6), vol. II, pp. 34 ff.

[28] Cf. de Cola, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 73 ff.

[29] But cf. fr. 128 Schn.

[30] *Dieg*. col. V 40 ff.; cf. also B. Lavagnini, SIFC (n.s.) XII 1935, p. 117; and Maas, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 171.

Aetherias sedes cognataque sidera tanget.
Hanc animam interea caeso de corpore raptam
fac iubar, ut semper [...]
divus ab excelsa prospectet Iulius aede.

That was done by *alma Venus*, as in the *Coma Berenices* (*PSI* IX 1092, lines 63 f.):

...με παρ' ἀθα[νάτους ἀνιόντα]
[Κύπρι]ς ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἄστρον [ἔθηκε νέον.]

Therefore Callimachus' influence in the *Metamorphoses* is indubitable, even though its narrative epic style, ornamented and dramatised by Ovid, is far removed from Callimachus'. Still, Ovid was perfectly aware of the differences if already in the *Remedia Amoris* (381 f.) he said,

Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles,
Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui...

Here cf. also fr. 165 Schn.

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In the aetiological elegies placed in the poetic calendar *Fasti*, Callimachus' influence is naturally even greater. It is especially so as regards composition and narrative technique; less so, in view of the topic the poet picked, as regards the plot.

Ovid's purpose in writing this work was patriotic: to bind various Roman institutions, customs and traditions within the framework of a poetic narrative. He was certainly affected in that by Propertius' Roman elegies as well as by Callimachus. The idea itself he could have taken from Simmias and his *Μῆνες*, and his material came primarily from Varro. The poet does not preserve compositional unity throughout the work, conversing instead with various deities. Callimachus in his *Aetia* has the habit of citing his sources, as in the elegy about Cydippe (fr. 9 Pf., lines 54 ff.); Ovid also more than once refers to the authors behind a given piece of information (e.g. *Fasti* IV 377 ff. or 905 ff.). Some stories in the *Fasti* apply episodic style in which the plot is developed asymmetrically. Finally, some of Ovid's expressions in this poem are Callimachean.

Already in the first conversation, with the god Janus, there are reminiscences of Callimachus' *Hymn* I, cf. *Fasti* I 89: "Quem tamen esse deum te dicam, Iane biformis?" (cf. Callim. *Hymn* I 4: πῶς καί μιν Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον), followed by a long talk in which the poet asks questions and Janus answers them, as in the dialogue with the Muse in book II of the *Aetia* (*P. Oxy*. XVII 2080, 58 ff.):

ὣς ἐφάμην· Κλειὼ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἤρχ[ετο μ]ύθ[ου
χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀδελφείης ὦμον ἐρεισαμένη.

The tale of Callisto in *Fasti* II 153 ff. (also in the *Metamorphoses*) comes from Callimachus. Ovid's two versions differ in style, epic in the *Metamorphoses* and elegiac in the *Fasti*.

Book III contains a number of stories in Callimachus' Alexandrian style, that is asymmetrical in structure, with their several parts strung together after his manner (e.g. III 715 ff.) and finally demonstrating something of his specific take and version of some of the tales.

Ovid's treatment of the myth of Demeter and Kore in *Fasti* IV 393 ff. has already been mentioned above.

In the conversation between the Muses Polyhymnia, Urania and Calliope in book V of the *Fasti* there can again be heard echoes of the epilogue to the *Aetia*; cf. lines 7 f.:

> Dicite, quae fontes Aganippidos Hippocrenes,
> grata Medusaei signa tenetis equi...

and Callim. fr. 9 Pf., lines 84–86:

> ...εἶπον ὁκ[ώσπερ
> κείνῳ τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά
> σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου,

cf. also the introduction to book VI of the *Fasti*, lines 14 ff.[31]

In *Fasti* VI 176, "quae Pygmaeo sanguine gaudet avis" is a copy of line 14 of the famous prologue (*P. Oxy.* XVII 2079; cf. the exact reconstruction of this line by R. Pfeiffer, Hermes LXIII 1928, pp. 302 ff.): αἵματ]ι Πυγμαίων ἡδομένη γέρα[νος.

Finally into the legend of Matuta and Portunus (*Fasti* VI 473 ff.) the poet weaves the myth of Ino and Melicertes from book IV of the *Aetia*; which today we can read in *Dieg*. col. II 41 ff.

The above list shows that Callimachus' influence on Ovid's *Fasti* is mostly about narrative techniques. Other than that, the Roman poet borrows some episodes, but dependence in this regard should not be overestimated. Lack of compositional unity in the adopted chronological system, on the other hand, is a weakness in the *Fasti* and affects the artistic arrangement of the whole.

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In his exile works Ovid is overly monothematic and personal concerns make him forget the treasure trove of Alexandrian poetry. But in them too we sometimes encounter passages which testify to his undying interest in the works of

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[31] Cf. de Cola, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 93 ff.

Callimachus, with the *Ibis* being even to an extent an adaptation and expansion of his poem of the same title.

For instance in elegy 5 of book V of the *Tristia*, when Ovid refers to smoke rising from a sacrificial pyre, he reminisces elegy 14 of book IV of Callimachus' *Aetia* (cf. *Dieg*. col. V 18 ff.). Its summary in the papyrus is very damaged, but I was able to reconstruct it using the Ovidian passage, with the addition of Ovid's *Ibis* 35 f.[32;] namely, the poem refers to Eteocles' and Polynices' mutual hatred, which has not left them even after their death, so that even the smoke from their funeral sacrifices has split in two.

In the *Epistulae ex Ponto* IV 16, 32, when the poet says "Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter", he must mean a passage from some poem by Callimachus that we do not today know.

Although there is not a single fragment left preserved from Callimachus' *Ibis*, we know that the title is a cryptonym for Apollonius of Rhodes, our poet's great antagonist, as it seems not only in their views on literature, but also in their careers at the Alexandrian court. In his epigram in the *Anthologia Palatina* (IX 275), Apollonius viciously attacked the author of the *Aetia*:

> Καλλίμαχος τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ παίγνιον, ὁ ξύλινος νοῦς,
> αἴτιος ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλίμαχος.

In response to this provocation, Callimachus composed his *Ibis*, a short poem (*exiguus libellus*, Ovid calls it). Without entering here into the complex and hypothetical problems of Ovid's *Ibis*, which at any rate considerably expands on Callimachus', it is fitting to note that the Milan *Διηγήσεις* have recently added a number of testimonies on the influence of the *Aetia* on the Roman adaptation to what we know of it from the scholia to Ovid's *Ibis*.

Those scholia, if they had any information on Callimachus' *Ibis* at any rate, have been listed by O. Schneider in fr. 100ᵃ α–β. The *Διηγήσεις*, on the other hand, in the part that deals with book IV of the *Aetia*, have brought the explanation of a number of obscure allusions which the *Ibis* makes to Callimachus' various elegies.

This is the list of such allusions and other reminiscences:

> *Ibis* 35 f., cf. *Tristia* V 5, 33–38, and *Dieg*. col. V 18–23.
> *Ibis* 263 f., cf. fr. 415 Schn., and *Met.* III 315 ff.
> *Ibis* 265 f., cf. scholia for book II of the *Aetia*.
> *Ibis* 273 f., cf. *P. Oxy*. XVII 2080, 70[33].
> *Ibis* 287 f., cf. fr. 5 Schn., and *P. Oxy*. XVII 2080, 50 f.
> *Ibis* 329 f., cf. fr. 466 Schn.
> *Ibis* 333 f., cf. fr. 457 Schn., and *Dieg*. col. III 25–33.

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[32] Cf. my *Studia Callimachea* (n. 3), pp. 93 ff.

[33] Cf. A. Rostagni, *Ibis. Storia di un poemetto greco*, Firenze 1920.

Ibis 337 f., cf. fr. 13[d] Schn., and scholia *AD* for *Il*. XII 66.
Ibis 394, cf. *Dieg*. col. X 1–5.
Ibis 395 f., cf. fr. 182 Schn., *Ars am*. I 647 ff., and *Tristia* III 11, 39.
Ibis 363 f., cf. *Dieg*. col. I 3–9[34].
Ibis 405 f., cf. fr. 378 Schn., and scholia Eur. *Hip*. 979.
Ibis 425, cf. Callim. *Hymn* VI, and *Met*. VIII 738 ff.
Ibis 435 f., cf. fr. 25 Schn.
Ibis 437 f., cf. fr. 25 and 194 Schn.
Ibis 453 f., cf. Catullus 63, an imitation of Callimachus.
Ibis 463 f., cf. *Dieg*. col. III 12 ff.
Ibis 465 f., cf. *Dieg*. col. II 29–40.
Ibis 475 f., cf. *Dieg*. col. V 9–16.
Ibis 503 f., cf. *Dieg*. col. III 34–41.
Ibis 553 f., cf. O. Schneider, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 165.
Ibis 589 f., cf. fr. 74 Schn.
Ibis 609 f., cf. fr. 5 Schn., and scholia *AD* for *Il*. II 145.
Ibis 621–624, cf. *Dieg*. coll. IV 36–43 and V 1 f.[35].

Such, among others, sophisticated invectives were directed by Ovid at his enemy, today unknown, following Callimachus, of whom he says that Apollonius-Ibis (*Ibis* 447 f.):

> ...exiguo est volucris devota libello,
> corpora proiecta quae sua purgat aqua...

as well as another Alexandrian poet, perhaps Euphorion in his work entitled possibly *Χιλιάδες* or *Ἀραί*.

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Callimachus' influence on Ovid, already observable in the first period of his poetry in erotic elegies, increases considerably in the second in the additional collection of love letters, and especially in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. There is little opportunity for reminiscences from Callimachus in Ovid's exile works, but the *Ibis* eloquently demonstrates how comprehensively and attentively Ovid read in the Alexandrian poet's works in that period of his life.

CONCLUSION

After Ovid, as we know, elegy fell silent in Rome, and with it came to an end the overwhelming influence of Callimachus, as Roman poetry headed off in other directions. However, that hardly means that from then on his poems were no longer known in Rome.

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[34] Cf. my *Studia Callimachea* (n. 3), p. 91.

[35] Cf. also de Cola, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 101 ff.

Callimachus continued to be regarded as the master of Hellenistic elegy and it is as such that he was recommended by Quintilian in *Inst.* X 1, 58, where he says: "Tunc et elegiam vacabit in manus sumere, cuius princeps habetur Callimachus; secundas confessione plurimorum Philetas occupavit". Pliny the Younger values him highly as well in his letter to Antoninus, in which he politely praises his friend's poems to then add (*Ep*. IV 3, 3): "Callimachum me vel Heroden vel si quid his melius tenere credebam", meaning primarily his *Iambi* of course, whereas in *Ep*. I 20, 4, writing "bonus liber melior est quisque, quo maior", he on purpose inverts Callimachus' famous saying, τὸ [γὰρ] μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ (fr. 359 Schn.).

Neither do echoes of his poems vanish altogether from poetry. And so for instance Petronius, who in his *Saturae* is wont to intertwine prose and poetry, when describing a poor region in 135, 8, adds:

> qualis in Actaea quondam fuit hospita terra,
> digna sacris Hecales, quam Musa loquentibus annis
> Baccineas veteres mirandam tradidit aevo.

Martial, recommending his poems, both smooth and light, contrasts them with Callimachus' in X 4:

> Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
> invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
> Sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
> nec te scire: legas Aetia Callimachi.

The later the times, the softer those echoes were of Callimachus' Muse in Rome; his poetry, subtle and refined, but also difficult, was increasingly alien there.

To us as well were his works unknown for many centuries, discounting the *Hymns* and the *Epigrams*. Even today, despite the many discoveries in Egyptian papyri, we still cannot pride ourselves on knowing his poetic legacy fully, but let us hope that the sands so kindly today will in future prove even more generous.

We owe sincere and profound gratitude to the much deserved scholars whom the fate has lately allowed to make so many and such momentous discoveries of Callimachus' texts.

ADDENDUM

As E. Cahen has noted, among the images sporadically borrowed from Callimachus by Vergil there is the scene with Artemis in the forge of the Cyclopes; cf. Callim. *Hymn* III 46–86, and Verg. Ae*n*. VIII 416 ff.

F. Wehrli's paper, *Horaz und Kallimachos*, MH I 1944, pp. 69 ff. brings nothing of importance and is based on overly subjective observations. J. Coman's

study, *L'art de Callimaque et de Catulle dans le poème La boucle de Bérénice*, Bucarest 1936, of which I know from Professor G. Przychocki, is unfortunately unavailable to me.

The new Oxyrhynchus volume (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVIII, ed. E. Lobel, C.H. Roberts, E.P. Wagner, London 1941) adds several short fragments by Callimachus: 2167 fr. 1 14 complements, from line 14 onwards, 2079, fr. 2 refers to the cult of the Charites on Paros and the return of the Argonauts; 2168 mentions the origins of a temple on Corcyra; both are from book I. 2169 supplements the story of Heracles and Molorchus in book III; 2170 is a very damaged fragment from book IV; 2171 refers to *Iambi* 6 and 7; finally, the most interesting of them, 2172, contains a passage from the *Songs* and refers to "Branchus".

AJPh LXVII 1946, fasc. 1, has C.M. Dawson's article *An Alexandrian Prototype of Marathus?*, in which he attempts a reconstruction of *Iambus* 9 and shows a number of further cases of Callimachus influencing Tibullus in terms of pederastic motifs.

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LUCIAN'S GUIDE TO HIERAPOLIS IN SYRIA*

By

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Lucian's little text, known as *Περὶ τῆς Συρίης θεοῦ* (*De dea Syria*) in the history of Greek literature, has up to now been examined almost exclusively within the general scope of the writings of this multi-faceted Syrian from Samosata. For example, scholars have investigated the authenticity of this guide, which had been questioned by M. Croiset (*Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Lucien*, Paris 1882), and later by R. Helm in his monograph on Lucian (*RE* XIII 2, 1927, col. 1761), because it lacks even the slightest trace of the spirit and feeling that is normally associated with Lucian[1]. Just before the war, scholars began to focus on the contents of the text. Thus archaeologists and experts on religion examined the credibility of the data from the standpoint of ancient heortology, topography or archaeology. Beyond the immediate scope of Lucian's writings there were also studies of the relationship of Lucian's guide to Herodotus. First and foremost, it was established that this text was written in the natural and unforced dialect of Herodotus and with the great simplicity of description which is so characteristic of the great traveller from Halicarnassus[2]. In the past several years I have become familiar with the traditional apparatus used by Greek travel guides. I therefore decided to examine this text about the Syrian goddess as an example of the literary genre of periegesis. I was spurred by my conviction that an analysis of such a late text based on the literary tradition or γένος which had already passed through various phases of development would permit Lucian's guide to assume a more important position in the history of literature than it had up to the present.

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[1] From among Polish philologists, T. Mandybur cast his vote against the authorship of Lucian, *Ps. Lukiana περὶ τῆς Συρίης θεοῦ*, Kraków 1901 (Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Filologiczny s. 2 XVIII [XXXIII]).

[2] This imitation was earlier addressed by A. Penick, *Studies in Honour of B.L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore 1902. I was unable to access this work, which had been received with a certain scepticism by W. Kroll, Philologische Wochenschrift XXIII 1903, col. 461.

I

Athargatis, the first Semitic deity to appear in Italy and to have a famous temple in the Syrian Hierapolis (Bambyce) near the Euphrates, was worshipped throughout Syria. The Greeks called her Συρία θεά, the Romans as *dea Syria*[3]. The author, who presents himself as a Syrian (Ἀσσύριος), is about to describe the temple and the artifacts associated with this Syrian Hera.

Even a cursory reading of Lucian's text shows that we are dealing with a typical guide-periegesis. At every step we encounter some motif traditionally found in this literary genre. However, not all the motifs in the guide are equally important in its composition. Some which are relatively unimportant in the overall text are nevertheless very characteristic of the overall γένος. Because of this difference and in order to obtain a picture as clear as possible, I decided not to discuss these motifs in the order in which they appear in the text, but to group them as I thought useful[4].

1. Other extant Greek periegeses do not always include an introduction by the author. As we know, the most extensive and completely preserved guide of Pausanias begins rather unexpectedly and without any introduction because the author clearly did not consider an introduction necessary. It is difficult to judge other periegeses which are incomplete, but even Heraclides Criticus (of whose work only fragments remain), before he proceeded to the actual περιηγεῖσθαι, discussed in fr. 3[5] certain more general matters, e.g., the boundaries of northern Greece and the origins of the name of the country as a whole. For this reason, I have judged fr. 3 to be the introduction to his periegesis[6]. Lucian's guide also begins with an introduction. The author begins by a topographical description of Hierapolis and by a discussion of the original name of the city. Then he proceeds to discuss his own text and presents its contents. These will include: (1) religious customs, νόμοι, (2) sacred festivals, πανηγύρεις, (3) sacrifices, θυσίαι, (4) the founders of the temple and (5) the founding of the temple. The author does not keep to the order that he gives, and so, e.g., we read about the founders of the temple and about its mythology in the middle chapters of the guide (11–27), while we find the various religious customs and festivals (which were

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[3] Cf. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929, p. 161.

[4] Here I provide materials for comparison in a relatively abbreviated form. I am reserving more ample discussion for my synthetic work-in-progress which will include all extant Greek periegetes. After that, I would like to plan a study of the Roman reflexes of this Greek literary product.

[5] We read it today in W.H. Duke's edition, *Essays and Studies Presented to W. Ridgeway*, Cambridge 1914, pp. 234 ff., until the critical and commentated edition of F. Pfister, announced just before the onset of the last war, becomes available to us [*Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, Wien 1951].

[6] Cf. J. Schnayder, *De Heraclidis descriptione urbium Graeciae*, Cracoviae 1939 (Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Archiwum Filologiczne XV), pp. 55 ff.

mentioned first in the introduction) towards the end of the text (47 ff). However, a detailed analysis of the text indicates that, in spite of the contents so summarily given in the introduction, it is possible to distinguish in Lucian's text certain self-enclosed sections and to determine that the bridges between them were quite clearly marked by the author.

Section 1 (2–9). When discussing the cult of the gods introduced into Syria from Egypt, the author lists the oldest temples of Syria and Phoenicia. The temple of Astarte in Sidon is linked with the μῦθος of Europa (4), the temple of Aphrodite in Byblos is linked with the ὄργια of Adonis and the miracle associated with him (6 and 8). This section is clearly demarcated from the next by a concluding statement (9): τάδε μέν ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ἀρχαῖα καὶ μεγάλα ἱρά.

Section 2 (10 f.) begins with the statement that no other temple in the world is more highly esteemed and no other country as holy. This is followed by a terse enumeration of what the guide will later say about the rare objects in the temple: ἔργα (works of art), ἀναθήματα, θωύματα, ξόανα, θεοὶ ἐμφανέες (because the statues sweat) and the treasures which come from all parts of the earth. Chapter 11 asserts the existence of various λόγοι about the founders of the temple and the author classifies them (ἱροί, ἐμφανέες [i.e., intelligible]; κάρτα μυθώδεες, βάρβαροι and others which are in agreement with Greek accounts). This second section ends with the declaration: τοὺς (*scil*. λόγους) ἐγὼ πάντας μὲν ἐρέω.

Indeed, in Section 3 (12–27), Lucian discussed various theories about the founding of the temple in Hierapolis. He mentions: (1) Deucalion and his myth, the miraculous chasm and the customs associated with it, (2) Semiramis, linked with a mention of the cult of her mother Derceto, (3) Attis, who supposedly built a temple for his mother Rhea, (4) Dionysus (there are traces of his cult near the temple) and finally, (5) Stratonice, wife of Seleucus I. Here are found longer λόγοι, particularly that of Combabus, whose cult is continued by Gallic eunuchs.

Section 4 (28–60) pertains to the temple itself: its location (28), the φάλλοι found before the building, their origins and the customs associated with them (29), the dimensions of the temple, *pronaos*, doors (30). Finally, the author passes to the descriptions of the interior (31–35). After noting who has the right to enter, the author provides a catalogue and description of the statues (31–38): Hera, an unnamed statue (Dionysus, Deucalion or Semiramis), the throne of Helius (why the statue is missing), bearded Apollo (λόγος about prophecies, the movement of the statue when the god prophesies), other statues (38). This subsection about the interior concludes with the words: τὰ μὲν ὧν ἐντὸς τοῦ νηοῦ ὧδε κεκοσμέαται (39). Now the author passes to the exterior and begins (*ibid.*): ἔξω δὲ he mentions the altar, the μυρία ξόανα of kings and priests (e.g. that of Semiramis with a more detailed description), other statues outside the temple (40). Then we pass to the αὐλή, where sacred animals are pastured (41). The author mentions the priests, their costumes and their functions (42), the lower echelons of temple servants (43), the sacrifices (44), and the sacred pool (45–48),

and, in particular, the great spring celebrations in which the Galli participate (50–53). Again, we read about sacrifices (54) and the rites of pilgrims (55), who are given a special welcome in the city (56). This section ends with a description of cult customs and oaths taken in the temple (60).

A certain schematic organization of description has already been demonstrated in Herodotus (this was formulated by F. Jacoby in Klio IX 1909, p. 89), and similarly in the post-Herodotean ethnographers and geographers by K. Trüdinger[7]. In the fragmentary periegetical works, it is difficult to discuss any type of deliberate arrangement. It stands to reason that a researcher as serious as Polemon of Ilium must have presented his material in some kind of order. But it is striking that even a non-scholarly, rather popular periegesis preserved in fragments, such as the guide to the cities of central Greece ascribed to Heraclides Criticus shows a pedantically elaborate arrangement of material[8] which is even at odds with the temperament of the author. Even in the guide of Lucian's contemporary, Pausanias, whose work begins without an introduction, J.G. Frazer[9] observed a clear and constant arrangement (with the exception of the introductory periegesis of Attica) which Lucian presents in such an obscure way in his introductory section. In any case, some type of distinct tradition did exist.

It is only at this point that the author introduces himself. The phrase γράφω δὲ Ἀσσύριος ἐών (1) is difficult to correlate with the opening words of Herodotus: Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέως ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις...[10]. This opening phrase of Herodotus, which predicts the basic thesis and purpose of his work and which, to this day, we read with emotion as we are struck by his lofty goal and his desire to immortalize all that is important and great, has in Lucian lost its venerable and archaic colouring and has become a bland echo, a mere schematic diagram of the contents by a nameless author.

2. More importantly, in this introductory section the author informs us how he gathered the materials for his guide. Lucian, it seems, believing that the eyes are more accurate witnesses than the ears (a principle already noted by Heraclitus in fr. 101a D.–K. and followed by the geographer Hecataeus in his scholarly travels), gathered his research materials with his own eyes first and only after that by interviewing the priests: τὰ μὲν αὐτοψίῃ ἔμαθον τὰ δὲ παρὰ ἱρέων ἐδάην, ὁκόσα ἐόντα ἐμεῦ πρεσβύτερα (1). Thus the focus of his interviews are the 'earlier times'. Herodotus before him had also contrasted the witness of his own eyes with personal interviews: (II 29) ἐπυθόμην [...] αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν [...] τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. Cf. also II 99. Pausanias employed

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[7] *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*, Basel 1918.

[8] This was demonstrated by R. Daebritz, *RE* VIII 1 (1912), col. 486.

[9] *Pausanias and Other Greek Sketches*, London 1900, pp. 18 ff.

[10] Before him, Hecataeus introduced himself in the same way in the *Genealogies*: Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται (*FGrHist* 1 F 1a).

both these methods, e.g. IV 31, 5: οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα αὐτοπτούντων.

Lucian uses such formulae pertaining to personal experience very frequently and, bearing in mind the brevity of his guide, we can truthfully say that he does so more frequently than even Pausanias, in whose extensive periegesis I have counted 25 positive statements regarding his eyewitness accounts. Thus Lucian saw the majority of the temples in Syria with his own eyes (πλεῖστα ὄπωπα, 3). He uses εἶδον several times when he is referring to looking at a statue, a building or observing sacred customs (6, 9, 40, 48). Again, when some kind of miracle would take place in his presence, he writes ἐπ' ἐμεῦ or ἐμεῦ παρεόντος (7, 37, 42, 45) and twice, ἐθεησάμην (7, 45). Quite obviously, Herodotus also refers to the witness of his own eyes, e.g. ἐπυθόμην αὐτόπτης ἐλθών (cf. III 12), but more often he does not stress his personal involvement, using such expressions as ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν (I 52, 66, 92, 181; II 181; III 124; V 77; VI 119). These expressions are quite neutral, as are the δείκνυται and δεικνύουσι which are common even in the fragments of the periegetes. I have found them in Phlegon fr. 44 Müller and once in Lucian's guide, 35; again in Paeon fr. 2, Hyperochus fr. 2, and in Polemon fr. 44. The same formula occurs 21 times in Pausanias, who also uses ἔστιν ἰδεῖν (VI 3, 16, cf. Phlegon fr. 41) as well as οἶδα θεασάμενος (VII 26, 8) or ἰδὼν οἶδα (e.g. I 43, 8; II 22, 3 and passim). In Lucian, however, these neutral formulae are lacking and we find only the decisive verbs ὄπωπα, εἶδον, ἐθεησάμην. This clear emphasis on the witness of his own eyes gives us to think, and, when combined with the emphasis on this element in the parody of a traveller's romance in the *Vera Historia*, we get the impression that this is some type of compositional element. We will return to this later. When he has not witnessed something with his own eyes, the author clearly indicates it: ἐγὼ μὲν [...] οὐκ ὄπωπα (5), βάθος λίμνης [...] ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπειρήθην (46). Lucian can tell us nothing precise about certain festivities, because he did not take part in them, but what he did see, he will relate (48). Similarly, regarding the chasm near the temple into which, according to myth, the waters of the Flood drained, he writes: (13) ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ χάσμα εἶδον, καὶ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τῷ νηῷ κάρτα μικρόν. Εἰ μὲν ὦν πάλαι καὶ μέγα ἐὸν νῦν τοιόνδε ἐγένετο, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ ἐγὼ εἶδον, μικρόν ἐστι. This lack of personal witness is stressed several times already in Herodotus. If the statue of Apollo in Hierapolis rose into the air as it prophesied (and did so in Lucian's presence, 37), let us remember that Herodotus, describing a floating island in Egypt (II 156) states: αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων[11]. The negative statement is found in Pausanias as well: οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν (III 26, 1), οὐκ εἶδον (II 35, 8) or οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα αὐτοπτούντων (IV 31, 5).

[11] Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον in Hdt. also I 183 and II 73.

This last statement leads us to the method of the interview which, following Herodotus, the periegetes contrast with eyewitness acounts. The author of our guide mentions the interview several times. It is driven by the desire for knowledge, ἱστορίη, so esteemed in the eyes of the Ionians. For example, he asked about the age of the temple: ἱστορέοντι δέ μοι ἐτέων πέρι, ὁκόσα τῷ ἱρῷ ἐστι (11). He is also able to emphasize his own investigative initiative (9): ἀνέβην δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Λίβανον ἐκ Βύβλου [...] πυθόμενος αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἔμμεναι. In the same way, Herodotus travelled to Phoenician Tyre in order to learn something about the cult of Heracles (II 44). The results of such interviews are noted by Lucian by ἐδάην (6), ἤκουσα (12, 15) or else he notes that someone was telling him (4, 8, 11), just as Herodotus does in several well-known passages (e.g. II 3, 13, 32 and passim). Even as renowned a scholar as the periegete Polemon was not content with sporadic interviews during his journeys, but used to stay for an extended period of time in pertinent locations in order to get to know them just as well as their inhabitants. The fragments of the periegetes do not inform us directly of their investigative methods. Instead, Pausanias, who revived the literary form of Herodotus, on several occasions mentions his contacts with priests or the inhabitants of a particular location, the ἐπιχώριοι (I 22, 23; II 26, 1).

Lucian, when giving the results of his investigations, permits himself to give several possible explanations for a particular issue. For example, when addressing the issue of whose temple is located in Sidon (4), Lucian compares the version of the Sidonians with the tale of some learned priest. When he was trying to determine the age of the temple in Hierapolis and who its founder was, he collected many conflicting answers and, as we saw, evaluated and classified them (11). In doing so, Lucian was quite eclectic: he rejects the versions of Deucalion, Semiramis and Attis as founders, he likes the one about Dionysus, but he accepts as correct the fifth version, the one in which Stratonice (the wife of Seleucus I) is the foundress of the shrine (12–17). In the same way, Herodotus cited and differentiated between conflicting versions of historical events, compared the accounts of the Persians and of the Greeks (I 2) and later of the Persians and the Phoenicians (I 5) on the subject of whose fault first provoked the conflict between East and West[12]. Lucian is at times undecided, e.g., whether Stratonice, like the Greek Phaedra, accused her would-be and innocent lover: (23) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐχέτω ὅκως καὶ ἐγένετο. He also reveals a certain indecisiveness with regard to the tradition that the man who dwells on the top of the mighty phallus does not fall asleep because he is woken by a scorpion: (29) εἰ δὲ ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔχω ἐρέειν. In this case, however, Lucian brings himself to provide his own

[12] Similarly, in the matter of the betrayal of the Greeks at Thermopylae, he cites a differing tradition (VII 214) although he does not believe it. And yet, e.g., in the matter of the Scythians (IV 11) he rejects their own tradition and allies himself with the historical, generally accepted one.

explanation of this curious phenomenon. In this he differs from Herodotus, who did not wish to come to a decision in certain cases (cf. I 57: οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν), as is also the case with Pausanias, e.g., whether or not the statue of Athena Polias fell from the heavens (I 26, 6) or his refusal to give his personal opinion of the guilt of Aegisthus and Agamemnon (II 18, 2).

Lucian often displays a negative and critical stance (οὐδαμὰ πείθομαι, 14) with respect to the cult of Derceto in Hierapolis. He also does not believe that the Galli castrated themselves in Rhea's honour: τὰ δέ μοι εὐτρεπέα μὲν δοκέει ἔμμεναι, ἀληθέα δὲ οὔ (15). He also criticizes the various explanations for why the man remains on the phallus: (28) ἐμοὶ μέν νυν καὶ τάδε ἀπίθανα. Similarly, we find this several times in Lucian's contemporary, Pausanias, e.g. I 3, 3: λέγεται [...] καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, or II 23, 3: ἐγὼ μέν σφισιν οὐ πείθομαι. We should remember that criticism can also found in the authors who laid foundations for periegetical writing. Admittedly, the pertinent fragment of Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 1a) comes from a genealogical, not geographical, work. Even so Herodotus, who often draws upon Hecataeus, is nonetheless often at odds with him and with other, anonymous traditions for which Hecataeus may have been responsible (I 182; IV 5).

The author of our guide expresses a positive judgement by ἐγὼ δοκέω (4): this is the way Hecataeus expresses himself in the pertinent geographical fragment δοκέω δὲ μάλιστα (F 234). We also find in Lucian the infinitive absolute δοκέειν δέ μοι (1) or δοκέει δέ μοι (28, 46), which recalls Herodotean ἔμοιγε δοκέει (I 58) or δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἶναι (I 172; II 4, etc.). As far as I could tell, Pausanias is more sparing in this respect. Although this is difficult to detect in other periegetes, nevertheless in the fragments of Polemon it can be seen that he expresses his own views rarely and in an unassuming manner[13]. Thus, in this as well, Lucian reflects Herodotus' manner of expression rather than those of the other writers. In these positive judgements of Lucian, I observed the comparison of foreign beliefs or myths with those of the Greeks. In any case, some of the barbarian tales which identify the age of the temple and its deities agree with the Greek ones (11), and that which the Greeks relate about Sthenoboea and Phaedra is also related by the Syrians about Stratonice (23). Herodotus also practiced such forays into comparison, not always successfully, e.g. κάθαρσις among the Lydians and the Greeks (I 35), the cult of Aphrodite in Babylon and on Cyprus (I 199), the work of the Nile and Greek rivers (II 10), etc. Periegetes in foreign territories seemed to direct their attention to this, since in fr. 18 of Nymphodorus of Syracuse (*FHG* II 375), which is dated to the end of the Alexandrian period, we find the comparison of certain Egyptian customs with those of the Greeks. I also noticed in the guide to Hierapolis that rationalizing interpretations of certain wonders coexist with their complete acceptance. For example, the river in

[13] Cf. K. Müller, *FHG* III 115. Fragments of the periegetes are cited after the same edition.

the region of Byblis which flows from the mountains of Libanus bleeds so much each year that it even colours the sea. To the inhabitants of Byblis, this is a sign that Adonis has been wounded in the mountains. So Lucian cites the interpretation of this wonder by an inhabitant of Byblos, who correctly explains the matter (ἀληθέα δοκέων λέγειν), saying that the red clay which had been blown into the mountains of Libanus by the winds causes the waters of the river to be coloured red (8). In another example, where it is said that the scorpion prevents the man on the phallus to fall asleep, Lucian, relying on his common sense, attributes the priest's inability to sleep simply to his fear of falling from the height: τῆς πτώσιος ἡ ὀρρωδίη (29). And again, when it seems to many that the altar floats in the sacred pool and is upheld by its waters, Lucian provides a rational explanation for this as well, saying that the altar is held up by some kind of supporting column (46). While the rationalism of Hecataeus is evident primarily in his genealogical work, or since the fragments of his periegesis at least do not demonstrate this[14], Herodotus, in spite of all his old-fashioned piety, permitted himself to take fashionable rationalistic detours, e.g., against the existence of a sacred snake on the Acropolis (VIII 41), against the miracles accomplished by statues (V 86), etc. Of the later periegetes, Apollas (or Apellas), who dates from the 3rd century BC, mentions (fr. 1 = *FHG* IV 307) that both extant palladia were the works of human hands. Rationalistic interpretations of several myths, such as those of Cerberus, Actaeon and Medusa[15], are also found in Pausanias.

3. The guide to a city as holy as Hierapolis must obviously exhibit a religious and cultic focus. For Lucian, the topic of the founding of the great temple in Hierapolis, which I have already mentioned, was the equivalent of what the prehistory of Attica and Athens was for Herodotus, and the prehistory of the great cities (e.g., Epidaurus II 26, 1 ff., Troezen II 30, 5 ff.), which he later described from a periegetic perspective, for Pausanias. As we are interested here primarily in compositional elements, we note in passing and only in order to obtain a more complete picture of the guide, that its author mentions the cult of Heracles (i.e. Melcart-Baal) in Tyre (3), of Astarte-Derceto-Athargatis in Sidon (4, 14, 47; Lucian identifies Astarte with Selene, and calls Athargatis Hera), further on, the cult of Aphrodite in Byblos (6), Adonis (7, 8) and Attis (15). However, he devotes the most attention (as can also be seen from the analysis of the contents disussed above) to the local cultic customs and religious beliefs. For example, Lucian links the two great φάλλοι found before the temple with the cult of Dionysus (16; cf. Herodotus II 48)[16] and also the man who twice a year spends seven days on the top of one phallus (28). Among the other cultic practices to

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[14] Rationalization of popular accounts is posited by e.g., Jacoby in the commentary on *FGrHist* 1 F 127.

[15] Concerning this, see Frazer, *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 84 ff.

[16] Concerning this, cf. R. Ganszyniec, *ARW* XXI 1922, pp. 499 f.

which Herodotus had already turned his attention (e.g., I 35 or 47), Lucian mentions the practice of tatooing oneself (59), of youths cutting their hair and hanging the locks in the temple (60; for a similar practice on Delos, cf. Herodotus IV 34, in Troezen, cf. Pausanias II 32, 1), the custom of pouring water into the chasm which had devoured the waters of the Flood (13). When he mentions the oracle of Apollo, he also recalls other oracles throughout the world (36).

Cultic affairs which comprise a large part of our guide to the sacred city[17] are the primary focus of attention in other periegetes as well. The *index rerum* in H. Hitzig and H. Blümner's edition of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (vol. III 2, Leipzig 1900) demonstrates this clearly. Even in the fragmentarily preserved works of the other periegetes, we keep coming across the descriptions of sacrifices and cults. Beginning with the most serious of them, Polemon, who, as we can infer from the fragments, devoted much attention to these matters[18], similar interest can be observed in Semus (fr. 3), Staphylus (fr. 6), Xenagoras (fr. 3), Xeno (fr. 14), Menodotus (fr. 1), Paeon (fr. 2), Praxiteles (in Plutarch *Quaet. conv.* V 3, 1), Heliodorus (fr. 2 and 3) and Alexandrides (fr. 2). It seems, however, that periegeses with almost no mention of matters of religion and cult also existed, one example of such being Heraclides Criticus whose purely secular focus I emphasized in another place (*op. cit.* [n. 6], pp. 14 f.).

4. Mythological matter is often linked with cult. In Herodotus, who treated legend and tale on par with history, local myths play an important role in the composition of his work[19]. This passed from the Ionian periegesis to the later guides, which readily enhance the content with fables. Even the unassuming papyrus guide to Athens, known as *The Periegesis from Hawara*, according to suppositions of its editor U. Wilcken[20] introduced the myth of the συνοικισμός of Theseus into the description of Athens. In the fragments of the other authors we constantly encounter mythological content[21]. Myth also keeps rising to the surface in Pausanias, although he is often very critical towards it. In Pausanias, mythological examples vary in length from quite long, e.g. Medea, II 3, 8 ff., to quite short

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[17] This has recently been explained on the basis of extensive comparative material by C. Clemen (Der alte Orient XXXVII 1938, fasc. 3, pp. 48 ff.) in the commentary to the translation.

[18] He, too, mentions the popular beliefs in wandering statues (fr. 60, cf. Luc. 36) or the custom that those who have been acknowledged as dead are not permitted to enter certain temples (fr. 50, cf. Luc. 53).

[19] The author includes them at every opportunity. When Xerxes reached Ἅλος in Thessaly, the guides οἱ κατηγεμόνες immediately recount an ἐπιχώριος λόγος about the temple of Zeus Δαφύστιος (the story of Athamas and Phrixus, VII 197).

[20] *Die attische Periegese von Hawara*, in: *Genethliakon Carl Robert*, Berlin 1910, p. 213 (col. II 30 ff.).

[21] Cf. Staphylus fr. 2 (Thessalian mythology), 8 (Arcadian mythology), Philostephanus fr. 13 and 14, Socrates (A. Gudeman, *RE* III A, 1, 1927, col. 806), Mnascas (R. Laqueur, *RE* XV 2, 1932, col. 2250), Neanthes fr. 28, Polemon (e.g.) fr. 10.

(as with almost every description of a statue, e.g. I 2, 1 and passim). In Lucian, we find several such insertions. The most extensive, which constitutes the entire rather long chapter 12, is the μῦθος of Deucalion, while the myth of Europa (4) and the ἱερὸς λόγος of the travels of Attis (15) are greatly abbreviated.

The varied digressions in Herodotus which he himself calls παρενθῆκαι and προσθῆκαι have been acknowledged by F. Jacoby (*RE* Suppl. II, 1913, col. 380), the greatest expert on the artistry of this writer, as the primary characteristic of his entire art. An echo of these Herodotean λόγοι in Lucian is the already mentioned and disproportionately long narration about Stratonice, the foundress of the temple, who was loved by her son-in-law (digression 1, 17 f.) and who vainly attempted to attract the notice of the handsome Combabus, who manifested his loyalty to the king in a most radical fashion (digression 2, 19–26). Both these λόγοι, which comprise nine of the most extensive chapters or almost one-sixth of the entire work, could probably rival in length the story of the physician Democedes in Herodotus (III 129–138). Here we have in Lucian the typical features of a wandering fable, i.e., the motif of a dream and of illicit love, of extreme loyalty to the ruler which is richly rewarded, and, most importantly, the compositional motif of the dialogue. It is this last feature which primarily points us to Herodotus. W. Aly, examining myth motifs in Herodotus[22], noted that, even before Herodotus, it is in these mythical narrations that we pass from indirect to direct speech (*oratio recta*). And so it is. This type of composition had already appeared in Hecataeus (cf. F 30) and it had earned for him the praise of the author of the treatise on loftiness (*De sublim*. 27, 1). After him, Herodotus interrupts in his digressions the monotony of narration and dramatically enlivens it by dialogues between the characters who up to then had been described objectively[23]. From the λόγοι of Lucian, who, as a man of letters, was after all used to expressing himself primarily through dialogue, the conversations between the physician and the stepson's father (18), and then between the king and Combabus (25) reveal the similarity of Lucian's digressions to the technique of Herodotus rather than of Pausanias. The latter, whose text contains so many digressions on mythological and historical themes, never introduces dialogue, not even when the context lends itself to it. I have examined all the digressions of Pausanias on this point, and have determined that only in one case (VI 18, 2–6), where we have the reception of Anaximenes of Lampsacus by Alexander, the famous rhetor adresses the king, but dialogue does not ensue and we do not hear the answer of Alexander. The same, however, is true of our guide, where the

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[22] *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen*, Göttingen 1921.

[23] Within the excursus about the physician Democedes the dialogue of Atossa and Darius is developed (III 134). Attention to this role of dialogue in Herodotus has already been drawn by R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, vol. I, Leipzig 1895, pp. 38 f.

speech of the king to Combabus (19) and of Combabus to the king (20) before the journey with the beautiful queen goes unanswered.

Generally speaking, the genre of periegesis permitted the possibility of digressions, and thus they can be found e.g. in Asclepiades of Myrlea (fr. 1) and in Semus in connection with his descriptions of cities (Jacoby, *RE* II A, 2, 1923, col. 1357). Traces of a historical λόγος have been found by Wilcken even in the very simple *Periegesis of Hawara* in connection with the temple of Artemis in Munichia (*op. cit.* [n. 20], col. II 11 ff.).

5. In the literature of periegesis, one area has always been in focus from the very beginning of this genre. Hecataeus was already sensitive to miracles, θωύματα. According to Porphyry, Herodotus would at times borrow them word for word, although at other times he would criticize them severely. For example, in a verbatim fragment of Hecataeus (found in the geographer Stephanus of Byzantium, F 305) we read about a floating island that ἔστι [...] μεταρσίη καὶ κινεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. Herodotus even introduced a type of label which announced such miracles and which was long maintained in periegetical texts[24]. Even without this kind of announcement, Herodotus notes various θώματα, such as a river flowing with asphalt (I 179) or a spring of asphalt (VI 119), trees with intoxicating scent (I 202) or a spring with the scent of violets (III 23). He also notes distinctly that Lydia (I 93) or Scythia (IV 82) θώματα [...] ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει.

Before we examine our guide from this perspective, let us note that the other periegetes, in relation to the seriousness of their work, also focus on θαυμάσια καὶ παράδοξα. Even the most serious of them did not completely omit this area, which flourished of its own accord as the so-called paradoxographical literature, and which left obvious traces in the fragments of the periegetes. Thus Polemon also discussed the peculiarities of certain rivers (fr. 81–83) and of the physical θαυμάσια of various people (fr. 84), Heliodorus discussed marvellous waters which taste like wine (fr. 6), Philostephanus (3rd century BC) mentioned wondrous fish (fr. 20) and a river that flows under the ground (fr. 23). In particular, the periegesis of Mnaseas abounded in such curiosities and wonders of nature[25].

Pausanias, Lucian's contemporary, also found plenty of space for diverse παράδοξα. He mentions strange animals in various countries (II 28, 1), unusual (IV 41, 1 f.) and even singing (VIII 21, 2) fish, also places where animals cast no shadows (VIII 38, 6) or swallows that do not lay eggs (X 4, 9) and the like.

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[24] Here belong the following expressions: ἀξιοθέητος (I 14 and 184; II 111 and 176; IV 85 and 162), θῶμα μέγιστον (I 93 and 194; II 149 and 155; III 12), θέης θωμάσαι ἄξιος (I 25; III 43 and 111; IV 53 and 199), ἄξιος θώματος (I 185), θαυμάσια ἔχει (II 35), θαυμαστότατος (II 156; III 112), ἀξιαπηγητότατον (II 99 and 137), ἀξιόλογος (II 148).

[25] Cf. also Nymphodorus of Syracuse about domesticated turtles (fr. 4) and about water that colours hair (fr. 5a).

It is not surprising, then, that the labels of θωῦμα, ἄξιος θωμάσαι, θωυμαστόν, λόγου ἄξιον or finally ἄξιον μνήσασθαι, so familiar from Herodotus, are also to be found in Lucian. In this way, Lucian describes the yearly phenomena of the head of Osiris floating from Egypt to Byblos (7), of the river Adonis filling with blood (8) (which was, in fact, verified by M. Renan during his stay in Phoenicia), and the phenomenon of the statues of the gods sweating (10). He also narrates other oddities: how the man climbs up the φάλλος (29), that a statue rises up and moves during divination (39), that near the temple animals are pastured that are simultaneously both wild and tame (41), that in the pool there are tame fish (45) and that the altar seems to float upon the water (46). Moreover, by the pool there lives a sacred rooster which breaks the wax seals on the jars brought by pilgrims (48). All these are proclaimed as θαυμάσαι ἄξιον, θαῦμα διάφορον or simply as θαῦμα.

6. If we realize that, with some of the θαῦματα, the periegetes are trying to explain the cause (αἰτία) of the phenomenon, then we touch upon a motif that is important in periegetical literature, had roots in Ionian ἱστορίη and was the point of origin for the entire and extensive genre of aetiological literature which, particularly in the Alexandrian period, was also bolstered by the poets.

From this aetiological perspective Hecataeus observed not only natural phenomena (the flooding of the Nile: F 302a) but also the names of rivers (F 102a) and places (F 115a and 266). In a similar fashion, Herodotus later gives the αἴτιον of the names of peoples[26], personal names (V 65; VI 63) and the names of festivals (λυχνοκαΐη, II 62). He attempts to discover the αἴτιον of the flooding of the Nile (II 20 ff.) or the phenomenon of lions attacking only the camels of Xerxes' army (VII 125: θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον...). Later periegetes also include the etymology of place names[27]. These aetiological investigations sometimes refer not only to the name of a city but also to its history and its founder, the κτιστής. This motif is also very popular among the periegetes. I observed it in six fragments of Philostephanus and in four passages of Pausanias. Even Heraclides Criticus, who generally lacks a historical sense, concerns himself with the etymology of the city of Hellas and the person of its founder (fr. III 2). In other periegetes, including the very typical Polemon, we also find αἴτια of the epithets of the gods, the names of festivals and rare words[28].

After this introduction, let us return to Lucian's guide. At the very beginning (1), we come across the αἴτιον of the name Hierapolis itself. In the author's

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[26] Τυρσηνοί (I 94), Λύκιοι (I 173), Ἀμμώνιοι (II 42), Ἀριμασποί (IV 27), Μελάγχλαινοι (IV 107), Ἄτλαντες (IV 184).

[27] Philostephanus (as can be seen in over a dozen fragments, e.g., fr. 1 and 2), Callistratus explains the names of cities (fr. 5–9), Alexander Polyhistor (fr. 31a, 32, 33, 39, etc.), Mnaseas (fr. 22, 28), Polemon (fr. 56), Alexandrides (fr. 1).

[28] I am omitting references for lack of space.

opinion, this name was orignially different, (ὄνομα) τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἄλλο ἦν. The name currently in use did not arise with the founding of the city, but derives from the many festivals that are held there. Thus, in addition to the αἴτιον, we also find a motif which is not found in Herodotus: the change in the place name. I came across this motif in Neanthes (fr. 36 M, referring to the change in the name of one of the capes of Euboea) and in Staphylus (fr. 1, referring to the former name of Thessaly). Pausanias mentions a change of name several times, referring to the name of a city (IV 35, 1; VII 17, 6), of an island (II 5, 2) or of a land (II 12, 3)[29]. Pausanias also mentions several dozen times the αἴτιον for the names of diverse places, beginning with the name of Attica (I 2, 6) or Κεραμεικός (I 3, 1). We constantly read the following phrases: ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον (I 20, 1); τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ [...] ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει (II 15, 1); ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει (II 25, 6)[30].

Lucian is also interested in the αἴτια of certain religious beliefs. In chapter 7, he gives the reason for which some inhabitants of Byblos believe that ceremonies in honour of Adonis are in fact directed at Osiris. When describing how the river Ἄδωνις is each year filled with blood, Lucian writes ἑτέρην [...] τοῦ πάθεος αἰτίην (8). He also notes the αἰτίη πιστοτέρη for the castration of the Galli. Later (26), he gives the aetiology for their existence and their use of women's robes (27). He takes more time to relate the αἴτιον for the origin of the temple (12–17), just as Pausanias does when he describes the temple of Thetis in Sparta (III 14, 4). In the description of the man who climbs the phallus, we read (28): αἰτίη δὲ οἱ τῆς ἀνόδου ἥδε λέγεται: either because in this way he is closer to the gods or because he is commemorating the Flood. I mentioned earlier that Lucian also gave the reason for which the man does not fall alseep while he is on the phallus (29). The statue of Hera in Hierapolis has on its head a precious stone called the λυχνίς [...] οὔνομα δέ οἱ τοῦ ἔργου ἡ συντυχίη. ἀπὸ τούτου ἐν νυκτὶ σέλας πολλὸν ἀπολάμπεται, ὑπὸ δέ οἱ καὶ ὁ νηὸς ἅπας οἷον ὑπὸ λύχνοισι φαείνεται (32). Lucian tries in vain to divine the cause of why the Syrians erect statues: κοίη ὧν αἰτίη ξοανουργίης (34) to those gods who manifest themselves in the air when Helius and Selene, who are visible to all, are deprived of statues. With respect to statues, we also have the αἰτίη for the representation of Apollo as bearded γενειήτεω (35) and of Semiramis pointing at the temple with her right hand (39). If to these we add an explanation of the name διδάσκαλοι, those who guide foreigners (56), we can assert that Lucian was considerably interested in aetiological matters, an interest he shares with other periegetes. Obviously Pausanias, in his rambling style, provides us with the most material in this area. His explanations

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[29] The Alexandrians and the poets led by Callimachus also reveal an interest in the μετονομασίαι of cities. Nicanor devoted a separate text to this.

[30] For lack of space, I am omitting the copious material that has been collected on this issue concerning Pausanias.

for the epithets of the gods (e.g., Apollo Λύκιος, II 19, 3 f.), the names of springs (II 7, 4) or (as we have seen) of places are standard fare.

It can be added that the motif of εὑρήματα is also associated with aetiology. The question of the development of culture through discoveries and inventions was most probably posed for the first time by the sophists. Just as the periegete Semus discussed various εὑρήματα (Jacoby, *RE* II A, 2, 1923, col. 1357) and Polemon (fr. 64) mentioned the discovery of μύρον, so our Lucian begins his periegesis by the assertion (2) that the Egyptians were the first to introduce statues of gods and sacrifices and the first to give names to the gods; they also invented the sacred myths and, originally, their temples were ἀξόανοι (3). Herodotus also ascribed similar inventions to the Egyptians (II 4): from them, the Pelasgians learned the names of the gods (II 51) and statues and altars were orignally lacking among the Persians (I 131).

7. From Herodotus onwards, the periegetes include various ἀναθήματα among the so called θεωρήματα: the silver ἀναθήματα of Gyges in Delphi (Hdt. I 14), altars (I 183) and statues (II 41), monumental buildings (II 138) as well as inscriptions (e.g. II 187 and passim). As can be seen even from the fragments, the periegetes not only record these artifacts but also promote them. *The Periegesis from Hawara* ([n. 20], col. II 9 ff.) describes the sundial in the port of Zea (which is not mentioned anywhere else) as a curiosity and explains how it functions, it describes the temple of Artemis in Munichia (II 11 f.) as a περιβόητον and the walls surrounding Piraeus as ἀλόγως ἐλλογιμώτατα ὄντα διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης (II 24). Similarly, Heraclides Criticus, who at every turn readily emphasizes any oddities in urban planning, mentions the θέατρον ἀξιόλογον μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν [...] ἄξιον θέας[31] μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ἔχον τοῖς θεωροῦσιν (I 1) at the very beginning of his entry for Athens. He is disappointed with the appearance of Athens itself, but he describes even the as yet unfinished Ὀλύμπιον as κατάπληξιν ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφήν (*ibid.*), and Thespiae as a place which possesses ἀνδριάντας εὖ πεποιημένους (I 25).

In each guide descriptions of ancient monumental artifacts and works of art constitute the most interesting section. In Lucian's guide, the attention of the reader is drawn by the author's well known aesthetic predilections in this area. We know how much he was enraptured by Phidias' statue of Zeus (*De sacrif.* 11). He also mentioned the aesthetic interpretation of works of art, ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὸ κάλλος (*Hist. conscr.* 27)[32]. Although in his other works Lucian expresses the pleasure he

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[31] This is my reading after the MS Paris. 443 Suppl. Both Müller and Duke inroduce an unnecessary change to θεᾶς, which is inappropriate to the clearly secular character of the guide of Heraclides. The identical expression ἄξιον θέας is frequently found in Pausanias, e.g., I 14, 1; IX 38, 2; X 37, 8.

[32] These and other interesting sections of Lucian were exploited by W. Madyda in a work published just before the war, *De pulchritudine imaginum deorum quid auctores Graeci saec. II p. Chr. n. iudicaverint*, Cracoviae 1939 (Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Archiwum Filologiczne XVI), pp. 31 ff.

experiences when looking at works of art, he does not do so in his guide. Rather, he restricts himself to the cataloguing of statues (10, 14, 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40), recording some as ἔργον or ποίημα, just as Herodotus (I 52 and 25) and Pausanias (e.g., V 17, 3 and 24, 1) did. In only one case does Lucian record the artist: Ἑρμοκλέους τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποίημα (26) and only once does he emphasize the beauty of the statue of Stratonice, even then quite perfunctorily, κάρτα καλόν (40). At the most, he describes the μορφή of some statues (of Hera, πολυειδέα μορφήν, 32, of a nameless statue, which μορφήν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, 33, cf. 40). Only when a statue evokes θαυμάσιον in the one examining it or when it is made from some costly material does Lucian pay more attention to it. For example, the statue of Hera is decorated with many jewels and on her head is a stone which glows even during the night: καὶ ἄλλο θωυμαστόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ξοάνῳ· ἢν ἑστεὼς ἀντίος ἐσορέῃς, ἐς σὲ ὁρῇ καὶ μεταβαίνοντι τὸ βλέμμα ἀκολουθέει, καὶ ἢν ἄλλος ἑτέρωθεν ἐσορέῃ, ἴσα καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέει (32 fin.).

Except for the one time that Lucian underscores the artistry of an unknown artist (40), throughout the entire text he generally exhibits an indifference towards the works of art that he is describing. In this, he is not necessarily following in the footsteps of Pausanias, who of old was judged as not able to perceive the aesthetic beauty of these works of art[33]. More recently Pausanias has been defended by his estimable commentator, J.G. Frazer (*op. cit.* [n. 9], pp. 94 ff.), who asserts that Pausanias not only recognized the greatness of Phidias but also that he was capable of independent judgement even when measured against the pronouncements of his contemporary, Lucian (in works other than our guide, of course). For this reason, in the description of statues in the *De dea Syria*, I perceive a conscious archaisation and striving for an aesthetic standard even lower than that of Pausanias. Herodotus, when he mentions statues, was at times unable to do more than record their height and the material of which they were made (e.g., the statue of Sesostris, II 106). From time to time, he would describe the figure as executed by the artist, without, however, expressing his personal aesthetic experience. With this second group of descriptions it is possible to compare several references to the statues in the guide to Hierapolis. For example

(ch. 31): ...ἄμφω δὲ χρύσεοί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἄμφω ἕζονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φέρουσι ὁ δὲ (Ζεὺς) ταύροισι ἐφέζεται,
(cf. Hdt. I 24: Ἀρίονος ἔστι ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα [...] ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος)

(ch. 32, the statue of Hera): χειρὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρῃ σκῆπτρον ἔχει, τῇ ἑτέρῃ δὲ ἄτρακτον...,
(cf. Hdt. II 141, referring to the statue of Sethon: καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ [...] λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν).

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[33] Cf. R. Bertrand, *Études sur la peinture et la critique d'art dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1893, p. 336; then G. Pasquali, Hermes XLVIII 1913, pp. 162, 189.

Now let us proceed to the description of monumental artifacts. In his description of the temple (28 and 30), Lucian mentions the double ring of surrounding walls, the *propylaia*, their height and the height of the temple pedestal. He describes the central building in more detail (*pronaos*, the golden doors, the entire temple is blazing with gold, its ceiling is golden, the ναός and the interior decoration of the temple). Even Pausanias, in his description of the temple of Apollo Ἐπικούριος at Bassae in the Peloponnesus praises it as λίθου τε ἐς κάλλος καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίης ἕνεκα (VIII 41, 8). He also praises the harmonious proportions and the beauty of the materials of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The Athenian stadium made from white marble does not impress in the telling; this wonder must be seen (τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, I 19, 6). On the basis of such revelations about architectural works which FRAZER (*op. cit.* [n. 9], pp. 97 f.) compared with Lucian's aesthetic judgements, it became clear that, in this area also, Pausanias did display a certain artistic sense even if it was somewhat limited. In our guide, however, Lucian's description of the temple is far from being an aesthetic evaluation of a monumental artifact. For this reason, I would rather relate it to similar descriptions in Herodotus, e.g.:

> (ch. 28): τὰ δὲ προπύλαια τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐς ἄνεμον βορέην ἀποκέκλιται μέγαθος ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων;
> (cf. Hdt. II 136: τὸν [*scil.* Ἄσυχιν] τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι [...] προπύλαια ἐόντα πολλῷ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα)
>
> (Lucian, *ibid.*): ὁ μὲν χῶρος αὐτός ἐν τῷ τὸ ἱρὸν ἵδρυται, λόφος ἐστί, κέεται δὲ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλιος...
> (and ch. 30): ἄνοδος ἐς αὐτὸν (*scil.* νηὸν) λίθου πεποίειται οὐ κάρτα μάκρη...
> (cf. Hdt. II 138: ἐὸν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρὸν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιιόντι [...] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου...)

Here it is easy to observe the almost identical literary structure and the excessively objective description.

To be even more precise, let us add that in Lucian's guide we also have the already mentioned throne of Helius (34), the altar in the pool (46) and the coin displaying Europa (4). While inscriptions are numerous in Herodotus as well as in Polemon (who was known as στηλοκόπας), Pausanias and others, Lucian includes only one, the inscription on the phalli before the temple (16). Because the inscription was in an unfamiliar dialect, Lucian provides a summary of the inscription based on his own imagination and the information he received from the priests[34].

8. In Lucian, as in other periegetical writings, descriptions of monumental artifacts or works of art are often accompanied by topographical indications. Overall, the entire guide begins with the topographical localization of Hierapolis (1): οὐ πολλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ. There is a similar entry for the

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[34] Cf. CLEMEN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 44 (in his commentary) and GANSZYNIEC, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 501.

sacred pool: οὐ πολλὸν ἑκὰς τοῦ ἱροῦ (45). Such topographical indications are naturally very characteristic of guides. In the case of doubtful fragments, they often consitute the criterion by which such writings may be classified as periegetic. H. Bischoff (in his article *Perieget*, *RE* XIX 1, 1937, coll. 726 ff.) utilized this criterion to compile a list of alleged periegetes, e.g. referring to Alcetas (no. 25), to Claudius Iullus, a Roman who wrote in Greek (no. 33) and also to Praxiteles (no. 8). Clearly, a guide must provide topographical orientation.

In the generally oriented geographical work of Hecataeus, whom I mention as the father of periegesis, we find only very cursory indicators of location (μετὰ δὲ... μετὰ δὲ: F 48, 106 and 166 or ἐν δὲ... ἐν δὲ: F 67a and 146), most frequently according to the cardinal directions of the world (e.g. F 203, 204, 207). This last system of notating location passed to Herodotus as well, II 112; 121: προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα; 136: τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα (cf. 153; IV 35; V 77) and in Lucian cf. προπύλαια [...] πρὸς ἄνεμον βορέην ἀποκέκλιται (28) or else ὁ νηὸς ὁρέει μὲν ἐς Ἠέλιον ἀνιόντα (30). Pausanias also describes location in this way (VI 21, 2): οἰκήσεις ἐπί τε ἄνεμον Λίβα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς as well as Heraclides Criticus, fr. II 9: πρός τε ζέφυρον καὶ ἡλίου δύσιν ἐστραμμένη. In our guide this is linked with the indicating of direction according to the right or left hand: ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ νηοῦ (16), ἐν ἀριστερῇ τοῦ νεώ..., ἐν δεξιῇ (39), which also appears sporadically in Herodotus (e.g., II 169; V 77).

Other topographical formulae also exist, of which the simplest are probably prepositions and adverbs. These are used by Herodotus to indicate the location of artifacts quite accurately. Beside the usual ἐν we also meet καθυπέρθεν, πρό, ἀντίον, ὄπισθε, ἀγχοτάτω, ἔσω, ἔξω, ἔμπροσθεν. I have also found similar expressions even in the fragments of authors who today are considered periegetes[35]. In Lucian, we also find ἐπὶ τῷ χάσματι, ὑπὸ τῷ νηῷ (13), ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ (16), μετὰ [...] τὸν θρόνον (35, 38), ἐντὸς τοῦ νηοῦ (39), κατὰ μέσον (28, 46). As renowned a periegete as the 3rd century Diodorus gives the topography of the tomb of Themistocles with the greatest precision in fr. 1 (= Plut. *Them.* 32):

> περὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἅλκιμον ἀκροτωτηρίου πρόκειταί τις οἷον ἀγκὼν καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ᾗ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους.

Wilcken, the editor of *The Periegesis from Hawara* ([n. 20], pp. 208 f.), asserts that, for the first time in literature, a topographical feature (a certain hill called Σικελία) was used to denote the orientation of the walls of the port of Phaleron (col. II 25 f.).

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[35] In Xenon (fr. 14), Philostephanus (fr. 24, 25), Phlegon (fr. 41, 44, 46), Pausanias of Damascus (fr. 4), Praxiteles (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* V 3, 1), Polemon (fr. 18 and 44), Heraclides Criticus (fr. I 1, 6, 12, 23, 26, 30; fr. II 8).

As early as Herodotus, we come across the so called *dativus relationis* or *indicantis*, a construction that denotes location from the standpoint of the traveller or guide. This occurs more than a dozen time in Herodotus and in one verbatim fragment in Hecataeus, F 169: ὑπερβάντι τὸν Θράικιον Αἶμον; Hdt. I 51: ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι τὸν νηόν[36]. This construction is also found in fr. 3 of Callicrates: βαδίζουσι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν εἰσὶ στῆλαι. In Lucian's guide, we find two examples (30), but these datives are not used for topographical orientation[37]. Instead, a defective genitive absolute is used, lacking a noun which would denote the traveller. This rather rare construction, but already familiar to Homer, is not found in Herodotus or any of the fragments of the periegetes and only once in Lucian: ἐσιόντων ἐν ἀριστερῇ κέεται [...] θρόνος (34).

With respect to topographical formulae, a record number of 41 various formulae are found in Pausanias, who definitively surpasses all other periegetes whose writings survive. In his work, 34 examples of the rare defective gentitive absolute alone can be found[38].

Since we are discussing topography, it is worth noting that Lucian's guide lacks tourist information. Herodotus, while not a periegete, frequently has the traveller in mind and provides the distance to be travelled: μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί (I 72)[39]. In Heraclides Criticus as well I have noticed many similar simply practical directions, which are nonetheless an expression of literary stylisation (*op. cit.* [n. 5], pp. 46 f.). Pausanias, although he was likely writing for readers, not for travellers, follows tradition and gives multiple directions, indicates the direction of roads (II 12, 3) or else classifies them: ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ἄνδρασι εὐζώνοις [...] ἡ δὲ στενὴ [...] ὀχήμασι δέ ἐστιν. Lucian simply mentions pilgrimages (ὁδοιπορίαι, ὁδοιπορεῖν, 48, 55), only once indicates the distance between the temple on Libanus and Byblos as being ὁδὸς ἡμέρης (9), and that the head of Osiris undergoes a πλόον ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων from Egypt to Byblos (7). We also have a mention (56) of special hosts, ξενοδόκοι, who take care of pilgrims in Hierapolis. This almost unique piece of information was acclaimed by T. Mandybur (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 388) as an indicator of the basic orientation of a text that was, in his view, intended for pilgrims.

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[36] Cf. Hdt. II 7, 8, 29, 155; IV 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 34.

[37] Ἀνελθόντι δὲ θωῦμα and καί σοι ἀνιόντι προσβάλλει πνοιήν.

[38] It can be added that the technique of periegesis is also used in literary works which, while not really belonging to the literature of travel guides, nevertheless give a detailed description of some particular spot, e.g., the description of an immense forty-tiered ship built during the time of Ptolemy Philopator (in Callixinus of Rhodes fr. 1 = *FHG* III 55 f.) exhibits the primarily topographical bent of perigesis, which is completely natural. Much can be said about the topographical arrangement in the works of the Atthidographers as well. Later, Lucian himself used topographical formulae in his parody of travel literature, most likely in order to create the impression that he is speaking the truth.

[39] Cf. 104; III 5; IV 18, 21; V 50, 52 f., particularly the description of the royal road Ephesus–Susa.

II

In my opinion, the material so far presented in this article is sufficient for us to draw ceratin conclusions pertaining to the relation between our guide and Lucian's literary output on the one hand, and to the place of this periegesis in the history of Greek literature on the other.

1. In the general assessment of the text, the first question to be raised is that of its authenticity. Today, the view that Lucian was its author is supported by many weighty opinions. Earlier proponents of this view were W. Christ (*Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, vol. II 2, München [5]1913, p. 560), W.W. Baudissin, an expert in the history of religion, Cumont (*op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 248, n. 19), Th. Nöldeke (in a letter to Cumont), then Ganszyniec (*op. cit.* [n. 16]), the Dutch scholar G. Goossens[40], Clemen (*op. cit.* [n. 17]) just before the war, and last year (1945), Professor Tadeusz Sinko (in his work on the chronology of Lucian's writings which was presented at a meeting of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences). Among those who disagree with their opinion is Rudolf Helm, the eminent expert on Lucian. While Baudissin perceived everywhere between the lines a roguish sense of humour and a mockery of holiness concealed by an apparent gravity, and Christ wrote clearly of a successful satire on Syrian worship, Helm was unable to detect in this text even a trace of Lucian's spirit. The guide to the sacred city of Hierapolis is indeed written in a serious vein, at which the author must have laboured purposefully. So how can we explain this literary *curiosum*, as our text was called by T. Mandybur (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 368)?

The author of the guide is completely at the service of the traditions of the literary genre of periegesis, so much, that his own personality is submerged by this whole traditional apparatus of the genre. Lucian wished to write a guide in a rather Herodotean manner and this is why, as he described works of art, he consciously introduced archaisms. He employed lexical archaism as well. In the 2nd century AD, however, the use of the Herodotean dialect was fashionable[41]. Similarly, honouring the literary tradition, Lucian did not permit himself to voice his own aesthetic judgements of these works of art as he did in so many other works. Again, in this guide which was nothing else than a literary *lusus ingenii* (something that ancient writers frequently attempted), Lucian, author of the parody on prayer[42] and sharp critic of professional guides[43] imposed silence upon his

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[40] *De Syrische godin van Lucianus*, Philologische Studien VII 1935–1936, pp. 122 ff. (see a review in: Bursians Jahresb. CCLXXII 1941, p. 213).

[41] Cf. Arr. *Ind.* – Once again, the Asianic manner, which had earlier (A. Boeckh) been observed in Pausanias as well, had been introduced by Heraclides Criticus in his description of the cities of central Greece (fr. 1; cf. Schnayder, *op. cit.* [n. 6], pp. 48 ff.).

[42] Described by H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike*, Stuttgart 1937

[43] *Philops.* 4: εἰ γοῦν τις ἀφέλοι τὰ μυθώδη ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἂν κωλύσαι λιμῷ τοὺς περιηγητὰς αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆναι μηδὲ ἀμισθὶ τῶν ξένων τ' ἀληθὲς ἀκούειν ἐθελησάντων.

own opinions concerning the *res sacrae* in Hierapolis. As we read his periegesis, we are tempted to repeat the words of Sienkiewicz's character Zagłoba which refer to the speech of a Swedish envoy in Zamość: "the devil has donned a chasuble and is ringing for Mass with his tail...". This voluntary and conscious constraint gives rise in Lucian to a certain exaggeration in his amassing of wonders as well as to a sometimes glaring impostion of eyewitness accounts, particularly with reference to the miracles, which obviously constitute a compositional element. This double standard is credible in a Syrian, i.e., a representative of a rather mediocre and ethnically quite uninteresting race, particularly in one who, in the προλαλία entitled Ἡρόδοτος ἢ Ἀετίων had stated that he would like to imitate Herodotus, but perhaps not in everything, since this was too much to hope for: Ἡρόδοτον εἴθε μὲν και τὰ ἄλλα μιμήσεσθαι δυνατὸν ἦν· οὐ πάντα φημὶ ὅσα προσῆν αὐτῷ, μεῖζον γὰρ εὐχῆς τοῦτό γε (1). Elsewhere, however, Lucian rates this same Herodotus among common liars who achieved their fame through lies preserved in writing: ...ἀοιδίμους ἄνδρας ἐγγράφῳ τῷ ψεύσματι κεχρημένους (*Philops.* 2, cf. *Ver. hist.* II 31). Arguably, only literary stylistics can justify such a radical about-face.

Lucian was a man of letters versed in rhetorical ἐκφράσεις, not a professional periegete. He consciously made use of the traditional repertoire of periegesis, a genre which, although already in existence for several centuries, had stagnated by the 2nd century AD as had other genres of Greek prose. Our author was eagerly drawing upon this rich inheritance and gravitating primarily towards Herodotus. Here belong the eyewitness accounts, the interviews with priests, the focus on cultic affairs and religious beliefs, the excursions into myth, the interest in θωύματα and the aetiology of names and cults, the description of monumental artifacts and the cataloguing of statues as well as topographical directions. Similarly, a familiarity with sympotic motifs permitted Lucian to write a cynical symposium in Menippean style. In the same way, Horace gave a biting satirical description of a dinner party of the *nouveau-riche* Nasidienus (*Sat.* II 8), and his portrayal of various traditional characters, such as the host, has been highly acclaimed by classical scholars. Also, in his *Iter Brundisinum*, Horace consciously introduced various motifs from periegesis[44]. This suffices for the question of authorship. The contents of our guide for the most part correspond to reality. More recent experts in the history of religion (Baudissin, Cumont, Ganszyniec) have attested to the undeniable value of the information provided by Lucian. The

[44] The technique of periegesis was afterwards used by Lucian in his parody of travel literature in the so-called *Vera historia*; here we find eyewitness accounts (I 4, 13, 28; II 1, 25) and of course various θαυμάσια, columns with inscriptions (I 7, 20, 32; II 3, 28), estimates of distance, dimensions (I 7, 9, 13, 15, 30, 31 passim; II 1, 3, 5, 33), and even aetiological speculations (I 7, 12, 13, 22; II 31).

author fails only where he permits himself to improvise. Recent archaeological investigations have also provided positive results[45].

2. In his local periegesis, motivated no doubt by his local Syrian patriotism, Lucian introduced into his descriptions of the sacred artifacts of Hierapolis various motifs from the literary style of Herodotus. We should not, however, focus too exclusively on this imitation, especially because due to the fact that this guide is restricted to one location only, a certain shift in or limitation of the content matter occurred. For this reason, not all the τόποι of Herodotus that pass to the other periegetes can be found here. For example, we do not find an interest in urban planning, the author does not concern himself with the inhabitants of the city and their δίαιτα or the produce of the earth. At the same time, however, because the *De dea Syria* does exhibit characteristics common to the whole literary genre, it was necessary to compare it with other examples of periegesis up to and including Pausanias.

With regard to the attitude of Lucian the periegete to his contemporary, the author of the extant and the most extensive *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, it must be concluded that some motifs typical of Pausanias are lacking in the guide to Hierapolis. These include quotations from poetry, historical λόγοι (in Lucian, these are rather mythological and with a composition more similar to that of Herodotus and the λόγος about Stratonice is not historical: Clemen, *op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 38) as well as the absence of tourist instructions. In Lucian's periegesis, the attitude towards works of art is rather indicative of archaisation, not to mention that the guide begins with a prominent introduction, something which is lacking in Pausanias. The only possible correspondence is with book I of Pausanias and it is based on Lucian's religio-archaeological inclinations. We know that the scope of Pausanias' interests expanded in the later books (the first was published separately) and included the inhabitants, their costumes and customs and even at times the landscapes. All this leads to the conclusion that the motifs that are found in our guide are those quite generally found in periegesis, and it is the author himself who is responsible for their selection and formulation.

What value does Lucian's guide hold for us? In order to answer this questions, we have to realize that, from the entire and rather extensive genre of periegetic literature which, it would seem, enjoyed the greatest popularity during the Hellenistic period, up to the present only the guide of Pausanias has been preserved in its entirety. Except for this, we possess only fragments, which have recently been catalogued and inventoried by Bischoff, and which to some degree permit us to orient ourselves in this type of literary production and even to establish a typology of the genre. Seen in this light, Lucian's guide assumes a very real worth which in the past had been underestimated. In it, we have one more

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[45] Goossens, *op. cit.* (n. 40); H. Stocks, *Studien zu Lukians De Syria dea*, Berytus IV 1938, pp. 1 ff., cf. Bursians Jahresb. CCLXXII 1941, p. 212.

entirely preserved example of periegesis which, although written by a man of letters rather than a periegete, still gives us a good understanding of the techniques of the genre. No one will compare this text with the scholarly works of Polemon or Heliodorus, for Lucian's guide is devoid of any type of scholarly pretensions or antiquarian learning. Following the unpretentious, naive manner of Herodotus, he instead emphasizes θαυμάσια and the sacred artifacts associated with the city of the goddess Athargatis. Such guides to sacred places must have been numerous, as were periegeses to non-religious locations (e.g. that of Heraclides Criticus) which did not focus on cult. By its restriction of content to the artifacts of only one temple or sacred city, Lucian's text suggests a resemblance to works whose character, however, cannot be assessed in any detail: the periegesis of Democritus of Ephesus (from the Hellenistic period), represented by a few fragments (*Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναοῦ* in Bischoff no. 37) or that of Alcetas' *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων* (only one fragment, in Bischoff no. 25).

Following the example of Herodotus, Lucian was subconsciously striving to reach the original source of this literary form used by the Greek periegetes. Although they deviated from the original in both language (Pausanias, for example, modernized the language of Herodotus) and expression, nevertheless the *De dea Syria* should not be omitted from the history of Greek periegesis. In any case, it is an interesting example of a type of work reconstructed by a man of letters, a work whose preservation the envious centuries clearly neglected, as well as a significant witness to the enduring power of literary tradition in antiquity.

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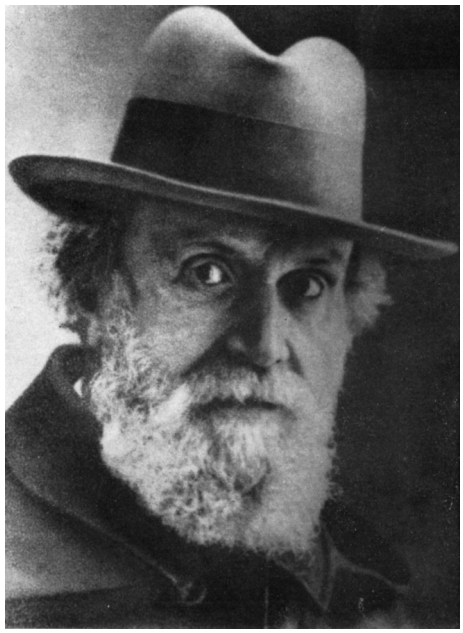
TADEUSZ ZIELIŃSKI (1859–1944)*

By

STEFAN SREBRNY

I



Tadeusz Zieliński

Tadeusz Zieliński is dead. The terrible toll of the most monstrous of wars has included him too. For in spite of his advanced years, when the war broke out, not only was he at the height of his creative powers, but also physically fit enough for others to expect him to live and work for many years to come, even though in general his constitution was not that strong. However, the siege of Warsaw, in which his apartment burnt down with all his possessions and books in it; the awful physical consequences of the nervous shock caused by that fire; the only solution left to the man oppressed by illness and homelessness, that is leaving the motherland for Upper Bavaria, where his son had settled years before; finally there the death of his beloved daughter Weronika, until her last breath his loyal attendant and companion; all that, combined with the constant gnawing worry for his tortured country and the depressing awareness of having found a haven in the land of its oppressors – conspired to hasten the end of that greatly creative life.

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" XLII 1947, fasc. 2, pp. 5–65.

He worked and wrote literally until the last moments of his life. Volume V of his *Religie świata antycznego* (*Religions of the Ancient World*), the volume dedicated to the religion of the Roman Empire, was lost in the fire; having soon after his exile gained the option of borrowing books by mail from the library of the University of Munich, he proceeded to reconstruct it. Of course without access to essential reference works and sources, the work was made extremely difficult; moreover not only did his health not improve, it actually got worse all the time. Even so, he completed the re-writing; the main body of the text was ready by August of 1941 and Zieliński promptly commenced working on the notes, which, just as in the other two volumes published in print, contain a report on the scholarly foundations of the book. On 2 August 1942 he wrote to me:

> I have finished volume five, *Religia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego* (*The Religion of the Roman Empire*) complete with the notes, although the latter keep growing slowly, in drips and drops. I have also begun on volume six, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* (*Ancient Christianity*)...

And here the tone turned heroic, and would remain such until the last of his days. "I have begun on volume six", Zieliński wrote, "without any false hope that I might finish it; still, I believe every page written will be regarded as wrested from the maw of Hades". During that work he suffered increasingly frequent heart attacks, which would eventually be his death; his eyesight was deteriorating too. You could say that Hades was winning the battle.

In December of that year the fierce Hades insidiously attacked Zieliński's indomitable creative spirit: his daughter died. He wrote:

> You better than many others know what she meant to me; was I not entitled to expect, what with my bad and ever worsening condition, that she would outlive me and until the end of my life, which is not far off, remain my guardian angel? But the unfriendly fate has denied me even that consolation, selfish though it might have been.

That blow hardly impaired his will and energy to work, although his body was growing weak. Complete the book! – That was the thought that dominated all else now that imminent death seemed certain. He made a list of people to be notified when he died; when that happened on 8 May 1944, his son would carry out his will according to that list.

Meanwhile, more and more problems assailed Zieliński in his work; for various reasons libraries could not or would not send him more books. He did not give up. "I am not losing hope", he wrote on 12 April 1943, "but weeks go by and my strength is running out". Eventually it was possible for him to receive books again and his work moved forward swiftly. On 5 October of the same year Zieliński wrote in a letter that he was working on a chapter on Saint Augustine.

> I still have hope that despite all the devils, internal and external, conspiring against me, I shall be able to complete the chapter on him, and with it the book. And with it the whole six-volume work. And then I will be able to breathe a sigh of relief and say with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*.

And so it was; on 22 December of that year, on the anniversary of the death of his daughter, "the first and so far the only reader of the last two volumes", volume six was complete. Or at least, the main body of the text was; as late as 23 April 1944, two weeks before his death, Zieliński informed professor W. Klinger that he was working on revising the volume, that is, on writing notes for it.

Would the last two volumes see the light of day? That was the question that nagged him in the last moments of his life. Naturally we should do all we can to make it happen. [The volumes were eventually published, in 1999.] The great scholar, author and thinker was afraid his memory might be lost; that fear poisoned his last days in this world. Not that that fear was at all justified, of course; how could the world forget Tadeusz Zieliński, the man who played such an important role not merely in the systematic, scholarly study of classics, but also in building a culture based on connecting to it and understanding its spirit? It was in this manner that I answered my outstanding teacher's last letter (from 3 January 1944), in which he expressed just such a fear. In reference to my translation of Aeschylus, of which I had informed him, he wrote:

> I suppose [...] that against Weil you are leaving ll. 1327–1330 (ἰὼ βροτεῖα πράγματ'...)[1] to Cassandra, and against Wilamowitz, l. 1330 in its commonly accepted sense[2], which I apply directly to myself. The transition from good to bad fortune – σκιά τις ἂν τρέψειε – is Tadeusz Zieliński in September of 1939; the transition from bad fortune to utter annihilation – you, too, shall drown in the waters of oblivion – and this is even more painful than that[3]... oh how vividly I feel that in my own soul! That is the nightmare I fight with all I have. Among other things by finishing volume six, and with it the whole work [...] If only I could be certain that the last two volumes will appear, that would be a chance at victory against the waters of oblivion.

Not only must the splendid fruits of Tadeusz Zieliński's life not be forgotten; on the contrary, in the future they need to exert an ever greater influence on and permeate ever deeper into the consciousness of both classicists and the wider circles of the society. When fearing for the future of his unpublished works, Zieliński did not suspect that as a result of systematic destruction of Polish culture even those that had already been published in print would be obliterated with the rest of our accumulated publications, becoming unobtainable rarities. Caring after his heritage, publishing his unpublished works, reissuing the lost ones, and

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[1] *Agamemnon*.

[2] Incidentally, I ought to mention that in this case I agree with Wilamowitz after all.

[3] Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτίρω πολύ.

translating the so far untranslated ones that he had written in foreign languages are among the foremost needs of our cultural life.

II

To describe, analyse and characterise a phenomenon such as Tadeusz Zieliński – "ingenium vix in singula saecula cadens", as rightly put in the funeral notice opening the first issue of this journal to appear after the war – in all his greatness and multilateralism would be a most difficult task, requiring much effort and study in many and various disciplines. For the disciplines he worked on, not just investigating them, but always creatively developing them and often propelling them in totally new directions, are so many that considering the present abundance of material, complexity of problems and specialisation caused by those two, in all honesty covering them all critically would only be possible after years of specialised studies. All the more so because describing, analysing and assessing Zieliński as a mere classicist would result in a partial, one-dimensional and colourless picture, while actually he strikes one first of all with his many-facetedness and colour. The future ought to bring an extensive monograph on Zieliński, one meant not just for the Polish but also for the international reader; and that is not merely because his work is of such pre-eminent importance in universal scholarship, but also, as I will demonstrate more than once in this paper, because despite membership in many academies and many honorary doctorates all over the world, that work has not been duly appreciated. Quite the contrary, it has been amazingly underestimated, and on many points, unfortunately often the most vital ones, misunderstood or ignored and left outside the cataloguing scope of the growing universal body of classical studies.

Naturally this brief paper does not pretend in the slightest to painting a full portrait of Zieliński; at most, it can be considered a rough draft, incomplete, uneven and very preliminary; a posthumous remembrance of a great man whose disciple the author had the privilege to be.

The aforementioned multilateralism of Zieliński's research on classical antiquity lies not only in the fact that he was active in so many and so diverse fields of culture, literature, religion and history of both the Greeks and the Romans; many other eminent classicists have been multilateral in that sense. Zieliński stands out from among them in that almost all his works, not excluding even minor, often specialised contributions, especially after he reached his mature years, were written with the big picture in mind. To a lesser or greater extent they all reflect in outline a synthetic view of antiquity in those of its aspects which are most important and most fertile from the perspective of the future of our culture. Of course, not every page nor even every larger unit of text can bear witness to that directly; it would be hard to remain constantly in touch with the vision of the enormous edifice of the whole while meticulously investigating

either the rhythm of Cicero's speeches, or the evolution of Euripides' trimeter using statistical methods. But when the arduous search is done, in both those cases the goal is higher, general and the synthetic; understanding the laws that govern the rhythm of prose leads to looking into its psychological foundations and emphasising the formal characteristics of ancient literature as a creative seed for the future. Analysing Euripides' trimeter lays the foundation for establishing the chronology of his preserved plays and numerous fragments, allowing for conclusions about the evolution of his art, thought and religious belief as one of the chapters in the "life of ideas" in the ancient world.

Life of ideas... It is a term coined by Zieliński; I shall return to it below.

What has been said so far should be enough to demonstrate that Zieliński could not limit himself to work intended to ring an echo in specialist circles. After all, scholars exist, even among the greatest, who spend their whole lives locked away in the quiet of their studies, constructing the edifice of knowledge in complete alienation from the world of lay-people, their only contact with their collaborators. And as long as theirs is creative work on a truly great scale, it produces values which are important not simply for further expansion within their discipline, but are deeper and broader than that, vital for building the culture as a whole. Even so, in order to fulfil their role, those values must leave the walls of the study in which they were born and reach the awareness of the public; thus there are always those more modest academics, less creative but gifted popularisers, to whom falls the role of intermediaries between the creator and the general audience. However, a great individuality such as Zieliński has to address the society himself, address it not only through the discoveries and concepts made in his study, but also directly, through his remarkable, unique personality. Zieliński was one of those researchers who, while they may arrive at new scholarly truth in even the most esoteric way, completely inaccessible to the uninitiated, then process and transform it themselves into values of culture. Strictly speaking, that is not "popularisation of research"; rather, it is planned, systematic work at building the culture of today and tomorrow; an attempt at impregnating the souls of one's contemporaries with priceless values obtained from the investigated material through one's own work and thought. Zieliński devoted himself to that service with special zeal and enthusiasm, perhaps greater than that of any other outstanding practitioners of modern classics.

Not that he did so from the start. In the preface to volume one of the Polish edition of his popular articles, collected under the general title *Z życia idej*[4] (*From the Life of Ideas*), Zieliński said that during the first fifteen years of his academic life he did not print a single line intended as popularising. At the same time he lectured at the Saint Petersburg State University; the lectures were philological

[4] Zamość 1925.

and strictly specialist in tone, omitting the general cultural aspect of the subject taught. They were not too popular. He wrote:

> I had no reason to pride myself too much on the results of that work; as the term started, over a hundred persons would come to my lectures, but already one week later that number shrank and later into the term not more than twenty people would stay in the empty lecture hall.

I find it quite hard to believe that those are Zieliński's words; when I enrolled at the university in Saint Petersburg in 1907, Zieliński enjoyed the fame of one of the best and most captivating lecturers and during his lectures the rooms were always full; the same happened at his public lectures which he gave quite frequently. Well yes, but those words referred to the eighties and nineties of the previous century, and in the meantime radical change had taken place. Zieliński wrote:

> In Leipzig, when I asked my professors why their lectures, on Greek tragedy for instance, avoided its religious, ethical and aesthetic aspects, they told me: "That is felt, not spoken of". So I observed the same rule and kept silent about the most valuable aspect of classical philology, its *ideological merit*, and as a result it was not felt, classical philology was considered a "dry" subject and I had to lecture to a very small group.

That state of affairs pained and nagged him; he became more and more aware that something was wrong and that "it is a duty of scholars of the humanities to promote humanism in the society". That feeling had to and did bring about a breakthrough in which he boldly broke with tradition of university lectures in classical philology. The decisive impulse was that he "inherited" from his predecessor in the chair lectures on Greek tragedy, the same subject the traditional treatment of which he had found unsatisfactory during his own studies. He wrote:

> That was a breakthrough in my career. I picked for the first try Euripides' *Bacchae* and resolved to abandon tradition this time: not to say what is usually said in introductory classes of such specialised courses, not to debate over the author's whole life or all of his works, not to go into the relative worth of the manuscripts etc.; instead, I tried to demonstrate where the *ideological* value of that tragedy lay and what I myself most liked about it. Such was my introduction. [...] I spoke with great enthusiasm; when I finished, the tightly filled room resonated with tumultuous applause of the audience.

Through that step Zieliński was first revealed to the world as the speaker we know and will never forget; as its necessary and logical consequence the second step was to start writing popularising literature in the most sublime and noble sense of the word.

At the beginning he mostly wrote minor and major articles; with time, they were joined by extensive works containing the most basic results of his research

put in form accessible to non-specialists. Such is his extraordinarily important book on Sophocles[5], a Polish translation of the general introduction and the specific introductions to that poet's several tragedies published in three volumes in Russian; such, too, is the abovementioned multi-volume work on ancient religions which he wrote until his last breath and himself believed the *opus magnum* of his life. Those books could not play the culture-forming role they are meant to have if they were burdened with the enormous ballast of their strictly specialised foundations; and for that reason (as well as for another, which I shall explain in a moment) the form they were given is a great advantage. Still, we must not shut our eyes to the drawbacks it also has.

In the preface to volume one of *Z życia idej* quoted above, Zieliński had this to say among other things:

> When referring to the articles in this volume as "popular scholarly", I would prefer to stress the second part of that compound. With classical philology lacking an appropriate medium in Russia, I have often been forced to publish in general-purpose monthlies, also when announcing the results of strictly academic research. Naturally it was then necessary to leave out all that smacked of the academic torch, to choose appropriate composition and style, and to replace philological justification with what one critic has called "an inner force of persuasion". Sometimes I had the opportunity to re-write such an article and publish it as research proper, with all apparatus, in a German philological journal. [...] Friends called such re-written articles "paid promissory notes", while the others were "unpaid".

So the world community of architects of classics lost a great deal of excellent research. A specialist reading such writings of Zieliński, popular as to form, usually knows where to look for their foundations and how to reconstruct the missing logical links between them and the author's conclusions; but only provided he has himself been working on the same problem. Reading a book or article which is not directly related to his work of the moment, he will not have the time to perform the reconstruction, and so cannot be absolutely sure if all of the author's results can be considered proven. Not to mention being deprived of the advantage and intellectual bliss we almost always experience when presented with Zieliński's philological analysis of sources and with his argument.

The other drawback is that Zieliński's results published in basic works without full apparatus may easily be and often are attacked by people who find them unpleasant for one reason or another but cannot or will not reconstruct the scaffolding that the author dismantled once the text was ready. That applies in particular to his great work on religion, in which some claims evoke much emotion. Realising that, beginning with volume three, the first to be written in Poland and in Polish, Zieliński began to supplement the main body of the text with notes; his intention was, if he had enough time left, to publish volumes one and two in the

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[5] *Sofokles i jego twórczość tragiczna*, Kraków 1928.

same form. But by their very nature such notes cannot be enough if they cannot employ texts in the original or their philological analysis and criticism.

That had to be said for the sake of completeness. Let me now return to the advantages.

The title given by Zieliński to the collection of his minor popularising works, *From the Life of Ideas*, is no accident; on the contrary, it contains a very important assessment of his life's work. In the passages from the preface to that collection quoted above, we have twice encountered the concept of "ideology"; according to Zieliński, the primary value of classical philology lies in its "ideological merit"; then in his introductory lecture on the *Bacchae* he tried to demonstrate "where the ideological value of that tragedy lay". In his book on Sophocles, the discussion of each tragedy opens with a chapter elucidating its ideas, and consequently each play receives its "ideological" name; *Oedipus Rex* is the "tragedy of destiny", *Antigone*, the "tragedy of power", *Philoctetes*, the "tragedy of truth", and so on. In the preface to his two-volume *Historia kultury antycznej* (*A History of Ancient Culture*)[6], Zieliński calls that work "a history of Greek and Roman culture from the perspective of ideological monism".

Those passages, as well as tens and hundreds of others like them, express the major line of Zieliński's work, uniting all of his research, so diverse and branching: his point was to demonstrate the profound relationship between our symbolic culture and the culture of the ancient world; to throw a wide spectrum of light on our classical heritage, ever alive and ready to sprout anew; to impregnate our creativity for today and tomorrow. We read in the preface that I have already quoted a few times:

> Since I realised the objective and nature of my interest in antiquity, it has been to me, not a quiet museum secluded from the world of today, but a revivifying spring from which I have drawn immortal ideas that to this day make the nourishment for our minds. Now, the biology and biography of those ideas – that was the magnificent edifice my imagination has sketched before me for a long time now.

That was what Zieliński remembered at all times. In his intention, even the most specialised work was connected to that prime objective of his life. And that was why the line between scholarship proper and popularisation understood in the sense outlined above at times blurred so much as to obliterate the distinction. That is why even a learned specialist can find even the most "popular" of his works, not excluding those meant for young readers, of academic value. The author was well aware of that himself; in the afterword to parts two and four of his *Świat antyczny* (*The Ancient World*)[7], he wrote:

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[6] Warszawa–Kraków 1922–1924.

[7] Part I: *Starożytność bajeczna*; part II: *Grecja niepodległa*; part III: *Rzeczpospolita rzymska*; part IV: *Cesarstwo rzymskie*, Warszawa–Kraków 1930–1938.

> The common feature of all four parts of this book is that their purpose is to provide their readers with their first contact with antiquity, and so they are primarily intended for young people. Of course, there is no upper age limit; I am not so modest as to discourage adults, and even specialists, from reading my sketches. The specialists in particular I ask to browse through my *Starożytność bajeczna* (*The Mythical Antiquity*) with kindness; they will be surprised, seeing how differently I present the myths they know from the way they are presented in other works on mythology. The reason is that, as is my principle, I based my stories on my reconstructions of lost Greek tragedies.

The conscious and consistently executed intention to present the "life of ideas" and to till the soil for them to further grow and blossom on was certainly the main, but equally certainly not the only reason behind the "popularising" form of many of Zieliński's writings; another reason must have been the irrepressible drive of his character to express himself, not merely through pure intellectual content, which is the only type appropriate in specialist literature, but also through the artistic form.

For Zieliński was not just a scholar, but also an artist of the first sort. And in saying that I do not mean, not in the first place at any rate, his artistic pieces *sensu stricto*, the *Klechdy attyckie* (*Attic Legends*)[8], a series of stories set in the mythical prehistory of Attica. For lay people those stories are fascinating and instructive, introducing them to the landscape, life, customs, beliefs, cult and rituals of Attica and presenting to them its local legends and myths in a vivid, light and picturesque form to then serve the author as material for profound discussions and ideological interpretations of Greek religion and culture. Nor do they make for any less interesting reading to a specialist who can recognise the author's sources and with admiration, and sometimes because of an "unpaid promissory note" with sadness see the author's amazing intuition in reconstructing the whole and, as it often seems, correctly guessing its original shape. But the realistic form of a plain "short story of manners" does not really fit the spirit of the ancient legends, or have the air of myth, or artistically harmonise with the archaic, pre-historical, poetic and fabulous material.

No, Zieliński's uncommon artistic sense found expression mostly in his scholarly works accessible to non-specialists. The art lies first of all in the structure of his texts, in their perfect architecture. He was a master of logical construction, of arguments deliberately selected and arranged, and of reasoning conducted consistently from the bottom all the way up via splendidly conjoined links. That internal conceptual logic is expressed externally in perfectly appropriate forms and immaculately harmonious composition resembling the divine proportions of the Parthenon. Few artists, in the usual sense of the word, can compose their works as Zieliński could. If we add to that his extraordinarily profound intuition

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[8] Series I–IV, Warszawa–Kraków 1922–1936.

of the ancient world, excellently vivid imagination and his style, developed according to the immortal models of ancient prose, yet strikingly individual – we shall receive the concoction which makes Zieliński's "popular" works captivating reading, providing the reader with true artistic pleasure in addition to purely intellectual content.

Those two aspects of Zieliński, one of a researcher, the other of an excellent writer and populariser, do not by any means exhaust his person's complexity. I have so far omitted the characteristic which may be his most important one, and which certainly distinguishes him from all others and places him apart. Zieliński was the "thinker" among classical philologists; truths learned through the study of classics were for him the foundation on which to build one's world-view. More than that, Zieliński was a passionate "preacher" of the truths he had learned and a promulgator of a new faith based on them. Those truths, obtained by him through the efforts of pure thought and research that was often painstaking, came to dwell also in his heart, becoming his most profound feelings and the motives for his life and actions. There was no gap for him between scholarship and life. Not only did he do research; not only did he teach, in the academic sense of the word, all those who were not involved in it themselves; he also taught all those who came with hearts open.

III

The vicissitudes of Zieliński's life were such that his scholarly and cultural activities were not confined to a single territory or nationality. Born in 1859 in the Kiev region in a Polish family permeated with Polish traditions and culture, already as a schoolboy he found himself in Petersburg in a foreign environment, which was moreover not just Russian, but mixed Russian and German. Germans made for a considerable percentage of the population of the capital of Russia at that time. They had their own secondary schools with rights the same as those of state run schools, but with German as the language of instruction and much freedom when it came to drawing up curricula; the level of education in those schools was quite high, usually much higher than in Russian gymnasia, especially in terms of familiarity with classical languages, literature and culture. It was one of such German schools that Zieliński graduated from.

As a consequence of that close contact with German culture and scholarship (especially noting how in the field of classics in the 19th century the Germans were beyond any doubt the masters), he studied at the Leipzig University (in the years 1876–1880), where he was mostly supervised in his work by the great scholar Otto Ribbeck. After completing his doctorate in Leipzig[9] he travelled to

[9] His dissertation was *Die letzten Jahre des zweiten punischen Krieges*, Leipzig 1880.

Munich, where he studied primarily classical archaeology, and Vienna, to study epigraphy under the supervision of Otto Hirschfeld. It was because of those early years, when one learns the foundations of knowledge and methodology; years filled for the would-be researcher with unforgettable intellectual experiences; when the indestructible bonds of discipleship are tied and lasting friendships based on shared interests and studies, formed (in Leipzig Zieliński found a close friend for life in the person of Otto Crusius, later a professor at Munich); it was because of those years, then, formative for the rest of his life, that Zieliński long remained in his research connected not only to Russia, where he would live and work, but also to Germany; that in his Saint Petersburg period he would write and publish a lot in German.

Such *curriculum vitae* did not, of course, favour any active participation in Polish academic and cultural life. But the deep connection to that culture, the feeling of belonging to it and to the nation, the love learned in his old home – all of that lived on in his soul, preparing it for the second period of his work, the Warsaw period, which was to be the time of his greatest worldwide fame, when he would become central to our classics and our effort of building a humanistic culture.

Meanwhile, in his Saint Petersburg period, Zieliński contributed articles to our "Eos", collaborated on a *Festschrift* for professor Ludwik Ćwikliński (Lwów 1902), in 1909 published in Warsaw a pamphlet entitled *Starożytność klasyczna i wykształcenie klasyczne* (*Classical Antiquity and Classical Education*), and counted Adam Mickiewicz among his most beloved authors alongside various ancient ones. In the years 1915–1916 he even gave university lectures on Mickiewicz's early period. Later, after moving to Poland, he would collect his studies into Polish literature and culture in a book and publish it under the title *Z ojczystej niwy* (*From the Motherland's Fields*)[10]. The dedication would be: "To the Shade of Adam Mickiewicz, profound reverence for whom, planted in my heart by my father's hand, has been my companion in the journey of this life since the dawn of my youth...".

After completing his studies, a prolonged stay in Italy and a journey in Greece, Zieliński returned to Petersburg. In order to be granted the *venia legendi* (habilitation) and then a chair of classical philology at the university there, he had to go through the stages of academic career required in Russia, different than in Germany, that is to obtain the degrees of master and doctor. The Russian master's degree required a dissertation much longer and more serious than the German doctorate; a Russian doctoral dissertation was another step up from that.

And here that great scholar, who would become one of the greatest in classics in the world, ran into a completely unexpected obstacle. While still a student, he had written a competition work on the subject announced by his master Ribbeck:

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[10] Zamość–Warszawa 1923.

De disputationibus, quae in comoedia Attica occurrunt, or in other words on that traditional component of Old Attic comedy universally known today thanks to Zieliński under the technical name *agon*, introduced by him. Now he made the same thing the subject of his master's dissertation; a young student's essay was evolving into an innovative analytic piece of research, the first large-scale attempt at tackling the problem of the specific form and structure of Attic comedy in the 5th century. Zieliński's supervisor at the Saint Petersburg University, professor Lugebil, did approve the dissertation, but with reservations and without enthusiasm. Of course that could not lead the young scholar off the path upon which he had entered and saw new vistas opening before him; further research promised capturing the essence of the literary form of that unique phenomenon in drama and recreating the original form from which it had developed. So he kept at the problem and two years later presented the results of his work as a doctoral dissertation. But those results were too new, too groundbreaking, and the light they threw on issues so far not even realised, too unexpected, not to raise objections. And since in some details youthful enthusiasm did carry the author too far, leading to conclusions which were bold, radical and not all of them tenable, the old professor decided that enough was enough and rejected the dissertation. Such were the beginnings of the "academic career" of one of the greatest classicists.

Obviously, that failure could not change anything about Zieliński's creative path either. He compiled both those dissertations (which had been written in Russian) into a single German book. So came into being his *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*[11], epoch-making in its main conclusions (even though there were in it some lapses, which the author himself would later realise full well). Zieliński presented it as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), which, while at the time part of the Russian state, had German as its language of instruction. While the professors there did not have any major reservations about accepting it, they did prefer, just in case, to request the opinion of the eminent Hellenist Erwin Rohde. Despite certain minor reservations that opinion turned out most approving and the previously rejected candidate came to be regarded as an extremely interesting individuality and a most promising author of great talent.

Not that it meant that the success in Dorpat was accompanied by the book's victory in the general opinion of the academic world. Quite the contrary, it was given a very hostile welcome, especially in German scholarship. Reviewers and others pointed out its minor errors; criticised its ideas, some of them too risky; failed to see its groundbreaking achievements, which would only with time work their way into the consciousness of a wider audience and finally become, in many cases, the property of all, which is nameless in its attribution. Today we speak of them as self-evident, forgetting their author, who was once attacked for

[11] Leipzig 1885.

them. And on a number of points Zieliński's results, certainly correct, or such at least is my opinion, have not been accepted to this day, or for more than sixty years. But I am deeply convinced that their time will come too.

I shall return to the significance of Zieliński's research on Old Attic comedy in the next section; here I have only touched upon it in connection with the story of his life and work. But while on that subject, we have brushed against a more general issue on which I had already remarked in section II: that of almost systematic, to put it this way, lack of understanding and appreciation which his work encountered. And so before moving on, I would like to pause at that issue for a short while.

When in Vilnius in 1933 I was preparing my lectures on the history of Greek religion, naturally I had to peruse the recently then (in 1930) published, painstaking presentation of the state of research on Greek and Roman religion by Friedrich Pfister[12]. To my great amazement I discovered that in the general overview of achievements in that discipline, Zieliński's name did not appear at all, whereas in the report on the literature published between 1918 and 1929/1930, I found only a five-line mention of the French translation of *Religia starożytnej Grecji*, ending with these words: "Das Buch kommt für uns wenig in Betracht". Such treatment of that book, which, in spite of its concise and popular form, is one of the most profound discussions of Greek religion we have received so far, can only be compared to Kurt Latte's "crushing" review in the critical journal "Gnomon" (II 1926, pp. 650 ff.), which actually betrays a total misunderstanding of the work reviewed, with some unmistakable ill will added. Still, omitting Zieliński in a general summary of research into classical religion is possibly even harder to understand and more shocking. True, Pfister had not read a number of Zieliński's works on religion printed in Polish or Russian; but he must have known the German ones, such as, to mention only these few, *Exkurse zu den Trachinierinnen*, *Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungsidee*, *Hermes und die Hermetik*, or *Rom und seine Gottheit*, containing concepts some of which are quite sensationally innovative, which it is in the last resort possible to disagree with or question, but which are still of enormous value in the general effort to uncover and understand that religion. Below I will still have to mention the fierce battles, protests and attacks caused by the six volumes of his *Religie świata antycznego*, but that is a different thing, to do with the great emotions aroused by some of his theses, encroaching on the domain of religious dogma or sentiment; it is much more astonishing, nay incomprehensible, that specialists should have struck off the list of researchers of ancient religions one of the greatest and most profound.

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[12] *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer* [...] *Darstellung und Literaturbericht 1918–1929/30* (Bursians Jahresb. Suppl. CCXXIX 1930).

But that is not all. There is among Zieliński's epoch-making discoveries the theory of "rudimentary motifs", which places in our hands a valuable tool with which to investigate and reconstruct the history of Greek tragedy. While his work containing an exposition of that theory and many excellent results of its application[13] found an extremely warm welcome in French scholarship, and shortly before the last war there was in Germany one attempt[14] at applying it, on the whole its great significance was underestimated[15], and in the otherwise serious and reliable "Philologische Wochenschrift" (XLVII 1927, coll. 577 ff.) the otherwise deserved Alfred Koerte reviewed the book cursorily, carelessly and unscrupulously, leaving out its most important points and flippantly belittling its results.

Those are only examples, very far from exhausting the subject. Eventually, too frequent repetition of such facts aroused understandable impatience in the scholar, usually not that inclined to engage in polemic, especially should it be personal, by default always kind towards everyone, always aiming at peace and harmony; for he was truly εὔκολος, just as his favourite Sophocles was, as Aristophanes said. Out of that impatience he supplemented his selected reprinted minor works[16] with polemical appendices making short work of unintelligent or unscrupulous criticism.

And now to return to the interrupted train of thought.

The Petersburg period of Zieliński's life and work had begun. His extremely intense research was accompanied by teaching at the university, at the Institute of History and Philology, and later at the College of Higher Courses for Women. In the previous section I wrote what that teaching was like to begin with and how diametrically it changed later. That change opened before Zieliński the door onto a new path; following it, he soon became one of the most outstanding characters in the cultural life of Saint Petersburg. An excellent speaker, whose lectures on subjects unattractive, it would seem, to the general audience, gathered large crowds; a great writer dazzling and captivating his readers with his articles, in which he explained the general cultural sense of the "dry" study of classics to the wide circles of the intelligentsia; a gifted translator of Sophocles' tragedies and Ovid's *Heroides* – Zieliński discovered for himself a great creative role in promoting humanism in the society, in bringing it closer to the invigorating springs of antiquity. That work, which commenced under most unfavourable circumstances, in an atmosphere of clear resentment towards antiquity and classics, which, owing to the specific conditions of life in Russia at that time, was in

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[13] *Tragodumenon libri tres*, liber I, Cracoviae 1925.

[14] F. Stoesssl, *Die Trilogie des Aischylos*, Baden bei Wien 1937.

[15] As pointed out even before the war by the outstanding Viennese scholar L. Radermacher in his *Mythus und Sage bei den Griechen*, Baden bei Wien–Leipzig ²1938.

[16] *Iresione*, vols. I–II, Leopoli 1931 and 1936 (Eus Supplementa II and VIII); volume III was planned but has not appeared.

progressive circles considered "reactionary"; that work ended in a magnificent victory: The intellectual climate in Saint Petersburg between the beginning of the century and the outbreak of World War I was permeated with a lively interest in antiquity, especially in the poetry, religion and philosophy of ancient Greece, and there can be no doubt that Zieliński was responsible for that more than anybody else. Nor did he limit himself in his "humanising" effort to adults; he published a number of ancient texts (of Sophocles, Livy and Cicero) for school use, with commentary understood very differently from what it had been before, opening the reader's eyes to the spiritual values of antiquity and to its humanistic universalism; and in spring of 1903 he gave a series of eight lectures for graduates of Saint Petersburg high schools, which then became *Świat antyczny a my* (*Ancient World and Us* [published in English under the title *Our Debt to Antiquity*]), his famous book translated into nearly all the major languages of the world.

Other than the large audience attending his more accessible lectures, at institutions of higher learning Zieliński became the focus of a smaller circle of enthusiastic and dedicated students. Participants in his seminar would in a large majority become researchers themselves. It was quite common for graduates to keep attending that seminar, sometimes even after habilitation. Its level was very high; often the dissertations of its participants brought new results and were qualified for print. The atmosphere was not just intellectually exciting, but also so pleasant, warm and home-like that I do not doubt that for many participants those meetings remained among the nicest memories of their youth.

Zieliński's seminar had two groups: male, made of students from the university (which did not admit women), and female, from the Higher Courses. They met on Sundays at 11 a.m. in his apartment. Zieliński lived in an old, 18th-century backyard building which belonged to the Institute of History and Philology. One left one's coat in the hall downstairs to climb an internal staircase to his study on the first floor. It was a large room, three of its walls and part of the fourth filled with books from floor to ceiling. The door was a small rectangle cut in a smooth surface of books, with shelves not just on both sides of it, but also above. In the back, near the window there was the desk and in the middle a long table, or actually three put together, a special arrangement for the Sunday meetings, which took place at that table. But usually there was not enough room around it and the remaining participants sat in a corner to the left of the door, where there was a small round table surrounded with soft furniture; that was the so-called "colony". Halfway through the session a door opened in the left wall, leading further inside the house, and the maid brought in tea; over that and pies they went on with the reading of a paper or with discussion.

The proper seminar only took place on every other Sunday, alternating with the so-called "circle" which read Greek poets. As a rule, participants in the seminar were also members of the circle, but not the other way round; the skill which allowed students to take part in the shared reading was not yet enough to un-

dertake independent research; thus the circle was larger than the seminar group. Zieliński himself commented on the poetry they read; one could spend a long time telling the story of the many new, seminal ideas, the unexpected and creative approaches and associations which emerged then alongside factual knowledge, and that would still not be enough to capture the essence.

There was another institution at the Petersburg University which I must not ignore and of which Zieliński was the head, the Students' Classical Association. All regular members of the Society were students, as were the vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer, but Zieliński was the chairman and personally presided over all the sessions. Current and former students of the College of Higher Courses for Women also took an active part in the meetings; in the by-laws they were called "regular guests". The research reports were exactly the same in character as in "real" scholarly societies: no compilations or student essays, only actual individual contributions or serious analytic reviews of new publications. Therefore regular members rarely presented reports; most often that was done by "collaborating members", that is former members, active researchers who had already graduated from the university. The chairman was the soul of those meetings; he always initiated the discussion, summarising the speaker's argument. It is likely that all participants remember those summaries; they brought clarity, neatness and order into the detailed and specialised argument, often difficult for the audience to follow or not presented clearly enough by the beginner scholar. They made the proper foundation on which to base the discussion.

Neither the war nor the revolution interrupted the work of the seminar group, the circle or the Students' Association. But the way the political events unfolded did pull Zieliński into a new sphere of activity. A sovereign Poland was becoming an ever more likely possibility on the horizon. Polish population in Russia was growing considerably, mostly because of the vast numbers of refugees. Saint Petersburg (which was by then called Petrograd) saw the foundation of Polish cultural institutions, such as the Society of Enthusiasts of Polish History and Literature, which organised Polish Higher Humanistic Courses. Zieliński took an active part in those activities as the president of the Society. The Polish monthly "Myśl Narodowa" was also founded, and in it Zieliński published papers on Mickiewicz. It was also on Mickiewicz, as I have mentioned above, that he lectured at the College of Higher Courses for Women. Finally, when Poland became independent, the University of Warsaw offered him a chair. On 22 April 1920 Zieliński gave his opening lecture in Warsaw[17].

And so a new period in his life and work began. "It is a strange thing", he wrote to me on 25 February 1921, "but it took all those terrible events to con-

[17] Actually, at that point Zieliński had not yet settled in Poland for good; he was still obliged to return to Saint Petersburg, for which he did leave in the summer of that year. It was only in the early spring of 1921 that he was able to move to Warsaw properly.

vince me that for me *extra Poloniam non est vita*". Yet the first steps he took on the soil of his ancestors involved a certain difficulty and embarrassment, certainly very painful to the great scholar and writer, now over sixty and accustomed to the infallible effect his words had in both speech and writing: the life spent abroad and for the most part in foreign circles had to impair the correctness and fluency of his Polish. Zieliński felt that acutely. "It seems that I did not shame myself, although of course I did make errors", he wrote right after the opening lecture – he, Tadeusz Zieliński, that excellent stylist and admired speaker! With great energy he started working on removing foreign impurities from his Polish and improving it; a few more years would go by before he would decide to publish his Polish works without friends proofreading them first. Zieliński's aptitude for languages was very high; apart from Latin, Polish, Russian and German he wrote and published in Italian, French and English. But some Russianisms could be found in his Polish until the last; the similarity of the two languages was too much of an obstacle here.

Needless to say, those linguistic stumbles could not significantly detract from the excellent points of his style, in a way independent from the garb of language, or to weaken the effect that his literary talent had on the reader, and so after the first few years during which he struggled, Zieliński was not just a Polish researcher but also a Polish author. And it was completely understandable that he became a member, not only of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, but also, even though his writings could not have served as models of Polish prose, of the Polish Academy of Literature.

The Warsaw period was the time of Zieliński's greatest maturity as a scholar and thinker, and simultaneously of his greatest fame in the whole world. The resistance often encountered in the world of scholarship, particularly German scholarship, by his greatest discoveries and concepts could not, after all, stand in the way of the victory of his great individuality. His honorary doctorates and memberships in academies the world over were more numerous every year. The ceremony held by the University of Warsaw for the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate became a huge international demonstration. Honoured at foreign universities and academic organisations, invited to lecture to many different European countries, Zieliński always represented Polish scholarship and helped bolster respect for it. Advanced age and poor health did not diminish his astounding vital force at all. Intense research and writing did not stop him from far and tiresome travels in connection with conferences, academic ceremonies and invitations to lecture which came in droves from home and abroad; flying became his favourite way to travel.

That generous and beautiful evening of his life and work was brutally interrupted by the German invasion and capture of Warsaw.

One could have expected that long life, filled with hard work and so rich in intellectual fruits, to enjoy a serene end in the awareness of the greatness of the

work done and with the certainty of a grateful memory of the generations to come; that after Zieliński's death it should be possible to say of him, as was once said of his beloved Sophocles,

> μάκαρ [...] ὃς πολὺν χρόνον βιοὺς
> ἀπέθανεν, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ δεξιός,
> – – – – – – – –
> καλῶς δ' ἐτελεύτησ' οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν[18].

But that was not to be, and his magnificent, creative life was shattered by lightning. The last years of that great architect of culture, no less industrious or productive from those before them, were spent among ruins and fires, in exile, in ever increasing abandonment and loneliness. And the thought which nagged him until his last moments was that he might be defeated by the waters of oblivion.

IV

In the first period of Zieliński's academic career, he was mainly interested, as I have already said, in Old Attic comedy.

Even though the form of that comedy is so remarkable and so different from other types of drama, before Zieliński the matter had been barely investigated. Aristophanes' plays and the fragments of those by his predecessors and contemporaries were analysed almost solely for their references to realities. There were attempts at using them as historical sources, the opinions expressed in them were debated in detail, Aristophanes' political views were analysed, and reasons explained why this or another historical character should be mocked. The less suitable a given comedy was for political interpretation, the more scholars tried to decipher its supposed hidden message; explaining the political outlook of the *Aves* (which undoubtedly does not even exist) has consumed so much paper and ink that in the 70's of the last century a publication appeared dedicated to the history of interpreting that comedy[19].

And in those rare cases when researchers did deal with Old Attic comedy as a form of art, they were under the influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* and tried to explain its peculiarities in the light of the form of tragedy and Aristotle's relevant theory. The results thus obtained were misleading, contradictory and ultimately almost worthless. Zieliński's book heralded a new era in that regard, an era in which the technical aspects of Old Attic comedy were investigated as a phenomenon separate and in its essence independent, in spite of some partial influence, from those

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[18] Phrynichus, *Musae*, fr. 31 K.

[19] W. Behaghel, *Geschichte der Auffassung der Vögel des Aristophanes*, Heidelberg 1878, 1879.

of tragedy[20]. He was the first to prove that analogies to the structure of tragedy were useless in researching the form of the comedies of Aristophanes and his contemporaries, and to establish separate and specific principles of composition for that genre.

Since Zieliński's book we have known that Old Attic comedy combines two types of composition: epirrhematic and episodic. Most of the book deals with explaining the former, discovered by Zieliński; it turns out that its basic manifestations in a play are the *parodos*, the *parabasis* and the scene of conflict, which is today commonly called the *agon* (following Zieliński), with Aristophanes two last comedies preserving the epirrhematic type in the purest form. Epirrhematic composition involves the chorus being permanently divided into two halves answering each other; therefore Zieliński determined that in its primitive form Attic comedy had two choruses (brought back by Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata*), and in its original, proto-Attic form the two choruses quarrelled for the play to end in their reconciliation, reunification and addressing the audience as that re-united whole in the *parabasis*.

The creative momentum with which the author stepped onto that path, certainly headed for the right destination, did however carry him too far on some points. Not all the preserved comedies have all the components of the epirrhematic composition present; in such cases Zieliński tried to show that the play had reached us in an adaptation and in the original version none of them were missing. Those daring attempts are not always convincing[21].

The few later works which continued Zieliński's research on the subject, especially those by Wilhelm Süss, contributed many valuable additions and introduced certain corrections into his results: it turned out that the two types of composition are significant independently of each other, that Old Attic comedy combines them in many various ways, and so there is no need to assume, as Zieliński did, a single canonical form for all the comedies. There is no need to try to prove at all cost that, say, there used to be *agon* in those comedies which in their preserved form do not have it. Still, one must not do as Paul Mazon[22] does, for instance, explaining the lack of *agon* in the *Acharnenses* through the

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[20] As I said above, that "new era" dawned slowly and encountered much resistance; actually it still has not arrived in full. As recently as a few years before the last war the great Wilamowitz-Moellendorff expressed views on that subject which are a large step backwards from Zieliński's discoveries.

[21] Around 1905, as we learn from Zieliński's *retractationes* of the book under discussion (*Iresione*, vol. I, pp. 456–68), he still intended to revise it, remove what he by then considered erroneous, and add an "inner history" of Old Attic comedy. The intention was never carried out and the "inner history" of comedy, that is the history of the evolution of its forms, has never been written. That most grateful subject awaits treatment.

[22] *Essai sur la composition des comédies d'Aristophane*, Paris 1904; other than that, the book is very valuable, especially regarding the composition of prologues.

notion that when that play was staged, everybody had enough of debates over war and peace, and in the *Pax* through the idea that introducing such a quarrel into the play right before the Peace of Nicias would have been unnecessary; we need to really take to heart the notion, illustrated with Zieliński's argument, that compositional schemata are important and constant and that there are at the very core of a literary and theatre genre certain principles of form which cannot be suspended in their effects by accidental external circumstances. Thus I could not emphasise enough how important the compositional principles discovered by Zieliński are, also for textual criticism, especially as regards assigning utterances to personae, something the manuscripts are very undecided about; and if newer editions of Aristophanes do not take the results of his work into account in that respect, then it is a step backwards from how things were in 1885.

While working on Old Attic comedy, Zieliński became interested in a completely different problem, namely in folk tale motifs often found in that genre. In the same year 1885 he published a short treatise entitled *Die Märchenkomödie in Athen*[23], in which he interpreted the preserved plays and tried to reconstruct others from their fragments, using the folk tales of various peoples and times. Today, when applying the comparative material of folklore in research into ancient culture and literature is perfectly ordinary, that work could not evoke a protest with its very idea or principle; but back then the concept was new, not to say revolutionary, and was for the most part given a cold welcome. His ideas for reconstruction, demonstrating real imagination and flair, are convincing in many cases and questionable in others; but the underlying concept itself was innovative and pioneering; it opened new perspectives. The short treatise did not exhaust the subject, which by all means deserves to be tackled again and given much space.

It is also in that first period that Zieliński wrote his *Quaestiones comicae*[24], with the especially valuable chapter *De comoediae Doricae personis*, a reconstruction, for the most part accurate and convincing, of the traditional masks of Doric comedy, of which the well known masks of the Atellan farce are only a variation. Those results, too, have so far only been exploited in scholarship to a very slight degree.

While I definitely must emphasise the enormous and thus far underestimated importance of Zieliński's discoveries and new concepts referring to ancient comedy, it is also necessary to admit that there are certain points on which his opponents are right. In the 5th-century Athens there undoubtedly co-existed various trends in comedy, some of which were closer to the native Attic traditions of a chorus commenting in a satyrical way on recent events, while others, to

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[23] An offprint from the yearly report of Saint Anna German High School (Annenschule), from which Zieliński graduated and where he later taught; reprinted in *Iresione* (n. 16), vol. I, pp. 8–75.

[24] Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieščenija 1886, pp. 53–175 (= *Iresione* [n. 16], vol. I, pp. 76–189).

the Doric farce of manners, but Zieliński went too far in deducing from that fact that there was a sharp distinction between a "higher" type of comedy practiced by Aristophanes, and a lower Dorising type of φορτικὴ κωμῳδία, which Aristophanes opposed. Certainly there were poets, such as Crates, or Pherecrates, closer in their tastes and style to grotesque of manners than to satyric-fantastic comedy, but just as certainly two separate, mutually hostile types of comedy are out of the question, as is any sharp line cutting the "higher" type off from the "lower". In connection with all that Zieliński fought (until the last moment, as can be seen from how he supplemented his works reprinted in the *Iresione*) a bitter battle against connecting with Aristophanic comedy the grotesque and lewd actor's costume which we know from terracotta and bronze figurines of comic actors and from vase paintings depicting the south-Italian *phlyax* play, as well as in general against interpreting Aristophanes on stage in the manner of popular farce. In that case facts are against him, and so is the new and no doubt more apt approach to theatre ushered in by the 20th century.

In the questions of theatre as a stage spectacle in general, Zieliński could not free himself of the 19th-century prejudice, could not go outside the limiting framework of "theatre of illusion". Therefore his imposing achievements in the field of Greek tragedy are marred by many of his opinions on its purely theatrical aspects. He could not see an organic connection between the Athenian stage of the 5th century and the works of Athenian playwrights, just as he could not see it between the Elizabethan stage and Shakespeare's plays. Often he would with great force oppose an interpretation of a tragic poet's work in relation to the form and logic of the stage he wrote for, maintaining that all that counted was the poet's "vision", understood as his vision of actual, not of theatrical events, which ideally theatre ought to render with fully literal realism. In his opinion the production style of Athenian theatre was merely a *malum necessarium*, a result of technical conditions not allowing for full "theatrical illusion". Actually, things were beyond doubt very different.

I believe that this 19th-century "flaw" was related to the general decline of the visual-artistic sense in that century. In Zieliński it could have been reinforced by an individual trait of his psychological construction: as he often admitted himself, his visual memory was poor and that was probably related to the visual arts being his least favourite. His aesthetic opinions in that domain were the least sophisticated and the least interesting, whereas his knowledge of music was thorough and his love of it, profound. To apply his own terminology, he was more of a "melic" than a "plastic".

V

The resistance encountered in the past, and even today, by some of Zieliński's claims about Greek comedy, can be largely explained by a lack of understand-

ing for that aspect of the history of literary genres which he sensed especially acutely: for the internal, organic evolution of their forms, independent from the conscious will of their authors, for the supra-individual traditions and trends inherent in those genres. That was greatly influenced by the views of that outstanding representative of German philology, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who proclaimed the principle that *personality is all* and saw nothing but personality. Now Zieliński did not by any means play down the importance of an author's personality; on the contrary, he could emphasise and highlight it with exceptional force and suggestiveness. His reconstruction of Cicero's personality[25] is certainly a masterpiece of its genre. But he respected the immanent laws of form and understood that it is only at the point where those two lines cross that the essence of the literary phenomenon can be captured.

His sense for the supra-individual in the history of literature allowed Zieliński to detect and establish with extraordinary brilliance the laws governing specific genres; needless to say under the opposing banner, that of a self-sufficient personality, any such laws must raise protests and their significance must be questioned. As Zieliński ironically put it, modern classics is rather "nomophobic".

Another genre whose technical aspects Zieliński looked into for its specific laws was heroic epic. That research brought forth the extremely interesting treatise, *Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos*[26], where he formulated the law of chronological exclusivity. The law states that in Homer narration never returns to the starting point of a side story; two parallel and simultaneous events are always presented as if they took place one after the other. In that case his results encountered no objections and the law he discovered is today universally accepted.

Zieliński did not write any other works dedicated specifically to Greek epic, but studies in Homer were an integral part and one of the cornerstones of many of his writings, primarily those dealing with the history of ancient religion and morality. The questions he asked and the theories he proposed in that field often required him to take a stand on the so-called "Homeric question". Zieliński never participated in the disputes between pluralists, unitarians and those who took various intermediate positions; but certain brief expressions in popular works (e.g. in his outline of the history of Greek literature[27]) indicate that he was quite far from present-day neo-unitarianism. In the works on religion and morality mentioned above he often referred to "earlier" and "later" parts of the *Iliad* and

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[25] *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig [3]1912, pp. 140–170.

[26] Philologus Suppl. VIII 1901, fasc. 3. An earlier work by him on the same subject is *Zakon chronologičeskoj niesovmiestimosti i kompozicija Iliady*, in: *Χαριστήρια. Sbornik statiej* [...] *w čest' F.E. Korša*, Moskva 1896.

[27] T. Zieliński, S. Srebrny, *Literatura starożytnej Grecji epoki niepodległości*, vol. I: *Zarys ogólny* (T. Zieliński), Warszawa–Kraków 1923.

Odyssey without ever going into a discussion with the unitarian view. No doubt in that respect he remained part of the circle of an earlier generation of researchers and present-day radical unitarians could see him as not very "modern". But the results he obtained from analysing the content of certain passages in Homer, establishing striking ideological differences between them, and his theories of lines of evolution in the sphere of religious and moral concepts can be so deeply convincing that absolute unitarians would do well to consider them and revise their views from that perspective, which they rarely take into account.

Another previously unknown law was discovered and formulated as a result of Zieliński's research in the field which was one of the main areas of his work, the history of Greek tragedy. I mean here the law of "rudimentary motifs"[28] mentioned above in section III. According to that law when a Greek tragic poet worked on a myth which had previously been used by some other author, and introduced his own modifications into the details of the plot, he never ignored his predecessor's version completely, but rather always included it in one way or another. Rare cases of such treatment can also be found in modern literatures; in the introductory chapter, Zieliński adduced examples from Polish, Russian and German literatures. Still, in the works of the Greek tragic poets the phenomenon was strikingly common.

There are a few ways in which such an earlier, rejected version can be included in the play; Zieliński distinguished five groups, with the reservation that some cases can be counted in more than one group. Those five are: (1) contradiction, when the author repeats, usually without being aware of it, some detail of his predecessor's version which cannot be logically reconciled with his own innovative one; (2) duplication, when alongside the new version, which makes active dramatic sense, the author mentions the old one too; (3) unfulfilled intention, a group with various subgroups, in which the rudimentary motif appears as an intention, which for some reason or another is not carried out, with the new motif replacing it as a significant element of the plot; (4) false information, when the predecessor's version comes up as a groundless suspicion, an outright lie or something of that sort; and (5) hidden criticism, when the author, while replacing his predecessor's version with his own, criticises it in the dialogue. Of course those are subtle issues, which require seasoned and careful judgement.

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[28] The theory was developed fully and in detail in Zieliński's *Tragodumenon libri tres* (n. 13). Its first published draft was the paper *Rudimentarnyje motivy w griečeskoj tragiedii*, Zapiski Impieratorskavo Odiesskavo Obščestva Istorii i Drievnostiej XXX 1912 (a collective work in honour of E.R. von Stern). A passage in *Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungsidee* (1899; cf. its reprinted version in *Iresione* [n. 16], vol. II, p. 104, 1) indicates that the "law of rudimentary motifs" took form in Zieliński's mind much earlier than that. Later, he summarised his theory and illustrated its practical application in a paper given in 1926, in Brussels in French and in Oxford in English: *Pour reconstituer les tragédies perdues de la littérature grecque*, RBPh VII 1928; *The Reconstruction of the Lost Greek Tragedies*, in: *Iresione* (n. 16), vol. I.

For example, not every unfulfilled intention replaced with another is a rudimentary motif; it can only be established as such when it turns out that it has definitely no dramatic significance whatsoever. The correctness of that theory has been proven again and again; motifs found to be rudimentary based on analysing a play turn out to have actually been used as active by a predecessor.

In that way we gain insight into a peculiarity of dramatic technique; but it is not only in that and not even primarily in that the importance of Zieliński's theory lies.

We know how little of the legacy of the tragicians has reached us today; scholarship cannot do without attempts at reconstructing the unpreserved ones if we want to reach any closer understanding of the history of the genre. We find material on which to base such reconstructions in fragments, both those which come from later quotations and those we have been for the last half of a century obtaining from Egyptian papyri. Other sources include quoted excerpts from Roman adaptations, testimonies in prose authors, the mythographic tradition, and finally monuments of visual arts, such as vase paintings, sarcophagus reliefs etc. Zieliński's discovery opened before us a new source of material for reconstructing lost works: once we determine a motif in a preserved tragedy to be rudimentary, we can, with great likelihood at least, believe it to have come from an unpreserved tragedy on the same subject by an earlier author. Applying that method and combining its results with other data, Zieliński reconstructed, both in the book under discussion and elsewhere, in whole or in part, the basic outlines of the plot of many lost plays, sometimes throwing unexpected light on the ideological content and artistic sense of a work which had been to us a mere title.

Zieliński's achievements in the field of reconstructing lost Greek tragedies are huge. His Russian translation in three volumes of all the preserved plays of Sophocles[29] contains in volume three also the translation of all the preserved fragments, not excluding the shortest ones, as well as the reconstruction, in so far as he deemed it possible, of the plot of the lost tragedies. Unfortunately, in accordance with the purpose of the work, which was not meant for specialists, those reconstructions could not be justified fully or precisely, so that in many cases all we have are the pure results of research the scaffolding of which the reader needs to rebuild himself[30]. Zieliński also did the same work for Euripides when he was preparing the posthumous edition of the Russian translation of that poet's plays by I. Anniensky. Only the first two volumes came off the printing press, however; the remaining ones, including the volume of fragments, stayed in Russia in manuscript.

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[29] Cf. n. 5.

[30] Nor did all those results satisfy their author years later, as he said clearly in the preface, written in 1928, to the Polish edition of the monograph on Sophocles (*Sofokles*... [n. 5], p. VI).

Furthermore, reconstructions of lost Greek tragedies make the subject matter of a large number of articles written by Zieliński until the years right before the war, and of book three of the *Tragodumena*, *De Iphigeniae et Danaes mythopoeia tragica*. He was also going to include in a new edition of that book, if there was one, his other papers of related content[31].

The book on Sophocles, mentioned above more than once, also contains, among other material, the results of reconstruction efforts. Namely, chapter two of each introduction to a play presents the evolution of its myth in its successive literary versions, most of which are lost works which the author tried to reconstruct based on comprehensive and meticulous research. It is thus a treasure trove of extremely interesting and valuable arguments and theories, for the most part compellingly convincing. Even those about which it is impossible to be absolutely sure are attractive in the intelligence of their analysis and combined use of testimonies, and in the vivid boldness of their analytic and constructive thinking.

Naturally, the importance of those "introductions", which can easily be considered unique, does not end there. Chapter one of each deals with explaining "the idea" of a given tragedy, and with its evolution in the ancient world[32]; the reader will find in there a number of fascinating approaches which often throw thoroughly new light on the history of psychological and spiritual life in antiquity. Each chapter three is an analysis of the plot of its play, exposing its inner cogs and wheels which are not always obvious in the reading and which one must discover and think through in order to fully understand and experience the poet's work. Lastly, each chapter four sums up the results of preceding discussion and evaluates the tragedy in aesthetic terms; some of them also compare and contrast Sophocles' take on the story with modern ones, or further develop and flesh out concepts first outlined in chapter one or two. In terms of composition those introductions are among the most splendid examples of that art, so characteristic of Zieliński as a writer.

The general introduction to that book explains, in its first two chapters and its conclusion, what Greek tragedy is in its truest essence. It also gives an excellent, rich and precise description of the technique, composition and generally the artistic externals of Greek tragedy, particularly that by Sophocles, based on studying not just the preserved works, but also all the preserved fragments of his plays. Then it also contains a number of other new, interesting and thought-inspiring observations and statements; but its most important part is the synthetic approach: some of the most profound words that have ever been spoken of Greek tragedy.

According to those words, Greek tragedy, or heroic tragedy, is "tragedy of life". Life in Zieliński's terminology was not what we are colloquially used to applying that word to, not the mosaic of petty facts of every day; rather, life is

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[31] See his *De Andromacha posthomerica*, Eos XXXI 1928, p. 33.

[32] Cf. above in this section.

the "vertical line" shooting up towards the stars and the sun, as opposed to the "horizontal line", which imposes a common level and determines what we do, colloquially, call life: the everyday, mundane existence, the world "of manners", grey in its variety of colour[33]. Zieliński highlighted and formulated with full force the contrast between actual tragedy and drama of manners; he emphasised and explained the meaning of myth as the proper material for tragedy; myth as "the past which had never been the present", so it does not carry the burden of the morals of any given time. The tragic poet makes mythical characters embody his premonitions of the higher kind of life, of the spirit of the vertical which burns in him.

Having thus defined Greek tragedy, Zieliński cast it against the backdrop of the Great Dionysia, painting the Dionysian atmosphere of which the Athenian tragic spectacle would be born. The commonplace is "Dionysus' vanquished enemy". A tragedy of manners would have been unacceptable to people who had just experienced the first, ritual day and the first night of the festival. To them, the commonplace was only possible in comedy. And here Zieliński offered his explanation, striking in its profundity and aptness, of the sense of Old Attic comedy as a Great Dionysia introduction to the days of tragedy: the commonplace vanquished by Dionysus was mocked at its very core. The days of tragedy which followed brought the community, freed for the short duration of the festival from the bog of the commonplace, the feeling of unity with the vertical life: a *katharsis* and sublimation of their own sufferings and passions through diffusing them in the monumental sufferings and monumental passions of the great heroic proto-models shown on stage.

In the preface to the Polish edition of the book on Sophocles Zieliński ironically remarked that some things contained in it could seem "old-fashioned" to the critics; he meant the "dominant ideas" behind each tragedy, but also terms such as "tragic guilt" and "tragic punishment". Both there and elsewhere with victorious irony he opposed the snobbishness of "modernity" in its treatment of literary problems; those radical revolutions that last a longer or shorter time to end in a return to the starting point of the loop. But in the same preface he does not mention it in connection with one other thing, which is however essential and would later become for him the subject of bitter quarrels.

That other thing is the strong tendency, strong especially in the interwar period, to treat Greek 5th century tragicians as stage artisans desperate for immediate effect, who did not care about the inner consistency of the plot they built or about psychological homogeneity of characters, because they were mostly inter-

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[33] The Russian language here provided Zieliński with the expressive term быт, which is perfectly appropriate as an opposite for his concept of "life"; Polish does not have a suitable word for it. For that reason translation is difficult here: быт needs to be rendered differently in different cases. Translating it into Polish as *byt* (English *existence*), as was done in the book under discussion, warps its sense completely. Actually, the Polish translation of the book leaves much to be desired in general and would have to be thoroughly revised for any new edition.

ested in the short-term effect of a scene; supposedly they counted on the "short memory" of their audience. That new approach found its most glaring expression in the scholar who more or less started it, the son of the great Hellenist, Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who died in World War I. The book, *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles*, appeared after his death. Zieliński opposed the point of view and conclusions of the young iconoclast, for the most part correctly. It should especially be emphasised how correct he was in requiring the researcher to consider the miming, not noted in the preserved manuscripts although it was at times of decisive importance, but possible to discover through a discerning analysis of the text. On the other hand we cannot deny that in some cases he went too far in reconstructing elements not directly visible in a given word or scene, which eliminated actual – or, in his opinion, apparent – inconsistency.

The problem of psychologism remains in organic connection with that issue, or rather is one of its parts. It was characteristic of the 19th century to approach Greek tragedy on the basis of the principle, left unsaid and so apparently self-evident, according to which there was no fundamental difference, in terms of the psychology of characters, between ancient and modern drama. The 20th century saw a sharp reaction to that view: scholars now tried to demonstrate that in order to understand Greek tragedy properly one needed to abandon the psychologistic habits formed in one by modern drama. Thus they also tried to prove that it was a mistake to look for psychological unity in the characters of Greek tragedy, and one should not, or at any rate not always, explain their lines in terms of their internal experience.

Zieliński was, so to speak, psychologistically disposed throughout his scholarly outlook. He believed that scientific psychology ought to make a major foundation of research in all of the humanities. In classical philology, psychology had in his opinion been used too little in general, and lack of psychological knowledge was a serious flaw in most of even the best classicists. Μηδεὶς ἀψυχολόγητος εἰσίτω, he would say, paraphrasing Plato's famous words. No wonder then that modern antipsychologism in dealing with Greek tragedy aroused his intense protest. Again it is necessary to say that in most cases that protest was justified. Zieliński hardly claimed that Greek tragedy, specifically Sophoclean, was a form of psychological drama, that is that psychological problems stood at the centre of its concept; but he did with all force maintain and demonstrate that its characters were psychologically constructed, and the poet cared about their homogeneity and consistency based on the logic of their psychological experience. And in general he was profoundly right about that.

Still, the antipsychologist reaction did bring with it certain gains. In trying to free us from the basics imposed on us by modern drama, it revealed to us many specific characteristics of Greek dramaturgy different from what we have been accustomed to since childhood; and it made it possible for us to penetrate deeper into the distinguishing features of the artistic style of Greek theatre.

Zieliński tended not to see those gains, even though at times it should have been perfectly possible to reconcile them with his fundamental outlook on the metaphysical sense and importance of tragedy. The Greek tragician was to him first of all a preacher of moral and religious truths; tragedy, as he put it in his book on Sophocles, "a prayer". Antipsychologistic observations do not always or necessarily go well with the view opposing his, in which the tragicians were "men of letters" pure and simple; often conversely they speak in favour of what he believed. Nonetheless, Zieliński was too deeply involved with 19th-century psychologism to see beyond the unquestionable errors and perversions of that modern reaction to what it had to offer of value.

Sophocles was central to Zieliński's interests and work, but research on Euripides came very close. In this section I have already mentioned his attempt at reconstructing that poet's lost tragedies undertaken in connection with a translation of his fragments. Alas, that work has to be considered lost; but we do have a number of contributions by Zieliński, published both before and after that, dealing with reconstructing Euripides' individual lost plays[34].

Euripides interested him primarily as a personality. Zieliński meant to write Euripides' inner-life biography, relying on a study into his preserved and reconstructed plays as an expression of the story of his spirit; death came too soon and he never did. One can find a sample of what that intended work could be in his article *L'évolution religieuse d'Euripide*, printed in REG XXXVI 1923[35]. Unlike the authors of traditional approaches (postulating the poet's scepticism and antitheism until a conversion, or perhaps only a surrender, in the *Bacchae*), Zieliński distinguished two periods here. The first would be a period of a general sceptical or antitheistic attitude, when Euripides opposed the religion of his ancestors as a whole, with Apollo and Delphi at the centre of the forces he battled against; that ended in conversion after the Sicilian defeat. In the second period Euripides, already reconciled with Apollo, still had to face the world of Dionysus, contrary to that of Apollo and alien to himself; that happened in the *Bacchae*, his last tragedy, only staged after his death.

To construct the planned biography, it was first necessary to try and establish, in as far as possible, the chronology of Euripides' works, preserved both whole and in fragments. That purpose was served by book two of the *Tragodumena*, which deals with the evolution of that poet's iambic trimeter. Here we encounter an illustration of the extraordinary multilateralism of Zieliński's scholarly mind. It might seem that our great synthesiser would not decide to undertake work painstaking in the utmost, would not want to register the resolutions of arses, irrational

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[34] As for Aeschylus, Zieliński reconstructed his unpreserved tragedies too, on various occasions: in the work on rudimentary motifs, the introductions to Sophocles' plays, and other contributions dealing with the evolution of tragic motifs.

[35] Reprinted in *Iresione* (n. 16), vol. II, pp. 239–257.

theses, caesurae etc., line after line, play after play, fragment after fragment; to list them, count them, then calculate percentages... It might, except that we have other research of that sort by him, carried out on material much vaster, so vast as to frighten when it comes to that type of study: on the prose of Cicero's speeches.

As a result of such meticulous metrical analysis, Zieliński established four successive periods in Euripides (strict, half-strict, free and very free), and placed the preserved and lost tragedies accordingly, naturally with those plays for which dating is documented serving as beacons. For some undated ones it was possible in this way to determine approximate chronological order; for others, membership in one of the four styles, and so in a period in the poet's career. Of course, those chronological findings are not all of them certain in the mathematical sense, but on the whole they are a lasting and extremely valuable achievement which every scholar investigating the history of tragedy in he second half of the 5th century will have to make use of.

VI

Zieliński's first printed work[36] dealt with Rome, and with its political history at that. The research into Livy and the Second Punic War which he did in connection with it had its echo in his later work as well. For a long time in his own works, in reviews, and in the Russian commented edition for school use of Livy's book XXI (edited later in Polish by Zdzisław Zmigryder-Konopka[37]), he would return to the subject. Among Ovid's works, he was especially attracted to the *Heroides*, resulting in their full poetic translation into Russian and in articles analysing their "*topica* and *typica*"[38]. On Horace, he wrote some minor contributions and a whole book, containing his ten lectures on that poet given at the Institut Français in Warsaw[39]. He often worked on Augustan poetry anyway as part of his research into religion, to which I shall return below. But at the central point of his studies into Latin literature, there is Cicero; writings on him are among Zieliński's most important ones.

It all started with minor contributions: in 1893 in the journal "Filologičeskoje Obozrienije" he published his *Curae Tullianae*[40]; in the same year in "Philologus", a contribution to an interpretation of the main speech against Verres[41]; in the

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[36] See n. 9.

[37] *Liwiusz, Najście Hannibala na Italię (Ab Urbe condita ks. XXI)*, Lwów–Warszawa 1930.

[38] Words taken from Zieliński's lecture on the *Heroides*, given in 1931 at a conference of classical scholars of the Slavic countries in Prague (Acta II Congressus Philologorum Classicorum Slavorum, Pragae 1931).

[39] *Horace et la société romaine du temps d'Auguste*, Paris 1938.

[40] *In M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes a Quinctiana ad Verrinam ultimam quaestiones criticae*.

[41] *Verrina. Chronologisches, Antiquarisches, Juristisches*, Philologus LII 1893, pp. 248–294.

following year, a Russian commented school edition of book V of that speech, later, just as that of Livy, re-edited in Polish by Z. Zmigryder-Konopka[42].

But then came the year 1895, the two thousandth anniversary of Cicero's birth. In reference to that occasion Zieliński gave in Petersburg at the Historical Society a lecture on Cicero's significance in the history of European culture[43]. The lecture later became the basis for one of the best books on the "posthumous careers" of ancient authors and their influence on our culture, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*. In the first edition (Leipzig 1897, IV + 102 pp.), it was still just a lecture, though considerably expanded and annotated; in the second, published 11 years later (Leipzig 1908, VIII + 453 pp.), a book of serious dimensions. In the preface to that second edition the author confessed that preparing it had required of him more years than the first, months[44].

There will be more below on the element of feeling and intuition, which Zieliński believed necessary in the effort to rekindle the past; that element permeates his own works more than any others. He had a clearly emotional attitude to the main characters of his studies, which however did not for a moment blur the strict, objective fairness of his vision, based on irreproachable logical argumentation. So it is with the hero of that particular book. As a foundation for presenting his posthumous fate, the author needed a short outline of his life, a description of his system of practical and theoretical philosophy, and finally a detailed analysis of his personality. Chapters dealing with those issues are imbued with fondness for Cicero, and that fondness makes it possible to intuit his psyche and illuminate it, so to speak, from the inside. We know that Cicero as a personality has been many times subjected by modern scholarship to very sharp, even merciless criticism. No doubt he was neither a hero nor a saint. Zieliński did not by any means idealise him; did not turn a blind eye to his weaknesses; but in contrast with dry observation from the outside, devoid of imagination or intuition, he tried to reconstruct his personality from the inside, to feel his feelings and think his thoughts. As a result he created the masterly inner portrait I have already mentioned.

That matter deserves special attention for one more reason: it is typical of Zieliński. Nothing was farther from him, nothing more unpleasant to him than the *a priori* unkind, suspicious, inquisitorial tone sometimes used by researchers in relation to the human objects of their study. The noble principle of Roman law, *quivis praesumitur bonus*, was observed by Zieliński whenever he dealt with

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[42] *M. Tulliusz Cycero. W obronie prowincji Sycylii. Mowa przeciw Werresowi (ks. V)*, Lwów–Warszawa 1928.

[43] Published in print in 1896 in the monthly "Vestnik Evropy", vol. II, then reprinted in the introduction to a Russian edition of Cicero's speeches (translated in part by Zieliński), Sankt Pietierburg 1901.

[44] There was a third edition in 1912, revised and slightly modified, and a fourth in the interwar period.

people of antiquity. I hasten to add that it was only a transfer into the intellectual realm of a principle he followed in life, where he also as a rule assumed that the people he happened to encounter were *viri boni*. He burnt himself painfully more than once, but that did not change his basic demeanour in the slightest. In research, one more thing followed from it. A master of critical analysis of sources, he was against hypercriticism, or the *a priori* distrust and suspiciousness which characterise many a scholar's attitude to evidence; indeed, there are those for whom *quivis praesumitur malus* unless, as an exception, *contrarium probabitur*. Sometimes a happy find would disprove the scepticism of the hypercritics, supporting Zieliński's position in some dispute of years before. How glad he was then to point that out! Not because he turned out to have been right, but rather because it was a victory of another principle he formulated, paraphrasing a well known line in Epicharmus: νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασο... πιστεύειν.

That approach to historical figures, so characteristic of Zieliński, is an expression of that ability to acknowledge greatness which all great souls possess. In the last period of his work he often expressed bitter displeasure which rose in him as he saw around him, and especially in German philology, increasingly glaring examples of hypercritically discrediting great characters and great works of antiquity. Quite correctly he saw in that a sign of a museum-goer's familiarity with monuments and the people speaking through them, of small people excited about the pleasure of finding flaws in greatness with the eyeglass of their specialist knowledge. Thus it was with great joy and appreciation that he welcomed Werner Jaeger's beautiful *Paideia*, in which great characters of antiquity undergo new and in-depth analysis, and their halos, singed by smoking desk lamps of short-sighted "scholars", regain their old lustre. "Go read Werner Jaeger!" Zieliński called out in his review of that book[45]. "There you will find a spirit who, himself great, can also see and acclaim greatness where it stands before him".

Let us, however, go back to Cicero. Ancient Christianity, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution were the successive stages according to which Zieliński presented his hero's "posthumous history". The Middle Ages received very cursory treatment, which the author justified claiming that they brought nothing distinctly new in connection with Cicero. Even so, later, in the preface to the third edition, he himself termed that leap from antiquity to the Renaissance a serious omission, listing two others besides it: the 19th century, and the significance of Cicero in the study of the state. But not much could be done about that; meanwhile, so many new and absorbing problems had entered Zieliński's creative horizon that in the new edition he had to limit himself to minor additions; it would have been all but impossible for him then to return to the old subject for long.

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[45] Die Tatwelt XI 1935, fasc. 4.

Such as it is, with gaps pointed out by the author himself, that book amazes with the breadth and depth of the knowledge contained in it, its enormous erudition, and the mastering of its endless material. But that is not where its greatness lies; what actually distinguishes it from among many related ones is the creativity of thought springing from almost every page. It is not one of those "industrious", useful works, valuable as treasure troves of information and material, for which we are rightly grateful to their authors and their selfless toil. No, that book by Zieliński has to it nothing of a catalogue, nothing of an encyclopaedia; rather, it is a fascinating story from the life of culture, based on deeply thinking through the facts of that life and revealing their sense; a story in which the reader senses the current of greatness from the beginning to the end, even where it deals with seemingly petty things, and in which the reader from beginning to end remains in contact with the author's uncommon individuality. That individuality can be felt both in the way the author sees facts and in the way they are expressed; the book is not just a work of scholarship, but also an excellent literary piece. It ought to be translated into Polish as soon as possible.

Ciceronian scholarship owes to Zieliński more than that one monumental work[46]; a central and groundbreaking role fell to him also in a very different discipline within that scholarship, that is in research into the form of Cicero's oratorical prose. In that case Zieliński expressed that other face of his scholarly mind we have already encountered when noting his work on Euripides' trimeter[47]: his ability to conduct with iron-willed perseverance the most meticulous and patient analytical and statistical studies in enormous material. Undoubtedly his decision to undertake work so ascetic, which must have required a great sacrifice and effort of will of a mind such as his, was caused by his aspiration, already known to us, to discover and determine laws. In reference to Eduard Norden's search carried out in his book *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Zieliński resolved to do a systematic and exhaustive rhythm-oriented study, not of selected fragments of Cicero's prose, but rather of all his oratorical legacy. And as a result of that long and strenuous labour he created works which mark an era in research into the rhythm of ancient prose.

Those works are, first of all, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden. Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik* of 1904[48], and *Der Constructive Rhythmus in Ciceros Reden. Der oratorischen Rhythmik zweiter Teil* of 1913[49]. In the first, as

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[46] I omit here his minor contributions and reviews pertaining to Cicero, which he kept writing after 1895. I shall only mention one, popular in form but containing the results of very interesting inquiry into law and criminal procedure in ancient Rome: an attempt at reconstructing the trial of Cluentius, in whose defence Cicero gave the famous speech (*Proces karny przed dwudziestu wiekami*, an article first published in Russian in 1901, then in Polish in the book *Z życia idej*, vol. II, Warszawa 1939).

[47] Above, at the and of section V.

[48] Philologus Suppl. IX 1904, fasc. 4.

[49] Philologus Suppl. XIII 1914.

the title itself indicates, the author investigated clausulae of rhetorical periods. Such an investigation was not new in itself; but Zieliński gave it an unshakeable foundation by determining the essence of a clausula. Namely, it had to have two parts to it: the base, which was either a cretic (– ⏑ –) or a variation on it, and the cadence, which was trochaic; and only where that bipartition is present, can we speak of a clausula[50].

Thus the most general clausula form from which all others derive, can be expressed thus: – ⏑ – | – ⏑, –, ⏑; Zieliński called it the "absolute" or "integrative" clausulae. Its five variations are "strict" clausulae; those, through long syllables resolving into short ones in the base and short syllables being replaced by long ones in the cadence, become clausulae which deviate from the norm, either lighter or heavier than the strict ones in their ratio of long to short syllables. Applying those distinctions, Zieliński carried out statistical analyses from different angles, in that way obtaining the formulation of a number of laws governing the rhythm of the speeches. The correctness of his method is especially striking when in a number of cases he reaches certain conclusions first through theoretical reasoning to then check them against the text – and find the result as expected.

In the second work mentioned above, such investigation of clausulae was extended to the whole period. Zieliński analysed first the parts which were final in their sentences, and then all the other parts. It turns out that the same rhythmical units occurred here too, but the ratio of strict ones to others was different. Having so decomposed all of the text of Cicero's speeches into rhythmical units, Zieliński determined that ratio of strict to free ones, a ratio which turns out always the same whether we consider all his speeches together, or chronologically determined groups of them, or finally each speech as a single whole; and it is Cicero's "rhythm signature", an individual characteristic of his. Thus we are given an instrument which can resolve some controversies of the authenticity of writings attributed to Cicero or those whose authenticity is sometimes questioned. In that connection it is also understandable that discovering Cicero's laws of individual rhythm brings many answers to questions of textual criticism[51].

The peculiarities of the rhythmic flow of an author's prose are both a result of his conscious efforts and, to an even greater extent, an expression of his individual traits independent of his will. Zieliński determined the "rhythm signature" for Cicero; for other writers it is certainly different. The psychologi-

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[50] Actually, Zieliński formulated that law as early as three years before the first of those two books came out, in a review of Julius Wolff's *De clausulis Ciceronianis* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung XXII 1901, fasc. 51–52).

[51] Dealt with by Zieliński in a separate paper: *Textkritik und Rhythmusgesetze in Ciceros Reden* (Philologus XIX 1906, pp. 604–629). His work *Das Ausleben des Clauselgesetzes in der römischen Kunstprosa* (Philologus, Suppl. X 1907, fasc. 4) deals with the later history of clausulae, and their impoverishment and schematisation in the period of decline (including the so-called *Panegyrici* and Cyprian).

cal grounds of those phenomena are extremely interesting. Zieliński, as we already know, was very much into psychology; and so he tried to shed light on those issues from that perspective too. Soon after the publication of the book on clausulae he published in "Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie" (VI 1906) the article *Der Rhythmus der römischen Kunstprosa und seine psychologischen Grundlagen*; in 1922, in "Przegląd Humanistyczny" I, *Rytmika prozy pięknej i jej psychologiczne podstawy*, where he also made use of the results contained in his book on constructive rhythm.

VII

Any scholar who, like Zieliński, views antiquity first of all from the perspective of the "life of ideas", whose goal it is, like his, to encompass with his understanding its whole spiritual culture and to highlight in it the basic governing lines which extend into later centuries all the way until today and further, into the future – cannot, of course, in his studies ignore matters such as the history of the morality and religion of the ancient world.

Scattered throughout Zieliński's scholarly and popular-scholarly work there are observations and remarks, smaller and larger pieces of intellectual constructs which were one day to fuse into one great structure: the history of ancient morality. However, such a book remained a plan never carried out; although if fate had allowed him to work in quieter times, without the breaks, obstacles and difficulties forced on him, he might have found the time for it too. In the preface, written in 1939, to the second series of his collection *Z życia idej*, he said of that book, "of which he had stopped dreaming long ago", that he had only written two chapters of it: *Bóg i dobro (Jak moralność stała się religijną a religia moralną)* (*God and the Good: Or, How Morality Became Religious and Religion, Moral)* and *Powstanie grzechu w świadomości starożytnej Grecji* (*The Rise of Sin in the Consciousness of Ancient Greece*). He included the former in the first (cf. n. 4), and the latter in the second series of that collection[52]. They both deal with the first preserved testimony on the evolution of the moral consciousness of the Greeks, the Homeric poems. The second revolves mostly around an analysis of the concept of ἄτη, pointing research on it in the right direction.

As can be seen from the titles, if nothing else, both works could equally well count as religious studies. We would in general be well justified in saying that problems of religion were extremely important in Zieliński's thinking about the

[52] He wrote both while still in Petersburg, in 1917. The Russian version of the article on the rise of sin (Russkaja Mysl' VII–VIII 1917) does not have the scholarly notes of the Polish. Then there is *Rozwój moralności w świecie starożytnym od Homera do czasów Chrystusa* (*The Evolution of Morality in the Ancient World from Homer to the Times of Christ*, a brief outline), a lecture given at a public meeting of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences on 11 June 1927 (Kraków 1927).

ancient world almost from the beginning of his academic career. Research in literature, and especially in tragedy, most often led him to inquire into an author's religious attitude, and his mythological investigations were usually done from a perspective which sees religious ideas embodied in the myths. And it was exactly from the angle of religious ideas and religious feelings that Zieliński approached the problems of religion; as everywhere else, so also here the "life of ideas" and the mentality of the ancients were his main axes of focus.

In that respect he was very different from most "specialists" in religious studies; while of course he did not spurn antiquarian and archaeological material from which to reconstruct ancient cults, but rather drew on it unreservedly where he needed it, in the first place he was interested in the human mind, and in particular the minds of eminent individualities, of poets and thinkers. To use L.R. Farnell's expression, Zieliński was interested in "the higher aspects of Greek religion", and in its influence on the life and culture of the society. No scholar so far has brought out the role of Delphi in the history of Greek culture as clearly as he did. The matter still awaits comprehensive analysis; Zieliński once wanted to write it, but that work too, just like the *History of Ancient Morality*, remained an unfulfilled dream[53].

The religious studies of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th are not overly interested in such matters, dominated as they are by the ethnological viewpoint. Zieliński, while he did not deny the ethnological school its achievements, was far from it in all of his outlook, and even clearly inimical to it in its exaggerations. Analysing the religious phenomena of those ancient peoples which had a highly developed culture on the same level on which the religious lives of the primitive peoples are investigated provoked his criticism, violent at times, and his incisive irony. If in some cases such analogies might even be justified, might indicate the origins of the investigated phenomena latent in prehistory, what of it? They have no connection to how those phenomena were felt and understood by the people whose religious lives are to be studied, and so explain nothing.

The minds of those whose culture we honour and admire in so many of its expressions ought not to be compared to the minds of New Guinea savages, but to our own. In the Introduction to *Religia starożytnej Grecji* (*The Religion of Ancient Greece*), book one of his *Religie świata antycznego*[54], Zieliński wrote: "We shall travel to the Athens of the 4th and 3rd centuries before Christ, and try to answer the question of what our faith would be if we lived in those times with our soul and its needs". Those words summarise his attitude to the problems of ancient religion: they are to us as near as any other problems of that culture, ancestral to our own. Abstracting religion from the worth of classical

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[53] Cf. Die Tatwelt XI 1935, fasc. 4, p. 210.

[54] 2nd edn., p. 11.

culture as a whole, or belittling it flagrantly out of proportion to other, highly esteemed aspects of that culture – result in an absurdity: in deciding that religion is "a faculty separate from other mental faculties and not related to them in any way, a kind of mental sport of the same sort as, for instance, the ability to play cards"[55]. Therefore our approach to the religions of the ancient world must not, in Zieliński's opinion, fundamentally differ from our approach to other aspects of that world's spiritual and mental culture: and "just as a person deprived of artistic sense cannot understand Greek art, so one without religious sense will not understand Greek religion"[56].

The above argument has two consequences: first, our culture is organically related to that of the ancient world also in its religious aspect; second, when it comes to significant study of that ancient culture, "intuiting" must necessarily complement strictly scholarly research. Below I shall return to each of them.

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To present Zieliński's achievements in the field of learning about, interpreting, understanding and feeling the religion of the people of antiquity, and omit nothing is a task far too daunting for a publication such as this one. Almost every page of his writings on that subject is eminently creative; even where it does not contain newly obtained facts of scholarship, we always find new ways of looking at and grouping facts which give us access to the living, beating heart of the ancient faith. Often enough it is not even possible to summarise them. After all the futile effort to do so, one simply feels like saying "Read Zieliński!" Here I shall just point out his most important specific research achievements in that field.

When still a young man, he made a discovery of enormous importance, which it would however be futile to look for in those general books on the history of Greek religion that register the findings of many scholars. It is a reconstruction based on interpreting and combining the scattered remains of old beliefs, worn down in later evolutionary stages of that religion; a reconstruction which could only be performed by a person of extraordinary intuition, imagination and keen eyes able to see the parts of a once living whole in the dead fragments strewn all over the place; reconstruction which is deeply convincing, although, out of its very nature, impossible to prove so irrefutably as to persuade even the famuli of Goethe's *Faust*, who as a rule "see nothing but a black poodle".

Zieliński reconstructed the fundamental myth of the "religion of Zeus", the earliest stage of the religious thinking of the Greeks accessible to us, a stage they must have brought with them from their Proto-Indo-European home, since

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[55] T. Zieliński, *Nauka i sentyment wobec hellenizmu i judaizmu*, Przegląd Współczesny VII 1928, fasc. 71, p. 359.

[56] T. Zieliński, *Religia starożytnej Grecji*, 2nd edn., p. 12. Later, Zieliński would place that sentence among the six "axioms" opening the six volumes of his work.

it overlaps with the basic myth of the Old Germanic religion. Except that there, because of the much slower cultural development, that stage is simultaneously the final one, followed by Christianity, whereas the Greek religion underwent a long evolution and its original concept changed greatly during its lifetime.

According to that original concept, Zeus, the conqueror of the dark forces of the Earth and the Titans, the founder of luminous realm of the Olympians, is threatened with doom. After the great summer of the world, a great winter must come; one day in the far future it will give way to another summer, but for now the world lives in terror of the end, of a "twilight of the gods". At that early stage the Gigantomachy lies not in the past, but rather in the terrible future. According to an ancient oracle, Zeus must look for salvation not to the gods, but to a man born of divine seed; and to that purpose he descends to a mortal woman to have a son with her. But the hostile chthonic forces are not asleep: through their perfidious plot, the future saviour dies with his task unfulfilled; and to make matters worse, his death is the doing of the divine maiden who has loved him more than anything in the world and left Mount Olympus to be his companion in his earthly toil and in the mission he was destined to carry out. That Hellenic Sigurd is known under various names in the several Greek tribes; his features can be best discerned in the Doric Heracles, but other tribal heroes, such as Achilles, Jason and Meleager, are also originally slain saviours of the Olympic world.

The myth had to be laboriously reconstructed from fragments, because, as I have mentioned above, Greek religion did not stop at that stage. The nightmare of the looming end was dispelled by the religion of Apollo, in which Zeus is eternal, the Olympic order will never fail and the saviour has already come; that saviour is indeed a son of Zeus, though not of a mortal woman; he is Apollo, who has defeated the forces of the Earth embodied by the dragon Pytho and at the spot of his victory founded his oracular capital of *Pytho*, or Delphi, whence he announces to the mortals the will of his father Zeus. Thus Gigantomachy had to recede into the past, where it has since then been a double of the Titanomachy; and a reconciliation between Zeus and the Earth replaces their former strife.

That, in the roughest outline, is what I have termed Zieliński's discovery. And it is a discovery in the full sense of the word, since it explains crucial aspects of the history of Greek religious thought, introducing sense and order into a great many complex issues, including among them some questions related to Dionysus, a saviour of the Olympian world parallel to Apollo[57].

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[57] The concept was developed by Zieliński, complete with all the methodological apparatus, mostly in the following two publications: *Exkurse zu den Trachinierinnen* (Philologus IX 1896) and *Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungsidee* (Neue Jahrb. II 1899). Both were reprinted in *Iresione*, the first in volume I, the other in volume II. Besides, he dealt with the subject in a number of works more popular in character, such as *Idieja bogočelowieka w griečeskoj i germanskoj sagie* (Vestnik Evropy VII 1910), *Idea usprawiedliwienia moralnego, jej geneza i rozwój* (*Z życia idej* [n. 46]), *Piękna Helena* (Zamość 1920, also published in Italian in *Iresione*, vol. II) and *La Sibylle* (Paris 1924).

It should be however noted, that in his later works on religion Zieliński never took sufficient advantage of that discovery. Volume one of the series *Religie świata antycznego*, already mentioned in this article many times, offered a view of the cross-section of the religious life and religious consciousness of the Greeks in the 4th century BC, so it gave no occasion to write more of the concept, at that time long outdated; in volume three, *Hellenizm a judaizm*, Zieliński only touched on it where he needed it in connection with the problem of Graeco-Roman Messianism.

Now that matter, organically tied to that of the saviour hero anyway, is also one of the greatest achievements of Zieliński's research into ancient religions. Its individual components are too well known and documented not to have long attracted the attention of scholars; but approaching them synthetically, combining them into a single consistent whole, clarifying a number of obscurities and logically connecting the scattered links are all undeniably Zieliński's work. Many times, on many occasions and in connection with many things did he return to the last few decades of the Roman Republic, the time when people expected some disaster, the end of Rome or the end of the world – but also lived in the hope of the coming of a saviour who would begin the new cycle of time foretold by the Sibyl.

In the end the Graeco-Roman world pinned those messianic hopes on the person of emperor Augustus, who put an end to the bloody civil war, which could have ended in Rome's ruin, at the same time putting an end to the republic. But during the reign of Augustus an event took place which did begin a new cycle of time: the birth of Christ. Zieliński demonstrated clearly and convincingly that it was that Graeco-Roman, universalistic Messianism, rather than the nationalistic Judaic one, which paved the way for Christianity.

Zieliński wrote on the matter, either in whole or in part, in a large number of his writings[58]; in spite of its conciseness, its most complete treatment can be found in volume four of *Religie świata antycznego*, *Religia Rzeczypospolitej Rzymskiej* (*The Religion of the Roman Republic*), in chapters IX and X.

Zieliński started working on the religion of Rome very early. As early as 1903 he published a paper addressed to a wider public[59], in which he used the new, and the first truly scholarly work on Roman religion by Georg Wissowa, to offer a profound analysis, both historical and philosophical, of its essence, trying to

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[58] Among others in *La Sibylle et la fin de Rome* (Musée Belge XXVII 1923); *Dies irae*, Warszawa 1929; *L'istoriosofia greca paragonata a quella degli Ebrei* (La Pologne au VI Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Oslo 1928, Varsovie 1930 = *Iresione*, vol. II); *Świat antyczny*, vol. IV: *Cesarstwo Rzymskie*, chapter II.

[59] *Rom und seine Gottheit* (Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung 27–39, München), reprinted in *Iresione*, vol. II.

demonstrate how the line of its evolution found its logical conclusion in Roman Christianity.

It is already there, then, that we find the idea to the realisation of which Zieliński devoted most of his effort in the last period of his life. But there is more to that article and its Russian counterpart[60]: for the first time in history, they determined the specific characteristics of the native Roman understanding of the divine. In contrast to the Hellenic transcendental substantiality, a Roman deity is immanent and actual: it manifests only in the phenomenon and only while it lasts, only in the specific, one-time act[61]. Thus the possibility for an unlimited proliferation of deities and discovering ever new ones; thus the always fluid processes of concepts of deities both differentiating and integrating. The Hellenisation of Roman religion brought with it an altogether different approach to those matters; but the old substrate of popular religion continued both in the feelings of the masses and in the official lore of the pontifices.

Zieliński's research and thought put into Greek and Roman religion, dating to such an early time, eventually found their crown in the work he sometimes called "the work of his life": the *Religie świata antycznego*.

He was perfectly aware that a full, exhaustive history of the religion of classical Greece, the Hellenistic times and the Graeco-Roman world, one encompassing all possible relevant aspects, lay in the future. He called his multi-volume work a mere "presentiment of the royal structure"[62] that future history would be. That work owes its beginning to chance; in 1918 a Russian publishing house asked Zieliński to write an outline of the religion of ancient Greece for a series of short outlines in religious studies entitled "The World's Religions"; that was the origin of volume one of the later six-volume book. In the preface to the second edition of its Polish translation (Warszawa 1937), the author himself said that while writing it, he "did not expect that it would be extended into a series encompassing all of antiquity". In accordance with the publisher's requirements, the book was short, so it could not possibly embrace all the evolutionary stages of Greek religion. Therefore, as I have said above, the author presented in it a cross-section of the religion of the Greeks of the 4th century BC. Later (in 1922), and likewise still in Russia, came out as its supplement *Religia hellenizmu* (*The Religion of the Hellenistic World*). It was not much longer and offered another cross-section, this one through the 1st century BC.

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[60] *Rim i evo religija* (Vestnik Evropy 1903), published in Polish translation as *Rzym i jego religia*, Zamość 1920.

[61] That matter was later presented by Zieliński at its most complete and vivid in chapter III (*Święty czas*; *Sacred time*) of vol. IV of his series on history of religion. Kurt Latte (already mentioned above in section III of this article) attributed Zieliński's observation to himself, failing to mention him altogether, in *Über eine Eigentümlichkeit der italischen Gottesvorstellung* (ARW XXIV 1926, pp. 244–258).

[62] *Erudition und Gefühl*, in: *Iresione*, vol. II, p. 476.

Both those books have been translated into Polish[63]. But while Zieliński was writing the second, he conceived the idea of a whole series[64]; for that reason volume two, while it has chapters on oriental religions and the interaction between Greek religion and them, it does not have one on Judaism. The encounter between the Greek world and the religion of Israel could not be omitted; but it needed to be dealt with much more amply than it was even possible with Isis or the Great Mother. The problem of that encounter, of partially and temporarily giving in to, and ultimately rejecting, the influence of Judaism was so important from the perspective of the religious history of antiquity that Zieliński decided to devote a whole volume to it, the first to be written in Polish from the start. And that new volume grew to a size incomparably larger than that of the first two; even the main body of the text was much longer, and in addition to that, as I have already said above (in section II), it gained the rather detailed notes, in which the author justified his claims by referring to sources and argued against their different interpretations. *Religia starożytnej Grecji* is fewer than 200 pages long; *Religia Hellenizmu*, 250; but *Hellenizm a judaizm* had to be divided into two parts of 300 pages each[65]. And so it would be from then on; each successive volume would have notes and, in view of its size, come in two parts. The one that came off the press before the author's death, *Religia Rzeczypospolitej Rzymskiej*, is even longer than volume three, since in its two parts taken together it extends to over 800 pages[66]. In both volume three and four the cross-section is, as in *Religia Hellenizmu*, through the 1st century BC. The final two volumes, *Religia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego* (*The Religion of the Roman Empire*) and *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* (*Ancient Christianity*), still remain, as the reader already knows, in manuscript. [As mentioned before, they were published in 1999.]

Beginning with volume one, the author consistently follows in that work the notion I have already referred to, that is he tries to demonstrate the continuity between the religion of the Graeco-Roman world and that which, with time, took its place in the consciousness of the people of classical culture: Christianity. He tries to prove that in its fully developed form, Christianity has deeper and more essential ties to ancient Greek and Roman religious feeling and thinking than to Judaism; that the classical world was psychologically better prepared to accept it than Israel, which was actually reflected in events as the former accepted it and the latter, excluding a tiny group of converts, rejected it. And he expresses that through the lapidary thesis that the classical religion is the proper Old Testament of Christianity.

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[63] The 1st edn. of *Religia starożytnej Grecji* appeared in 1921; of *Religia Hellenizmu*, in 1925.

[64] That plan can already be found in its totality in the introduction to the Polish edition.

[65] Both parts were published in 1927.

[66] Part I came out in 1933; part II, in 1934.

That thesis, at any rate in its concise, lapidary form, without commentary or discussion, runs counter to the teaching of Christian churches, and so it met very bitter opposition; opposition so absolute and unyielding as to be deaf to all arguments or explanations of its meaning. In vain did Zieliński many times try to explain that he had not meant that Christianity originated in classical religion, only that there was between them a "psychological continuity", which allowed its followers to feel and understand what Christianity was. In vain did he, with great persuasiveness and expressiveness highlight the high emotional and philosophical values of classical religion; and at the same time with profound, sincere emotion he emphasised that he was religious and a Christian to whom, as another fundamental thesis ran, listed at the beginning of each volume as one of the "axioms", Christianity was "the pinnacle of the religious aspirations of humanity". Nothing helped: Zieliński was an anti-religious author, and the Hellenes, as before, "idol-worshippers".

Volume three of the book, *Hellenizm a judaizm* (*The Hellenistic Religion and Judaism*) caused the most uproar. This time Zieliński was criticised by both Christians and Jews, who felt offended with him estimating the Hellenistic religion more highly than Judaism. The attacks were passionate, rabid, often stooping to invective and crossing the lines of eristical decency; the author was accused of "loose scholarship", and even of intentionally misrepresenting some facts. In some cases they were caused not just by the attackers' rabidity, but also by their inadequate grounding in classical philology; when they could not on their own reconstruct the premises on which Zieliński's claims were based, expressed as they were in a text without strict methodological apparatus, they opposed to them as axioms the trite opinions he had corrected[67]. Experts at Hebrew and Jewish studies scolded the author for certain minor errors in the interpretation of the relevant sources. Perhaps they were right; but even then, none of those errors could have significantly affected the overall state of affairs. And a third group attacked him as well, the so-called "freethinkers", who accused him of an "unscientific" attitude to problems, that is, of approaching them from the standing point of a person who considers religious values real and lets his religious sense have a say in his reasoning. Here it was not possible to reach common ground either for, as we already know, for Zieliński the religious sense is, quite the other way round, an indispensable element, which the scholar of religion can only do without in minor contributions providing the material for future synthetic analyses; once in uncharted territory, where the point is not merely to collect facts, but also to properly interpret them, he will be like a blind man discussing colours.

Debate, if it had been more objective, less heated, and, yes, less emotional – and here, emotions are rather detrimental – might have had certain posi-

[67] For a characteristic example, see S. Srebrny, *ξένος – ἰδιώτης*, Kwartalnik Klasyczny IV 1930, pp. 490–493.

tive results, Without, as I suppose, introducing any fundamental changes into Zieliński's theories, for the most part excellently grounded, it might have restored optimal balance between the assessment of Hellenic values on the one hand, and oriental ones on the other. It cannot be denied that Zieliński's profound love for the Graeco-Roman culture, rooted in some kind of intimate spiritual kinship, caused him at times to idealise that culture, and in turn to harbour a dislike for the East, which does sometimes show through his sober scholarly argumentation. The trends of modern scholarship, including modern classics, to emphasise the value of Eastern cultures were strongly unpleasant to him, arousing in him an emotional protest. Perhaps in a number of cases he was wrong, denying or belittling Eastern influence; perhaps at times he underestimated the creative potential of the Orient.

And yet there can be no doubt that he was often very much correct in his opposition against overestimating Eastern influence. That is the case with the problems of ancient Messianism; and so it is with the so-called "Hermeticism". Against Reitzenstein, who derived those mystical teachings of late antiquity from Egypt, Zieliński in his magnificent article *Hermes und die Hermetik* (ARW VIII 1905 = *Iresione*, vol. II)[68] demonstrated that their origins were purely Greek and lay with the primitive popular religion of Hermes in Arcadia. The then editor of "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft" and excellent scholar of religion, Albrecht Dieterich, supplied that article with a comment in which he indicated his disagreement; however, later times granted the victory to Zieliński's view[69].

Let me however go back for a while yet to the battles fought against Zieliński's theories in history of religion. Those battles go on and no doubt will. For him, as for Goethe in his *Faust*, "the religious sense is the core of religion"[70]; all else is a "parable" in the same sense in which Goethe uses the word for "all that is transient". The eternal truth of matters divine is in its deepest essence unknowable; reflected in the transient human awareness, it can only be a parable, "a symbolic expression of the ineffable"[71]. Dogma can approximate, but can never completely overlap with that truth which is on the other side. The thing which leads humanity

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[68] Published in popular form as *Hermes Trismegistos*, Zamość 1920. The last scholarly article printed before his death, written in connection with his work on volume five of *Religie świata antycznego*, also dealt with Hermeticism; it was *La Cosmogonie de Strasbourg* (Scientia LXX 1941, pp. 63–69, 113–121).

[69] In 1915, J. Kroll published his ample work *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, the conclusions of which are exactly the same as Zieliński's in *Hermes und die Hermetik*. However, Kroll completely fails to mention his predecessor in solving the main problem, even though he knows the article well, quoting it for minor problems of textual criticism. Another illustration of the matter already brought up here several times!

[70] *Religia starożytnej Grecji*, 2nd edn., p. 193.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

towards the heights, gradually approaching the truth but never identical to it, is, to Zieliński, inner revelation.

Needless to say, whoever believes that dogma is not a "parable", but rather truth written down in its exact form, a formula expressing the world faithfully and wholly, will never find a common ground with Zieliński on issues of the study of religion.

VIII

In 1928, Zieliński published in "Eos" the treatise *De Andromacha posthomerica*[72]. As the title indicates, the treatise deals with a specialised problem, one of the many problems of the evolution of tragic motifs which the great scholar worked on, and it cannot be discussed in detail in this brief sketch; but in its conclusions the reader will find reflections of most general and fundamental nature, added by the author, as he admitted himself, "occasione data, vel adeo arrepta".

It is in a sense Zieliński's testament, passed on to younger classicists. He believed that misunderstanding and rejecting the brilliant work of Nietzsche's young years, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, by Wilamowitz, then a beginner, but later an outstanding classical philologist in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first 30 years of the 20th, had disastrous influence on our later scholarship. In place of the old "debate over the *Eumenides*", the debate between formalists and realists, ended definitively for the most part by Wilamowitz himself, who magnificently combined both those trends in his personality, there came a new, much more profound debate: to put it in the briefest manner possible, one between historical and philosophical philology[73]. It was finding a way to end that debate that Zieliński considered the most important problem for future classics, and he called on the youth to struggle towards it.

In those general reflections he also talked, among other things, about what he considered the theoretical foundations of the academic work of his whole life. There are two of those. I have already brought one up: it is the demand that the principles of psychology be introduced into philological research. The other is to aim at clarifying as strictly as possible how far the researcher can go in the discipline known as classical philology by means of the demonstrative force of argument (*demonstratoria argumenti vis*), and so in practice, to verify in each case as conscientiously as possible what can be proven, that is established as certain, what can only be considered likely, and what, as merely possible.

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[72] Cf. n. 31.

[73] Zieliński developed that thought also in other writings, especially in his later posthumous reminiscences of Wilamowitz: in Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles XXXVII 1932, fasc. 2, and in Wiedza i Życie 1932, fasc. 4–5.

Indeed, the art of proof is among the strongest points of Zieliński's works. Naturally it is mostly present where strictly scholarly form allows the author to precisely argue his case based on an analysis of the sources (cf. above in section II). Even among the greatest classical philologists, few have mastered that art in the same degree as he had. Zieliński was quite right in pointing out that Wilamowitz for instance, whom he actually considered an excellent scholar, did not possess that skill.

When I say "the art of proof", it has nothing to do with rhetorical or oratorical talent, which Zieliński also had in a high degree. Rather, I mean the logic itself, independent of the form in which it is expressed, so that the readers or audience are indeed convinced, and if originally they had a different opinion on the matter, that they change their mind under the irresistible force of a logical proof. That they subject themselves to the extra-personal, supra-individual Logos, independent of the will, objectives, interests and feelings of the disputers, the Logos which is always the highest instance in Plato's dialogues: "It is not so because I want it so, but because Logos wants it so", says Plato's Socrates. In that attitude Zieliński saw one of the highest values handed down to us by the culture of antiquity, and not just an intellectual, but also a moral value. He wrote[74]:

> Logos faces us with serious and sometimes harsh challenges. *You must acknowledge the claim most unpleasant to yourself if it has been proven; you must forego your dearest belief if it has been disproved*. Such is the code of the thinker. If you do not follow it, you will be a sheep in a herd; a master's slave; not a free citizen of the republic of the mind.

That "code of the thinker" is part of the "tablet of Pallas", one of the seven tablets of commandments which Zieliński carried out of the depths of the spirit of ancient Greece to preach them to the people of his times and of the future. There is among his writings one quite unlike the others in form, a kind of a philosophical prose poem or a sage's solemn manifesto, published as early as 1905 and entitled *Vince, Sol!*[75] There, in seven tablets of commandments – of Zeus, Pallas, Heracles, Demeter, Apollo, Aphrodite and Dionysus – with the fire and solemnity of a prophet he preached truths wrested from the very heart of ancient Greece, which were to forge the soul of the contemporary person into a noble vessel of a new Renaissance, a spirit of magnificent freedom of mind, a fully harmonious personality. It would be futile to look for a more significant, more profound approach to the deepest essence of Greek religious concepts and feelings, or to the understanding of humanity based on them. Zieliński extracted the deepest symbolic sense from the cultural facts and myths relating to the several

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[74] *Świat antyczny a my*, Zamość 1922, p. 111.

[75] In volume II of the 2nd edn. of the Russian version of the collection *Z życia idej*. The work has not been translated yet into Polish or into any other language.

deities, reaching their most meaningful core, which was to serve as the foundation for a world-view and a creative attitude to life.

In order to reach such insight and understanding, it is not enough to be an expert classicist. One needs "intuition" (cf. above in section VII), one needs to get in touch with the deep-running current of the forces which shaped classical culture and made it possess such indestructible creative values so indispensable to our intellectual and spiritual development. The untiring investigator of microscopic details, the master of logical proof, the worshipper of the "tablet of Pallas" was also the advocate of the need to intuit the ancient world – if one wants to obtain meaningful knowledge of it, such knowledge as can become a creative force, shape the personality and sculpt the face of a new culture.

Zieliński himself had that ability to intuit in an extraordinary extent. More than that, one would like to say he was as though organically predestined to be a living conductor for creative currents flowing from the ancient world; he had a natural contact with it, or, in Pindar's words, knew much about it "by nature" – and perhaps that is why there was so often conflict between him and the "learned ones", who "like ravens, in vain raise their voices at the divine bird of Zeus".

The New Renaissance, for which the seven tablets of the culture of ancient Greece were to prepare the human soul, was, in Zieliński's thought and ardent dream, a Slavic one. He believed that the people of Europe had already been through three great renaissances of classical culture: the Carolingian, the Great (with which the word has a special connection) and the Neo-Humanistic. Creative role in them had been played primarily by the nations of Western Europe: the Great Renaissance was primarily the achievement of nations speaking Romance languages, and the Neo-Humanistic, primarily Anglo-Saxon and Germanic. The Slavic peoples had never before played a leading cultural role in Europe, and so their part in the renaissances was relatively modest too. The suns of those renaissances were in them rather reflected lights; even the Polish Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries was, despite its glories, a mere reflection of the Renaissance of the West. Zieliński expected and believed that the Slavic nations would have their chance to pay the cultural debt incurred with their elder brethren and that in the Renaissance to come the creative role would fall to the Slavs[76].

The work of Zieliński's whole life always looked, as I have already emphasised many times, to the life of ideas, to the connections of our culture to antiquity, and to the immortal creative values of classical culture manifest in the past and priceless as a seed for the future. And all that gigantic effort of thought,

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[76] The idea of a Slavic Renaissance returns very often in Zieliński's writings, and I do not doubt everybody has encountered it many times; it would be both difficult and unnecessary to list all works in which it is present. I will just mention one, in which the matter is presented in some breadth, and which is probably little known; it is the article *L'influence de la civilisation antique en Europe* (Revue Internationale des Études Balkaniques II 1935, pp. 22–40).

feeling and will took place under the banner of making straight paths for the fourth Renaissance to come.

That was the goal – the distant, sublime goal shining among the stars; there were no others. We were witnesses to a life built under the sign of "the tablet of Heracles". A life built into something great and impressive: work for the sake of work, toil for the sake of toil; for the pure joy springing from creative labour. That toil was indeed crowned with magnificent spires of world-view and faith, but that reward was not consciously bought with the toil as if with coin; that toil also rained life-sustaining dew on others and on the surrounding life, but that was not a preconceived objective of the toil. The minor rewards and joys that life brings would always come too late, when they were no longer wanted; it was not towards them that his great, deepest love of life ran, that love which only real artists have. And, apparently to follow the resemblance all the way to the end, that creative life ended in a tragic disaster, as did that of the son of Zeus and Alcmene.

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THE EARLIEST ANCIENT TESTIMONIES OF THE VISTULA*

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It is very rarely that Pomponius Mela's name makes it into scholarly works on Slavic lands in antiquity. While he cannot rival with the major testimonies by Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and Ptolemy, he still deserves an important place among the ancient geographers of what are today Slavic territories, since as the author of a *Chorography* (the *De situ Orbis*) he is the earliest Roman geographer whose work has been preserved whole, and with the loss of Varro, Nepos and Sallust, is the first complete monument of Roman geographic literature (dated to 43/44 AD).

In the *Chorography*, which describes the *oikoumene* in the form of a periplus, Mela entered the northern reaches of Europe twice: first from the south, in his description of the Black Sea in II 1 ff., and second from the north, as he depicted an external periplus of Europe in III 33 ff. In the north he knew Germania, Sarmatia and Scythia, and especially in the case of the latter two, which encompass some of the Slavic lands, he demonstrated much material originating with Herodotus or even Hecataeus of Miletus, i.e. he repeated information from the 5th century BC, or even earlier[1]. For Mela, like other Roman geographer authors, was an armchair scholar and a man of letters who complained about the dryness of geographical matter and tried to make his descriptions of northern peoples vivid in a literary sense. Therefore he included in his work, usually without citing his sources, information drawn from various authors and times, so that with small exceptions its origins are not contemporary with him and may reach far into the past. So did most Roman geographers. Thus before evaluating a testimony provided by any ancient geographer, one ought to first determine its source and time of origin, as the age when our author wrote need not dictate the time when

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[1] H. Philipp, *Pomponius Mela. Geographie des Erdkreises*, vol. I, Leipzig 1912, p. 63; F. Krohn, Bursians Jahresb. CCXVII 1928, p. 97; M.I. Rostowcew, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, Berlin 1931, pp. 44–46; F. Gisinger, *Geographie*, *RE* Suppl. IV (1924), col. 674.

a given geographical detail became known; often information preserved in a later author should be traced to the earlier sources he used.

While in this brief essay I intend to reach the earliest ancient testimony to mention the Vistula river, I would also like to draw attention to the passage in Pomponius Mela (III 33) where the Vistula appears directly for the first time in ancient geographical literature. Even though the view is widely accepted that it was already listed by name on Agrippa's map, that piece of information is only available indirectly from Pliny IV 81 (fr. 21, A. Klotz, *Die geographischen commentarii des Agrippa*, Klio XXV 1931, p. 421) and from the later writings based on his map, namely *Divisio orbis* 11, 14 and *Dimensuratio provinciarum* 8, 19. However, the first direct mention of the Vistula is to be found in Mela and that is why his testimony deserves special attention. Still, in my opinion both Mela's testimony and the Vistula on Agrippa's map come from earlier sources, and so familiarity with the river's name reaches much further into the past than the preserved direct sources would indicate.

Moving east, in book III Mela presents a northern periplus of Europe. Beginning with the Iberian Peninsula (III 3–15) he crosses Gaul (III 16–24) to reach Germania (III 25), after which there comes a description of Sarmatia (III 33): "Sarmatia intus quam ad mare latior, ab his quae secuntur Vistula[2] amne discreta, qua retro abit usque ad Histrum flumen inmittitur". This place in Mela, where the Vistula seems to form Sarmatia's border on its Asian side, has not been adequately explained[3]. So, in his opinion, Sarmatia extends wider in the interior than along the coast of the Ocean, is seperated from the peoples that follow with the Vistula river, and reaches all the way to Danube in the back. Taking into consideration the direction of Mela's description, the Vistula as it is generally known in geography, cannot have separated Sarmatia from its eastern neighbours, since it is on the Vistula as its western border that Sarmatia began in the understanding of the Ancients. Thus at the transition point between the descriptions of Germania and Sarmatia I detect in Mela a collision of data proceeding along two different directions: from the west on the side of Germania and from the south-east and the Black Sea on that of Sarmatia. That is because Germania lay still within the range of western knowledge, whereas information on Sarmatia came along the roads leading off the northern shores of the Black Sea. That corresponds to the routes along which the ancient world approached what would later become

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[2] *Vistula* is a late vulgate reading; in the reading of some of the manuscripts lies hidden the form *Visula*, proper to Mela's earlier source.

[3] K.H. Tzschucke, *Pomponii Melae de situ orbis*, vol. II 3, Lipsiae 1806, p. 105; F. Nansen, *Nebelheim*, vol. I, Leipzig 1911, p. 100; L. Niederle, *Starożytności słowiańskie*, vol. I 1, transl. and ed. K. Chamiec, Warszawa 1907, p. 198, n. 2; W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej*, vol. I, Poznań 1887, p. 4; W. Dzieduszycki, *Wiadomości starożytnych o geografii ziem polskich*, Kraków 1887 (Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Filologiczny XIX), p. 146; E. Majewski, *Polska w wyobraźni geografów średniowiecznych...*, Wisła 1905, p. 7.

Slavic lands, and whose traces in ancient literature I looked for in my previous papers[4]. In the passage in question in Pomponius Mela those separate routes find a clear confirmation for if we assume that his description of Sarmatia takes off at the northern coast of the Black Sea and moves west, his information becomes quite clear and corresponds to his contemporary geographical concepts. The Vistula then does form Sarmatia's western border and does separate it from the peoples that follow. Thus in Mela's testimony, our earliest direct testimony of the Vistula, where it is placed in the far north, as though separating the Sarmatians from the Asiatic Scythians, and simultaneously as a frontier of Sarmatia after a manner, there is a trace of the contamination of two different conceptions: an earlier, drawn from Greek and Roman literary sources, and a later, contemporary with Mela and based by him on Agrippa's map.

Since the earliest preserved direct mention of the Vistula came up in Mela's description of Sarmatia, and since the river was placed by him in the far north, it seems likely that the Vistula had a special, organic connection to Sarmatia, that is, any knowledge of that river originated in those regions of the ancient world which provided information regarding Scythia and Sarmatia. There can be no doubt that those regions were the ones on the Black Sea coast. As I pointed out before, the point of contact of our lands with the ancient Mediterranean world determines the value and precise location of the various pieces of geographical data. From Mela's testimony under discussion here it follows that the earliest knowledge of the Vistula came from the vicinity of the Black Sea, the earliest point of contact between the ancient world and the north and the starting point for the oldest routes leading off north and towards the Baltic. So far it has been generally suspected that the rather late information on the Vistula in Roman geographers came from the trade route from Aquileia via the mountain pass of Kłodzko or the Moravian Gate towards Sambia, much used in the early centuries of the Empire. That, however, is only secondary contact with the Vistula, approaching it from the south-west.

For if we investigate the layout of Agrippa's map, and the spatial arrangements of Mela and Pliny, in which the Vistula appears first, we must observe that it always comes up in connection with descriptions of lands on the Black Sea. From book IV of Pliny we may extract fragments of Agrippa, who in his measurements of Germania does not mention the Vistula as its border (Plin. IV 98 = fr. 17 Klotz), and only does so in his description of Pontus, as he traces the western borders of Dacia (Plin. IV 81 = fr. 21 Klotz), which in his version includes vast expanses across the Carpathian Mountains and reaches as far as the

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[4] B. Biliński, *Drogi świata starożytnego ku ziemiom polskim i problem Odry u Ptolemeusza*, Eos XLI 1940–1946, fasc. 1, pp. 157 ff.; idem, *Drogi świata starożytnego ku ziemiom słowiańskim w świetle starożytnych świadectw literackich*, Archeologia I 1948, pp. 139 ff. (cf. M. Rudnicki, Slavia Occidentalis XVIII 1939–1947, pp. 474 f.).

Ocean, that is, the Baltic. Other than that fragment from Agrippa, Pliny mentions the Vistula twice, and each time in a treatment of the Northern coast of Europe and proceeding from east to west. The periplus in IV 100 even identifies the river with two names, *Visculus sive Vistula*, and in the catalogue of rivers it reaches all the way to the river Meuse, which particular piece of information Klotz rightly sees as later (*op. cit.*, p. 415). Then in *HN* IV 97 next to the description of those same shores and islands among whom he lists Scatinavia, Pliny reports that "quidam haec habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt...". The order in which those peoples are listed strongly indicates east-to-west direction, and since the list opens with the Sarmatians, the information originated on the Black Sea or around it[5]. Referring to his source as *quidam*, Pliny absolutely cannot mean Agrippa; that whole chapter in general is full of information presumably drawn indirectly from Greek authors, of whom Pliny lists Timaeus, Hecataeus of Abdera, Philemon, Xenophon of Lampsacus, and Pytheas. Just as it does in IV 98 (*quidam nostri*), here *quidam* means earlier Roman geographers, and in particular Varro, who was one of Pliny's primary geographical sources. Pre-Agrippan status of that information in Pliny was already determined by Klotz.

Thus Pliny has already provided us with three reports of the Vistula, based on three different sources: IV 97 repeats information drawn from geographers of the Republican era; IV 81 uses Agrippa's map; and IV 100 reports information later than Agrippa. That also explains why the readings of the river's name vary within those few chapters[6], so that in the latest part Pliny notes two forms, *Visculus sive Vistula*. Actually, if we investigate Mayhoff's critical apparatus, each place has a different reading. Unifying the readings, as was done by Jan, Detlefsen and partly by Mayhoff, is then profoundly wrong, because it is exactly the variety of readings that confirms Pliny's use of a number of different sources here. In the earliest occurence (IV 97), which probably comes from pre-Agrippan geographers, the manuscripts of Pliny unambiguously recommend the reading *Visula*: *uisilam* A (Leidensis Vossianus, 9th century); *uisulam* D (Vaticanus, 11th c.), F² (Leidensis Lipsii corr., 12th c.), R (Florentinus, 11th c.)

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[5] Also the Scirians, who together with the Bastarnae threatened Olbia in the 3rd century BC, are related to the Black Sea region; cf. E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, p. 460; V. Latyšev, *IPE* I² 16.

[6] M. Rudnicki, *Wda i Wisła*, Slavia Occidentalis VI 1927, pp. 336 f. (cf. *ibid.* VIII 1929, p. 392); idem, *Sur la methode d'étudier la toponymie et l'anthroponymie*, *ibid.* XVII 1939–1947, p. 134; A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków 1927, p. 624; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań 1946, pp. 72 and 186. After completing this article I have obtained in Wrocław J.M. Rozwadowski, *Wisła i jej dorzecza. Monografia Wisły*, fasc. 2, Warszawa 1921; and it was with pleasure that I was able to learn that my modest comments were in agreement with that outstanding linguist's findings (cf. E. Słuszkiewicz, *Rzut oka na dzieje etymologii nazwy „Słowianie"*, Przegląd Klasyczny II 1936, pp. 766 and 774, who gives an excellent overview of the problem from the linguistic perspective).

and E^2 (Parisinus corr., 12th c.). The other manuscripts have *insulam* (cf. Dicuil 7, 23). The form *Vistlam* was introduced here by Sillig, followed by Mayhoff. Barbarus adopted the vulgate *Vistula*. Here I must direct the reader's attention to Mela's manuscript tradition for according to Frick's edition, in widest use today, III 33 reads *Vistula*. However, his edition is based on a single manuscript (Vaticanus 4929, 10th century), supposedly the archetype (Frick, p. VIII); thus it does not list variant readings from other manuscripts, but merely emendations made in later hands in the Vatican codex. Even so, if we open Tzschucke's edition (Lipsiae 1806, II 3, p. 105), we shall learn that the name *Vistula* shows many variants in Mela; some of them were listed by A. Gronovius in his editions (1722–1782), while others were added by Tzschucke himself, who found them in the manuscripts and early editions. Now among the many Gronovian variants of names for the Vistula there is the reading *insula*, to support which Tzschucke cites codices and numerous earliest editions. Since I have not been able to personally check either the editions, or the manuscripts, I have to be content with the guess that the transmitted reading *insula* contains in it the form *uisula*, quite clear graphically, which would agree with the manuscript tradition of the earliest Plinian mention in IV 97, where *Visula* is exactly the form forced by codices. At the same time the suspicion arises that the manuscript-based reading *Vistula* in the editions is the later commonly accepted vulgate. Therefore Mela's testimony, and our first, agrees with Pliny and does not come from Agrippa's map. In *HN* IV 81, where the author does draw directly on Agrippa, the codices have F^2 d *uistiam*, E *uistigia*, and in the remaining manuscripts, including codex A, *uistia*, all three of which irrefutably contain in them the form *Vistla*, displayed on Agrippa's map (cf. *Divisio orbis* 11, 14, and Iordan. *Get.* 5, 17). It is only that form which on Roman ground led through anaptyxis to *Vistula*, which then became to universal vulgate of the ancient world. *Vistula* then is the most recent Latin form of the river's name and can be found in the latest of the relevant Plinian passages, IV 100 (emphatically confirmed by manuscript readings: A *uistila*, F^2 and E^2 *uistilia*), and in other, later geographers[7]. In this way linguistic criteria (Rozwadowski, Rudnicki, and Słuszkiewicz) find in this modest observation, in an analysis of Pliny's geographical sources, and in an investigation into the manuscripts, the consistent confirmation that the form used for the Vistula by Agrippa was *Vistla*, which gave rise to *Vistula*. There still remains the unclear

[7] *Dimensuratio provinciarum* 8, 19; Iordan. *Get.* 3, 5; Geogr. Rav. 4, 4; Ptolem. II 11, 2.4.7; III 5, 1.8; VIII 10, 2; Marcian. *Periplus Maris Exteri* II 31 and 35–39; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. II, Berlin 1887, p. 208. The parallel form of the name *Visculus* evolved from *Viscla* (Solinus 20), the form the ancient world knew from the Balts (Rozwadowski, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 6; Rudnicki, *Wda i Wisła* [n. 6], p. 336). Pliny took part in the wars against the Germans and even Tacitus in his *Germania* used geographical material contained in his *Bella Germaniae* (E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*, Leipzig–Berlin 1920, pp. 207 ff. and 247 ff.). That is also the explanation behind the variety of names for the Vistula in his *Naturalis historia*.

form *Visula*, widely considered the latest[8] and something like a Latinisation of the name *Visla*. Rozwadowski is willing to accept it as an independent name for the river. And such is actually the case, as in Pliny the form comes up in the part where he relies on pre-Agrippan geographical sources, as well as being hidden in Mela's earliest testimony, which would indicate its earlier origin.

In the light of the above argument the widespread conviction that the Vistula makes its first appearance on Agrippa's map would seem incorrect: one of Pliny's testimonies points to earlier Roman geographers, and, more importantly, that particular testimony has a different form of the name than Agrippa's map, a form also found in manuscripts of Mela. Although the presumably rich geographical literature of the Republican era is lost, its vast influence on later geographers has been demonstrated in many contributions (Rostowcew, *op. cit.* [n. 1], pp. 41 ff.). We also know that in drawing his map, Agrippa relied on earlier sources, and in outlining the northern regions even adopted some Ionian concepts (M. Kiessling, *Ῥίπαια ὄρη*, *RE* I A, 1, 1914, coll. 890 ff.). Judging from the information in Pliny, the Vistula on Agrippa's map was at most a cartographic novelty, because in geographical literature it was a detail known previously, as indicated by the three different forms in Pliny. Nor is knowledge of it a discovery of Agrippa's times. While profound and extensive knowledge of the north only became available after his death, he himself spent time on the Black Sea coast in 14 BC, in the autumn of 13 he campaigned in Pannonia, and came back after the news of his approach pacified the Pannonians, to die in March of 12 BC. It is from those times that the inscription comes according to which M. Vinicius was supposed to reach the land of the Cotini, or almost as far as the southern borders of Silesia. Agrippa's map, based on his plans and materials and erected after his death by Augustus, already used the new form of the river's name, *Vistla*, learned by the Romans as they came closer to it from the south-west in their wars and along the trade route from Aquileia to the Baltic Sea (B. Svoboda, *Čechy a římské Imperium*, Praha 1948, pp. 45 ff.) on which a new and more direct contact with the Vistula took place.

However, Roman pre-Agrippan familiarity with the Vistula and the way geographers, Pliny and Mela, mentioned it in connection with their descriptions of Pontus spatially determine the point of contact, from which the first information about it reached the ancient world. It is from the direction of the Black Sea, during the Mithridatic Wars, that Rome had its first contact with the north on the side of the Slavic lands. Entering the former great Greek colonies through which the Greek world had first learned of the north some centuries before, the historians of the Mithridatic Wars (such as Theophanes) and Roman geographers often indirectly drew on the old Ionian geography, the best source of information

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[8] Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* 15 (Ekkehard, *Chronicon Wirziburgense* 6, 163, 6); cf. H. Oesterley, *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters*, Gotha 1883, p. 742.

on those regions. Reporting data which often looked back to the 5th or even 6th century, they created an amalgam of most recent information with Old Ionian concepts of the north (Biliński, Archeologia I 1948, pp. 150 f.).

Ionian geography of the 6th century BC (Anaximander, Hecataeus of Miletus)[9] which flourished at the time of the great colonisation of Pontus, assumed that the earth was surrounded by the waters of the Ocean, and so naturally took interest in far northern regions, of which long distance trade routes brought news. Trade contacts between the ancient world and Eastern Europe, already present in the 3rd millennium and allowing access from the Black Sea to the Baltic along the rivers Dnieper, Southern Bug and Dniester, are common knowledge (Biliński, Archeologia I 1948, pp. 143 ff.). The amber deposits of the northern shores (of Jutland and Sambia) find their echo in the mythical river Eridanus. We find fragments of that Old Ionian doctrine of the north in Herodotus, who questions his predecessors' certain concepts, rejects the notion of the Ocean flowing all around the earth and doubts the existence of the Riphaean Mountains and the amber river Eridanus. In this way his sober and rational mind shows in its concepts of the north some regress when compared to the Ionian geographers, since he assumes an uninhabited land in the north beyond the Neuri. In spite of much opposition, the old Ionian geographical concepts, renewed by Damastes (in the 5th century BC) lived on in the works of Greek 4th century geographers, and an Ionian map was in use in the time of Aristotle and Ephorus[10]. Thanks to Pytheas' discoveries, which proved that the north was inhabited, that map was re-confirmed and served as a model for Eratosthenes' mathematical cartography, in which the earth was surrounded by oceans on all sides. Then the Ionian concepts of the north found a new life with the Romans, unsympathetic towards mathematical-astronomical speculations, as the Black Sea lands first charted a northern path for the Roman world. Republican writers (Varro, Nepos and Sallust) devoted much space to descriptions of Pontus; not without Eratosthenes' influence, they adopted the Ionian layout of the earth as surrounded by oceans, and with it, other Ionian notions of the north[11]. In *De situ Ponti* Sallust used Hecataeus' material. So, too, Agrippa's map, despite certain scientific tendencies sought by Schnabel, took into consideration Ionian concepts by introducing the Riphaean mountain range and the Hyperboreans, both characteristic of old Ionian geography[12]. According to those

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[9] W.A. Heidel, *The Frame of Ancient Greek Maps*, American Geographical Society, Research Series XX 1937; cf. JHS LVIII 1938, p. 279; Listy Filologické LXVII 1940, p. 77; H.F. Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1897, pp. 70 f.; E.H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Berlin 1903, pp. 102 ff.; Gisinger, *op. cit*. (n. 1), coll. 556 ff.

[10] Gisinger, *op. cit*. (n. 1), coll. 557 and 590; Kiessling, *Ῥίπαια ὄρη*, *RE* I A, 1 (1914), coll. 876 ff.

[11] D. Detlefsen, *Vermutungen über Varros Schrift de ora maritima*, Hermes XXI 1886, p. 261; *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiarum reliquiae*, ed. B. Maurenbrecher, vol. II, Leipzig 1893, pp. 134 ff.

[12] H. Daebritz, *Hyperborei*, *RE* IX 1 (1914), col. 269; Kiessling, *op. cit*. (n. 10), col. 890; Gisinger, *op. cit*. (n. 1), col. 646; O. Crusius, *Roschers Mythologisches Lexikon* I (1884), col. 2286.

Ionian notions of the 6th century BC, in the north of Europe and Asia there was supposed to run the enormous Riphaean Mountains, beyond which the sun in the night traversed its course from the west to the east (Kiessling, *op. cit*. [n. 10], coll. 846 ff.). That fiction, originally astronomical, but later identified with various northern mountain ranges, was repeated in a number of Greek geographers (e.g. Damastes, Aristotle or Posidonius) to return on Agrippa's map alongside the Hyperboreans of the north. Both those Ionian elements, regarded as geographical facts, come up in Roman geographical literature in Mela (I 12, 13 and 117; III 33), Pliny (IV 89 ff.; VI 33 and 219) and Solinus (15, 20; 16, 1 and 17, 1); cf. Catull. 115, 6, Verg. *Georg*. III 381 ff. and Avien. 451.

Descriptions of Scythia and Sarmatia in Mela and Pliny contain not only material dating back to the early Ionian times, but also, in their geography of northern Europe and Asia, data whose sources lie in the idealistic utopian depictions of northern peoples[13]. Among the authors of such utopias a prominent place goes to Hecataeus of Abdera, who lived around 300 BC and wrote the famous *Περὶ Ὑπερβορέων* (F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 264)[14]. Just as in the *Aegyptiaca*, the author must have presented some chorographic information about those regions too, since we find certain geographical fragments of his work in Pliny (*HN* IV 55 = T 6b; VI 34 = fr. 11; IV 94 = fr. 14), with echoes in Mela (cf. Jacoby's commentary, III A, pp. 55 f.; Daebritz, *op. cit.* [n. 12], col. 272). Roman geographers used those Hellenistic utopias, whose authors adopted early Ionian conceptions of the north and added to them some new information which had reached the Greek world after the great discoveries of the times of colonisation, when Philip's and Alexander's fighting with the Thracians and Scythians on the lower Danube again drew the attention of the Greeks towards northern peoples.

In that general renaissance of Ionian geography in Roman literature[15], which gained new authors in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, Ammianus Marcelinus' testimony deserves particular consideration (that 4th century historian mentioned the Vistula in XXII 8, 38). For if we take into account the place and circumstances under which it came up, there can be no doubt that it was part of a description of the Black Sea and its surrounding lands. In that description of Thrace and

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[13] A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Progr. Frankfurt a. M. 1875; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, Leipzig [3]1914, pp. 178 ff.; K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*, Basel 1918, pp. 133 ff.

[14] T. Sinko, *Literatura grecka*, vol. II 1, Kraków 1947, p. 174; S. Witkowski, *Historjografia grecka i nauki pokrewne*, vol. III, Kraków 1927, p. 126; F. Jacoby, *RE* VII 2 (1912), coll. 2750 ff.

[15] F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Griechische Geschichte* (in: A. Gercke, E. Norden [eds.], *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. III 1, Leipzig 1912, p. 82), claims that Roman geographers repeat much of Hecataeus' material. The Roman renaissance of Ionian geography is portrayed best by Kiessling, *op. cit*. (n. 10), coll. 851 ff. Dionysius Periegetes, the *Argonautica* epic (4th century AD), Avienus' *Ora Maritima*, Church Fathers, Procopius and later maps demonstrate many traces of the Ionian teaching (Kiessling, *RE* I 1, 1894, coll. 863, 873 and 897).

Pontus (XXII 8, 1–49)[16], Ammianus, as he himself admitted, relied on many sources: "adpositum est (ut existimo) tempus [...] super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus visa vel lecta quaedam perspicua fide monstrare". It has been demonstrated[17] that besides contemporary reports he used many earlier sources, often poetic. He drew on Timagenes, Sallust, to whom he presumably owed elements of the doctrines of Eratosthenes and Hecataeus, and on the so-called *Chorographia Pliniana*, which would be a common source for him and Solinus. He did preserve some old Ionian geographical information then. It is with the help of Pliny and Solinus that it is possible to reach an explanation of Ammianus' sources and at the same time get to what was probably the earliest mention of the Vistula in antiquity.

After describing in paragraphs 1–36 the eastern part of the Black Sea, and Maeotis complete with Tanais and Tauris, in paragraph 37 Ammianus moves on to the areas west of Tanais and Tauris and towards the Thracian coast. Then he descends from the utmost north southwards in XXII 8, 38:

> Ergo in ipso huius conpagis exordio, ubi Rifaei deficiunt montes habitant Aremfaei, iusti homines placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes Chronius et Visula praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae, Halani et Sargetae, aliique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores. Interiectu deinde non mediocri, Carcinites panditur sinus [...] dein Borysthenes...

Connecting the Vistula with the Riphaei and the Arimphaei indicates an Ionian origin of that piece of information, since the Arimphaei are something like a later name for Herodotus' Argippaei (IV 23), supposedly inhabiting the southern edges of the Urals and together with the Hyperboreans considered the half-mythical northerners (W.W. How, J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. I, Oxford 1912, p. 310). That later form of their name is only known from Roman authors (Pomp. Mela I 117 and Pliny VI 34), and Daebritz and Tomaschek (*RE* II 1, 1895, col. 779) rightly suppose that the Arimphaei of Roman geographers came from Hecataeus of Abdera, who contaminated Herodotus' account of the Argippaei with the Riphaei and with Aristeas' story of the Hyperboreans, that is combined diverse old Ionian elements in a new Hellenistic utopia.

One must compare Ammianus' above testimony with Pliny's report, where the Scythians are succeeded by a description of the farthest north:

> (VI 33 f.) Nunc omnibus quae sunt Asiae interiora dictis Ripaeos montes transcendat animus extraque litore oceani incedat [...] ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis

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[16] That chapter was analysed and commented on in a most enlightening way by J. Lelewel, *Narody na ziemiach słowiańskich przed powstaniem Polski*, Poznań 1853, pp. 297 ff.

[17] V. Gardthausen, *Die geographischen Quellen Ammians*, Leipzig 1873, pp. 34 ff.; Th. Mommsen, *Ammians Geographica*, Hermes XVI 1881, pp. 618 ff.; Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. III, p. 86 ff.

> aestivi Scythae sunt. Extra eos ultraque aquilonis initia Hyperboreos aliqui posuere, pluribus in Europa dictos. Primum inde noscitur promunturium Celticae Lytharmis, fluvius Carambucis, ubi lassata cum siderum vi Ripaeorum montium deficiunt iuga, Arimphaeos quosdam accepimus, haut dissimilem Hyperboreis gentem... (cf. IV 19);
>
> (cf. Solinus 17, 1: ...altera in Asia gens est ad initium orientis aestivi, ubi deficiunt Riphaeorum montium iuga. Hyperboreis similes dicunt Arimphaeos...; Jacoby III A, p. 54.)

Undoubtedly the passages from Pliny, Ammianus Marcelinus and Solinus quoted above come from a shared source. In Pliny there even remains a trace of the astronomical function of the Riphaei, so characteristic of Ionian geography. Besides, that short passage in Pliny demonstrates obvious similarities with fragments of Hecataeus of Abdera: *promunturium Celticae* resembles fr. 7 ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Κελτικῆς, and *fluvius Carambucis* = fr. 11 Καραμβύκαι (Jacoby III A, p. 57 f.)[18]. Judging from this comparison, we will be justified in concluding that Hecataeus' utopia about the Hyperboreans (and Pliny cites Hecataeus by name in IV 94 and VI 55) is also Pliny's source for the information in VI 34. Thus when Ammianus Marcellinus repeats this kind of Plinian-Hecataean information about the Riphaei and the Arimphaei and mentions the Vistula in connection with them[19], it is very likely that the information, which may well be more complete in Ammianus, in the 4th century AD renaissance of Ionian geography, than in Pliny, has transmitted via Republican geographers a substrate from Hecataeus era of the 4th century BC, when new geographical elements located in the far north were entering utopias about northern peoples. The Riphaei and the Arimphaei are not the only Ionian reminiscences in Ammianus Marcellinus. Similar echoes can be found elsewhere in his work, as in his description of Persia, and in the introduction to the geographical digression discussed here

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[18] Dzieduszycki, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 80, sees in the Carambucis the Vistula under a foreign name.

[19] Mommsen, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 614, traces *Visula* and *Chronius* back to Ptolemy III 5, 1, where both those rivers appear (Οὐιστούλας and Χρόνος). However, the forms of those names are altogether different than in Ptolemy, and what is more, so is their location (Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* [n. 7], vol. II, p. 90). Perhaps the Chronus is somehow related to the concept of Cronus as the ruler of the Isles of the Blessed, which has its roots in Pythagorean-Orphic mysticism of the 6th century BC (M. Pohlenz, *RE* XI 2, 1922, col. 1999). These *Saturnia regna* (ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος) express a romantic longing for a realm of happiness, such as that of Hyperboreans in the north (cf. Κρόνιον πέλαγος, Orph. *Argon*. 1085; Plut. *De fac. in orb. lun*. 26 = *Mor*. 941 A). It could be that, conversely, the planet Cronus as a symbol of cold and death in accordance with the doctrine of the climes found its reflection in the north in the river Chronus (cf. νεκρὸν πέλαγος, or *mare mortuum*). Two diametrically opposed images of the north combine here, as blessed and sunny or cold and dark. – Kiessling (*op. cit.* [n. 10], col. 907) believes that Ammianus had his information about the Vistula from Agrippa's map, which was supposed to extend the name Riphaei to the Carpathians, but here, too, both the form of the name and the general feel of the description argue against his supposition. It is not impossible that the extremely interesting testimony of Dionysius Periegetes belongs here too; namely in 314–315 he lists two rivers near the Riphaei, the Aldescus and the Panticapes. However, interpreting his testimony lies beyond the modest scope of this essay.

(XXII 8, 9) Hecataeus is mentioned alongside Eratosthenes and Ptolemy as a well known Ionian geographer of the Black Sea region. His material made its way into Ammianus Marcellinus indirectly, via Sallust[20], who relied on the Ionian geographer in his description of the Black Sea. This particular passage in Ammianus, where Hecataeus supposedly gave the circumference of Pontus in stadia and described its shape as similar to the Scythian bow, raises certain objections, because that sort of geographical imagery was completely alien to the 6th century Hecataeus (of Miletus; cf. *FGrHist* 1 F 197; H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 332 f.). Rightly, then, did Gardthausen (*op. cit.* [n. 17], p. 34) refuse Hecataeus the authorship of that information and ascribed it to Eratosthenes alone. Hecataeus' name is in Ammianus Marcellinus a patron authority of the description of Pontus, legitimising the Ionian character of some pieces of his data. Listed after Eratosthenes, it creates the impression that Ammianus also meant the Hellenistic author of the utopian work (i.e., Hecataeus of Abdera), whose fragments are sometimes difficult to tell apart from those of the 6th century Hecataeus (R. Hennig, *Die Kunde von Britannien im Altertum*, Geographische Zeitschrift XXXIV 1928, p. 98). It is therefore very likely that Ammianus here invoked the authority of both Hecataei, the earlier Ionian and the later Hellenistic, since both were excellent sources for information on northern lands.

Besides the Ionian elements accompanying the Vistula in Ammianus, we should note the form of its name. Codices impose *Bisula* and that form with the initial *B* is unique in all ancient literature. Clark's most recent edition (1910) considers that reading a result of late Latin orthography and amends it to *Visula*. It is actually hard to determine the origin of that *B*, since both the *b* of Greek (from around the time of the birth of Christ on) and the *b* of Latin (from the 1st century AD) were in Ammianus' times pronounced *v*. In the Republican period the Greeks transliterated the Latin *v* as ου, and that is also the way Ptolemy transmitted the Vistula's name in the 2nd century AD: as Οὐιστούλας. It is only in the 2nd century that initial ου and β began to coexist as the rendering of Latin v (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 9th–10th century, has Βίσλας). However, after the disappearance of digamma the Greeks had no adequate character to represent v and used β instead (P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1896, p. 195), for instance Σαβάζιος, Βορυσθένης, Βυρεβίστας or Βισοῦργις (cf. the Laconian β in place of digamma). While the initial *B* in *Bisula* ultimately decides nothing, it does make one wonder why this particular spelling

[20] M. Hertz, *De Ammiani Marcellini studiis Sallustianis*, Wratislaviae 1874; Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. III, p. 88; Gardthausen, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 43 ff.; Rostowcew, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 74; G.M. Columba, *Ricerche storiche. La questione soliniana e la letteratura geografica dei Romani*, Palermo 1935, pp. 196 ff. Columba posits a Varronian-Sallustian chorography based on Varro's and Sallust's materials and used as a common source by Mela, Pliny and later Roman geographers.

(*B*, not *V*) in Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek of Antioch. Since it comes up in a passage containing old Greek doctrine, suspicions of a Greek transcription become all the more likely[21].

And if we compare Ammianus' form, which could conceal a Greek transcription of the form *Visula*, with the manuscript readings of Pomponius Mela III 33 and Pliny's earliest mention, IV 97, we must conclude that they are in agreement. Thus I add Ammianus' form to Mela's and Pliny's earliest *Visula*, confirming the pre-Agrippan dating of the latter two and adding a new argument for a very early origin of the name in Ammianus.

Moving the Vistula to the far north of Europe and connecting it to the Ionian Riphaei and the half-mythical Arimphaei is understandable in the 4th or 3rd century BC. Before Roman times, knowledge of that river was very hazy and sketchy. From the earliest Ionian times, echoes of it could be heard in the Eridanus, the mythical amber river of the north, thus its connection in the eyes of the Greeks with the far north. After the era of Ionic discoveries, the geographical horizon of the Greeks shrank, to abruptly expand again under Alexander the Great. Through the new migrations and through Philip's (339) and Alexander's (335) fighting on the Danube against the Triballi, Getae and Scythians, new northern geographical names entered the Greek world to mix with the old Ionian concepts and penetrate into Hellenistic utopias. Connection between the south and the far north was provided first by Thracian tribes, reaching all the way beyond the Carpathians in the north and from the 4th century on by the Celts, who had conquered lands on both sides of the Carpathians and threatened the Greeks. Those Celts left in what is today Poland distinct traces of their stay and influence proceeding from the direction of the Black Sea, as demonstrated by archaeological monuments, coins and toponymy[22]. Also the Greek coins minted in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, although extremely rare in Poland, can indicate that the Greek world of those times did penetrate the north to a slight degree, certainly indirectly. Therefore the information of Hecataeus, who came from Abdera, itself in the Greek north, may have some real foundation[23], although it became connected in the old Ionian perspective and manner with the distant and mythical north, all the more so because

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[21] Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. II, p. 375, tries to connect *Bisula* to the enigmatic *Bisigibilias* (Geographus Ravennas 4, 18), assuming a Greek origin of that form (J. Schnetz, Zeitschrift für Namenforschung XIV 1938, pp. 90 f.).

[22] J. Rosen-Przeworska, *Zabytki celtyckie na ziemiach Polski*, Warszawa 1939, pp. 49, 132 ff. and 185; L. Piotrowicz, *Les trouvailles monnaies celtiques en Pologne*, Eos XXXIV 1932–1933, pp. 413 ff.; idem, *Ziemia śląska w starożytności*, Cieszyn 1929, pp. 8 f.; Z. Zakrzewski, *Pierwsza moneta polska*, Slavia Occidentalis XVII 1938, pp. 59 ff.

[23] For various attempts at locating Hecataeus' island Helixoia and other reported details, cf. R. Hennig, *Das vor- und frügeschichtliche Altertum in seinen Kultur- und Handelsbeziehungen*, Leipzig 1942, pp. 144 f.; F. Voigt, *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), col. 103; Daebritz, *op. cit.* (n. 12), coll. 277 ff.; C. Schuchhardt, Prähistorische Zeitschrift II 1910, pp. 292 f.

it was only based on hearsay. Those are the reasons why the earliest mentions of the Vistula are connected to the farthest north in Ammianus Marcellinus and Pomponius Mela III 33 (the first directly transmitted testimony), where it appears to form the border between Sarmatia and the Scythians in the far north. The situation is similar in Pliny IV 97, where the author relied on earlier Roman geographers, and in Solinus 20, 1 the Vistula (under the form *Viscla*) was placed even farther north than the river Guthalus, again confirming the report connecting it to the utmost north. That extreme location originated with Republican geographers (Varro and Sallust), whose material has been transmitted indirectly by Solinus (F. Rabenald, *Quaestionum Solinianarum capita tria*, Halis Saxonum 1909). Then shortly before the birth of Christ the Roman world gained closer acquaintance with the Vistula and Pliny was able to use recent information to correct the Republican version, which is most clearly visible when we compare his version with the periplus preserved in Solinus 20, 1, since in Solinus the Vistula flows "beyond", that is, to the north of the Guthalus, while in his latest, post-Agrippean mention in IV 100, Pliny places it "after", that is, to the west of that river. Those two different locations of the Vistula in Pliny and Solinus, so far unexplained, reflect two chronologically and geographically different ways of finding out about it: in Solinus an earlier one, connecting the Vistula to the far north and via the Roman Republican geographers rooted in Hellenistic utopia; in Pliny a later one, when the Vistula was already better known and through correction of earlier information gained its proper place in a periplus of northern Europe.

Based on an analysis of the sources of Roman geographers, I draw up the forms of its name in order and conclude that alongside the form *Vistla* transmitted by Agrippa's map, the ancients knew the earlier form *Visula*. Already Rozwadowski (*op. cit.* [n. 6]) in his hesitation between *Vistla* and *Visula* as the earliest form would have us solve that problem by looking beyond linguistic considerations to others, historical, ethnographic and geographical. Thus having taken into account the different points of contact of the ancient world with the lands of today's Poland, separated in time and space, I believe that the first report of the Vistula and its (indirectly transmitted) name reached that world in the 4th century BC from the direction of the Black Sea, probably to be reflected in the Hellenistic ethnographic utopia by Hecataeus of Abdera, who in accordance with the old Ionian conceptions located it in the most distant north near the Riphaei and half-mythical peoples. When during the Mithridatic Wars Rome entered the Black Sea region, its Republican geographers such as Varro and Sallust reached for old Ionian descriptions of those lands and in that return to old Ionian geography included the Hellenistic utopia of Hecataeus of Abdera, the traces of which can be detected in Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder. Thus pre-Agrippan knowledge of the Vistula used the name *Visula*, dated back to the 4th century BC, went together with descriptions of Pontus and located the river in accordance with old Ionian concepts in the far north, whereas the

second, more exact and more direct Roman contact with the Vistula occurred already in Roman times[24] from the south-west along the trade route connecting Aquileia to the Baltic. Reports obtained from this route introduced the Vistula under a new name, *Vistla*, onto Agrippa's map, and allowed to position it more correctly and more realistically on the map of northern Europe, even though a section of a trade route was interpreted as part of the river's course (Biliński, Eos XLI 1940–1946, fasc. 1, p. 194). When later trade contacts clarified the location of the Vistula and shortened the distance between the ancient world and the north, the imaginary data of earlier times was removed and the river's location in the far north corrected. Even so, some of the old information lived on in Mela and Pliny, and against the background of the general renaissance of Ionian geography in Rome, escalating again in the 4th century AD, Ammianus Marcellinus, by using the older form *Bisula*, transmitted a report in which the Vistula was connected to the Riphaei, the Arimphaei and the far north, probably rooted (via Republican geographers, most likely Sallust) in the Hecataean utopia *On the Hyperboreans*. And so in our most recent author, the 4th century AD Ammianus, there was preserved information of the Vistula in the far north dating back to the 4th century BC, just as in Avienus' *Ora maritima* there was preserved the Massaliote Periplus from the 6th century BC.

[24] Neither Polybius (III 38, 2) nor Strabo (II 107; VII 294 and 306) knew anything of the Vistula or of the northern lands between the Elbe and the Tanais, because they rejected the old Ionian conceptions of the north. Strabo (VII 295) mocked those who accepted the Riphaei or the Hyperboreans: ...διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων τούτων οἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιοῦντες λόγου ἠξίωνται. They ignored utopias, but it is there that real echoes of geographical discoveries lay hidden at times.

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CLASSICAL MOTIFS IN THE *POLISH HISTORIES* OF DŁUGOSZ*

By

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In the year of Mickiewicz [1955, the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, a Polish poet of the Romanticism] it is fitting to begin these remarks about Długosz as the precursor of humanists in Poland by calling to mind the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh lectures of the first course taught by Mickiewicz at the Collège de France. In these lectures, he compares the "philosophical system" of Philippe de Commines (*Memoirs*) and Machiavelli (*Il Principe*) with the system of Johannes Longinus (i.e. Długosz). Philippe de Commines, who writes his *Memoirs* a few years after Długosz and greatly favours the feudal system, bases his political principles upon shrewdness, giving an example of the division between politics and morality. Machiavelli, who is searching for a means of uniting Italy, bases himself on certain unspecified recollections of antiquity and, when he becomes convinced that his "system" is worthless, he "loses faith in the republic of Florence and in the entire human race. He begins to worship despotism and wishes to rationalise and establish a type of truly 'Mongolian' system of violence and destruction" (A. Mickiewicz, *Literatura słowiańska. Kurs pierwszy*, in: *Dzieła*, vol. IX, Warszawa 1952, p. 15). In contrast, Długosz's work presents a complete system of morality and politics, a "Jagellonian" system. The reason for this is that the author "draws life from one conception of morality, more specifically, from the Christian conception. According to Długosz, all strength lies in truth, with truth defined by the principles of the Gospel, as accepted by the Church" (*ibid.*, p. 16). Among these arguments, Mickiewicz unexpectedly remarks (p. 18) that the number of books in Długosz's work equals (in his opinion) that of Livy and adds:

> It is also possible to compare him to Livy because both appear in a time of a fundamental crisis of the state, and both wish to leave a great legacy by drawing meaning from the past and throwing a new light on the future. Both equally respect

* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" XLIX 1957–1958, fasc. 2, pp. 177–201.

> the lessons of the past and are convinced that without understanding the processes of the past one cannot understand or direct the future (*ibid.*, p. 18).

The focus of the discussion that follows will be to demonstrate to what extent Długosz was drawing upon Livy, not in his mediaeval "system" and world view, but in his language and style. Długosz, in the Preface to his *Histories*, refers to Cicero's opinion (*De orat.* II 62) that history, being first and foremost a rhetorical work should be written by an intelligent, experienced person of great culture and good social manners, and he laments *ad nauseam* that he himself does not possess these assets. He also criticizes the refined tastes of his contemporaries who applaud only what is marked by the Tullian (i.e. Ciceronian) charm which he himself so sadly lacks. He demands to be compared not with ancient authors, but only with those who are his contemporaries. Although he is rendered speechless by his respect for ancient authors, he is not tongue-tied (*balbus*) in comparison to other authors of his own time (*moderni)*, and while his dry and thin little talent does not permit him to emulate the talents of ancient writers, it permits him to revere and admire them. These were the emotions that the ancient writers evoked in Długosz; in his reading, he drew from them more than just the words and phrases which moulded his speech and style and helped him rival other contemporary early humanists, but he also drew upon classical motifs. It is these "flowers of antiquity", primarily from Livy but also from other classical writers, that will be investigated here.

Writing in the middle of the 15th century, Długosz is not the first representative of humanism among us. There were others in his company, e.g. Grzegorz of Sanok, Jan of Ludzisko, Andrzej Grzymała of Poznań, Jan Elgot, Sędziwój of Czechło. The first of these was the focus of the doctoral dissertation (*De Gregorii Sanocei studiis humanioribus*, 1900) of Professor T. Sinko, which was assigned and directed by Professor K. Morawski. Professor Sinko returned to the topic of Polish humanism in his *Przyczynki z Kodeksu mogilskiego*, edited together with Fr. K. Michalski (Kraków 1917) and announced a systematic investigation of Polish humanism in his Latin analysis of Długosz's Preface to the *Polish Histories*, published in 1951 (*De Dlugossii praefatione Historiae Polonorum* in the book entitled *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*). Professor Sinko also influenced a young assistant, K. Kumaniecki (*Podanie o Wandzie w świetle źródeł starożytnych*, Pamiętnik Literacki XXII–XXIII 1926) to follow this train of investigation in the chair of Classical Philology at the Jagellonian University. When the realization of part of the investigation into neolatinist authors and Długosz in particular became the collective domain of the Joint Chairs of Classical Philology of the Jagellonian University, several of the assignments were divided among the members and assistants of this association. Professor J. Schnayder was the first to present his conclusions on the influence of Sallust on Długosz (Eos XLVI 1952–1953, fasc. 2., pp. 141–160). The observations published here are the second work presented within the scope of this undertaking.

I. LIVY

From Livy, Długosz learned how to vary his descriptions of battles, how to focus upon important episodes in battle, how to sketch the mood of the fighters and the inventing of stratagems. Livy's descriptions surface under his pen even when he is drawing upon a later source, i.e. Master Vincent (called Kadłubek). For example, in Book I (*Polish Histories*, vol. I, ed. A. Przeździecki, p. 76), Długosz describes the ruse of Przemyśl, who has decided to confuse the enemy by using a large number of helmets positioned on a hillside. He writes: "vani terroris vanaeque ad pugnam simulationis instruit apparatum". The ruse itself is taken from Kadłubek, but its description stems from Livy. The above quotation reflects various phrases in Livy, such as: "discusso [...] vano apparatu hostium" (VII 17, 5) and in particular "instructo vani terroris apparatu" (VII 14, 10). This last quote from the Roman historian deserves closer examination. Gaius Sulpicius, the Roman dictator, intends to instill fear into his enemies in some way and quickly finds the appropriate stratagem: "omnia circumspicere atque agitare coepit [...] sollerti animo rem novam excogitat". Długosz is quite clearly influenced by Livy, mimicking him when describing the stratagem of Przemyśl: "tacitus circumspiciens diuque agitans [...] sollerti rem insolitam animo excogitat". Furthermore, Sulpicius also uses pretence to increase the apparent numbers of his army: he orders his camp-followers to put on the armour belonging to captives or to soldiers too ill to fight, to mount pack mules and to hide themselves on the hillside. During the fight, these men are supposed to come out of the woods and to terrify the enemy by their very numbers "after having prepared the appearance of what would inspire groundless fear" − "instructo vani terroris apparatu". Długosz also ascribes a similar ruse to the Tartars, who led horses on which they had placed likenesses of men in order to instill fear by their apparent numbers: "vani terroris apparatum [...] secum trahebant" (IV, p. 592). Let us move on from the stratagem of Przemyśl, to whom Długosz ascribes the role of both saviour and providence after the defeat of the Polish army at the hands of the Hungarians and Moravians. The praises that Długosz showers upon him are drawn almost word for word from Livy (XXV 37). The Roman historian describes the providential results of the actions of L. Marcius during the war with Hannibal. Here again, it is worthwhile to compare the phrases used, as this comparison will throw light upon the method used by our historian. For example, Długosz's phrase *exercitibus deletis* is a short version of Livy's expression "cum deleti execitus [...] viderentur". In the phrase "rem publicam [...] existimantibus amissam" the participle *amissam* is drawn from Livy's sentence "amissaeque Hispaniae viderentur". The hailing of Przemyśl as a saviour, found in the sentence "vir unus restituit hanc (*scil*. rem publicam) retinuitque" corresponds to the words "vir unus res perditas restituit" in Livy. *Erat ea tempestate* at the beginning of the next sentence corresponds to the sentence in Livy that

begins in *erat in exercitu*. The description of Przemyśl as *vir quidam impiger* has its source in Livy's description *impiger iuvenis*. Furthermore, the thought that the abilities of Przemyśl greatly outweighed his birth: "industriae disciplinaeque militaris aliquanto quam pro sorte, in qua erat, expertior, ingenio denique atque industria quam prosapiae genere clarior". This expansion of the terse expression of the Roman author: "animique et ingenii aliquanto quam pro fortuna, in qua natus erat, maioris" is typical of Długosz. Similarly, the description of the source of the military genius of Przemyśl is based on the continuation of Livy's argument. The comparison is as follows. Długosz: "ad naturalem indolem frequens proeliorum, in quibus militaverat, accesserat exercitatio". Livy: "ad summam indolem accesserat Cn. Scipionis disciplina, sub qua per tot annos omnis militiae artis edoctus fuerat". Then Długosz prepares the stratagem of Przemyśl with the words: "is cum apud hostes omnia negligentius agi explorasset, ad consilium magis dolosum quam audax animum adiecit". This is a reworking of Livy's conclusion (XXV 37): "par neglegentia in castris fuit [...] ob hoc cum omnia neglecta apud hostes essent, exploratis eis Marcius ad consilium prima specie temerarium magis quam audax animum adiecit".

As mentioned before, the stratagem itself is drawn from the *Chronicles* of Kadłubek. However, the description of the assault on the deceived Panonians and Bohemians once again stems from the continuation of the story in Livy and, in fact, from two non concurrent passages: first, partly from the end of chapter 37 and second, from the beginning of chapter 39. Chapter 38 is omitted by Długosz as superfluous. Here is Długosz's description of the lack of discipline and carelessness among the enemy: "diffugisse Polonos, qui apparuerant, rati solutioribus ordinibus in stativa revertuntur". Livy: "Carthaginienses metu substitisse (*scil.* Romanos) rati contemptim rursus et sedato gradu in castra abeunt". Finally, there is the final defeat of the foe. Długosz: "a tergo et a lateribus somno stratos et corpora curantes prima vigilia hostes aggressus fortissime et audacissime alienatis a memoria periculi Polonorum sensibus et hostium tela intrepide excipientibus..." Livy: "pars semisomnos hostis caedunt [...] pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant. Hostes simul ignis, clamor, caedes velut alienatos sensibus nec audire nec providere quicquam sinunt".

In the above comparison, attention should be drawn to the phrase: "alienatis a memoria periculi sensibus". In this way, Długosz describes the courage of the Polish fighters, a courage that does not take danger into consideration; Livy, on the other hand, applies the phrase *alienati sensibus* to the enemy, i.e. the Punics, and says that they were out of their senses with fear. Thus Długosz departs considerably from the primary source (i.e. XXV 39) and subconsciously refers to another section in Livy (VII 15), where we read about the bravery of the Romans stirred by the exhortation of their leader: "tantos pudor stimulos admovit, ut ruerent in hostium tela alienatis a memoria periculi animis". Echoes of this section in Livy resound in Długosz's description of the battles of Bolesław Krzywousty:

"animo [...] a memoria periculi, quod a fronte et a tergo imminebat, alienato primus irruit" (I, p. 557).

All of the above remarks arise from the description of one stratagem employed by Przemyśl. In fact, both his names "Przemyśl" ("trick, strategem") and "Leszek" refer on the one hand to this *industria* of Marcius, and on the other, through "Lestko", to the German word *List*.

Let us examine another stratagem: the undercutting of the trees in the forest so that they may fall on the enemy army (III, p. 277). This is exactly what happened to the Polish army in 1359, while it was hastening to Moldavia in aid of Stephen: as soon as the Poles entered the forest, the weakened trees began to fall and crush those passing underneath. The description of this calamity is fashioned after Livy's description of the defeat of the consul designate L. Postumius in Gaul. The comparison follows.

Livy: "silva erat vasta [...] qua exercitum traducturus erat".

Długosz: "silvae erant vastae [...] quas [...] transiturus erat".

Livy: "eius silvae dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt, ut inmotae starent, momento levi impulsae occiderent".

Długosz: "earum silvarum dextra laevaque secus viam Valachi de parte hostili ita serris arbores inciderant, ut inmotae starent, ictu facile impulsae prociderent".

Livy: "ubi intravit agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt. Quae alia in aliam instabilem per se ac male haerentem incidentes ancipiti strage arma viros equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effugerent".

Długosz: "Polonis itaque saltum intrantibus Walachi extremas arborum succisarum impellunt aliam in aliam cadentem et ruentem atque viciniorem praecipitantem et strage ancipiti viros equos armaque sine bello obruunt et devincunt".

Livy: "nam cum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum".

Długosz: "arborum siquidem truncis et ramorum fragmentis milites insignes exanimati et oppressi sunt".

Livy: "ceteram multitudinem inopinato modo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt".

Długosz: "cetera omnis multitudo inopinato malo perculsa sub iugum et deditionem venit".

Let us pass from a one-time ruse to the more extensive tactics of cavalry raids: the opponent seeks to avoid a confrontation but attacks the enemy unawares, especially at night. This is one of Długosz's favourite scenes. Some examples include:

> Hungari [...] non faciebant pugnandi copiam, sed in castris et munimentis caeterisque abditis locis se continebant et tam nocte quam interdiu ex insidiis opportunitate conspecta Caesaris exercitum infestabant pabulatoresque et caeteros Almannos passim par agros palantes aut capiebant aut trucidabant (I, p. 301; cf. I, p. 303 et passim).

One could consider that, with such common tactics, Długosz does not need to depend on Livy. Even in this case, however, Długosz's imagination is grounded in the text of the Roman historian.

Let us examine the hit-and-run tactics of Masinissa, as described by Livy (XXV 34). The fundamental elements of such tactics are: (1) the constant harrying of the enemy both by day and by night; (2) not only abducting soldiers gathering wood, but also penetrating up to the very gates of the camp; (3) the spreading of terror in every nook and cranny. Thus, in the case of Masinissa: (1) "adsidue dies noctesque infestus aderat"; (2) "ut non vagos tantum procul a castris lignatum pabulumque progressos exciperet, sed ipsis obequitaret castris invectusque in medias saepe stationes omnia ingenti tumultu turbaret"; (3) "nec aut locus aut tempus ullum vacuum a metu ac sollicitudine erat Romanis". These three elements are also used by Długosz to describe the tactics used by Bolesław Krzywousty in the war against Emperor Henry (I, pp. 478 ff.): (1) "continua infestatione nocte et interdiu lacessebat"; (2) "in hostes palatos, qui aut praedatum aut pabulatum ibant, faciens impetum et incursiones [...] gentes [...] gratia pabulandi longius ab exercitu progressas dietim invadens et usque ad ipsa castra caesarea fugans et caedens"; (3) "quodlibet nemus, silvula aut rubus suspecta habebantur".

Following Livy's example, Długosz also singles out smaller episodes, phases or circumstances of the battle itself. *Clamores dissoni* (chaotic uproar, e.g. I, p. 350) characterizes the clash of battle at Lake Trasimene (Livy XXII 5) or at Zama (XXX 34). During the battle of Grunwald (IV, p. 58), Zbigniew Oleśnicki reports to the king that he was unable to reach the embattled armies or to communicate by mouth because of the noise: "quoniam apud illas prae strepitu et tumultu neque consilium accipi poterat neque imperium". This is the way that Długosz exploits Livy's description (XXII 5) of the battle of Lake Trasimene: "ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat". Similarly, the phrase: "neutro exercitu referente pedem" (in the description of the battle of Grunwald, IV, p. 54) recalls Livy's statement: "nec ullo exercitu referente pedem" (XXI 8).

Długosz describes the dispersal of the routed enemy with the words: *addere perculsis timorem* (IV, p. 463). These words are drawn from Livy, e.g. "addidit facile Masinissa perculsis terrorem [...] ut turbatos vidit hostes, addidit perculsis terrorem" (XXX 33).

In the entry for the year 1137 (I, p. 558), the Polish historian recounts the defeat of Bolesław Krzywousty when surrounded by the Rusyns and Hungarians. At one point, Bolesław lost his horse and intended to leave the field of battle on foot; fortunately, a simple soldier approached him and offered him his horse, asking to be gratefully remembered:

> cape [...] Princeps clarissime, hunc equum nondum fessum et non tam tuae, quam nostrae et communi consule saluti, ne morte aut captivitate tua casum hunc nobis funestiorem, hostibus dolosa et iniquissima acie nobiscum dimicantibus laetiorem facias.

This, too, is an episode drawn from Livy's description of the defeat of the Romans at Cannae (XXII 49) and it is modelled after the actions and words of the military tribune Gn. Lentulus to the defeated consul, L. Aemilius: "L. Aemili [...] cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superset et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris".

Next, let us discuss the natural circumstances which decide the course of the battle. In the description of the battle of Grunwald (IV, p. 37), we read that the winds themselves proved favourable for Jagiełło by blowing dust in the eyes of the Teutonic Knights: "in hostium vultus et ora flatum et pulverem vertisse". Długosz adds that the verses of the Roman poet Claudian (VII 96–98) can also be applied to Jagiełło as they describe a similar help on the part of nature itself. However, when we examine this excerpt from Claudian, we see that the Roman poet described a somewhat different situation: the gale deflected the spears of the enemies towards themselves. In fact, Długosz is drawing upon a detail in Livy, once again in the description of the Roman defeat at Cannae (XXII 46): "ventus [...] adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit". This circumstance, which decided the result of the battle, appealed to Długosz. In the entry for the year 1045 (I, p. 294), describing the defeat of the Hungarians in the war with Emperor Henry, Długosz writes: "turbo [...] vehemens pulverem in ora Hungarorum coniecit et vultus Hungarorum obscurans quasi et elementa videres armis Caesaris favisse, Caesari victoriam praebuit". Similarly, in the description of the battle in which the Hungarian king Władysław conquers Oldamir, prince of the Comani (II, p. 466, in 1285): "tempestas ingens coorta ora et vultus Comanorum verberans et obcaecans magno adiumento Hungaris fuit, ut vincerent".

Finally, following Livy, Długosz also describes the circumstances which precede and end the battle. In the entry for the year 1107 (I, p. 458), he describes how Bolesław Krzywousty gives an ultimatum to the inhabitants of Białogard: he sends them two shields and orders them to choose ("utro uti velint, dare optionem"). The red shield signifies the destruction of the town, the white, peace and the mercy of the conqueror. These words recall the words of Quintus Fabius: "utrum placet, sumite" (XXI 18), as he brings the choice between peace and war to the Carthaginians in the folds of his toga.

Livy's model is quite prominent in the description of the cause for the defeat at Worskla (III, p. 528). When Spytko of Melsztyn recognizes an enormous risk in joining battle, he decides to parley with the Tartars, and for this he is accused of cowardice. Thus he agrees to the battle, but washes his hands of it and proclaims that the other leaders, his rivals, should show the same skill in arms in battle as they have with their tongues:

> se omnis culpae, omnis sanguinis fundendi, omnis infelicis pugnae postquam monuisset nec impetrasset, quid in rem satius foret, testabatur exsortem; viderent, ut aeque manus in certamine iuxta ac linguam in iurgando promptas ac pugnaces ostenderent.

Here, too, Długosz draws upon Livy's narrative (XXII 44) of the dispute of the Roman consuls before the battle of Cannae. Following the example of Fabius Cunctator, Varro counsels delaying the battle and in advance disclaims the responsibility for any eventual defeat:

> si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

Spytko of Melsztyn is particularly sharp with Szczukowski: "qui ferox rapidusque, lingua immodicus, illum mordacius carpendo dixerat" (*ibid.*). The manner in which Szczukowski is characterized, as shown above, is modelled after the characterization of Marcus Minutius, who opposed the delaying tactics of Fabius Cunctator: "ferox rapidusque in consiliis ac lingua immodicus" (XXII 12, towards the end). Varro's reply can again be discerned in Długosz (IV, p. 727), when Władysław Warneńczyk angrily dismisses Jan Hunyadi who is advising him to flee from the field of battle: "viderit [...] si tam promptam habeat manum iuxta ac linguam habuerat".

What about the effects and consequences of defeat? Długosz relates (IV, p. 68) how the news of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald reached Marlbork and what impact it had there. A breathless messenger arrives from the field of battle and announces that Jagiełło has defeated the master of Prussia in a "great massacre" ("magna caede [...] vicisse"). This is an echo of the words of the praetor M. Pomponius who reported the defeat at Lake Trasimene as follows: "pugna magna victi sumus" (XXII 7). At Marlbork, the messenger exaggerates and reports that Jagiełło destroyed all the forces: "omnesque illius copias delevisse [...] astruebat" (IV, p. 68). This exaggeration is also based on Livy's model, since similar news reached Rome after the battle of Cannae: "deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat" (XXII 54). According to Długosz, the defeat had a great effect in Marlbork (IV, p. 69). Fear and terror were to influence the Teutonic Knights to consider abandoning Marlbork and fleeing for their lives: "singulis in maerorem et consternationem animi versis omnes de castro Marienburgk deserendo et de fuga, quo sors quemque tulisset, ineunda omnes cogitationes suas verterant". This is reminiscent of Livy (XXIII 20), who ascribes a similar state of mind to the Petelians when the Romans denied them aid in the war with Hannibal: "tantus repente maeror pavorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars profugiendi, qua quisque posset, ac deserendae urbis auctores essent".

Unfortunately, Jagiełło was not able to take advantage of his victory at Grunwald. We learn from the *Histories* (IV, p. 65) that, soon after the battle, some of the king's councillors encouraged him to remain at the scene of battle with his entire army for three days. Others insisted that he should advance on Marlbork without any delay (*pulsa omni mora*) in order to annihilate the Teutonic Knights completely. The model and perhaps also the source of such insistence was Livy's

description of the advice which Maharbal gave to Hannibal after the battle of Cannae (XII 51). Maharbal also believed that an immediate advance on Rome was imperative (*minime cessandum*). Jagiełło, however, did not seize the chance but halted his army. According to Długosz, it was then that it became clear that the king and his councillors did not know how to exploit victory: "nescire uti parta victoria" (IV, p. 66). Seeking the reasons for such unfortunate action on the part of Jagiełło, our historian considers that perhaps fortune does not bestow its benefits on anyone in full ("fortunam nulli ad plenum gratificari consuevisse"). This is a reworking of Maharbal's statement: "non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis" (*ibid.*).

The speeches of leaders before the fighting begins constitute a separate section in Długosz's battle descriptions. Believing the views of the Hellenistic theorists of historiography promulgated by Cicero, that history is the *opus oratorium maxime*, Długosz without any compunction places in the mouths of Polish leaders imaginary speeches that are, however, fashioned on ancient models, particularly those of Livy. A classic example of this is the speech of Władysław Łokietek at Płowce (III, pp. 148 ff.). This speech begins with Łokietek recalling the ingratitude of the Teutonic Knights, who, unmindful of past favours, are following the mad leader, Wincenty z Szamotuł: "qui pro impartitis et susceptis a Regno nostro et gente beneficiis, furiosum sequendo palatinum, patriam nostram [...] delere conati sunt". This a reworking of Scipio's words concerning the ingratitude of the Carthaginians (XXI 41): "pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem (*scil*. Hannibalem) sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt". Łokietek believes that madness is driving the Teutonic Knights, otherwise they would respect God and the favours they had received: "quos nisi superbiae et inexpletae avaritiae terras nostras residuas occupare gestientis exagitaret furor et facinus, respicerent profecto, si non Deum coelestesque superos [...] beneficia certe". This also is based on Scipio's suggestion: "quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque..." (*ibid.*). In Łokietek's speech, there follows the thought that the Teutonic Knights are driven by an insatiable desire to spill Polish blood: "incredibilis in illis aviditas Regni nostri aut occupandi aut evertendi, insatiabilis sanguinis nostri fundendi sitis". Here, Długosz has for a short interval abandoned Scipio at Ticinus, and has drawn upon the speech of Vibius Virrius, who, by warning the inhabitants of Capua of the ruthlessness of the Romans, tried to convince them to break their alliance with Rome: "tanta aviditas supplicii expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis" (XXVI 13). This mention of the thirst for blood enticed Długosz to employ a similarly effective threat: if you do not spill the blood of your enemy, he will drink yours – "hauriet hostis tuum, si suum sanguinem fundere detractaveris". Here, Długosz develops the terse thought of M. Popillius Laenas in his speech to his soldiers: "hauriendus aut dandus est sanguis" (VII 24). Taking up Scipio's arguments, Łokietek next urges each man to think of defending his

homeland, his wife and his children rather than of defending himself. Długosz (III, p. 148): "Unusquisque nostrum non se, sed coniugem, sed liberos, sed patriam caeteraque pignora defendere cogitet". Livy (XXI 41): "Unusquisque se, non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet". The same parallel surfaces when Łokietek then observes that the future of the homeland will be determined by the courage shown in battle: "idque in animo et in respectu habeat, qualis nostra virtus in praesenti certamine enituerit, talem deinde fortunam et patriae, liberorum et pignorum nostrorum fore". Livy: "identidem hoc animo [...] reputet qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore" (*ibid.*).

The idea of contrasting the call to arms for the Poles and the Teutonic Knights also stems from the ancient source: "dispar praetera pugnandi nobis et illis ratio". It suffices to recall a similar phrase in Catiline's speech before battle (Sall. *Cat.* 59): "praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet". The description of the army of the Teutonic Knights as *variarum gentium colluvies* is also an echo of Livy's description of Hannnibal's army: *ex conluvione omnium gentium* (XXII 43).

It is worth adding that, immediately following Łokietek's speech, the fighting begins and it is described in typical formulas from antiquity. Długosz: „sic fatus [...] canere signa iubet". Sallust (*Cat.* 59): "haec ubi dixit [...] signa canere iubet". Długosz: "orabat postremo nonnullos ex nomine appellans". Sallust (*ibid.*): "unumquemque nominans appellat". Długosz: "in cadentium [...] aut sauciatorum numerum [...] Cruciferi vegetas iubebant succedere acies". Sallust (*Cat.* 60): "Catilina [...] integros pro sauciis arcessere".

Łokietek's speech demonstrates how skillfully Długosz creates a new whole by interweaving various motifs. In addition to this, however, we can also find in the *Histories* examples of an almost diametrically opposed method of exploiting ancient models. Fragments of one speech in Livy can be found in various places and are put to different uses as the need arises. Thus, for example, Hannibal's speech to Scipio before Zama. The Carthaginian leader, attempting to obtain peace from Scipio, employs arguments which Długosz to some extent considers to constitute political wisdom. Hannibal assures Scipio that they should certainly be able to reach some type of sensible agreement if there is good will and a peaceable spirit on both sides: "animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis" (XXX 30). Długosz takes up and uses this statement several times, each time in a different context, i.e. in the speech of the Polish envoys to Witold (IV, p. 383): "elige potius et sequaris iustam coronationem et a quietis consiliis non abhorreas"; in the characterization of Świdrygiełło (IV, p. 451): "de quo plurimum confidens ab omnibus honestis et quietis consiliis abhorrebat".

As the Carthaginian leader is asking Scipio for peace, he realizes that he is doing so in circumstances that are more favourable to the Romans: "in meliore vestra fortuna de pace agitur". Thus he tries to make his arguments as persuasive

as possible so that, *in spite of this*, Scipio might agree. For Hannibal, this is only a wish, but Długosz takes it as a certainty, for he maintains that particularly in favourable circumstances (rather than despite of them) the victor should magnanimously agree to concessions. An almost verbatim echo of Livy's words can be found in the justification for the peace treaty with the Teutonic Knights in 1435 (IV, p. 568): "non enim victoriae superioris felicitate Poloni elati pacem fastidiebant, sed tunc maxime de pace agendum putabant, cum res eorum essent in meliori et altiori fortuna". Moreover, in the negotiations of the peace of Thorn, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk follows the directives of Hannibal: "pax ipsa Kazimirum Poloniae regem mulcebat, qui etsi se arbitraretur et iure et victoriis superiorem, in meliori tamen sua fortuna videns de pace agi atque in secundis rebus satius quam in adversis sapere sollertissimum ducens pacem acceptat" (V, p. 456).

During the course of his speech, Hannibal expresses his bitter experience which resembles a warning as he states that has known enthusiasms that are more overwhelming than useful: "novi spiritus magnos magis quam utiles". Długosz repeatedly expresses this train of thought in various ways. Thus Władysław Jagiełło warns Witold against carrying out his ambitious plans with the help of the Teutonic Knights, since the defeats they had inflicted should curb his enthusiasm: "ut quoque novos spiritus, quos induerat, magnos magis quam utiles [...] corriperet" (IV, p. 382). And slightly later (IV, p. 419), Długosz cites the following thought in his description of the hostile actions of Świdrygiełło towards Jagiełło: he trusted only in the fortunes of the moment ("praesentem tantummodo fortunam metiens") and the deceitful enthusiasms of fate ("novos sibi sed inutiles magnitudine fortunae subministrante spiritus").

In subsequent arguments, Hannibal proclaims that had the gods given common sense to those who experience success, these fortunate people would consider not only what happened, but also what may happen. In this way, he gives Scipio to understand that even his success may not last. Długosz ascribes Jagiełło's rejection of the offer of peace by Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen to his blindness and lack of understanding of this truth: "secundis rebus rectum consilium auferentibus et non pensantibus consiliariis breves et mutabiles vices rerum esse nec umquam fortunam alicui simpliciter indulsisse" (IV, p. 82).

Next, Hannibal expresses his opinion that peace assured is better than hoped-for victory: "melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria". Długosz repeats this thought twice. First, he places it in the mouth of Grand Master von Wende, who in 1410 counselled the Teutonic Knights to negotiate a peace with the Poles (IV, p. 26): "cum belli eventus dubius sit [...] meliorem certam pacem quam speratam victoriam iudico"; next, in his account of the speech of the legates to Jagiełło at the Council of Basel (IV, p. 494): "certam magis cum Cruciferis et aliis suis susciperet pacem quam speratam victoriam".

Hannibal justifies his thinking with the reminder that nothing is more unreliable than war: "nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent". Długosz as-

sociates this caution with war that is undertaken without a worthy cause: "verum, ut fit in bello aequitate omissa suscepto, eventus desideriis Alexandri Withawdi nusquam minus respondebant" (in relation to the war with the inhabitants of Psków in 1426, IV, p. 341). He repeats it, referring to the Poles Mikołaj Czajko and Mikołaj Komorowski, with respect to the assault on the town of Aperiasz in 1442: "ambo aviditate gloriae, lucri et famae capti, non prospicientes actus huius modi subiectos esse casibus et nusquam minus quam in bello respondere eventus" (IV, p. 674).

In subsequent arguments, Hannibal reminds Scipio that the fortunes of a moment can destroy both achieved and expected success: "simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest". In Długosz, we read for the year 1442 that Jan Giskra tried to avoid battle because he did not want to risk his past successes to the fortunes of a single day: "ne si dimicatione succumberet, omnes successus suos superioribus annis habitos uno die damnaret" (IV, p. 676). Here, Długosz replaced "hour" by "day", but he retained "day" in the speeches of the opponents of the coronation of Władysław Jagiellończyk: "ne tot annorum et sudorum spatia in unius horae committerent discrimen" (IV, p. 544).

Finally, in the conclusion to his speech, Hannibal presents Scipio with the example of M. Atillius, who did not know how to achieve moderation in success and paid for it: "non statuendo felicitate modum [...] quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius corruit". The same pride was shown by the inhabitants of Psków in the war with Witold in 1426: "eventibus aliquot elati pacem abnuunt nuntiosque sine pacis spe felicitati suae non statuendo modum vanos remittunt" (IV, p. 341).

Here and there, Długosz also draws upon other speeches from Livy. Before his clash with Jarosław, Bolesław Chrobry gives a speech to his soldiers, indicating that even without hope of victory, the compulsion of circumstances should of itself be an adequate incitement to bravery: "quae (*scil.* spes) si non subesset, necessitas tamen, quae maximum ac ultimum est telum, stimulare deberet" (I, p. 199). The thought that necessity is the ultimate and most important missile comes from Livy (IV 28), who places it in the mouth of one of the Volscians, Vettius Messius: "virtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis". Livy's metaphor, which is bracketed by the words: "virtute pares [...] necessitate superiores estis" returns in Długosz in a slightly different form a few lines below: "dum itaque virtute non possumus, necessitate superiores evadamus".

Before engaging in battle with Wszewołod, Bolesław Śmiały gives a speech to his soldiers. The structure of the first sentence already indicates that it is based on a Latin model: "Decernendi cum hoste, quod frequentibus votis optastis, nunc vobis oblata est facultas" (I, p. 350). These words are an echo of those spoken by the consul M. Porcius Cato as he was encouraging his soldiers during battle in Spain: "tempus [...] quod saepe optastis, venit, quo vobis potestas fieret virtutem vestram ostendendi" (XXXIV 13). Perhaps Długosz was also recalling the

speech of Cataline (Sall. 20): "En illa, illa, quam saepe optatis, libertas, praeterea divitiae [...] in oculis posita sunt".

Without a doubt, the books containing the account of the Punic War had the greatest impact on Długosz. From the *Histories* as a whole it is obvious that he was most familiar with this part of the work of the Roman historian; in fact, he virtually knew it by heart and draws upon it on many and various occasions. Długosz must have also had a special affinity for Hannibal, as is demonstrated both by his inclusion of echoes of Hannibal's speeches (as discussed above) and by his quite frequent references to Livy's characterization of Hannibal. Examples abound.

When Długosz describes the virtues of Ziemowit, the son of Piast, particularly in his role as a military leader, he stresses his toughness and physical endurance: "frigoris enim, inediae et caloris patiens, cibum potumque pro naturali mensura, non pro voluptate sumebat, vigiliarum somnique non disterminans tempora, crebris vicibus inter custodias stationesque militum excubabat" (I, p. 105). This is a virtually word-for-word borrowing from Livy's characterization of the young Hannibal (XXI 4): "caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora [...] multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt". Similiarly, Długosz's comments on the modest apparel of Ziemowit ("habitus suus nullam pompam redolens vix procerum et nobilium habitui aequabatur") are an amplification of Livy's brief mention of the clothing of Hannibal: "vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens". At the same time, the phrase *inediae patiens* in the first sentence also stems from Sallust's characterization of Catiline (Sall. *Cat.* 5).

Długosz also likens the young Bolesław Krzywousty to Hannibal, saying: "tanta [...] virtus, ut saepe inter milites nocturnas observantes excubias somni aestusque patiens integro vigiliarum tempore versaretur; et si quando somno pressus foret, sagulo tantummodo militari opertus, nuda humo teneros componebat artus" (I, p. 413). He describes Bolesław's pugnacity in these words: "ad primos accurrebat dimicaturus", while Livy describes Hannibal's belligerence as follows: "princeps in proelium ibat". It follows that the entire narration of the warlike ardour of Bolesław Krzywousty, who desperately longs to go to war at Sieciech's side, can be seen as a "pleasing digression" (*amoenum deverticulum*), drawn from Livy's description of the relationship of the young Hannibal with his father Hasdrubal. In any case, Długosz's assessment of Bolesław Krzywousty as an exceptional leader, who by his very presence inspired his solders with eagerness to fight ("nec Poloni alio duce ad capessenda pericula plus audaciae ostentarunt", I, p. 449) has its source in Livy's praise of Hannibal (XXI 4): "neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere".

When he presents the attributes and ambitions of Przemysław, Prince of Poznań, Długosz remarks that he was distressed by the loss of certain lands:

"irritabant ingentis spiritus virum Prussia, Slesia, Saxonia Wratislaviaque ademptae" (II, p. 526). This was modelled on the concerns of Hannibal: "angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae" (XXI 1). Moreover, the mention that Przemysław obtained the good will of everyone by his personal merits, rather than by anything he inherited from his father or mother, and that he gained the admiration of those who "were placed both higher and lower than he" ("facile in se tam primorum quam inferiorum favorem converterat") has been taken from Livy's observation about Hannibal's popularity among the army: "primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit" (XXI 3). Finally, Długosz enhances his description of the character of Władysław Warneńczyk with a reference to Hannibal's character with these words: "primus ad pugnam, ultimus proelio confecto excedebat" (IV, p. 689), which correspond to Livy's: "princeps ad proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat".

Długosz did not draw only upon Hannibal for the features with which he characterized the figures from the history of Poland. Earlier, we indicated the resemblance that is found between the characters and deeds of Przemyśl and M. Minutius. The description of Minutius: "animique et ingenii aliquanto quam pro fortuna, in qua erat natus, maioris" (XXV 37) appears for a second time in Długosz (I, p. 558) in his characterization of the knight who, in battle, gives up his horse to Bolesław Krzywousty, while in his characterization of Mieszko I (I, p. 159) he introduces the attributes of M. Portius Cato, also borrowed from Livy (XXXIX 40). The parallel follows. Długosz: "ingenium facile et ad omnia, quaecumque agere vellet, accommodatum et versatile". Livy: "huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret".

Following Livy's example, Długosz also attempts to portray the nature of a crowd by comparing it with the sea. Like the sea, a crowd is difficult to quiet once it is roused: "ea enim natura multitudinis perhibetur esse, quae et freti; si enim quando fluctus suos impellentibus flatibus civerit, non facile ad priorem potest reduci tranquillitatem" (I, p. 61). Here, the starting point for Długosz was Livy's comparison (XXVIII 27), although it is based on a different *tertium comparationis* (instability of temperament): "multitudo omnis sicut natura maris; ut venti et aurae cient, ita aut tranquillum aut procellae in vobis sunt".

The speech of Hannibal previously mentioned has already indicated that Długosz drew his political wisdom from ancient sources. Another proof of his dependence in this area is Długosz's narration of the interim regimes of twelve prefects who replaced kings (I, p. 61). These regimes did not benefit the Poles, because each of the twelve was directed by his own ambitions and intentions: "tendendo enim quisque rectorum ad suas ambitiones et consilia dedere documentum in administranda re publica multorum imperium non posse fieri utile neque diuturnum". Długosz drew this lesson from Livy (IV 31), who describes the fatal results of a disagreement among three military tribunes: "tres [...]

profecti sunt Veios documentoque fuere, quam plurium imperium bello inutile esset. Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia, cum aliud alii videretur, aperuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti". Clearly, from Livy's comments about army discipline, Długosz has drawn conclusions about the political system of a nation.

Długosz's dependence on Livy can be seen not only in his use of motifs in the subject matter, but also in the compositional elements. In the entry for the year 1103 (I, p. 443), when Długosz begins to describe the deeds of Bolesław Krzywousty, he inserts a separate preface to this section of his work just as Livy does at the beginning of his description of the Punic Wars (XXI 1). The following comparison demonstrates the degree of imitation. Długosz: "Egregiam operis nostri partem, in quam Divinitate propitia utcumque perventum est, inchoaturus, id primum mihi praefari liceat, quod et plerosque rerum scriptores in vertice suorum operum professos memini". Livy: "In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores". Each historian justifies the need for a new introduction by the outstanding importance of the wars and times that he is intending to describe. Długosz: "tempora me et bella [...] memoranda descripturum". Livy: "bellum maxime omnium memorabile [...] me scripturum".

At the same time, Livy mentions that, in their fight against each other, both nations (Rome and Carthage) were relying more on hatred than on strength: "odiis prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus". This is one of Długosz's most beloved phrases, as is shown by the following examples: (1) II, p. 432 (referring to the war between Bolesław Wstydliwy and Władysław Opolski): "maioribus prope odiis quam armis bellum gesturi"; (2) III, p. 386 (referring to the civil wars in 1379): "odiis magis quam armis certando"; (3) III, p. 425 (1383, referring to the war between Domarat and Sędziwój Świdwa): "infestioribus se odiis aliquanto quam armis [...] bella gessisse fatebantur"; (4) IV, p. 453 (1431, referring to the mutual acts of revenge by the Poles and the Teutonic Knights): "saeviebant [...] ut non solum dextris, sed etiam maioribus prope odiis viderentur certasse"; (5) V, p. 456 (1466, referring to the achievements of Rudolph, the Papal Legate): "disiunctissimosque populos odiis prope marioribus certantes quam viribus ad pulcherrimam et uniformem idemptitatem reduxerit"; (6) V, p. 482 (1467, referring to the civil war in Bohemia): "quodque magnis utrimque tam viribus, quam odiis gerebatur".

The following example from the conclusion of the *Histories* (V, p. 700) is interesting from the linguistic rather than the compositional standpoint. Livy quite correctly uses the term *praefari* in his introduction (XXI 1) to the part of his work that he considers to be self-contained: "in parte operis mei licet mihi praefari". Długosz, however, on the penultimate page of his work, in the overall conclusion, writes: "Hoc autem consecutum mihi in conclusione et fine operis mei praefari firmaliter licet, quod plerosque catholicos viros videmus consecutos". It appears that the classical meaning of *praefari* has been lost, and that the verb now has

a new meaning, "to speak out"; nevertheless, the attraction to the classical model remains and can be discerned even from the syntax alone (*quod*, etc.).

Clearly, the most important impact of Livy on Długosz can be seen in the domain of lexicon and phrases, especially the spectacular ones. The sentence: "speciosioraque magis quam tutiora dantibus consilia credidit" (referring to Prince Witold, IV, p. 399) is the fruit of the author's ability to appropriate sentences from Livy, such as: "celerioraque quam tutiora consilia magis placuere ducibus" (IX 32), or: "consilium imperatoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius" (XXVII 45). Livy's famous phrase: "perfidia plus quam Punica" (XXI 4) returns in the phrase: "plus quam Punica fraus" (I, p. 91); the expression: "homines rapto vivere adsueti" (Liv. XXVII 12) is used to characterize the Bohemians (IV, p. 680) and others as well. In the entry for the year 1376, Długosz describes the life and death in exile of Władysław Biały, and adds the observation that he sentenced to exile not just himself but his funeral as well: "non sibimet ipsi solum, sed etiam funeri voluntarium indixit exsilium" (III, p. 363). This brilliant saying is drawn from Livy (XXXIX 52), who uses it on the occasion of the death of Scipio: "absens citatus voluntarium non sibimet ipse solum, sed etiam funeri suo exilium indixit".

II. CICERO

In comparison to Livy, Długosz's borrowings from other Latin authors are much less numerous. Even those, however, can be explained in the light of the literary ambitions of our historian. There is a clear trace of Cicero's *Scipio's Dream* in the passage where Gedeon convinces Kazimierz to assume the rule (II, p. 98) by the following argument: "omnibus etenim [...] qui patriam adiuverint, auxerint, defenderint, certum et definitum in caelo est locum fore, ubi beati sempiterno fruuntur aevo". This is a repetition of the words of Scipio the Elder: "sic habeto: omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur" (*Rep.* VI 13). In passing, it is worth noting with what freedom Długosz exploits the Roman text. In Cicero, the words *certum* and *definitum* are predicate adjectives referring to *locum*, while Długosz employs them in a separate sentence, *certum et definitum est...* In I, p. 199, Długosz uses a sentence from *De amicitia* with similar versatility. Here, Bolesław Chrobry encourages his solders to be brave by saying that no one should give way to cowardice in the hope of benefitting from a few more years of life: "paucorum annorum accessio unumquemque vestrum non moveat". In this way, Długosz exploits the expression (*Lael.* 11) ascribed to Scipio: "Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset?"

Most of Długosz's reminiscences from Cicero are taken from the speeches against Catiline. In I, p. 511, we read that after the return of Zbigniew, the councillors and dignitaries, seeng in him an implacable enemy, reproach Bolesław

for his excessive lenience. Długosz paints him in hues drawn from the first *Catilinarian Oration*. The parallels follow. Długosz: "pestem atque istam, quam hic in te et in nos omnes iam diu machinatur, in ipsum retorque". Cicero (*Cat.* I 1): "oportebat in te conferri pestem, quam tu in nos machinaris". Długosz: "vitamque suam iustis debitisque suppliciis eripe ac hominem bonorum omnium inimicum, hostem patriae, latronem Poloniae interfice". Cicero (*Cat.* I 13): "homines bonorum inimicos, hostis patriae, latrones Italiae [...] aeternis suppliciis mactabis". However, the phrase: "iustis debitisque suppliciis eripe" is drawn from the middle of Cicero's speech (*Cat.* I 8): "dubitas [...] vitam istam multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam fugae sollicitudinique mandare?" Again it is worth noting the independence with which Długosz exploits Cicero's text: *suppliciis eripe* in Cicero means "to snatch life away from retribution", while in Długosz it means "to strip life away by retribution". The epithet *exitiosum prodigium* attributed to Zbigniew seems to come from the second *Catilinarian Oration* (*Cat.* II 1): "nulla iam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio...".

Isolated phrases from the *Catilinarian Orations* also resound in the other books of the *Histories*. Thus Prince Czartoryski is proud of killing the great Prince Zygmunt (IV, p. 658): "pestem patriae et bonorum omnium hostem", which is borrowed both from the conclusion to the first *Catilinarian Oration* (I 13) quoted above and also from chapter 12 of the same speech, where the phrase *rei publicae pestis* appears.

In another passage of the *Histories* (III, p. 165), Długosz narrates that in 1334 Casimir the Great exterminated the "rabble of bandits" (*sentina praedonum sublata*). He likely found his inspiration for this metaphor in the first *Catilinarian Oration* (I 5): "tuorum comitum [...] sentina".

III. CICERO AND SALLUST

Długosz's independence in exploiting the Roman motifs can be seen in the way he combines the source material. As is well known, Sallust, when presenting the conspiracy of Catiline, omits the first speech of Cicero against Catiline because it had already been published and was known to readers. Długosz, meanwhile, links in his imagination the speech of Cicero with the text of Sallust, thus creating for himself a new whole, and imitates it twice in an interesting way.

Here is the first example. In I, p. 476, we find the description of the trial of Zbigniew, who was captured after the battle and brought before Bolesław. The prosecutor is Sieciech (modelled on Cicero), while Zbigniew defends himself in the style of Sallust's Catiline. Długosz: "callidissimo figmento facinus suum tegere excusareque et purgare coepit". Sallust: "postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi... in senatum venit" (*Cat.* 31). Zbigniew asks that the slanders levelled against him not be believed: "rogans et obsecrans, ne ad delationes calumniosas per eum diluendas damnationis periculo illum subicerent, obicerent

contumeliae, dederent exiliationi pluribusque aliis pro tempore utens verbis". This is Długosz's counterpart of the description of the actions of Catiline by Sallust (*ibid.*): "postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent", etc.

Moreover, as mentioned before, Sallust did not consider it necessary to mention the first *Catilinarian Oration*, referring his readers to the speech which had already ben published. Długosz has no such scruples and without hesitation places Cicero's speech into the mouth of Sieciech:

> Quousque tandem – inquit – Sbignee, nostra patientia abutere, quam diu dolis tuis nos lacesses et fallaciis, quem ad finem sese ista temeritas tua efferet? Quousque nostra vexatio, nostra invasio, nostra direptio, nostra calamitas tibi erit libera et impunita? Quam vero gratiam et quam indignam tum fratri tuo, Principi nostro clarissimo, tum nobis refers, attende, qui te ex illicito natum connubio pravis studentem actionibus, nulla virtutum commendatione cognitum, maternam redolentem infamiam, stirpem ac semen malorum hominum, mente conscelerata ac nefaria praeditum de pernicie populi Polonici, de exitio Regni nostri acerba et crudelia exquirentem studia non modo nullis ac meritus eras non affecit suppliciis aut in terrarum ultima velut portentum monstruosum non detrusit, sed in participium et communionem Regni admisit.

It is easy to discern that this is a merging of subsequent thoughts from Cicero's first *Catilinarian Oration*, I 1: "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?"; I 5: "(Catilinam) videmus intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem"; I 8: "tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera"; I 28 (Rome is speaking, reproaching Cicero for his indolence): "praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per se cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit"; I 30: "delebitur [...] stirps ac semen malorum omnium"; I 9: "hic, hic sunt [...] qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent".

The second example of the association of Cicero's speech with the text of Sallust occurs in the *Histories* at IV, pp. 200 f. (entry for the year 1416). Cardinal Francis of Florence attacks John of Falkenberg for having written a pamphlet against Jagiełło in the words: "Qua – inquit – temeritate, qua mentis alienatione, vir spurcissime et abominande, ex arcula putrida depravatae conscientiae tuae virum [...] optimum insectaris?" Up to this point, only the heightened tone recalls the insistent questioning at the beginning of the first *Catilinarian Oration*. Immediately, however, a correspondence of the words used is also seen: "illustrata, crede mihi, iam sunt veritate tua mendacia, victa temeritas, stultitia confutata, in tuam ignominiam sempiternam". Cicero's model (I 3) reads: "si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede [...] luce sunt nobis clariora tua consilia omnia". Later, the speaker presents the indications of the general revulsion towards Falkenberg: "nemo itaque est ex patribus conscriptis,

nemo mediocribus, nemo ex infirmis, qui te luce, qui oculis, qui congressu, qui conspectu dignum putet velut hominem malevolum superis atque hominibus invisum". Here Długosz is transforming into statements the questions found in Cicero (I 7): "Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia totque tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit?" Moreover, Falkenberg's behaviour towards the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights is also modelled upon the behaviour of Catiline. Długosz: "tum ille [...] in furore versus...", Sallust: "tum ille furibundus", and the words that Długosz uses in the insulting declarations of Falkenberg ("improperiis et contumeliis [...] exputis") are likely modelled on Sallust's remark: "male dicta alia cum adderet".

IV. SALLUST

In the *Histories*, simple borrowings from Sallust are more numerous than Cicero–Sallust combinations. Długosz frequently uses turns of phrase from Sallust's characterization of Cataline for his own ends. He finds them useful when he enumerates the traits of the Polish nation: "frigoris iuxta atque inediae patiens [...] in rapinas et ipsa prona [...] alieni appetens" (I, p. 49; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 5). He uses similar terms in his characterization of Bolesław Krzywousty: "inediae, algoris, vigiliae patiens" (I, p. 561). In V, p. 20, he ascribes to the Masovian prince Bolesław the Catilinian trait, *animus vastus* (*ibid.*).

More complex associations of ideas which have counterparts in the Roman historian's work must be considered both carefully and warily. For example, we read in *Histories* IV, p. 328 that prince Zygmunt Korybut decides to return to Bohemia and assume the throne with the aid of the Poles: "numerosa Polonorum colluvie, qui aut sua patrimonia profuderant aut iudiciis damnati aut aere alieno gravati erant". It is difficult to resist the impression that Długosz is following in Sallust's footsteps in his description of the associates of Catiline: "quicumque [...] bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat [...] convicti iudiciis" (*Cat.* 14). He is also impressed by the tactics of Catiline. In I, p. 490, he presents the preparations of the Pomeranians for the fight with with Bolesław Krzywousty. The Pomeranians agree to leave their horses behind and fight on foot so that the danger would be equal for everyone: "quatenus adaequato periculo fiducialius pertinaciusque proelium ab universis gereretur et fugae spes nulli subesset". Długosz has taken the tactics that he found in Sallust and also possibly in Livy, and ascribed it to the Pomerarians. The former (*Cat.* 59) writes this about Catiline: "dein remotis omnium equis quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset", the latter (III 62) reports a similar conduct on the part of the cavalry during one of the battles with the Sabines: "equites [...] ex equis desiliunt [...] et aequato primum periculo pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt".

According to Sallust, Catiline demonstrated significant courage in the battle of Pistoria, when he was acting as both leader and soldier: "strenui mili-

tis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur" (*Cat.* 60). This is an image which Długosz uses over and over: "et ducis et militis officio egregie functus" (I, p. 448, referring to the bravery of Żelisław); "et ducis et militis officium gerens" (II, p. 442, referring to Bolesław, Prince of Legnica), "non ducis solum, sed et militis opera usus" (I, p. 286, referring to Casimir the Restorer; II, p. 398, referring to Swarnon); "non militis solum, sed et ducis munere fungens" (III, p. 150, referring to Wincenty of Szamotuły); "et optimi imperatoris et audacissimi militis exsequebatur munera" (IV, p. 689, referring to Władysław Warneńczyk).

Długosz's imagination was also to a large degree influenced by his reading of *Bellum Iugurthinum.* When he narrates the fortunes of Łokietek, who is forced to hide from Wacław and endure poverty (III, p. 5), Długosz borrows the text almost verbatim from Sallust (*Iug.* 72). The parallels of sentences and phrases follows. Długosz: "ab eo [...] tempore dies aut nox tempusve ullum Duci Wladislao Loktek quietum [numquam] fuit". Sallust: "neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit". Długosz: "neque loco neque mortali cuiquam praeter paucos satis fidere". Sallust: "neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere". Długosz: "Polonos Bohemosque iuxta in suspicione habere, circumspectare omnia". Sallust: "civis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia". Długosz: "egestatemque contra decus regium tolerare". Sallust: "alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere". However, the mention of poverty quarrelling with the dignity of a king may also stem from *Iug.* 33, where we find the phrase: "contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili".

Other details that Długosz adds to his characterization of Łokietek are drawn from *Iug.* 85. Thus the sentence: "doctus frigora et caumata, imbres ac solem iuxta pati, humi requiescere inediam et quemlibet laborem tolerare" is an echo of the proud words of Marius: "doctus sum [...] hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare".

Echoes of the *Bellum Iugurthinum* can be found even in the later books of the *Polish Histories*. In IV, p. 725, Długosz gives certain details just prior to the death of Władysław Warneńczyk. Over and over again, Jan Hunyadi sends messengers to urge the king to save himself through flight. The king replies that such behaviour is not fitting, that he does not want to stain his honour, and that in any case he does not know whether he will be alive tomorrow even if his flight should be successful. This is taken from *Iug.* 106, where Sulla reacts to Volux in the same way. Here also, the parallels of thoughts and words are worth noting. Here is the reaction of king Władysław to the proposal that he should flee: "animo feroci respondens negat sibi et sanguine suo fugam competere". Sulla's refusal reads: "animo feroci negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere". Both men refer to the possibility that they will die soon even if their flight would be successful. Władysław Warneńczyk says of himself: "malleque se in ea pugna cadere quam [...] de protrahenda vita per fugam ignominiosam cogitare [...] inexploratum habens an etiam per fugam evasurus sit et post evasionem ad

crastinum victurus". Sulla: "mansurum potius quam [...] turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret". Both state that they will not betray their army in peril. Władysław Warneńczyk: "et quamvis certum discrimen adesse videat, mansurum potius et gloriosam mortem oppetiturum, quam militibus suis proditis in turpem fugam dilapsurum". Sulla: "etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis quos ducebat [...] vitae parceret".

There is also no lack of less marked similarities in lexicon and syntax. In IV, p. 404, we read that Prince Witold's hopes of the corruptibility of Poles were disappointed: "cui apud Polonos omnia venum ire in animo haeserat". Jurgurtha harbours similar hopes with respect to Rome: "cui Romae omnia venire in animo haeserat" (*Iug.* 28).

Długosz owes more of such associations to his reading of the *Bellum Catilinae*. The appeal: "ut provideret, ne quid detrimenti res publica pateretur" (V, p. 626) is a repetition of the well-known Roman formula (*Cat.* 28). The phrase *virtus spectata* (V, p. 658) stems from *Cat.* 20. Telefus' exhortation to the soldiers to place their hopes of victory and survival in their own right hands (IV, p. 673) resembles the appeal of Catiline: "memineritis [...] libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare" (*Cat.* 58).

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning the sentences in Długosz that resemble Sallust in form rather than in meaning. In IV, p. 332, the envoy of Frederick of Brandenburg wants to show his master in a positive light: "is rogabat, ne quid rex de eo suggestione prava narratum vel narrandum crederet nec hostem se illi monstraret: se eo animo semper fuisse erga Regem et Regnum, ut nihil nisi felix et faustum optaret". It is easy to discern that Cataline's justification of himself before the senate (*Cat.* 31) serves a model for Długosz: "postulare [...] coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet".

V. TRACES OF JULIUS CAESAR, FLORUS, FRONTINUS AND JUSTIN

In the *Polish Histories*, there is also no lack of echoes from Julius Caesar's *De bello Gallico.* In I, p. 56, Długosz considers that one of the reasons for the virtues and noble traditions of the Poles is that they have no trade with merchants and are therefore not exposed to wares that lead to a softening of their manly spirits: "oblectamenta ad luxum pertinentia, quibus maxime humanus et ferox animus remittitur et relanguescit". This reminds us of the characteristics of the Belgae (whom merchants also do not visit) which are well known from Caesar (*Gal.* I 1): "minime ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important", or the Germani (*Gal.* IV 2). Another echo is also raised when Długosz mentions wine, for a little later Caesar writes: "vinum ad se omnino importari non patiuntur, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum emollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur".

Caesar's influence can also likely be discerned in Długosz's characterization of the Lithuanians. The explanation of why free men among them fall into slavery is somewhat difficult to believe: "frequenter insuper et liberi, debitis aut aere alieno nexi, aut iudiciis damnati, dum solutionem facere nequeunt, in servorum condicionem retruduntur. Quod et plerisque per violentiam, calumniam aut iniuriam solet provenire" (III, p. 474). These comments constitute the development of the customs found in Gaul (*Gal.* VI 33): "plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant". Finally, Długosz, like Caesar, states that the number of armed men that must be sent to serve a prince during war is dependent on the wealth of each estate (III, p. 474): "locupletissimus ut quisque est, ita plures in bellum principi suo armatos praebet". Here the model was Caesar's remark on the number of retainers serving a Gallic knight in war: "ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clienstesque habet" (*Gal.* VI 15).

From the *Stratagemata* of Frontinus, Długosz drew on material concerning military strategy, as can be seen by two borrowed episodes that decide the outcome of the Battle of Puck (entry for the year 1462, V, p. 354). The first describes the manoeuvre of Paweł Jasieński, who, by a charge from the side, shatters the extended lances of the Teutonic Knights: "in protensas hostium iam lanceas per transversum velocissime impingens et lanceas hostiles dispellens omnes ictus earum frustravit". It appears that Długosz remembered a course of action described by Frontinus (*Strat.* II 3, 20). The Roman author narrates that Aemilius Paulus led his cavalry in the same way when fighting with the armies of Perseus: "equites a sinistro cornu praeter oram phalangis iussit transcurrere citatis equis tectis, ut obiectis armis ipso impetu praefringerent hostium spicula". Here, Frontinus illustrates, as it were, the principles of attacking the Macedonian phalanx discussed by Livy (XLIV 41). According to Livy, a frontal attack on the phalanx is to be avoided; it should rather be attacked from the side (*a latere*), because the strength of a phalanx in close formation with extended spears cannot be overcome: "cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt".

The second example that occurs during the same battle of Puck is also drawn from Frontinus. Here, Piotr Dunin for some time shields his infantry with cavalry, which parts only at the moment of the attack and enables the infantry to attack: "equite peditem velans non prius illum quam ad congressum verniretur, detexit" (V, p. 462). According to Frontinus (II 5, 34), Crassus acts in the same way in a battle with fugitives: the cavalry retreats by degrees, draws the Gauls and Germans into ambush, and finally parts to reveal the infantry: "quo cum barbari insecuti essent equite recedente in cornua subito acies Romana adaperta cum clamore procurrit".

This description struck Długosz's imagination and it is often repeated on the pages of the *Histories*, as is the lateral cavalry attack discussed earlier. In V, p. 71 (entry for the year 1450), during the fighting in Moldavia, Bogdan once again

uses cavalry to mask the presence of infantry: "turma equitum hostilium tegebat peditum; in quam cum regius exercitus in acie stantem incurrisset, illa retrorsum cedens peditem ostendit".

The characteristic feature of Długosz's method is to enlarge on motifs which consist of merely a few sentences in the Roman authors. In I, p. 410, he describes at length a fight with shadows during the night during the siege of Nakło. The besieging Poles would see their own shadows in the moonlight and take them for the enemy. They would rouse from sleep and attack the shadows, thinking that they were pursuing the enemy: "crederentque quas ipsi faciebant umbras, hostium iam supervenientium [...] corripiebant arma [...] quasi extemplo cum hoste discrimen pugnae inituri". Although Długosz provides a rather long disquisition in order to explain the army's error as due to natural causes, it is difficult to believe him as this constitutes a literary enlargement of a short comment of Florus on an incident during the war with Mithridates (*Epit.* III 5, 23): "nocturna ea dimicatio fuit et Luna in partibus. Quippe quasi commilitans cum dea a tergo se hostibus, a facie Romanis praebuisset, Pontici per errorem longius cadentis umbras suas quasi hostium corpora petebant".

The Polish historian also draws upon Justin in his description of the battle of Grunwald in order to provide some rhetorical flourish to his work. Długosz narrates (IV, p. 61) how the Teutonic Knights, considering victory as certain, prepared wagons with chains for captured enemies: "repertae [...] fuere aliquot in Cruciferico exercitu quadrigae [...] vinculis tantummodo et catenis onustae, quas Cruciferi certam sibi ominati [...] victoriam nec proelium meditati sed triumphum [...] conduxerant". This is a scene borrowed from Justin (XXXIV 2), where the Achaians were counting on certain victory against Mummius and gathered wagons to transport future spoils. The provenance of Długosz's passage is strengthened by the correspondence of incidental comments in each author. Długosz: "nec proelium meditati sed triumphum". Justin: "praedam non proelium cogitantes". Długosz: "certam sibi ominati [...] victoriam". Justin: "velut nihil negotii Romano bello suscepissent".

VI. POETS

Długosz's reading of the Roman poets influenced the lexicon and style of the *Histories*, rather than its content. He shows familiarity with the beginning of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The Roman poet announces that he will sing of bloody civil wars: "bella [...] plus quam civilia [...] populumque potentem in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra cognatasque acies" (I 1–4). The elements of motifs from this preface recur in Długosz, singly or in combination.

The following are examples of combinations of elements: In IV, p. 594 (referring to the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary): "regibus eorum in viscera propria convertentibus gladiis et circa bella plus quam civilia occupatis"; in II, p. 526

(referring to the dejection of Przemysław, Prince of Poznan): "lugebat [...] provincias mutuis cladibus collidi et plus quam civili belli gladio in propria viscera converso discerpi"; in V, p. 677 (referring to civil war in Italy): "universa Italia in propria viscera arma convertit civilesque, stridente funesto Marte, aguntur clades".

Much more frequently, motifs from the passage of Lucan mentioned above occur singly and are more loosely incorporated into the text. Here are examples: (A) In II, p. 144 (referring to the battle by the river Mozgawa in 1195): "cognata arma, acies fraternae, signa communia"; in IV, p. 618 (referring to the accusations levelled against Kazimierz Jagiełło): "mucronem horrendum inter unitos populos, cognatas acies, seruerit"; in V, p. 633 (referring to swarms of locusts fighting): "proeliantium more cognatae illae acies mutuo congrediuntur". (B) In II, p. 180 (referring to the battles of Russian nobles): "mucrone in propria viscera verso confligunt"; in II, p. 246 (referring to the battles of Konrad Mazowiecki with Bolesław Wstydliwy): "omnesque conatus et studia contra Boleslaum [...] non secus quam in propria viscera convertit". (C) In II, p. 373 (entry for the year 1259): "in bellum atrox et plus quam civile [...] pertractae sunt"; in V, p. 549 (entry for the year 1471): "plus quam civili bello se mutuo consumebant".

Traces of other Latin poets are much less frequent. In V, p. 653, Długosz draws from Cicero (*Tusc.* I 15) the expression of Ennius: "per ora plebis volitare" (Ennius has *virum* instead of *plebis*) and from Vergil (*Aen.* III 57) he borrows the phrase "sacra fames auri" (V, p. 618; cf. V, p. 551). Vergil's phrase "furor arma ministrat" (*Aen.* I 150) is in Długosz transformed into "iusta ira vires subministrante" (III, p. 394). Here and there, verses are embedded into prose text. In I, p. 49, Długosz narrates the founding of Gniezno by Lech and the very first sowing of that untouched (*virginalis*) earth, heretofore undisturbed by the plow: "rastro intacta nec ullis saucia vomeribus". This is, of course, an echo from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I 101 f.). In I, p. 68, he foretells the fame of Krak, stating that his mound will never be destroyed by the times to come: "nulla illud edax posset abolere oblitterareque apud posteros vetustas". This too is a reworking of a passage from Ovid (*Met.* XV 872 ff.): "opus exegi, quod [...] nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas".

In the same way that in these examples poetry and prose are woven together, classical and Christian motifs converge in the conclusion of the entire work. In the epilogue (V, p. 700), Długosz decks the premonition of his death with motifs from classical mythology (cf. T. Sinko, *De Dlugossii praefatione Historiae Polonorum*, p. 41). Both these conscious and subconscious correspondences testify to our historian's deep and accurate familiarity with the works of Roman authors. They also testify to his far-reaching literary ambitions. Thus T. Sinko is correct in calling Długosz one of our first "protohumanists" from the mid 15th century.

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THE TESTIMONY OF ASCONIUS CONCERNING THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE *COLLEGIA* DURING THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC*

By

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In the life of the lower strata of Roman society, the *collegia* – various kinds of professional associations (of craftsmen and artists and, to a lesser extent, of merchants), also recreational and religious associations (mostly comprising the devotees of cults that had been recently introduced to Rome) – played a large but often unappreciated role. Any attempt to reconstruct the social history of the Republic must take this factor into serious consideration.

The significance of the *collegia* was fully appreciated by the master of modern historiography, Theodor Mommsen, who, in the early years of his career, chose this topic as the subject for his dissertation, *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum* (Kiliae 1843). Also in this area he became a pioneer of a new direction in research: his postulate of the comprehensive exploitation of epigraphical sources established in the coming years the study of Roman associations on a firm foundation. Yet while inscriptions are the main source for the history of the associations under the Empire, very few are extant from the time of the Republic, and they can offer only an approximate idea of the importance the *collegia* had already attained at that period.

Telling information of the regard in which the associations were held and of their social function can be gleaned from the prescriptions contained in the *lex Acilia repetundarum*:

> Quei... [gener socer vitricus privignusve siet, queive eiei sobrinus siet pro]piusve eum ea cognatione attigat, queive eiei sodalis siet, queive in eodem conlegio siet... [neive eum qu]ei ex h. l. ioudex in eam rem erit, neive eum quei ex h. l. patronus datus erit[1].

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[1] *CIL* I 198, ll. 10 f.; C. Bruns, *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui*, Tubingae [7]1909, p. 60. Cf. F.M. de Robertis, *Il diritto associativo romano dai collegi della Repubblica alle corporazioni del Basso Impero*, Bari 1938, pp. 66 f.; idem, *Il fenomeno associativo nel mondo romano*, Napoli 1955, pp. 31 f.

The legislator thus equates the bonds that link the *sodales*, the members of the same association (cf. Gaius, *Dig.* XLVIII 22, 4: "sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegii sunt"), with the bonds of blood. The enactment of this regulation testifies to a significant presence of associations already by the end of the 2nd century BC.

It seems certain now that throughout the Republic, down to its last century, no specific legislation was enacted regulating associations; they could arise of their own accord and without any official approval[2]. Proponents of the opposing view claim that associations were strictly controlled by the state and had to be formally authorized since the dawn of the Republic[3]. Yet the arguments they adduce are much less compelling than the arguments and evidence presented by the scholars who defend Mommsen's thesis of the freedom of associations. The state was interested in associations only in two dissimilar cases: if their activity became dangerous to the established order (as in the case of the Bacchic organizations) or when a need arose to establish an official association to take care of a public cult[4].

Significant changes to the situation sketched above came about only in the last hundred years of the Republic. The processes of change which affected the entire social system also had an impact on associations, drawing them into the whirl of political battles. While the *collegia* have perhaps never achieved the importance once enjoyed by the political clubs in Athens, the sources still paint a suggestive picture of their political activities in those turbulent times. Even though our evidence is scanty, *collegia* and various *sodalitates* must have served as political tools already in the time of Marius and Sulla. They were definitely a factor in the Catilinarian movement[5]. Political agitation reached its peak during the activities of Clodius and then after the death of Caesar. In those events, in addition to the religious fraternities, most susceptible to agitation (particularly the devotees of the Egyptian cults of Isis and Serapis[6]), prominently figured the numerous associations of craftsmen and labourers.

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[2] The leading proponent of this view is Th. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. This idea was taken up and developed by W. Liebenam (*Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig 1890, pp. 16 ff.), J.P. Waltzing (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, vol. I, Louvain 1895, pp. 78 ff.), L. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld (*Geschichte der juristischen Person*, München 1933, p. 402), M.G. Monti (*Le corporazioni nell'evo antico e nell'alto medio evo*, Bari 1934, pp. 22 f.), de Robertis (*Diritto associativo...* [n. 1], pp. 35 ff.).

[3] M. Cohn, *Zum römischen Vereinsrecht*, Berlin 1873, pp. 27–35; U. Coli, *Collegia e sodalitates*, Bologna 1913, pp. 37 ff.; V. Bandini, *Appunti sulle corporazioni romane*, Milano 1937, pp. 42 ff.

[4] See Waltzing, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 74.

[5] L. Ross Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1949, p. 44.

[6] See L. Ross Taylor, *Foreign Groups in Roman Politics of the Late Republic*, in: *Hommages à J. Bidez et à F. Cumont*, Bruxelles 1948 (Collection Latomus 2), pp. 327 ff.

In view of this turmoil, the attitude of the government towards associations was bound to change. A long series of legal measures ensued, marking the intrusion of the state into the affairs of the *collegia*, substantially limiting their freedom of organization. As in other aspects of the society, also in the field of associations, the end result of this process was the creation of a new state of affairs during the time of Caesar and Augustus.

The testimony of Asconius is crucial to any attempt aiming to reconstruct the evolution of the legal situation of associations toward the end of the Republic. Other scattered information, gleaned from Cicero himself and from Cassius Dio, can serve only to complement the evidence presented by Asconius. His testimony has been the subject of several investigations; however, no consensus has been reached, and no convincing interpretation emerged. This is largely due to the fact that scholars have mostly debated the legal content of Asconius' text, neglecting its historical and philological analysis. Unexploited opportunities exist for a more comprehensive interpretation; if we attain a more exact picture of the juridical status of the *collegia*, we shall also enlarge our knowledge of the social history of the late Republic.

Let us turn to the sources. Asconius refers to the legislation concerning associations twice: in his commentary to Cicero's lost speech *Pro Cornelio,* and in his commentary on the speech against Piso. For a better visualization, these two passages[7] are adduced below side by side:

In Pis., p. 6: L. Iulio C. Marcio[8] consulibus [...] senatus consulto collegia sublata sunt, quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse constituta.	*In Corn.*, p. 75: Frequenter tum etiam coetus factiosorum hominum sine publica auctoritate malo publico fiebant: propter quod postea collegia et SC et pluribus legibus sunt sublata praeter pauca atque certa, quae utilitas civitatis desiderasset, sicut fabrorum lictorumque[9].

The *senatus consultum* mentioned by Asconius in the *In Pisonianam* dates from 64 BC[10]. The question arises whether Asconius is referring to the same decree also in his commentary to the *Pro Cornelio*. Opinions on this subject

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[7] Quotations from the text of Asconius are given according to the edition of A.C. Clark (Q. Asconii Pediani *Orationum Ciceronis quinque enarratio*, Oxonii 1907); consulted was also the edition of T. Stangl (*Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae*, vol. II, Vindobonae–Lipsiae 1912).

[8] The manuscripts of Asconius have *L. Iulio C. Mario*. This, however, is an obvious scribal error as this pair of consuls did not exist.

[9] The reading *lictorumque*, accepted by Stangl (p. 59), is found in all manuscripts. Clark, following Manutius, introduced the emendation *fictorumque.* As will be seen, the manuscript reading is on the factual grounds much more appropriate, and thus there is no need for a conjecture.

[10] For the dating of the *SC*, cf. Waltzing, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 92 ff; E. Kornemann, *Collegium*, *RE* IV 1 (1901), col. 406; de Robertis, *Diritto associativo...* (n. 1), pp. 77–79.

are, as usual, divided[11]. It seems, however, that the dispute how to interpret the abbreviation *SC*, as *senatus consulto* (favoured by Mommsen and his successors) or as *senatus consultis* (as proposed by Cohn and Kayser[12]) obscured another and incomparably more important problem. This problem consists in determining the mutual relationship between Asconius' two texts. This is crucial not only for an evaluation of the decree of the Senate of 64 BC but in general for a correct appraisal of the subsequent official measures pertaining to associations.

First and foremost, it should be noted that whether we believe these texts to refer to the same *senatus consultum* or to two different decrees, we are not entitled to apply the whole content of *In Corn.* p. 75 to the *SC* from 64 BC. For certainly we cannot credibly maintain that all subsequent *leges* and *senatus consulta* solely repeated the regulations that had already been enacted in 64 BC. Yet this is the view which modern scholarship embraced. Its most prominent representatives stated their position very clearly:

> Ne tamen hoc SCto (*scil.* from 64 BC) omnia collegia peraeque dissoluta putes, excepta sunt certa quaedam quae publicam utilitatem haberent (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

> C'était (*scil.* the *SC* from 64 BC) une mesure générale: les collèges épargnés formaient une si minime exception que le Sénat les désigna nominativement (Waltzing, *op. cit.* [n. 2], p. 106).

> (The *SC* from 64 BC was) un provvedimento generale [...] che soppresse tutte le associazioni, eccetto alcune poche specificamente indicate (de Robertis, *Diritto associativo*... [n. 1], p. 93).

These scholars, it would appear, did not fully realise the implications inherent in their formulations. As a result, their presentation of the development of the legal status of associations at the end of the Republic is hardly clear or transparent.

My position differs significantly from the currently dominant doctrine. It can be formulated as follows: (1) the words of Asconius in his commentary to the speech *In Pisonem* refer directly only to the *senatus consultum de collegiis* of 64 BC; (2) in the commentary to the speech *Pro Cornelio*, Asconius has encapsulated an abbreviated overview of the development of the legal status of associations in the period from 64 BC to the legislation of Augustus.

Let us now proceed to document this thesis in more detail.

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[11] Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 73) argued that in both passages Asconius refers to the same decree; and after him, Liebenam, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 23, Waltzing, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 91, Monti, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 23 f. et al. Cohn (*op. cit.* [n. 3], pp. 53 f.) and P. Kayser (*Abhandlungen aus dem Process- und Strafrecht*, vol. II, Berlin 1873, p. 159) assumed two different decrees, but did not present sufficient evidence for their thesis. de Robertis (*Diritto associativo*... [n. 1], pp. 76 f.) does not take a clear position on this issue.

[12] From a palaeographical standpoint, the plural ought to be marked by the doubling of the final letter. The manuscripts are, however, often erratic, and thus this argument is not decisive.

Even at first glance, the difference in style, in emphasis and, most importantly, in the terminology between the two passages of Asconius is striking.

I. In the first case only those associations which posed a danger to the Republic and whose activities contravened the existing laws were abolished ("quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse constituta"). If we keep in mind the disposition in the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* preserved by Gaius: "his (*scil.* sodalibus) potestatem facit lex (*scil.* XII tab.) pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant"[13], we shall immediately realise that in 64 BC the Senate exploited the same legal options as previously in 186 BC in the notorious affair of the Bacchanalia. The *SC* did not alter the existing legislation and did not establish new norms of conduct with respect to associations. The Senate acted as the governing body called to watch over the safety of the Republic and in its decree determined that a certain group of associations had been formed *adversus rem publicam*, and thus with a purpose that violated existing laws. For this reason, the *SC* directed the magistrates to abolish this type of associations.

II. In the second passage, Asconius does not focus on associations which had been suppressed, but rather on those which had survived. In the previous case all associations that did not act *adversus rem publicam* were left untouched; now, however, it has also become necessary that an association prove its social usefulness (*utilitas civitatis*). Thus we can well understand that Asconius felt compelled to adduce examples of such associations, and that they were both few and strictly defined (*pauca atque certa*). It is important to stress that in the sense of a legal requirement the term *utilitas civitatis* was a concept alien to the political discourse of the Republic. It has been well observed that the political language of the Principate has its roots in the declining years of the Republic[14]; nevertheless, it is equally obvious that, in this novel context, the old terms also acquired a novel content. Official documents from the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire frequently state that they are inspired by *utilitas publica*[15], but the comprehensive system in which this concept came into legal prominence was not a creation of the Republic but of the Empire. The stress on the *utilitas publica* (peculiarly understood as the *utilitas* for the state and not for the society) would grow by degrees and would reach its peak only during the later statist Empire. It should by now be clear that the decree of the Senate from 64 BC did not redefine the right of association according to the principle of perceived usefulness of any

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[13] *Dig.* XLVII 22, 4.

[14] See J. Beranger, *Remarques sur la langue politique du Principat*, REL XXX 1952, p. 42.

[15] J. Gaudemet, *Utilitas publica*, RD XXIX 1951, pp. 467 ff. However, *utilitas* is always employed as a general concept rather than a precise legal norm. See e.g. already in the 2nd century *SC de Tiburtibus* (S. Riccobono, *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, vol. I, Florence 1940, p. 323), and the numerous enunciations of Cicero. The exact term *utilitas civitatis* appears in Cicero only once, in a distinctly rhetorical passage (*Flac.* 98): "...quid utilitas civitatis, quid communis salus, quid rei publicae tempora poscerent".

particular group for the state. If this were true, we would be compelled to conclude that the real creator of the legal system governing the status of associations as it was in force at the time of the Empire was neither Caesar nor Augustus but Q. Caecilius Metellus, a prominent representative of the conservative senatorial aristocracy and, according to Cicero (*In Pis*. 8), the most resolute defender of the decree of the Senate.

It is often maintained that in the text here discussed Asconius may have been guilty of an anachronism, that he has transferred the attitudes of his own times into the already distant years of the Republic[16]. This view, however, cannot withstand criticism[17]. We know how conscientious and astute Asconius was in his investigations. He has rightly been called a precursor of modern philologists and historians. He not only read and excerpted the works of historians and orators, but also conducted a thorough archival research, investigated the texts of official documents, decrees of the Senate and laws[18].

Thus the answer to these various doubts and cavils can only be this: the mention of *utilitas civitatis* did not figure at all in the text of the decree of the Senate of 64 BC, but was taken by Asconius from one of the later *leges*. He describes precisely the starting and ending point of this long legislative process: the spread of the *coetus factiosorum hominum*, followed by a series of decrees of the Senate and of the laws directed against those groups. These measures limited more and more the freedom of associations until finally only those *collegia* were left "quae utilitas civitatis desiderasset".

How then should we expand the abbreviation *SC*? The arguments presented above provide a clear answer: both on historical and juridical grounds the only permissible solution is *senatus consultis* (and not *senatus consulto*).

Which *senatus consulta* and *leges* did Asconius have in mind? In a chronological order, we may think of the following acts: (1) the *SC de collegiis* from 64 BC, (2) the *SC* from 56 BC *ut sodalitates decuriatique discederent*, (3) the

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[16] Cf. de Robertis, *Diritto associativo*... (n. 1), p. 87.

[17] The equally unjustified accusation of anachronism has been levelled against Asconius with respect to his statement: "frequenter tum etiam coetus factiosorum hominum sine publica auctoritate malo publico fiebant". The term *auctoritas publica* appears frequently in the sources from the late Republic, but without any precise legal connotation (see *ThLL* s.v.). Furthermore, Asconius does not apply either this term or indeed the entire sentence to any particular law or *senatus consultum.*

[18] For a discussion of the research methods of Asconius, see C. Lichtenfeldt, *De Q. Asconii Pediani fontibus ac fide*, Vratislaviae 1888 (= Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen, Bd. II, Heft 4), pp. 1 ff., especially 57–71. The testimony of Asconius himself is interesting: "sed ego, ut curiosius aetati vestrae satisfaciam, Acta etiam totius illius temporis persecutus sum; in quibus cognovi pridie Kal. Mart. SC esse factum, P. Clodi caedem et incendium curiae et oppugnationem aedium M. Lepidi contra rem p. factam; ultra relatum in Actis illo die nihil" (*In Milon.*, p. 44, Clark). The *Acta* to which Asconius is referring were most probably the *acta diurna* (*urbis*) published since 58 BC, but we cannot exclude the possiblity that Asconius had access to the actual *acta senatus.* However, cf. J.W. Kubitschek, *Acta*, *RE* I 1 (1894), coll. 287 ff.

lex Licinia de sodaliciis from 56 BC[19], (4) the *lex Iulia* (of Caesar or Augustus) *de collegiis*[20]. The *SC* from 64 BC was aimed solely against associations "quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse constituta", i.e. against the "coetus factiosorum hominum (qui) malo publico fiebant". For Asconius, this is the starting point. The next two measures were directed against the gangs of Clodius (the *SC* from 56 BC) and against associations that were responsible for organising electoral bribery (*lex Licinia*). In none of these enactments can we detect a mention of *utilitas civitatis* in the sense of *utilitas publica*. Thus it was the *lex Iulia* that first introduced this concept as the basis for the legislation in the matters of *collegia*.

In the well known inscription *collegium symphoniacorum* (*CIL* VI 4416) we read: "Dis Manibus collegio symphoniacorum. Qui sacris publicis praestu sunt, quibus senatus c(oire) c(onvocari) c(ogi)[21] permisit e lege Iulia ex auctoritate Aug(usti) ludorum causa". The *collegium symphoniacorum* was authorised *ludorum causa*. Its usefulness depended upon the role the *symphoniaci* played during the games. The situation of the *lictores* and *fabri* mentioned by Asconius was not dissimilar. In the case of the *lictores*, their usefulness to the state is obvious[22]. And the *fabri* were granted the authorization and all attendant legal privileges not just as carpenters, but because their *collegia* performed an important public service as firefighters. Although the employment of the *collegia fabrum* in that capacity probably goes back to the republican times, these associations received the official seal of approval on the basis of their *utilitas publica* only under the legal regime of the *lex Iulia*[23].

Several passages of later jurists show a striking stylistic correspondence with the wording of Asconius. Gaius (*Dig*. III 4, 1): "Paucis [...] in causis concessa sunt huiusmodi corpora", and further in the text: "Item Romae collegia certa sunt, quorum corpus senatus consultis atque constitutionibus principalibus confirmatum est, veluti pistorum et quorundam aliorum, et navicularorum, qui et in

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[19] For the *SC* from 56 BC and the *lex Licinia* see de Robertis, *Diritto associativo...* (n. 1), pp. 100 ff.

[20] We cannot delve here into the disputed and thorny question of the paternity of the *lex Iulia*: should we ascribe it to Caesar or to Augustus? In any case, it appears it was Augustus who issued final regulations pertaining to the *collegia*, perhaps on the basis of Caesar's law.

[21] The expansion given in the text is due to Mommsen. Recently, other solutions have been proposed. See A. Berger (ZRG LXI 1951, pp. 486–490; and earlier Epigraphica IX 1947 [1949], pp. 44 f.), and Ch. Saumagne (RD XXXII 1954, pp. 129–131). Cf. P.W. Duff, RIDA VI 1951, p. 19.

[22] It is difficult to imagine what usefulness the state could see in the corporations of potters and dyers. For that reason the suggested readings *fictorumque* and *tinctorumque* cannot be upheld. Cf. de Robertis, *Diritto associativo...* (n. 1), p. 75.

[23] Cf. J. Linderski, *Wytwórczość włókiennicza w Rzymie i jej organizacja* (*I–III w. n.e.*), cz. II: *Collegia Centonariorum* [*The Textile Industry in Rome and its Organization (I–III c.)*, Part II], Przegląd Historyczny XLVIII 1957, pp. 28 ff.

provinciis sunt". (Asc: "pauca atque certa"). Callistratus (*Dig*. XXVII 1, 17, 2): "Eos, qui in corporibus sunt, veluti fabrorum, immunitatem habere dicimus..." *(*Asc.: "sicut fabrorum lictorumque"). Callistratus (*Dig.* L 6, 6, 12): "Quibusdam collegiis vel corporibus, quibus ius coeundi lege permissum est, immunitas tribuitur: scilicet eis collegiis vel corporibus, in quibus artificii sui causa unusquisque adsumitur, ut fabrorum corpus est et si qua eandem rationem originis habent, id est idcirco instituta sunt, ut necessariam operam publicis utilitatibus exhiberent"[24]. (Asc.: "...quae utilitas civitatis desiderasset").

All these enunciations can be traced to a common source, and this source can only be the *lex Iulia*. The law most likely did not contain a register of authorized associations, but rather an enumeration of the grounds on which the authorization could be granted, with a few representative associations adduced *exempli gratia*. This assumption best explains the fact that the *fabri* appear in a similar context in Asconius and in two separate passages of Callistratus. Gaius first emphasizes the grounds on which the authorization was granted[25], and also gives examples of authorized associations. Asconius, on the other hand, limits himself only to adducing examples. For both writers, the term *certa* denotes those associations which met all the requirements necessary for obtaining authorization. It is not difficult to see that Gaius reflects a later phase in the application of the *lex Iulia,* while Asconius limits himself to delineating its central tenet: the consideration of the *utilitas civitatis*.

This concludes our argument. We hope our main thesis has been confirmed, namely: (1) that the *SC* from 64 BC did not introduce the concept *utilitas civitatis* into the legislation pertaining to associations, (2) that Asconius derived this concept from the *lex Iulia de collegiis*.

The *lex Iulia* constituted the crowning point of the regulations initiated by the republican Senate, but it was not a simple continuation. The decrees of the Senate were exclusively repressive; they were directed against groups engaged in political battles, and only those that stood on the opposite side of the barricades. It is not by chance that the *senatus consultum de collegiis* was issued in 64 BC when the Republic was threatened by Catiline's conspiracy. In the circumstances that arose in the last decades of the Republic, this defensive tactic was doomed to failure, but the Senate proved unable to bring about a comprehensive reform of the legal status of the *collegia*. On the other hand, such a reform resulted naturally first from Caesar's and then from Augustus' programme of restructuring the *res publica*. In the new system, each class and group was given a new task. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Augustus' final implementation of the new

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[24] Gaudemet (*op. cit.* [n. 15], p. 476) suspects that the crucial sentence beginning with *id est...* is an interpolation. In the light of our argument this suspicion should be rejected.

[25] The grounds for authorization were limited, but the number of authorized associations kept increasing over time. Cf. de Robertis, *Diritto associativo...* (n. 1), pp. 239 f.

legal framework pertaining to associations produced social effects as far reaching as the concurrent reorganization of the equestrian class, while affecting an incomparably greater part of the population. The *lex Iulia de collegiis* submitted the associations of artisans to the supervision of the state and made them public organizations. Not all the consequences of the motto of 'usefulness for the state' (*utilitas civitatis*) were immediately observed and realized: obligatory associations of artisans were introduced only during the Late Empire.

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PERSONIFICATION IN ARISTOPHANES' COMEDIES*

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I

Because of its complexity and diversity, as well as its close relationship to metaphor, personification, or προσωποιΐα, causes difficulties and misunderstandings. In the most general terms, personification imparts human personality traits to inanimate objects, animals and abstractions.

The various types of personification include animisation, anthropomorphisation, religious-mythical personification, and deification. It would, however, narrow the definition too far to exclude each and every case when a living being (human or animal), deity, abstraction, or physical phenomenon is represented as inanimate. In some authors, especially some comic poets, that "reification" is as frequent as "animation". To so define the extent of the trope places it very close to metaphor, but there is agreement that there is a category of allegorical characters stemming straight from metaphor; they are the especially intense and highlighted metaphors[1]. Limiting the extent of personification, as linguists often do so, seems to follow from the view that only allegorical characters appearing on stage are personifications; all other figures stemming from animisation or anthropomorphisation, that is those that appear directly in the narrative, are counted wholesale among metaphors.

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[1] H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, München 1960, pp. 441 f.: "Die Allegorie ist für den Gedanken, was die Metapher für das Einzelwort ist: die Allegorie steht also zum gemeinten Ernstgedanken in einem Vergleichsverhältnis. Die Verhältnis der Allegorie zur Metapher ist quantitativ: die Allegorie ist eine in einem ganzen Satz (und darüber hinaus) durchgeführte Metapher". We believe it incorrect to call those "Versachlichungen" mere metaphors or even "Personalmetapher" when it is not a single word metaphor that is meant, but rather a whole chain of them, complete in itself and defining the situation or subsequent action. Comedy loves the kind of trope in which an inanimate object stands for a living thing, and for a human being in particular.

Each of those varieties of personification can be further subdivided. And so, an inanimate object may be made animate either through being given its own motion, regardless of its surroundings, be they themselves animate or not[2], or by being given life only in relation to another object, which then itself becomes animate through "receiving" its communications, or by animating that object in relation to animated beings[3]. In that case "animalisation", or imparting animal traits to an object, physical phenomenon or abstraction, becomes a special case of animisation too.

Then anthropomorphisation is the poet portraying an inanimate object, abstract concept, physical phenomenon, plant or animal as possessed of some human characteristic: (a) human life, motion, or actions; (b) human appearance, or (c) the faculty of reason or emotions.

In the minds of the ancients it was enough for an inanimate object or abstraction to be assigned one human trait for personification to apply. Thus if we want to analyse the phenomenon in all its aspects, and so adopt the detailed categorization of personification, we must always remember that our theories and methods of analysis do not overlap with their views of the world, the gods and humanity. From that perspective, Webster's theory of personification is interesting, as its starting point is the mentality of the ancient Greeks, who expressed their world-view precisely through personification and allegory. In Webster's opinion, the essence of the evolution of Greek thought is the constant conflict of two tendencies, to personify and to schematise[4].

Anthropomorphism is at its strongest in Greek religious thought, but it is not limited in it to seeing the gods in a human form. Human characteristics are also assigned to such concepts as peace, envy, royal authority, war, wealth or poverty. All the above-mentioned allegorical characters (or personifications) have appeared in tragic, comic, epic and lyric poetry. On stage, they were entities of flesh and blood, with actual actions and not too far removed from the gods hallowed in tradition[5]. In literature, comparing the traits and actions of humans to those of gods is an intensification of a mere simile, leads to deification, and plays a part in allegory and personification[6].

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[2] H. Pongs, *Das Bild in der Dichtung*, vol. I, Marburg 1927, p. 280.

[3] H. Konrad, *L'étude sur la métaphore*, Paris 1958, pp. 138 ff.

[4] T.B.L. Webster, *Language and Thought in Early Greece*, Manchester Memoirs XCIV 1952–1953, p. 10 (quoted in idem, *Personification as a Mode of Greek Thought*, JWI XVII 1954, p. 10).

[5] Ch. Picard, *Le théâtre grec et l'allégorie*, REG LV 1942, pp. 27 f.

[6] B. Snell expresses that specificity as follows: "It appears [...] that one object is capable of casting fresh light upon another in the form of a simile, only because we read into the object the very qualities which it in turn illustrates [...] In other words, and this is all-important in any explanation of the simile, man must listen to an echo of himself before he may hear or know himself". B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, transl. by T.G. Rosenmeyer, New York 1960, pp. 200 f.

Deification can give additional allegorical characteristics to known deities, create new relationships between gods and new divine genealogies, or else impart divine form or attributes to abstract concepts[7], physical phenomena perceptible by the senses, human activity, animals or even inanimate objects. As with all personification, that variety comes in various degrees of intensity[8], according to its closer or farther kinship with existing myths. We know that art, both sculpture and painting, was to the ancients a frequent source of personification, and especially deification, preserved and consolidated by literary tradition and religious beliefs[9].

That theoretical introduction was necessary to establish the framework and relative placement of the various categories of personification in Aristophanes, very diverse and indicative of his amazing imagination and skill[10].

II

Since we want to give the fullest possible overview of that trope in Aristophanes, we shall consider personification according to its broadest definition, including both allegorical characters appearing on stage and the indirect personification in dialogues, parabases or songs of the chorus. For our starting points we have chosen inanimate objects, inanimate natural phenomena (of weather, geography etc.), living things (plants and animals), human beings, abstractions, and deities.

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[7] According to a Hellenistic theory of personification, the concept of deities forms in the human mind from various ἐνέργειαι and δυνάμεις. Thus fire was elevated to godhood as Hephaestus, sexual intercourse was called Aphrodite, etc.

[8] That highest form of personification has been called a "pathetic fallacy", in which the whole environment, nature and inanimate objects participate in man's experience, feeling as he does, hearing and understanding what he says to them, and often exerting otherworldly influence on his fortunes. Cf. F.O. Copley, *The Pathetic Fallacy in Early Greek Poetry*, AJPh XXVII 1937, pp. 194–209.

[9] Picard, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 34; Webster, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12; E. Pottier, *Les représentations allégoriques dans les peintures de vases grecs*, Monuments Grecs XVII–XVIII 1889–1890, pl. 9. p. 3.

[10] While thoroughly agreeing with Newiger's thesis (H.J. Newiger, *Metapher und Allegorie. Studien zu Aristophanes*, München 1957, p. 117 and passim) that regarding all abstract characters in comedy as allegories, as was done before, failed to appreciate Aristophanes' rich use of metaphor ("allegorisch-schematische nicht symbolisch-lebensvolle"; cf. S. Srebrny, Deutsche Literaturzeitung LXXIX 1958, pp. 1052–1056), we do not believe that all symbolic characters (say, Polemus, Cydoemus, Eirene, Opora or Theoria) should be refused the class "allegory", "wegen der lebhaften Handlung um sie und der aktualisierten Metapher, aus der heraus sie gleichsam geboren werden". We admit that personification and symbolism grow out of metaphor, but we also think calling those five characters metaphors (which is what Newiger's argument boils down to; p. 114), too radical. O. Weinreich, in *Seltsame Liebespaare*, published together with L. Seeger's translation of Aristophanes (Zürich 1953), calls them "Personalmetaphern" (vol. II, p. 494), but without objecting to considering them a kind of allegory or maybe metaphor. Plutus is to Newiger a proper allegory.

I. INANIMATE OBJECTS

(1) Animisation

Like a living creature, the coal from Parnes "does not die", and sheds dust "out of fear" (*Ach.* 348, 350 f.). Triremes have "feet" that run over the sea (*Lys*. 173), and in war, they "devour" vineyards (*Pax* 626 f.). A struck pithos kicks another pithos in anger (*Pax* 613 f.). Women refer to a jug of wine as a sacrificial piglet, and the wine, as its blood (*Lys*. 202 and 205).

(2) Anthropomorphisation

The leather whips of the *agoranomoi* are elevated to human rank (*Ach*. 724). Coal and the coal-basket are a loyal friend of the charcoal-burners (ὁμήλικος φιλανθρακέος, *Ach*. 336), and must not be betrayed (*Ach.* 340). A basket cares about Demus' well-being (intensified metonymy; *Equit*. 1216). The cup is women's confidant (*Lys*. 841). Praxagora attributes human traits of appearance and character to a lamp, calling it women's discreet confidant (*Eccl*. 11–17). Chremes calls a millstone ἡ κιθαρῳδός, who wakes him in the night "in morning key" (*Eccl*. 739 ff.). At the dog-trial a cheese grater is a witness (called ταμιεῦσα, or a steward), then a ladle, a pestle, a grate, a pan and other kitchen utensils (*Vesp*. 963 ff. and 936 ff.). The vessels in Zeus' household are called to witness (*Danaides*, fr. 245). Triremes confer on war. Warship-woman hybrids have women's names, and even patronymics; they swear by a goddess and meet in council like women, although they are made of wood and eaten by worms in their old age (*Equit*. 1300–1315).

(3) Deification

Old men's staff is called Poseidon (*Ach*. 682), and τὸ πέος, the hungry Heracles (*Lys*. 928). Ἡ γλώττης στρόφιγξ is a new deity of Euripides (*Ran*. 892; cf. *Nub*.). The image on the Gorgon's helmet "wakes" to become the real Gorgon as one wishes (*Ach*. 574 and 1118). A statue of Eirene is to represent a living goddess (*Pax* 520 ff.).

II. INANIMATE NATURAL PHENOMENA (WEATHER, THE ELEMENTS AND THE LIKE)

(1) Anthropomorphisation

The sun draws in its wick and refuses to shine for people as punishment for electing Cleon *strategos* (*Nub*. 584 ff.) That is a complex personification: now the sun is an inanimate object (a lamp, since it has a wick), yet animated (as it draws the wick in), and even endowed with human intentions. The sun and the wick are both concrete (though not to the same degree) and visible to the eye, although the wick, as representative of a lamp, and so of light, may also fall

under the category "abstraction"; abstraction is in fact the common ground of the two areas of simile. In Trygaeus' interpretation of the heavenly bodies, stars are anthropomorphic; the rich stars return from a feast by night, carrying lamps with fire in them (*Pax* 839 ff.).

(2) Deification

Selene the Moon is a conscious benefactor of humanity; unjustly harmed with the calendar reform becomes indignant, she addresses the people and helps them οὐ λόγοις αλλ' ἐμφανῶς, that is, with her light, so they may burn less oil (*Nub*. 608–611, and 615–626). The gods of the new religion are Clouds (*Nub*. 341–350 and passim), Chaos (*Nub*. 424 and 627), Aether (*Ran*. 892 f.), Dinus (*Nub*. 828, 381 and 1471), and Anapnoe (*Nub*. 264, 393, 627 and 667). In a synecdoche, Day bears the epithet μισολάμαχος (*Pax* 304).

III. VEGETATION

(1) Anthropomorphisation

All plants προσγελάσεται (*Pax* 600). The vine catches the fire of war "against its will" (*Pax* 612).

IV. ANIMALS

(1) Anthropomorphisation

The horses of the Marathonomachoi, characterised with a complex simile. They have equine names (such as Σαμφόρας) and genuine hooves, but they row and call to each other like sailors, eat crabs instead of fodder made of Median herbs and dive into the depths of the sea. The knights of the chorus praise the heroism of the horses, but mean themselves and their own courage. The animals are partly made human and certainly compared to the men who did heroic deeds on their backs (or even off them, as when they rowed). Beside the anthropomorphisation of an animal based on a metonymical allegory (a possession standing for the possessor), we have a circular trope here: human characteristics are transferred to an animal, which in turn symbolises its human rider.

Birds in the *Aves* have many human features, although it is the fairy tale kind of anthropomorphism. They have their own tablets with laws (450), settle the earth (1515), and wage war according to the principles of tactics (388–392 and 458 f.). The avian and the human intermingle (*Av*., passim).

Tereus the hoopoe has a slave who is a bird-man (*Av*. 70–73). In the story told by one of the women a Boeotian eel is a noble and dainty girl whom it would be worthwhile to invite to a ritual to Hecate to keep the children company (*Lys*. 701).

(2) Deification

The avian and the divine intermingle as well (*Av*. passim). Birds give themselves the names of gods (such as Apollo) or their worship sites (*Av*. 716). There are Olympian birds, of both sexes (*Av*. 865 ff.), avian heroes (881), as well as avian theogony and cosmogony (691–707).

V. HUMANS AND HUMAN ACTIVITY

(1) As an inanimate object

Cleon as the Athenian pestle (*Pax* 259–270), whereas Brasidas is the Lacedaemonian pestle (*Pax* 274, 281 ff.). A torch-woman, a feigned transformation introduced for comical and obscene purposes (*Vesp*. 1372–1375). Dicaeopolis, "pretending" to treat the sycophant as pottery: he wants to hit the man to hear the sound he would make when struck, advises packing in straw, hang him head downwards, etc. (*Ach*. 931–945). Philocleon, who wants to take and quasi-takes the form of smoke in order to escape from his house *(Vesp*. 144 ff.)[11].

On the borderline between metaphor and indirect personification there are the wishes to be turned into smoke (*Vesp*. 324), or a vote-counting stone (*Vesp*. 332 f.). Then there are the other terms for Cleon which characterise him as inanimate phenomena of nature, but more metaphorical epithets than personifications. Those are: "charybdis of greed", "maw", "Cycloborus", "rapid stream", or "Boreas".

(2) As an animal

Labes-Laches (*Vesp*. 836–926); the dog from Cydathenaeum (*Vesp*. 902–930); the chorus of dicast wasps (*Vesp*., passim); Carcinus the crab and the three wren dancers his sons (ὀρχίλοι, τρίορχοι; *Vesp*. 1501 ff.). The pig daughters of the Megarian (a comic travesty and feigned personification resulting from the homonymic χοῖρος; *Ach*. 731 ff.).

Strepsiades calls a creditor Σαμφόρας, a horse's name, wants to prick him with a goad, and makes as if to stir him into motion, "together with his wheels and his chariot" (*Nub*. 1297–1303). The dicasts act like dogs, and demagogues tame them, whistle for them and sic them on their enemies (*Vesp*. 704 f.). People

[11] That metamorphosis, half comical and half allegorical, gives the poet occasion for a play on words, for the jocular questions about which type of wood gives off such pungent smoke, and for looking around for a lid to cover the pot (or the chimney? *Vesp.* 147). Philocleon's wish to change into smoke has double meaning here: one is to literally slip out, the other, to deceive his captors with a smokescreen of lies. The poet seems to go on to suggest, "or turn into Aeschines"; that Aeschines was an infamous liar, whose nickname was just that, Kapnos.

emulate birds, assume birds' names, demand wings and talons, etc. (a travesty; *Av*. 1305 f. and passim).

Comical feigned metamorphoses, some in the form of a wish: Philocleon into a mouse, Philocleon into a sparrow (*Vesp*. 139–141, 151, and 207 f.); Theorus with a raven's head (in a dream; *Vesp*. 43 ff.); halfway between metaphorical imagery and indirect allegory, Cleon as a monstrous beastlike hybrid (*Vesp*. 1031–1041, and *Pax* 754–758).

(3) As another human person

Demus (the people of Athens; *Equit*., passim); Paphlagon (Cleon; *Equit.*, passim); slaves wearing the masks of Nicias and Demosthenes (*Equit*. 1–234 and passim). Aristophanes speaks of himself as of a girl who had to expose her child (his comedy), to be adopted by another woman (another comic poet), and nourished and brought up by the audience (*Nub*. 520–532). There are also parodies and "feigned" and "theatrical" personifications (*Thesm*.) and people serving as human character types (*Nub*.)

(4) As a deity (deification)

Pericles' epithet of ὀλύμπιος gives the poet a pretext to attribute to him Zeus' actions: ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα (*Ach.* 530 f.).

VI. ABSTRACTION

(1) As an inanimate object

In the symbolic scene where Greek cities are crushed in Polemus' mortar, Sicily is represented by cheese (*Pax* 250 f.); Attica, by honey (*Pax* 252 ff.). Poetry, literature and verses are spoken of as market goods (such as cheese), weighed, measured and compared to the products of wood processing (*Ran.* 1369 and passim; *Thesm.* 52 f.). Peace is a liquid and comes in bottles (*Ach*. 187 f., 191, 1033 ff., and 1053–1066).

(2) As inanimate nature

A sea storm stands for unrest and war, whereas governing the state is navigating the seas.

(3) As vegetation

In Polemus' mortar, Megara is onion, and Laconia is leeks (or chives? *Pax* 242–245).

(4) As an animal

The Athenian polis is a starved and terrorised dog, feeding on scraps of calumny (*Pax* 641 ff.).

(5) As a human being (and human actions)

Diallage-Armistice (*Ach*. 989 ff. and *Lys*. 1114 ff.). Opora-Harvest and Theoria-Spectacle (*Pax* 523, 530, 706 ff., 842–944, and 885). Spondae-Truce (*Equit*. 1389 ff.); Georgia (*Pax* II, fr. 294); Dikaios Logos (Just Cause/Superior Argument) and Adikos Logos (Unjust Cause/Inferior Argument) (*Nub*. 899 ff.). Aristophanes' comedy as a baby exposed by its mother (that is, the author; *Nub*. 520–532). Aristophanes poetry, compared to the character of Electra, who searches for a discerning audience and immediately recognizes a lock of Orestes' hair (*Nub*. 534–540)[12].

War is a rowdy drunk, and the damages of war are the result of that rake brawling in the house, fields and vineyards (*Ach*. 978–987). Cities converse, and laugh as they hear of the coming of peace, even though their faces hurt and their bodies are sick (*Pax* 539–542).

Add to this the mild face of sweet Ἡσυχία (*Av*. 1322 f.); Τρυφῆς πρόσωπον (*Eccl*. 973); Mnamon, called a young singer by a Laconian (*Lys*. 1248); Penia-Poverty (*Plut*. 415 ff.); and the weight loss treatment that Euripides imposes on poetry as if it were a person (*Ran*. 939–943).

(6) As a deity

Eirene-Peace *(Pax*, passim) is a statue of a goddess on stage, but worshipped like an actual goddess; Basileia is a divine girl (*Av*. 1536); Polemus-War and Cydoemus-Battle Tumult serve the gods; in the sausage seller's apostrophe, Shamelessness, Falsehood, Stupidity, Deceit, Arrogance and Agora are demons (*Equit*. 634 f.). Macco personifies stupidity (*Equit*. 62 and 396); πόθος and Ὧραι are deities in Trygaeus' prayer (*Pax* 455)[13]. Old Age and Health reside with the gods on Olympus (*Av*. 603 and 606); there are also Chronos (*Ran*. 100), Peitho (*Ran*. 1396), and Ξύνεσις (*Ran*. 893).

III

We would like to discuss in somewhat more detail those personifications that appear on stage "in person", as it were. They are:

1. The personified choruses of Clouds and Wasps.

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[12] The weight of that simile is on its proper object, that is, on comedy writing characterised by the poet. However, its characteristics are literal rather than metaphorical, with only a few anthropomorphic features: σώφρων ἐστὶ φύσει (537), πιστεύουσα (544), οὐδὲν ἦλθε (538), οὐδ' ἔσκωψε (540), οὐδ' εἰσῇζε δᾷδας ἔχουσ', οὐδ' ἰοὺ ἰοὺ βοᾷ, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεσιν πιστεύουσ' ἐλήλυθεν (543 f.). Cf. H.J. Newiger, *Elektra in Aristophanes' Wolken*, Hermes LXXXIX 1961, pp. 422–430.

[13] In the lost comedy *Horai* there was a chorus of personified seasons. It is not certain whether they were goddesses or women; rather goddesses according to Strabo X 3, 18 and Cicero, *De leg*. II 15; in that play Aristophanes mocked newfangled deities adopted by the Athenians from other cults (cf. J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. I, Leiden 1957, pp. 724 ff.).

2. Allegorical characters:
   a. Non-speaking: Diallage, Spondae, Eirene (the statue), Opora, Theoria, Basileia.
   b. Speaking: Polemus, Cydoemus, Dikaios Logos, Adikos Logos, Penia, Plutus, Georgia.
   c. Kitchen utensils.
   d. Wearing an animal mask: Labes, the dog from Cydathenaeum, Carcinus, and the Carcinites.
   e. "feigned" non-speaking: the torch-woman; and speaking: parodies and "theatricals", Euripides and Mnesilochus playing tragic characters.
   f. Demus, Paphlagon and the slaves wearing the masks of Nicias and Demosthenes.
   g. Human character types (Socrates).
   h. Protagonists bearing *nomina significantia*: Dicaeopolis, Agoracritus, Strepsiades, Pheidippides, Philocleon, Bdelycleon, Trygaeus, Euelpides, Peisthetaerus, Lysistrata, and Praxagora.
3. Animal travesty: the Megarian's daughters dressed up as pigs; humans dressed up as birds; Tereus and his slave.

Ad 1. Clouds are the "meteorological" deities and the chorus of the play. The poet calls them παρθένοι ὀμβροφόροι[14], πολυτίμητοι Νεφέλαι [...] δέσποιναι [...] σμῆνος θεῶν [...] μεγάλαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγροῖς, i.e. to sophists, soothsayers, dandies etc.[15] Their purpose in the comedy is twofold. First, Aristophanes uses them to mock religious ceremony[16], newfangled philosophy of nature[17] (which he depicts with humour and caricature), and theogony (since they are sung in the play as daughters of Oceanus), which supposedly oust traditional beliefs and mythological depictions of recognized deities. Second, they are tasked with teaching dialectic tricks, evasive speech, throwing words to the wind, empty slogans, and finally the ability to dispute over nothing[18]. That latter function the poet entrusts

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[14] Cf. C.L. Stevens, *Rabelais and Aristophanes*, SPh LV 1958, pp. 24–30; conversely G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, Oxford 1951, p. 188. Stevens tries to prove that Rabelais knew and consciously drew on Aristophanes. He does know the words *ombrophores* and *phronistère*, and some of his technique and ideas are from *Plutus*.

[15] *Nub*. 331–354; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Chor der Wolken des Aristophanes*, Berlin 1921, pp. 738–741.

[16] G. Méautis, *La scène de l'initiation dans les Nuées d'Aristophane*, RHR CXVIII 1938, pp. 92–97, where the author emphasises parallels between Strepsiades' initiation and the dialogue between Pentheus and the priest in Euripides' *Bacchae*.

[17] A. Weiher, *Philosophen und Philosophenspott in der attischen Komödie*, München 1913, passim.

[18] *Nub*. 317–321; P. Ivens, *De sophistiek en de grieksche Literaturgeschiedenis*, Philologische Studiën VII 1935–1936 and VIII 1936–1937; C. Corbato, *Sofisti e politica ad Atene durante la*

also to Socrates, as well as two other abstract agonistic characters (the Logoi), each time using different artistic means.

To move on to the *Wasps*, its chorus is among Aristophanes' more original personifications. The symbolic travesty rests on metaphors used in the *parodos*, serving to strengthen that type of personification, followed by similes in the *epirrhema* and *antepirrhema*, reinforced by more similes. They are the old heliasts, Attic peasants and tradesmen, leaning on a staff. From the moment they enter (*Vesp.* 230) to the moment they intend to personally free their imprisoned colleague (405), nothing indicates the transformation to come. Then they drop their cloaks, reveal the "sting" hidden underneath, put on the wasp masks and refer to themselves as wasps (430). That part of the *parodos* still voices human problems, such as old age and poverty, but those around them adapt to the chorus' metaphorical travesty. Bdelycleon pretends to take their pseudo-hoax literally, and commands the slaves to shoo the swarm of wasps away from the house (456), and to smoke them out (457). The centre of gravity of the action shifts in the direction of the agon between the father and son, and the chorus is again made just of peasants weary with toil and poverty. Only once does the poet return to the wasp travesty, resting it on a simile this time (1071–1090), where the chorus addresses the audience, explains its wasp-like appearance and the purpose of the sting, but does so without identifying with the insects, instead clarifying its costume, calling now on wasps' characteristics, now on human ones: στὰς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἄνδρα (1083); ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἀσπίδι (1081); and the summary of the dicasts' demands (1120):

> ...τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν πολιτῶν ἔμβραχυ
> ὅστις ἂν μὴ 'χῃ τὸ κέντρον, μὴ φέρειν τριώβολον[19].

We are fully in agreement with Weber's[20] convincing argument as to the role of the wasp-chorus in the play, especially where he claims that the "sting", symbolic here of the judiciary, is at the core of the metaphor.

Ad 2a. Non-speaking allegorical characters. Those include Diallage (*Ach*. 989 ff.), the object of the chorus' erotic desires and intentions expressed as a metaphor borrowed from the cultivation of vine and olives. In *Lys*. 1114 Diallage is also an alluring girl, a prize to the lonely men, showered by those around her

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guerra del Peloponneso, Trieste 1958; Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), p. 74; S. Wilcox, *The Scope of Early Rhetorical Instruction*, HSCPh LIII 1942, pp. 121–155; N. Petruzzellis, *Aristofane e la sofistica*, Dioniso XX 1957, pp. 38–62; C.T. Murphy, *Aristophanes and the Art of Rhetoric*, HSCPh XLIX 1938, pp. 69–113.

[19] Cf. 1113–1121; for economic and sociological commentary, see A. Komornicka, *Ludzie pracy w komediach Arystofanesa*, in: *Arystofanes*, Wrocław 1957, pp. 102 f.

[20] H. Weber, *Aristophanische Studien*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 145–164; ἐγκεντρίς (*Vesp*. 427 and 1037); κέντρον (*Vesp*. 225, 406, 420, 423, 1115 and 1121); cf. Van Leeuwen (ad *Vesp*. 224), who compares Aristophanes' metaphorical sting with Homer's (*Il*. XVI 259 ff.); Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), p. 77, on *Vesp*. 223 ff.

with double innuendos. In *Equit*. 1389 ff., Spondae is a beautiful hetaera offered by the sausage seller to his rejuvenated master Demus.

In *Pax* 521 ff., Eirene is necessarily a *persona muta*, since she appears on stage as a statue, accompanied by the living girls Opora and Theoria; still, the poet's mischievous imagination depicts her as the most "alive" of the three non-speaking allegorical characters, as others attribute various feelings to her, pretend to talk to her, listen for her supposed whispering or rely to the audience her words, orders or complaints.

Opora and Theoria come on stage bearing the attributes of harvest and of festival games. They personify joy, happiness and pleasure – all those goods that peace brings. Formerly they served as hetaerae to the Olympians; now one shall fall to the saviour Trygaeus, and the other to the Council. Scholars have been right to emphasise the connection between the wine-growing peasant Trygaeus and the earth, its fruit and plentiful harvest, shown by Aristophanes on stage as his marriage to the fruit-bearing Opora, the symbol of earth's fertility[21]. Of the three allegorical characters in *Pax*, only Eirene is called a goddess, sacrificed to and prayed to.

All those *personae mutae* portray the benefits of peace in the form of sensuous beauty, female charm and all that it conceals[22].

Basileia (*Av*. 1713 ff.) is particularly difficult to interpret. We shall return to that intriguing allegorical character elsewhere; for now let it suffice to say that she embodies the royal authority of Zeus and appears on stage as a divine maiden. Her divine nature makes her different from other non-speaking characters and exempt from any obscenity or eroticism, even though she is to marry a mortal.

Ad 2b. Speaking allegorical characters: Polemus-War and Cydoemus-Battle Tumult, a cook and his assistant, both servants to the gods. Those are introduced to demonstrate the threat posed by Cleon's actions and benefits from his death, and in general to illustrate the terror and consequences of war in a poetic guise different to that of the *Acharnians*. Polemus keeps Eirene-Peace captive and plots the destruction of Hellas. The role of Cydoemus is similar to that of Eirene's companions; he is just inseparable from war[23].

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[21] Newiger, *Metapher*... (n. 10), pp. 110 f.

[22] As Wilamowitz correctly notes (*Lysistrate*, Berlin 1927, p. 59), "die Sehnsucht nach dem Frieden wird in die geile Begehrlichkeit nach den Reizen dieses Frauenzimmers verwandelt". K. Lever (*Poetic Metaphor and Dramatic Allegory in Aristophanes*, Classical Weekly XLVI 1953, p. 221), writes, "They motivate action through attraction not through participation".

[23] Hom. *Il*. V 593 and 333; on Achilles' shield, Eris is shown with Cydoemus, the companion of Enyo. In Hesiod's *Sc*. 156 there are Eros, Cydoemus and the fury Kera. L. Deubner, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe*, in: W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. III 2, Leipzig 1909, col. 2095.

The Just Cause (Dikaios Logos) and the Unjust Cause (Adikos Logos) are personifications of ethical import, "rhetorical-allegorical" characters, as Deubner[24] calls them. Unlike other personifications, for which it matters what they look like, whether they are beautiful, young, old or neglected (Penia, Plutus), and how they are dressed, those two are completely "impersonal"; the author says nothing of their external appearance, nothing to help us visualise them. We suspect that he does that on purpose in an attempt to deprive them of any external individuality and emphasise the unimportance of their looks, which play no part in the plot. It is hard to resist the thought that in a modern staging they would be best represented by two loudspeakers set on the opposite edges of the stage.

The purpose of the two Logoi is to present two world-views, and two paedagogical and dialectical systems[25].

Penia and Plutus from Aristophanes' last preserved comedy require a more detailed interpretation[26]. Let us try to characterise those two allegorical characters more closely, indicate differences between them and throw light on how the poet treated them.

Penia-Poverty resembles a neglected old woman; those around her mistake her for an alewife, πανδοκεύτρια (426), καπηλίς (435) or a street vendor, λεκιθόπωλις (427). Blepsidemus compares her appearance and gaze, μανικόν τι καὶ τραγικόν (424), to those of the Erinyes of tragedy; all she lacks is a torch. Her yellow complexion and wild cries cause fear and revulsion in Chremylus and his companion. When they learn who it is they see, they pommel her with the worst possible epithets, ζῷον ἐξωλέστερον (443), μιαρωτάτη (451), and

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[24] Deubner, *op. cit.* (n. 23), col. 2107. It is possible to trace the literary roots of those two antinomian concepts to Hesiod (*Th*. 228), whereas in their moral and paedagogical aspect they could be a reference to the myth of Heracles at the crossroads, with its Ἀρετή versus Εὐδαιμονία / Κακία. The *Suda* s.v. *Prodikos*; Xen. *Mem*. II 1, 21 ff.; Epicharmus' titles Λόγος καὶ Λογίνα and Γᾶ καὶ Θάλασσα could indicate an agon of the Earth and the Sea (a guess supported by the testimony of the Byzantine Δικαιόλογος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης). Cf. T. Sinko, *Literatura grecka*, vol. I 2, Kraków 1932, p. 398; J. Wikarjak, *De abstractionibus personatis apud Graecae comoediae poetas*, in: *Munera philologica Ludovico Ćwikliński oblata*, Posnaniae 1936, pp. 2 f. The concepts (καταβάλλοντες λόγοι, ἀντιλογίαι) were developed further by the sophists, and in tragic poets there was Sophocles' lost satyr play *Krisis* (fr. 334 N^2), where Aphrodite stands for Ἡδονή, and Athena represents Φρόνησις-Νοῦς-Ἀρετή. Eur. *Hipp*. 928 ff. φωνὴ δίκαια, τ' ἄδικα; *Phoen*. 471 ὁ ἄδικος λόγος; *Iphig. Aul.* 1013. Cf. B. Biliński, *Walka postępu i reakcji na scenie Eurypidesa*, Meander VII 1945, pp. 330 f.; and Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), pp. 138 ff.

[25] E. Wolf, *Griechisches Rechtsdenken*, vol. III 2, Frankfurt am Main 1954, pp. 198 ff.

[26] Wikarjak, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 7 is right to say "has veras personas non esse, sed potius certas notiones humana specie ornatas". Both are discussed in Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), pp. 155–178, so we had to give up on our own materials and conclusions reached before his work was published, although we take them into account above in as much as necessary for the argument as a whole; in a large part, they overlapped with Newiger's interpretation.

ἡπίτριπτος (619)[27]. Unlike Plutus, a mythological character encountered frequently in literature, Penia is the work of our poet and not a deity, even though she refers to herself as δέσποινα and claims an almost divine influence over people and their lives[28].

As has been stated above, Plutus is a deity known to us from literature earlier than Aristophanes[29]. Our poet gave him special attributes, such as old age[30], filthiness[31], blindness[32] and cowardice[33], but we encounter already some of them in earlier literary sources[34].

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[27] While Penia's arguments are in a way parallel to those of the Logoi in the *Clouds* (being paedagogical-philosophical there, and social-paedagogical-philosophical in *Plutus*), we cannot quite agree with Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), p. 161, that the respective personifications are similar. We think the two Logoi are "impersonal" advocates of different world-views, a certain normative view of the world and humanity, whereas Penia has her personal external and internal characteristics.

[28] Poverty is mentioned in Hesiod (*Erga* 717 f.) as a personification and a concept; cf. Alcaeus 142 D, where Poverty is a sister of Ἀμηχανία. In Aristophanes, Chremylus accuses her of being a sister to Beggary, Πτωχεία (*Plut*. 549); cf. Theogn. 173 ff., 351 ff., 383 ff., and 649 f. Herodotus (VIII 111) says that "as for the Andrians, they are poor in the extreme, and two deities, θεοὶ δύο ἄχρηστοι, Poverty and Helplessness, like to keep them company". In Plato (*Conv*. 203 C) we read of the genealogy of Eros and his parents Porus and Penia; cf. Democritus, fr. 24 and 284, and Gorgias, fr. 11 a. In the mouth of Demaratus addressing Xerxes Herodotus puts the following words about Poverty as a "co-dweller of Hellas": "Know that poverty is always a faithful companion of Hellas, but Virtue is its acquisition, gained through reason and strict laws; for by practising Virtue, Hellas defends itself from poverty and tyranny" (cf. T. Sinko, *Bieda, współmieszkanka Hellady*, Meander I 1946, pp. 128 ff.). See also Voigt, *Penia*, *RE* XIX 1 (1937), coll. 495 ff.; and O. Höfer, *Penia*, in: Roscher, *op. cit.* (n. 23), vol. III, col. 1921.

[29] For Πλοῦτος and Πλούτων, see J. Zwicker, *Plutos*, *RE* XXI 1 (1951), col. 1028. More about Plutus: Eisele, *Plutos*, in: Roscher, *op. cit.* (n. 23), vol. III, coll. 2572 ff.; Hesiod, *Th*. 969–974 (where he is the son of Iasion and Demeter) and *Erga* 121 ff. (δαίμονες πλουτοδόται); Theogn. 523 ff.; the pseudo-Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* 485–489 (where the goddesses send Plutus, who grants riches, to those they love); in titles, Ἐλπὶς ἢ Πλοῦτος (in Epicharmus), and Πλοῦτοι (in Cratinus). Cf. Th. Kock, *FCA*, pp. 686 f., fr. 35–39 on that play's relationship to Aristophanes; F. Stössl, *Personifikationen*, *RE* XIX 1 (1937), col. 1050; Wikarjak, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 7 f.; R. Goossens, *Plutos, Le papyrus Cumont*, REA XXXVII 1935, p. 430; and D.J. Hemelrijk, *Πενία en Πλοῦτος,* Utrecht 1925, where the author lists the occurrences of πένης, πλούσιος and related words from all of Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle (Plutus in Aristophanes: pp. 24–27; in other comic poets: pp. 32–35; missing the interesting text from *Eccl*. 197 f.).

[30] Aristophanes' novelty, since in Greek art Plutus is depicted as a naked babe; only on a Nolan hydria from Vulci (Brit. Mus. Corp. Vas. Fasc. 6, pl. 64 b and c; L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. III, Oxford 1907, pl. XXXII a) is he a grey-haired old man.

[31] Scholia ad vv. 84 f.; because he consorts with "filthy" rich people, see below.

[32] Hipponax, fr. 29 D; Timocreon, fr. 5 D; Antiphanes, fr. 259 and 81; he blinds those he grants himself to: *FCA* II, p. 121; schol. Theocr. 10, 19 a, p. 230, 5; Eurip. fr. 770, A. Nauck, *FTG*, p. 606; A. Albert, M. Esser, *Das Antlitz der Blindheit in der Antike*, Leiden ²1961, pp. 7, 29, 85, 117, 151 ff., and 179 f.; Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), p. 168.

[33] The rich ever fear for their property: Eurip. *Phoen*. 597.

[34] C.F.H. Bruchman, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur*, Lipsiae 1893; Zwicker, *op. cit.* (n. 29), coll. 1044–1046 (Plutus' epithets).

The myth made up by Aristophanes to explain his god's blindness is interesting[35]: it is Zeus' revenge. As a μειράκιον, Plutus only visited the good, wise and honest people, and of course Zeus is jealous of all the χρηστοί (87–92)[36]. That φθόνος of the Olympians is often emphasised in Aristophanes' work, and, as Van Daele correctly observes, divine power and happiness are generally in conflict with human happiness and success, not to mention the many references to gods' unethical actions, their greed, cowardice etc. What we have here, then, is another paradox in the work of a poet who fulminated against philosophy and notions undermining faith in the gods! The scene where the god of wealth is cured of his blindness, and Aristophanes mocks the methods of "treatment" in the Asclepiaeum of Epidaurus, has invited many comments and interpretations[37].

Both poverty and wealth are treated by the poet, either as (1) an object (meaning either a person who is poor or rich, or simply money); (2) a concept; (3) a condition (suffering poverty or enjoying wealth); or (4) an allegorical character (either appearing on stage, or spoken of as a living person: the character Penia, the character Plutus, the god of wealth). At the same time, when Plutus visits people, it is to give them material wealth, that is money, or so to speak, to give them himself[38]. Sometimes the two meanings intertwine in the comic way so beloved by the poet[39]. For instance, Plutus says of himself (237–244):

> If I (the person) got inside a miser's house, straightaway he would bury me (the money) deep underground; if some honest fellow among his friends came to ask him for the smallest coin, he would deny ever having seen me (the person? the money?). Then if I (the person) went to a fool's house, he would sacrifice me (the money) in dicing and wenching, and very soon I (the person) should be completely stripped and pitched out of doors.

So Penia: "If Plutus (the person) recovered his eyesight and divided himself (the money) equally among all..." (510). This constant exchange of person and thing extends to the metaphorical description of Plutus' exterior. For example Plutus appears dirty, because he has just left the house of an infamous "filthy"

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[35] Cf. Ch. Rosenthal, *Aristophanis Aves quatenus secundum populi opiniones conformatae sint III*, Eos XXX 1927, pp. 63–67.

[36] H. Van Daele, *Aristophane*, vol. V, Paris 1930, ad v. 87, pp. 93 f.

[37] R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*, Leipzig 1931 (Philologus Supplement XXII, fasc. 3), p. 88; Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 67 f.: "De aqua marina vel fontana, quae adempta caeco lumina reddat"; pp. 68 f.: "Serpens in fabula"; H.W. Miller, *Aristophanes and Medical Language*, TAPhA LXXVI 1945, p. 76.

[38] Picard, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 43 f., has examples to illustrate his thesis that Greek theatre never gave rise to permanent allegories that could acquire "tangibles et humaines" characteristics, and so the allegories it did create never grew in creative power or had any descendants.

[39] K. Holzinger, *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar zu Aristophanes' Plutos*, Wien 1940, s.v. Plutos, p. 82 (ad v. 226); Newiger, *Metapher...* (n. 10), pp. 158 ff.

miser Patrocles[40]. An abstract characteristic, miserliness, gains the metaphorical epithet "dirty", which is then attributed, now as something literal and concrete, both to the living character Plutus, and to actual money, which could well be "dirty" if it is ill-gained[41]. It is that "exchange" of person and thing which causes our difficulty in capitalisation in some of the lines featuring Penia and Plutus[42]. The line between the various aspects of the trope (proper allegory, or a popular personification of a philosophical concept, or a specific symptom of cult) is blurred[43].

There is one more speaking allegorical character: Georgia in the play *Pax* 2, of which we have a fragment (294). Her function there is probably similar to that of Opora and Theoria, although hers is a higher-level personification. In the fragment she praises Eirene, rather as her subordinate than an equal.

Ad 2c. In the *Wasps*, kitchen utensils act as witnesses in the dog-trial regarding the "Sicilisation" of cheese. They are played by extras without masks, each holding his token object in his hand, as well as employing gestures, head movements (966) and maybe facial expressions. The crucial witness is a cheese grater, referred to as ταμιεῦσα or a steward. Questioned by Bdelycleon, she confirms that she did grate cheese for the soldiers (965 f.). Lined up next are: a ladle, a pestle, a grate, a pan and other utensils that are to testify to Labes' innocence[44].

Ad 2d. Characters appearing in an animal mask are: Labes the dog referring in a comic way to *strategos* Laches and his famous trial for theft on Sicily in 425 BC. He is also a silent character, wearing a mask, acting a dog with hand gestures and mimics, e.g. baring his teeth (901) and his silence is probably, according to the poet's intention, pointing to his innocence, sense of harm and helplessness, especially in contrast to his sharp-tongued adversary. Labes-Laches remains silent just as Thucydides in his trial (946 ff.), defended by Bdelycleon.

The dog from Cydathenaeum that has a loud bark and can lick pots clean (905) is Cleon. Aristophanes does not twist his name or coin a neologism or *nomen significans* to indicate whom he has in mind. All he needs to evoke an association with the demagogue in his audience is to mention his place of origin.

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[40] Van Daele, *op. cit.* (n. 36), ad v. 84 quotes scholia about Patrocles' proverbial greed and miserliness, but adds that the man was also literally slovenly and dirty. He could be Socrates' *frater uterinus* mentioned in Pl. *Euthyd*. 297 C; Aristophanes charges Socrates with the same crime of not washing and of neglecting himself (*Nub*. 836; *Av*. 1282). Cf. Srebrny, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 1056, who clarifies that αὐχμῶν has a broader meaning of "wretched, neglected".

[41] Newiger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 169, interprets this slightly differently.

[42] F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, Berlin 1921, pp. 52 ff.; about Plutus, p. 56.

[43] O. Weinreich, *Stiftung und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelphia in Lydien*, Heidelberg 1919, no. 4.16.13. The agon of Penia and Plutus, and its moral and sociological problems, will be discussed separately.

[44] Cf. Aristoph. *Danaides*, fr. 245.

Carcinus the crab and his crab children the Carcinites carrying the emblems of tragic poetry, that is a tragic mask and a papyrus scroll, stand for newfangled tragic authors, dancers and followers of Carcinus. Aristophanes mocks them mercilessly, sneering at their grotesque ballet figures.

Ad 2e. This category comprises "feigned" allegorical characters. We call them feigned when actually they are persons on stage, mute or speaking, not allegories, but somebody around them or they themselves pretend that they are something else, have somebody else's personality or acts someone else. It is a comic trope *par excellence*, since comedy positively loves all sorts of mystification, amusing dress-ups, imitations and double acting[45].

Of non-speaking characters of this type there is the nude hetaera in the *Wasps* whom Bdelycleon picks up at a feast and takes home to then try to make his son believe that she is a statue or perhaps a torch, demonstrating various parts of her body as if she really were an inanimate object.

Among the speaking feigned personifications there are the "theatricals" and parodies of tragedy acted out by Euripides and Mnesilochus in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. The two men "become" characters of myth and literature: Andromeda (*Thesm*. 1015–1055), Palamedes (770–784), Helen (855 ff.), and Menelaus (871 ff.), supposedly to escape the Athenian women planning to kill them. The comic force of thus "aping" the great heroes of myth requires no comment, especially in the context and mood of comedy, which brings out special contrast between the actor (old fat Mnesilochus) and his role (virginal Andromeda or beautiful Helen).

Ad 2f. Demus, Paphlagon and the slaves in the *Knights* are a category in themselves, their twofold nature reflected in the metaphorical structure of the play. The two planes of that comedy are the Household in the foreground and the Pnyx, and with it the Polis, in the background. The two planes co-exist and shift around each other throughout the play.

In his foreground country house, Demus is a selfish, narrow-minded householder; at the same time in the background he is the Athenian people, δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, with all its weaknesses and vices[46].

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[45] The trope is not the same as the phenomenon often observed in tragedy or epos, where a character is mistaken for somebody else in earnest (as when Electra does not immediately recognise her brother), or himself does not know who he is (Oedipus), or pretends on purpose to be somebody else to lull the vigilance of others (Odysseus towards the suitors).

[46] Newiger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 11 ff. characterises this character extensively; H. Kleinknecht, *Die Epiphanie des Demos in Aristophanes' Rittern*, Hermes LXXIV 1939, pp. 58–65; P. Faulmüller, *Der attische Demos zur Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges im Lichte zeitgenössischer Quellen*, München 1938; O. Waser, *Demos, die Personifikation des Volkes*, Revue suisse de Numismatique VII 1897, pp. 313 ff.; A. Komornicka, *Das alltägliche Leben und die Natur, zwei wichtige Inspirationsquellen des Aristophanischen Dichtkunst*, Eirene I 1960, pp. 133 f.

Paphlagon supervises the slaves in Demus' household and at the same time personifies Cleon, one specific man, whom the poet in his hatred equips not only with Cleon's personal traits, but also with all the characteristics of dishonest demagogues and propagandists. The exaggeration is in either case typical of satire in comedy[47].

The slaves in the *Knights* are nothing more than the masks of the *strategoi* Nicias and Demosthenes. Were it not for the masks and a few allusions to historical events, they could be taken for plain slaves in Demus' house, limited to the "real" plane of the Household[48]. They do not even have "significant" names.

Ad 2g. Human character types. The best example for this category of personification is Socrates in the *Clouds*. From the point of view of poetic art he is somewhere between Paphlagon-Cleon on the one hand, and Aeschylus in the *Frogs* or Euripides (*Ach.*, *Ran.* and *Thesm.*) on the other. The latter two just stand for themselves, although to an extent they are also patterns of literary trends and of a different, philosophically minded poetry.

Socrates in Aristophanes, however, stands for the type of a sophist and slovenly ascetic, a man indistinguishable in his appearance from a wiseacre tramp[49] discoursing in the streets and squares. The poet used his name, because Socrates was the most recognisable person in Athens. Aristophanes' Socrates, contrasted with Plato's and Xenophon's testimonies, was for many centuries a *crux interpretum* and a source of misunderstandings and scholarly conflicts[50].

20th century scholarship may have reached the best interpretation of that exceptional phenomenon. Rejecting the traditional charges of falsifying Socrates' character in the *Clouds*[51], it tends to accept, *toutes proportions gardées*, the

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[47] W. Steffen, *Rola karykatury w komediach Arystofanesa*, in: *Arystofanes*, Wrocław 1957, pp. 120 ff.; T.A. Dorey, *Aristophanes and Cleon*, G&R III 1956, pp. 132 ff.

[48] In our opinion I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, in his interesting paper on the *Knights* (AAntHung V 1957, pp. 97–127), sees a too strong connection between the technique of their personification and the way it is applied to Demus or Paphlagon. Rather, we think the slaves are realistic and have all the characteristics of actual slaves, but without the mark of individuality stamped on Demus and Paphlagon.

[49] W. Holoehr, *De metaphoris Aristophaneis*, Berlin 1922, ch. IV; D. Grene, *The Comic Technique of Aristophanes*, Hermathena XXV 1937, pp. 95–98; E. Wüst, *Neue Aristophanes-Studien*, Erlangen 1914, pp. 4 ff.; A. Bonnard, *Deux images de l'homme dans la litérature grecque*, Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue de Genève CXLVIII 1929, pp. 389–404, on the philosophy of the end of the 5th century BC, when the type of the learned sophist arose.

[50] Grene, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 95, points out the element of contrast in Aristophanes' Socrates; O. Seel, *Aristophanes oder Versuch über Komödie*, Stuttgart 1960, pp. 98–106.

[51] W. Süss, *De personarum antiquae comoediae usu atque origine*, Bonn 1905, p. 8; A. Bellesort, *Athènes et son théâtre*, Paris 1954, p. 328; differently Grene, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 106 f., who in his investigation into grotesque satire opposes Süss and refuses to see in the character of Socrates a mere "alazon doctus"; K. Wenig, *Le romantisme d'Aristophane*, Listy Filologické L 1923, pp. 177–190 and 289–294; that author believes that Aristophanes' attacks on the dialectics practised by sophists and Euripides, as well as on Socrates' intellectualism, are explained by his

testimony of the play, while also trying to penetrate the poet's intentions[52]. Now Aristophanic comedy does not strive to present that greatest of philosophers as he really was, but rather as he was seen by the common Athenian in the street, whether we call him Demus, Dicaeopolis or Strepsiades[53]. Many of Socrates' characteristics – his external features, habits, subject matter and methods of discussion – are in Aristophanes caricatured, but in accordance with historical facts. It is true that he seems to credit Socrates with the theory that air is all-powerful, actually taught by Diogenes of Apollonia[54], but as Adam Krokiewicz is right to observe in his astute interpretation of Aristophanes' Socrates[55], we know that he read and discussed with his disciples various learned works, so he could have just as well investigated with them the doctrines of Diogenes or Anaximenes of Miletus. The mirror of comedy does not just distort, it may also bring forth some features while completely obscuring others, and its purpose is not to reflect bare reality[56]. Comedy can be, and is, a source of information about the people, life and opinions of an era, but the information it provides is not always factual; it may be gossip, the mood accompanying an event, or anecdotes circulating in the city, valuable even if untrue; one must only keep in sight its principles of comicality and caricature[57].

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sentimentality, romanticism, and dreams that the past of the Marathonomachoi will return. Similarly F. Lorentz, *De Aristophanis spe atque imagine reipublicae Atheniensium restituendae*, Berlin 1865 (but they are not convincing).

[52] Cf. W. Schmid, *Das Sokratesbild der Wolken*, Philologus XCVII 1948, pp. 209–228, who demonstrates that Aristophanes was quite well versed in the subtleties of Socratic philosophy.

[53] B. Biliński, *Walka idei w komediach Arystofanesa*, in: *Arystofanes*, Wrocław 1957, p. 70, makes this interesting comment: "Irony and satire target not only sophistical methods and beliefs. The ideal of mouldy past is mocked too in its hieratic gravity, and who knows whether it is not Aristophanes himself but the simple man Strepsiades and other commoners like him who failed to understand the new trends and only wanted to see in them either corruption or some practical profit for their daily lives".

[54] Süss, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 8.

[55] A. Krokiewicz, *Sokrates*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 31 ff.

[56] Grene, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 97. B. Farrington, *Greek Science*, Harmondsworth 1961, p. 89 opposes the view that "Socrates brought down philosophy from heaven to earth". In his opinion it was the other way round, "Socrates [...] discouraged research into nature, substituted for the ideal of positive science a theory of Ideas closely linked with a belief in the Soul as an immortal being", resulting in "theological astronomy and teleological physics"; he also "abandoned the scientific view of nature and man [...] and substituted for it a development of the religious view [...] He made no contribution to science". That opinion is controversial, but if we were to accept it, then indeed Aristophanes' Socrates found in a basket suspended above the ground and debating over some meteorological (that is, in some cosmic aspect, "otherworldly") phenomena would have the import proposed by Biliński.

[57] G. Murray, *Aristophanes*, Oxford 1933, p. 98, is right to note that the representation of Socrates' character and teaching, which were taken for a joke in 423 BC, in 399 became accusatory because of the shift in the general mood and political situation; A. Komornicka, *Komedia Arystofanesa*

Ad 2h. Protagonists (usually bearing *nomina significantia*) receive diverse treatment at Aristophanes' hands. A protagonist's name may mean:

a. their character or some special characteristic: Strepsiades is a schemer[58]; Dicaeopolis embodies the abstraction of a just city into a righteous citizen, who acts according to the author's values, that is makes peace and enjoys its pleasures; Paphlagon, a slave of the worst sort (a reference to παφλάζειν, "to skim", "to ladle up scum"; Philocleon and Bdelycleon, whose names express only their attitudes to Cleon and the demagogues, being declarations of their political sympathies; Euelpides is the one filled with good hopes; Peisthetaerus, a trustworthy companion.

b. their origin: Agoracritus is the chosen one of the agora, or basically street garbage; the dog from Cydathenaeum points to Cleon through its use of the place name.

c. some typical activity of theirs, either work (e.g. Trygaeus, "vine-harvestman"), entertainment (Pheidippides, the one who wastes his possessions on horses)[59], or their special function in the play (Lysistrata, "disbander of armies", and Praxagora, the "energetic activist in public affairs" who introduced the women's rule in the country).

One can mention Labes again here; besides being an analogy to Laches, his name means "grabber".

Ad. 3. Animal travesty is present in the pretended transformation of the Megarian's daughters into pigs (*Ach*. 738–935), whose father puts snout masks on their faces and porcine tails on their behinds as the audience looks on. The masquerade is not supposed to fool anybody, either the audience, or Dicaeopolis; its purpose is to introduce comic obscenity[60]. Some scenes in the *Birds*, were men dress up as birds and themselves mock the disguise (*Av*. 804–808), could be included in the same category.

It would also be fitting to mention the "mythical" metamorphosis, naturally specifically treated by Aristophanes, of the bird-man, or Tereus the hoopoe, and

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jako źródło wiadomości o kulturze materialnej Grecji V i IV w. p.n.e. Wartość i wiarygodność przekazu źródłowego komedii, Warszawa 1958, pp. 8 ff.

[58] B. Marzullo, *Strepsiade*, Maia VI 1953, pp. 99–124; F. Vanderveldeu, *Le paysan chez Aristophane*, Liège 1942, passim.

[59] Marzullo, *op. cit.* (n. 58), pp. 99–124; Ch.W. Peppler, *Comic Terminations in Aristophanes and the Comic Fragments*, Baltimore 1902, pp. 48 ff.: "'Pheidippides' that combination of economy and luxury, of plebeian and patrician name (*Nub*. 67)"; Wüst, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 4 f. and 10 ff.; on the allusions to Alcibiades, see J.W. Süvern, *Über Aristophanes' Wolken*, Berlin 1826.

[60] The complexity of this little scene deserves to be emphasised. It provokes at once laughter and pity, caused by the impression of the utter poverty of a man who sells his daughters for a bunch of garlic (let us remember how the audience, which was largely made up by peasants, would react in that specific political situation!). Contrary to the popular claim that ancient literature knew nothing of lyrical comicality in Chaplin's style, nothing of laughter seasoned with a tear, we think that this scene, as well as a few others in the same poet, comes at least very close.

his slave, once human, but now a bird too[61]. Euelpides says that since Tereus was once a man, he knows the nature and ways of men well and that πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἄνθρωπος ὅσα τ' ὄρνις φρονεῖ (*Av*. 119). That special transformation is not an original idea of Aristophanes, but a re-working of the myth of the wretched fate of Tereus, Procne and Philomela, turned into birds by the gods. Therefore, Tereus keeps the customs, likes and tastes from his old incarnation: he has a slave, enjoys sardines from Phalerum and pea-soup, uses a spoon and a pan, and has already taught the "barbarian" birds τὴν φωνήν, or human speech, Greek of course. In short, he is something intermediate between a man and a bird.

IV

All that remains now is to summarise our argument regarding the technique, types and functions of personification in Aristophanes' plays, and to attempt to outline that trope's development in the several comedies.

Aristophanes applied personification very often, both indirectly, to enliven his choral song and dialogue, and directly, introducing actual allegorical characters. He gives the figure much wider scope than either tragedy or epic poetry used to; in those genres even plain animisation is rare, and the only other kind of personification is allegorical representation of trite abstractions. Aristophanes grants life, human characteristics and human actions to inanimate objects, inanimate natural phenomena, plants and animals, and conversely, he can turn an animal, physical phenomenon, human being or god into a dead thing.

The secret of his genius lies in the fact that while his world is upside down at times, mocking logic and the laws of nature that govern us all, it not only keeps its balance (a circus artist's and juggler's balance though it is), but also draws the readers and spectators into its incredible reality. His powers of suggestion are so irresistible that we wonder at nothing, take him at his word, and believe in phenomena far removed from the norms of our lives, just as we do not wonder at even the wildest dreams until we wake. We think that it is this atmosphere of dreams and their laws (their lawlessness, one is tempted to say) that is the key to understanding the fantastic world of Aristophanes and the poetic principles behind his work. At times he achieves his "metamorphoses" with masks (a dog's muzzle or a beaked bird's head), then at other times he just hands his actors wasps' stings, throws wings over their backs, or puts pigs' snouts on their noses. At still other times, his tongue playfully in his cheek, it is only his imagination, and that of the audience with it, that "pretends" to change, that quasi-changes,

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[61] T. Zieliński, *Die Märchenkomödie in Athen*, in: idem, *Iresione*, vol. I, Leopoli 1931 (Eus Supplementa II), pp. 25 ff.; Newiger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 84: "Tereus-Motiv".

the stout Mnesilochus into the seductive form of Helen of Troy or the maiden Ariadne[62].

Aristophanes' personifications are rooted in the notion held by the ancients that the whole world is in a sense "personal", that one should look for the concrete image in everything around one, seeing divine or human personality and activity everywhere[63]. His abstract concepts are Clouds billowing with wind and rain; divine and venerable maidens; a statue of the woman-goddess Eirene; the divine Basileia companion of Zeus; girls either magnificently dressed or even grander in their nudity – Spondae, Diallage, Opora and Theoria; the two aspects of war, Polemus and Cydoemus; wealth and the god of wealth in one, the worn out blind man Plutus; and finally Penia-Poverty, an old woman in tatters.

But then sometimes the actual personification is not present on stage, and the concept remains abstract; even so, the poet manages to surround it with such events and atmosphere that, while invisible, it becomes an object to be weighed, measured, and probed for scent and quality. So it is with poetry in the *Frogs*.

His personifications are neither continuous nor consistent; he likes to carry them over into the sphere of the real, as though forgetting their allegorical "embodiment" and meaning (as in the *Wasps*), only to refer to their allegorical form moments later. Some of his personifications have two different roles to play on two different planes, themselves and something else. Some stand for an actual person (Paphlagon for Cleon), and others for a collective (Demus for δῆμος Ἀθηναίων).

Aristophanes can impart a faint allegorical flavour to even the most realistically treated characters of his plays by employing *nomina significantia*, which take them into the realm of the fantastic or the grotesque. If he takes up as his subject a man whom every child in Athens knows, he can transform him into a comic type bordering on truth, appearances and gossip alike, putting in his mouth as well his own words as others, used by wiseacres who just look similar to him, and so show Socrates as something halfway between a caricature of a sophist and a real philosopher.

He either borrows his personifications from mythology (rarely, but Plutus is an example), or replaces traditional characters of myth with his own allegorical deities (Polemus instead of Ares), or takes over traditional concepts and allegories from lyric poetry, tragedy and earlier comedy if he sees dramatic potential in them[64], or else he simply fashions them out of his unpredictable and profuse imagination.

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[62] Not to mention characters borrowed from animal fables, such as frogs or the chorus of birds, as they have no allegorical substrate.

[63] Cic. *Nat. deor.* II 61: "tum autem res ipsa, in qua vis inest maior aliqua, sic appellatur, ut ea ipsa vis nominetur deus [...] Quarum omnium rerum quia vis erat tanta ut sine deo regi non posset, ipsa res deorum nomen obtinuit".

[64] Lever, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 221 f.

Most of Aristophanes' personifications have something comical in them, but their comicality is, so to speak, extra – it is not the point of the personification. In either case, it comes in many shades, from incisive invective and satire (Paphlagon), through harmlessly mocking the people one loves in spite of everything (Demus), through carefree laughter in cases of animal travesty and laughter seasoned with a tear (the Megarian's daughters or the Wasps) through the abovementioned lyrical laughter to laughter spiced up with fear (scene of crushing the Greek cities), where the allegory resembles reality all too painfully[65].

Many personifications, such as the *personae mutae* embodying peace and its fruits, are in fact not comical at all, but rather lyrical despite much obscenity; the Logoi, Plutus and Penia do have incidental comical moments, but on the whole they are philosophical and moral characters. Therefore we must conclude that the comicality of Aristophanes' plays lies much more in his jokes, puns, παρὰ προσδοκίαν, burlesque, caricature, metaphors, similes, allusions and fantastic elements than in his personifications.

The evolution of Aristophanes' personification, as of all of his technique, depends on the theme and plot of a given play, but also on historical transformations and political and socio-economic situation. The vicious satire and impetuous criticism of his early plays give way to milder hues as censorship of political and personal allusions gets tighter. With its exalted and joyous mood and its type of personifications, the play about Peace is closely tied to returning hopes for a better future and an end to military action. Escaping from tragic reality into a cloud-lined fantasy realm imprints itself on the personifications of the *Birds*, the fantastic comedy *par excellence*. The *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Frogs* are another escape, this time into the realm of literature and literary criticism, where "theatrical" and "feigned" personifications, parody and pastiche reign supreme. The *Clouds*, a play centred on philosophical, dialectical and paedagogical themes, likewise determines the style of its personifications. In the *Lysistrata* and the *Ecclesiazusae* types and protagonists recede into the background rather than forming the core of the play as they do in the *Acharnians* and the *Knights*, and emphasis is mainly on the plot and motifs which make for the thesis (women want to put an end to the war; women take over as rulers of the country). Both the action and allegorical characters that take part in it become more and more dramatic. The *Plutus*, the least "funny" of all the preserved comedies, rests on two personifications and is a dramatic narrative of socio-economic conflict whose first louder notes could already be heard in the *Ecclesiazusae*. Its two major *dramatis personae*, Penia and Plutus, with their style and the overall mood of the play seem to enter another stage to compete on; they are already close to the characters of our poet's greatest rival Euripides.

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[65] On the dramatic quality of that last scene cf. J. Taillardat, *À propos des images d'Aristophane*, L'Information Littéraire XIII 1961, fasc. 2, p. 73.

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NOTATION OF ASPIRATION IN ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 1ST CENTURY AD*

By

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The phonological system of the Latin language did not contain aspirated stop consonants. Unlike Greek ρ, Latin *r* was an unaspirated consonant. In the Ciceronian period, the velar fricative *h* did occur, both word initially (*hostis*, etc.) and within the word (*vehō*, etc.), but this phoneme also was lost quite early.

At the time the Romans came into close contact with the Greek language, however, aspiration entered the Latin language, and, upheld by the spelling system of the Ciceronian period, it continued to exist as an intrusive element in the 1st century AD. Thus in inscriptions from this period the letter *H* was used quite frequently, although, as can be determined from frequent spelling errors, it did not give an accurate reflection of the living Latin language. In this article, material relevant to this topic found in Latin inscriptions from the 1st century AD is presented, with the exception of examples that are uncertain or too complex to interpret.

1. WORD INITIAL *H-*

Due to the attrition of this consonant in the living language, cases of spelling without word initial *h-* are found: *oris* "horis" *CIL* VI 6225; *ortis* "hortis" 6282; *Ordionio* "Hordeonio" 6669; *Ortensius* "Hortensius" 268. These examples are rare, and they stand alongside inscriptions in which the letter *H-* appears: *hora, horam* 1261, *horas* 6192; *horteis* 6241. 6299, *hortis* 6370. 9005, *hortos* 9472; *Hordionius* 5908, *Hordeonius* 92; *Hortensius* 200, col. VII 52, *Hortesius* 268, *Hortesia* 6012, etc. Examples of the omission of aspiration in names of Greek origin are found quite frequently: *Armonius* 5819; *Arpocra* 200, col. VI 42, *Arpochra* 4493, *Arphocras* 7255, *Arphocrae* 9016; *Ediste* 18188; *Edius* 6016;

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LII 1962, fasc. 2, pp. 337–349.

Eius 5227; *Eniochus* 200, col. II 78; *Epaestioni* 5375; *Eraclea* 4403; *Eronis* 6096. 6840, *Eroni* 6429; *Eronti* 4412; *Esychus* 4441. 6437. 11729. 15634; *Iacinthus* 6343; *Ilairae* 20042; *Orii* 4668, *Orio* 23581; *Yperethusa* 15862 (the lack of a word-initial letter *h-* may in this name be partially justifiable by regular Greek orthography). In this case there are also frequent occurrences of inscriptions with word-initial *H-*: *Harmonius* 17630; *Hedistae* 4131, cf. *Hedys* 200, col. II 63, *Hedylus* 5197, *Hedyle* 18207, *Hedylio* 12523. 34497, *Hedulio* 33142, *Hedylalo* 7281. 7281[a]; *Hedi* 3944. 8060, *Hediae* 5288. 5303; *Heracleo* 1815. 2362. 4447. 4581. 5015. 5886. 6543, etc.; *Hero* 2288; *Hesycus* 200, col. V 25, *Hesychus* 5413. 6619. 6620; *Hyacinthus* 200, col. VII 75. 200, col. VII 85. 4420. 10163. 33185; *Hilarus* 107. 200, col. I 88. 3941. 3986, etc., *Hilara* 2372. 4432. 4505, etc.; *Horus* 24196, *Horo* 4723. 26959; *Hyperephani* 18205, *Hyperbolus* 4015.

Obviously, quite frequent examples of hypercorrect spelling with word-initial *H-* in words where aspiration is not expected can also be found; thus regularly in the imperative *have*: 4892. 5054. 5992. 6098. 6214. 6436. 6573. 6609. 33370[a]. 33382; similarly *havete* 6492; also in the 3rd person singular *havet* 6051. Also a common occurrence in Greek personal names: *Habra* 37643 (cf. Ἅβρα, Pa.[1]); *Hapate* 4960, cf. *Apate* 4732. 5734. 6409. 6873. 33138; *Haria* 4738 (cf. Ἀρεία? Pa.); *Helichrysi* 4302 (cf. Ἑλίχρυσος, Pa.; cf. also compounds with ἡλί-); *Helpis* 2349. 3997. 4149. 4484, etc. much more frequent than the rare *Elpis* 4523, *Elpidia* 8103; similarly *Helpistus* 2222, *Helpisto* 6169, *Helpiste* 33076; *Helpidefori* 13472 alongside *Elpideforus* 4877, *Elpideph*[*oro*] 33175; *Helpidio* 5823; *Hicelo* 8733 (cf. Ἵκελος, Pa.); *Hismarus* 200, col. V 8 (cf. Ἵσμαρος, Pa.); *Horodamnus* 200, col. I 96 (cf. Ὀρόδαμνος, name of a river, Pa.). One can, of course, surmise the occurrence of such alternation in aspiration could already be found in the Greek language.

The above-cited examples of alternation in the use of the letter *h* in word initial position indicate that, in the living speech of Rome in the 1st century AD, aspiration did not exist. It was, however, upheld by schools and by Greek pronunciation as well as by orthographical tradition in writing. For this reason, in a great majority of examples, inscriptions reflect the actual phonological system of the Ciceronian period.

2. INTERVOCALIC -*H*-

Already in the 1st century AD, the symbol *H* between letters denoting vowels surely indicated only that adjacent vowels constitute two syllables. Thus the traditional spelling of *aheneam* 877[b]. 32323, 60 and 62 was continued; similarly *Ahenobarbus* 2023. ib., *Ahenobarbi* 31735; *cohortis* 798, *coh.* 8059, *cho.* 20;

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[1] W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig [3]1875. Here abbreviated as Pa.

also probably the traditional spelling of *Mahes*, which occurs three times in inscriptions: 6018. 13532. 33405, nom. sg. masc., a form that should be linked with Osc. *Mahiis*, *v*. Pl. 195, cf. also *Mahenus*, *CIL* IX 5610, SHULZE, *Eigenn.*, p. 187. Also found is *mihi* 1527 (several times). 5534. 6593. 12652[a]. 12652[c]; *nihil* 8628 alongside *nil* 12652[a]. The perception of compound formation results in the use of *H* in words such as *coheredii* 23977. The hypercorrect *huhic* is found once in the dat. sg., 7308, alongside *huic* 4421. 6319, *huíc* 8022, *hui* 26584 (perhaps read as one syllable).

In foreign names, *H* is found between the elements of a compound in which the second element, when occurring alone, begins in *h*-: *Euhelpisto* 15648; *Euhemerus* 4398, *Euhemer* 200, col. VII 33, *Euhemeriae* 5823; *Euheteria* 1963; *Euhodus* 200, col. VII 21. 3835. 18309, *Euhodi* 16586, *Euhodo* 16203. 26311, *Euhodia* 34401. The spelling *Synhetus* 1961 alongside *Synethus* 10449, *Synethe* 5477. 18768 (also perhaps 4655), *Synete* 4251. 5717, is ambiguous; if this is not a mechanical error, it is possible in this case also to posit the introduction of the letter *H* at the beginning of the second element of the compound (cf. *Enhopli* in an inscription from Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN[2], p. 57); the following inscriptions are just as unclear: *Parhalia* 5909 alongside *Paralia* 6629; similarly *Parhesia* 6166. Yet also found is, for example, *Anchialus* 5452, without an aspiration before *-alus*. In names in which the second element did not take a word initial *h*-, no *h*- is found in Roman orthography, such as in the common *Antiochus* 397. 3942, etc.

3. ASPIRATED STOP CONSONANTS

a. Velar consonants

The loss of aspiration leads primarily to the spelling of *C* in the place of an expected *CH*. In Roman inscriptions of the 1st century AD there are many examples of this.

Occurring in the middle of a word between vowels: *Amatocus* 4894: a name in -οχος?; *Antioci* 33164, *Anthiocus* 6089, *Antiocis* 6652: alongside the very frequent *Antiochus*, *Antiochis*, cf. above; *Arrecinae* 12357: cf. Ἀρρηχοί, name of a tribe, PA.; *Batraci* 7990: cf. Βάτραχος, PA.; *eunuco* 8847: alongside *eunuchus* 4238, *eunuchi* 8954; *Exocus* 17115: alongside *Exoche* 8709; *Hesycus* 200, col. V 25: alongside *Hesychus* 5413. 6619. 6620, *Esychus* 4441. 6437. 11729. 15634; *Lacesis* 10350: alongside *Laches* 6321, cf. Λάχεσις, PA.; *Pannycus* 200, col. V 12: alongside *Pannychus* 3956. 8639. 8697[a], *Pannuchus* 4795, *Pannucho* 4513, *Pannychis* 8697[a]. 8907. 15207; *Prosoceni* 7639: cf. *Exoche* 8709; *Proticeni* 5237: alongside *Protuche* 4511; *Psycarionis* 6511: alongside *Psycharion* 33164, also perhaps *Spychario* 8831, cf. *Pyche* 6358, *Psycheni* 6157; *stomaco* 22423: cf. στόμαχος.

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[2] V. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin [2]1959.

Word initially before a vowel: *Calybe* 6201, *Calybenis* 5369: cf. Χαλύβη, Pa.; *Carisi* 4002, *Carisia* 10051: alongside *Charis* 4377. 5362. 16989, *Charidi* 7290, *Charidí* 20409; *Celido* 21528. 33290: alongside *Chelido* 4830. 5360, *Chelidonis* 8712. 29095, *Chelidoni* 5778. 10046, *Chelidoní* 4571, *Chelido*[26254; *Cílo* 37705: alongside *Chilo* 5224.

Before or after a consonant: *Isocrysus* 4715: alongside *Isochrysus* 3985. 5790. 9438. 26113, *Isochrysian.* 4714; *Crestus* 5269. 11034, *Creste* 4918. 5399. 7348, *Crestenis* 6096: alongside the frequently occurring *Chrestus* 200, col. I 6. 200, col. V 42. 880. 1833[b]. 5716, etc., *Chreste* 4350. 4494. 4603 etc.; *Cryseros* 24191, *Cryseronis* 37663: alongside the frequently occurring *Chryseros* 200, col. I 18. 3957. 4739. 5542, etc., *Chryserotis* 5318. 19904, etc.; *Crysipp.* 6665: alongside *Chrysippus* 6209, *Chrysippo* 15918; *arcitec.* 2725: alongside *architectus* 9151, *architect.* 9151; cf. *archimini* 4649; *Diaetarc.* 5196: alongside *Deaetarches* 5187; *Hipparci* 6392: alongside *Hipparchi* 6292. 6293; *Lycnis* 8053, *Lucnis* 33407, *Lycnia* 8409[a], *Lycinia* 8409[d]: alongside *Lychnis* 12198, *Luchnis* 5971, *Lichnis* 4405, Lychnidi 8409[b]; *Pascusa* 8032: alongside *Paschus* 3955.

In a few cases the aspiration was written in the wrong place: *Anthiocus* 6089; cf. above *Antioci* and frequent *Antiochus*; *Carithe* 8761: alongside *Charite* 4805, *Charites* 12652[c]; cf. obove *Carisi*; *Epythycanus* 3943: alongside *Epityncanus* 8110, *Epituncanus* 8111 and the regular *Epitynchanus* 200, col. I 42, [*E*] *pitynchanus* 5210, *Epitynchano* 5404; *Euthycus* 4564, *Euthicia* 4856: alongside *Euticus* 6371 and the regular *Eutychus*, very frequent, cf. below.

Here also need to be mentioned examples such as: *Crhesimus* 6430: alongside the regular *Chresimus* 200, col. II 77. 200, col. VII 74. 4290. 5847, *Chresimi* 4225, *Chresimí* 5712, *Chresimo* 7304; *Teucrhianus* 6430 (i.e., the same inscription as *Crhesimus*): alongside *Teucher* 6584, which shall be discussed below.

In the spelling *Erecthomeno* 11375, the aspiration appears once only, cf. Ἐρέχθω.

Also mentioned separately must be *Baccio* 4671: alongside *Bacchius* 4577, *Bacchi* 20698; *Gracco* 1515, *Gracc.* 2012: alongside [*Gra*]*ccho* in the same inscription.

In inscriptions from Pompeii the repertoire of words with *C* instead of *CH* is almost identical to that found in Roman inscriptions. In this case, Väänänen cites (p. 56) *Antiocus*; *Axsioci*; *Caris*, *Carisius*, *Carito*; *Glove* (= *Chloë*); *Cresimus*; *Crestus*; *Crysanthus*, *Crysantus*; *Cryseros*; *Eucini*; *Euscemi*; *Mettiocum*; *Prunicus*; *Pyrrhicus*; *Psyce*; *Tyce*; *Stacus*.

There remain those examples which, in contrast, show *CH* instead of an unaspirated stop consonant.

In the middle of a word between vowels: *Anichiai* 25028: alongside *Agathonice* 4516. 5103; *Philonicus* 4353. 33406, *Philonici* 4266; *Nicarcho* 6220, *Nicomachus* 4491, *Nícomachus* 5393; *Nicepor* 6354, etc., *Nicephor* 4544, etc.; *Arzachi* 8481; cf. Ἀρσάκης, Pa.: *Dracho* 4955; cf. Δράκων, Pa.; *Lychoris* 6571:

alongside *Lycoris* 8554; cf. Λυκωρίς, PA.; *Mystiche* 4037: alongside *Mysticus* 200, col. IV 8. 200, col. VI 54; *Soterichi* 2349, *Sotericho* 18211: alongside *Sotherico* 5696; cf. Σωτηρικός, but also Σωτήρειχος, PA.; *trichilinium* 4884, *trichil.* 10237, *trichiliniarchus* 9083.

Word initially before a vowel: *Chyani* 155: alongside *Cyane* 4783; cf. Gr. κύανος.

In combination with a consonant: *Arpochra* 4493: alongside *Arpocra* 200, col. VI 42, etc., as above; perhaps here also belongs the fragmentary]*ochra* 3961; *Chrotalio* 6804: it is uncertain whether this follows Greek Κρόταλος, PA., or Χρωτάριον, PA.; *Dorchas* 9251: cf. Δορκάς, PA.; *lachrumás* 9938, *lachrymís* 6051, *lachrimans* 6593: alongside *lacrumis* 25617; *Pulcher* 200, col. VI 64. 1282, *Pulchri* 15735, *pulchro* 32323, 106, *Pulchro* 2012; *sepulchrum* 6150. 8021, *sepulchri* 17992, *sepulchr*[*i*] 15526, *sepulchro* 34114: alongside *sephulcru*[*m*] 8942, *sepulcri* 5200, 18123, *sepulcro* 14211.

It is likely that here should also be included the name *Teucher* 6584, alongside the regular *Teucer*, *Teucrus*, as found in Vergil, for instance.

From inscriptions from Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57) the following examples: *Alchimus*; *Barcha*; *Choum*; *Chypare*; *Mystiche*; *Nucherina*; *Soteriche*; *trichilinium*.

b. Dental consonants

Greek θ, i.e. *th*, was transmitted into Latin as an unaspirated stop consonant. Under the influence of Greek spelling, teaching practices in schools and the orthographic tradition, however, the aspiration was partially restored in writing and likely in speech as well. As a result, words with the spelling *TH* are very commonly found in inscriptions. Nevertheless, because everyday speech contained the unaspirated *t*, spelling without aspiration, i.e., with the letter *T*, is found quite often. The following are examples from Roman inscriptions from the 1st century AD:

Acantis 34494: alongside *Acanthus* 6811. 9653, [*A*]*canthi* 4147.

Agato 5121. 6649, *Agatonis* 5036; *Agate*[*merus*] 4289, *Acatemer* 200, col. II 80; *Agatocles* 10171; *Agatopus* 268, *Agatophus* 200, col. VI 18 and 56, *Agatopodis* 3945. 3948. 4249, *Agatopodi* 3945; *Epagatus* 7631, *Epagat.* 5771, *Epagati* 5853. 8804: alongside *Agatho* 3932. 4255. 5090. 5108, etc., *Agathe* 5079. 6622. 35308, *Agathis* 4912, *Agathonis* 4161. 4260. 5068, etc., *Agathoni* 6303, *Agathone* 6220, *Agatheni* 4408; *Agathemerus* 5351. 5876, etc., *Agathemer* 200, col. II 48. 200, col. VI 70. 4639. 8100, etc., *Agathemero* 18315, *Agathemeris* 4604. 7319, *Agathemeridis* 6624, *Agathemeridi* 5324, etc.; *Agathocli* 4574, *Agathoclia* 4685; *Agathopus* 163. 268. 2222. 3946, etc., *Agathopodis* 3947. 3948, *Agathopi* 7619, *Agathopo* 6037; *Epagathus* 163. 5563, *Epagathi* 5165. 5776. 5856, *Epagatho* 4180. 8467. 17992, etc.

Amatocus 4894: probably related to ἄμαθος; cf. Ἀμαθοῦς, Ἀμάθουσα, PA.

Antus 4365, *Anto* 4689; *Antis* 33291, *Antidis* 4542; *Antemo* 8409c; *Antesphoros* 5856; *Chrysanto* 5183, *Chrysant.* 200, col. VII 75; *Philanto* 5414: alongside

Anthus 4001. 5046. 5197, etc., *Anthi* 4281, *Antho* 5956. 11865; *Anthis* 33290. 33322; *Anthemus* 8409[d], *Anthemi* 8409[b]; *Chrysanthus* 200, col. I 73. 33085; *Chrysanthe* 7285; *Euanthus* 951; *Íanthum* 4013, *Syrianthi* 5747; *Oeanthe* 14945, *Oénanthe* 9114, etc.

Atene 5995; alongside *Athenaeo* 6180; *Athenais* 4624. 5478. 5770. 6557, etc., *Athenaidi* 5309. 10162, etc., *Athenainis* 9219, *Athenaíne* 6423, *Athenio* 19857.

bibyliotece 4432, *bybliot.* 4434: alongside *bybliothece* 2347. 4431. 5188. 5189, *bubliothece* 2349, *bubliotheca* 4435. 5884, *bybliothecis* 8907.

cyato 8815. 8817: alongside [*c*]*yatho* 3963.

Demostenes 6296: alongside *Demosthenes* 471. 3997, *Demosth.* 3997. 4173, *Demostheni* 4272.

Ecteti 4055. ib.: alongside *Thetus* 4537.

Istimicus 33133: cf. Ἰσθμικός, PA.

Litos 200, col. II 29, *Lite* 6585: cf. λίθος.

Meteni 4234: alongside *Methe* 4286. 4490. 4555. 5011, etc.

Philantropus 6520: cf. ἄνθρωπος.

Philomates 4669: cf. Φιλομαθής, PA.

Philotee 4714: cf. *Menothea* 7394[a]; *Do*[*r*]*otheus* 200, col. II 22; *Pantheus* 765, etc.

Tadius 4684: cf. Θαδδαῖος, Θαδδίων, Θαδεύς, PA.

Teraphne 4684: cf. Θεράπνη, PA.

Tespidi 5479: alongside *Thespi* 6523.

Tethi[6127: alongside *Thetis* 4293. 6076, *Thethis* 4402.

Thiopitia 5749: cf. Θεοπείθης, PA.; *Diopithi* 7274.

Trepto 37589, *Trhepti* 4566: alongside *Threptus* 6635, *Threpto* 9902, *Thrept*[*o*] 8108, *Threptioni* 7394[a]; *Threptia* 8105, *Threpthe* 5480: cf. Θρέπτος, PA.

Turiae 9052: cf. Θουριάς, PA.

Tymelus 200, col. VI 38: cf. Θυμίλος, PA.; cf. *Thymele* 4056. 4073. 4982, etc.

Xantiae 33359: alongside *Xanthus* 200, col. VI 32, *Xanthi* 6886, *Xantho* 32775.

VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 56) similar examples from inscsriptions from Pompeii: *Agato*, *Agatoclis*, *Epagatus*; *Antus*, *Crysantus*; *Aptonetus*; *Aracintus* = Ἀράκυνθος?; *Atenais*, *Attine*; *Corintus*; *Iacintus*; *Istmus*; *Itaci*; *Note*; *Pitane*; *Psamate*; *Treptus*; *Xantus*.

In addition to these examples, which probably reflect the pronunciation of the living everyday speech, there are also examples of reverse spelling, resulting from the uncertainty as to the correct spelling of *TH* or *T*. Thus, instead of the expected *T*, *TH* is found in the following inscriptions:

Aepicthesi 4725: alongside *Epictesis* 6204; cf. Ἐπίκτησις, PA.

Amaranthus 200, col. IV 60. 200, col. V 30. 1963. 4094. 4887. 5087. 6217, *Amaranthi* 5873. 6391, *Amarantho* 3966. 6154; alongside *Amarantus* 200, col. I 10. 200, col. II 37. 200, col. III 65. 4486. 4595. 6250. 6384. 8639. 8766, *Amaranti* 3955, *Amarant.* 200, col. VII 79; cf. Ἀμαραντός, PA.

Amianthus 4040. ib. 4657. 4714, *Amiantho* 5091. 28699: alongside *Amiantus* 3937; cf. Ἀμίαντος, PA.

Anthiocus 6089: alongside the very frequent *Antiochus* 200, col. III 17. 282. 397. ib. 3942. 4474, etc., *Antiochi* 6220. 6665, etc., *Antiocho* 5954. 6376, etc.; cf. Ἀντίοχος, PA.

Athys 4174, *Athyi* 4165: alongside *Atys* 4151, *Atyi* 4298; cf. Ἄτυς, PA.

Carithe 8761: alongside *Charites* 12652[e], *Charite* 4805, *Charito* 200, col. VII 56. 200, col. VII 84. 5743. 6226, *Charitoni* 5835; cf. Χαρίτης, PA.

Diopanthus 8956, *Diophanthi* 4964; cf. Διόφαντος, PA.

Epythycanus 3943: alongside *Epitynchanus* 200, col. I 42. 5210, *Epityncanus* 8110, *Epituncanus* 8111, *Epitynchano* 5404; cf. Ἐπιτύγχανος, PA.

[*E*]*uthycus* 4564, *Euthychi* 4087, *Euthyco* 5401. ib.; *Euthycia* 4856: alongside the very frequent *Eutychus* 200, col. I 63 and 104. 200, col. III 31... 766. 4412, etc., *Eutychi* 6066. 8890, etc., *Eutycho* 4748. 6165, etc., *Eutychia* 4383. 5266, etc.; cf. Εὔτυχος, Εὐτυχία, PA.

Pasthius 200, col. V 80: cf. Πάστιος, PA.

Philodespothus 7285: alongside *Philadespoti* 3971; cf. φιλοδέσποτος, LSJ.

Rythiae 8673. ib.: cf. Ῥυτία, PA. (?)

Sabbathis 5543: alongside *Sabbatis;* cf. Σαββάτις, PA.

Sotherico 5696: alongside *Soterichi* 2349, *Sotericho* 18211; cf. Σωτηρικός, alongside Σωτήρειχος, PA.

Synethus 10449, *Synethe* 5477. 18768: alongside *Synete* 4251. 5717, *Synhetus* 1961; cf. Συνέτη, PA.

Thelesporo 10171: alongside *Telesphorus* 20492, *Telisphorus* 5768, *Tel*[*es*]*phor* 200, col. VII 12, *Telesphoridi* 8959; cf. Τελεσφόρος, PA.

Thelete 33331: cf. Τελετή, PA.

Therpsichor. 6585: cf. Τερψιχόρη, Τερψιχόρα, LSJ.

Thethis 4402, *Tethi*[6127: alongside *Thetis* 4293. 6076; cf. Θέτις, PA.

Threpthe 5480: alongside *Threptus* 6635, *Threptia* 8105, etc.; cf. Θρέπτος, PA.

Thrypaena 6054, *Thryphaenae* 33195: alongside *Tryphaena* 5035. 5774. 15626, *Tryphaenae* 5035. 20042, *Truphaen.* 34284; cf. Τρύφαινα, PA.

Thullius 9095, *Thylliana* 10128: cf. the common *Tullius*, e.g. *Tulli* 4660. 5036, etc.

Thyrannus 4423: alongside *Tyrannus* 3985. 4012. 9127. 9700, etc., *Tyranni* 7295, *Tyranní* 6347, *Tyranno* 5854. 14203, *Tyrannis* 5835, *Tyranis* 6331; cf. Τύραννος, PA.

Thyrius 8909: cf. Τύριος, PA.

From the inscriptions of Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57): *Amaranthus*; *Amethysthus*; *Muthunium*, *Synethaei*, *Synethus*; *Thelesphorus*; *Zethema*.

In a few instances, it is possible to posit a specific explanation for the use of *TH*. For instance, *TH* in the names *Amarantus*, *Amiantus* may have occurred

by analogy to the common names in *-anthus*, such as *Chrysanthus*. The name *Telesphorus* could have been influenced by the name Θελέφορος. In the few instances where two stops are found, it is possible that the aspiration was placed on the wrong consonant, such as perhaps in *Anthiocus* instead of *Antiochus*, *Carithe* instead of *Charite*, *Diopanthus* instead of *Diophantus*, *Epythycanus* instead of *Epitynchanus*, *Euthycus* instead of *Eutychus*, *Sotherico* instead of *Sotericho*, *Thelesporo* instead of *Telesphoros*, *Tethi*[instead of *Thetis*, *Thrypaena* instead of *Tryphaena*. In any case, this points to a loss of aspiration in the living language.

There remain some personal names and other common terms which must be discussed separately. This pertains primarily to some Greek names for which it is difficult to derive a proto-form: *Anthros* 7640: the relationship to ἄντρον is very uncertain; *Tusa* 4586: perhaps related to Θέων, PA. ?; *Yperethusa* 15862: surely related to ὑπηρετέω.

In a few cases, the cluster *thr* has been written as *TRH*, as in the name *Trhasylli* 4461; and also in the aforementioned *Trhepti* 4566 – this is probably an error in marking an aspiration that was never pronounced.

Two words of Greek origin that had entered the Latin language and had become accepted exhibit a well documented alternation: *spatarius* 9043, related to Greek σπάθη, cf. E.–M.[3] and *turariu* 4039 alongside *thurarius* 5639. 5680, *thurar.* 5638.

In a few Latin names, the aspiration was permanently established in writing, such as in *Cethegus*: *Cethegi* 6072, *Cethego* 10051; *Otho*: frequently found in inscriptions 2041–2046, etc. The custom of writing *TH* was also established in the oriental names *Carthaginiensis* 8608; *[I]ugurtha* 1315, *Iugurthae* 7605; *Mithridate* 6220, *Mithrodates* 9732, *Mithridas* 200, col. V 43, *Mithrae* 732, but alongside *Mitredatis* 5639.

Finally, the rare foreign names which also exhibit alternation in writing should also be mentioned: *Bargates* 5684 alongside *Bargathi* 5685; *Marta* 6050, [*M*] *artae* 6484 alongside *Martha* 6184. 6572: in Greek, Μάρθα and Μάρτης, PA.

c. Labial consonants

As is commonly known, the Greek aspirate *ph* developed into the unaspirated stop *p* in Latin. In addition to this, however, already in the 1st century AD the aspirate was quite frequently replaced by the fricative *f*. Examination of Roman inscriptions shows that while both stop and fricative occur, *P* is the more common form of spelling, as shown in the following examples:

In the middle of a word between vowels:

Diopanthus 8956: cf. Διόφαντος, PA.

Epaestioni 5375: cf. Ἡφαιστίων, PA.

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[3] A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris [4]1959. Here abbreviated as E.–M.

Eupemus 6438. 6439; alongside *Euphemus* 200, col. IV 38. 200, col. VI 76. 4829. 8038. 8639, etc.; cf. Εὔφημος, PA.; the spelling *Euthemus* 4907 is perhaps a mechanical error.

Eupor 4474, *Euporiaes* 5040: alongside *Euphor* 200, col. VI 5; cf. Εὔφορος, PA.

Glapyra 4699. 22679: alongside *Glaphura* 4856, *Glaphurae* 4251; cf. Γλαφύρα, PA.

Heropilus 15517: alongside *Hermophilo* 5423, *Hermaphili* 10267, *Theophilo* 6220. 17155, *Theophili* 6477, etc.; cf. Θεόφιλος, PA.

Nicepor 6318. 6354. 11436 (cf. already *CIL* I² 1413), *Niceporí* 4661, *Nicoporis* 16137: alongside *Nicephor* 200, col. I 27, etc., 761. 4544. 4692. 5685, etc.; cf. Νικηφόρος, PA.

Scaripi 5822: alongside *Scariphus* 5868, *Scariphi* 6031; cf. Σκάρπος, Σκάρφη, Σκάρφιος, PA.

Syntropus 4822: alongside *Syntrophus* 200, col. I 79. 200, col. III 49. 2222. 7611, *Syntropho* 4923. 5290; cf. Σύντροφος, PA.

Thrypaena 6054: alongside *Tryphaena* 5035. 5774. 15626, etc.; cf. Τρύφαινα, PA.

Word initially before a vowel:

paler. 37298: cf. *phaleratus*, E.–M., Greek τὰ φάλαρα.

Pilarcurus 6883: alongside the very frequent *Philargyrus* 3960. 4826. 6315, etc., *Philargurus* 1324. 5452. 6135, etc., *Philarcyro* 4263, etc.; cf. Φιλάργυρος, PA.

Pilumina 33089, ib.: alongside *Philumina* 5728. 8103, *Philumenus* 5775. 5401, *Philumene* 11965. ib. 20606. 33745, etc.; cf. Φιλουμένη, PA.

Poebhus 7375: alongside the frequent *Phoebus* 199. 200, col. I 74... 4606, etc., *Phoebe* 173. 5262. 5359. 5543, etc., *Phebo* 4511, etc.

Posphor 4724, *Pospor* 37679: alongside *Phosporo* 23601, [*Ph*]*osphorus* 4471; cf. *Photis* 4246, *Photi* 16658[b]; Greek Φωσφόρος, PA.

Pilicrepus 6813, which can be Latin *pilicrepus*; cf. E.–M. s.v. *pĭla*, certainly does not belong in this category.

In consonant clusters:

Philadelpus 3971. 4179. 5003, *Philadelpi* 9066, *Philadelpo* 4012: alongside *Philadelphus* 6380, [*Ph*]*iladelphus* 4755, *Philadelpho* 6469; cf. Φιλάδελφος, PA.

ampitheatr. 6226: alongside *amphitheatr.* 6337, *amphiteatro* 2059, *amphiteátro* 6228, *maphitheatri* (sic) 10163; cf. ἀμφιθέατρον.

Numpidius 1815: alongside *Numphidia* 4685, *Nymphidius* 200, col. VII 74, *Nymphidi* 6621, *Nymphidio* 8537; *Nymphe* 880. 4354. 4394. 4903, etc., *Numphe* 4687. 6051, etc.; *Nymphali* 8849; *Nymphium* 800, etc.; *Nymphicus* 5186. 5780, etc.; *Nymphidorum* 880; *Nymphodotus* 9511. 15598, etc.; cf. Νυμφίδιος, PA.

Tampia 10097: cf. Τάμφιος, PA.

Triumpus 5898: cf. *triumphalis* 8546; *triumphans* 1315, [*triump*]*havit* 1315; cf. E.–M.

Phosporo 23601, *Pospor* 37679, *Fosporus* 6290: cf. above.

Spaerí 6096: cf. Σφαῖρος, PA.,

Thelesporo 10171: alongside *Telesphorus* 20492, *Telisphorus* 5768, *Tel*[*es*] *phor* 200, col. VII 12; *Telesphoridi* 8959; cf. Τελεσφόρος, PA.

Dapnis 6431. 6528; *Dapno* 6221 alongside *Daphnis* 5163, *Daphnidi* 4106, *Daphne* 4559. 5046, *Daphninis* 6443, *Daphneni* 5268, etc.: *Daphnus* 163. 200, col. I 26 and 36. 8855, etc.; cf. Δάφνις, Δάφνη, Δάφνος, etc., PA.

Aprodisia 5816. 6335. 8707, *Aprodisiae* 5465. 6440: alongside *Aphrodisia* 37940, *Aphrodísia* 8604, *Aphrodisiae* 4006, etc.; *Aphrodisius* 4119. 5490, etc.; cf. Ἀφροδισία, Ἀφροδισίας, Ἀφροδίσιος, PA.

Epapra 5687. 6871. 33128. *Epapr.* 33117: alongside the frequent *Epaphra* 4120. 4121. 4423. 4496, etc.; cf. Ἐπαφρᾶς, PA.

There remain a few examples of the spelling *PTH* instead of the cluster *phth: Apthonus* 6256: cf. Ἀφθόνιος, Ἀφθόνητος, PA.; *pthóibus* 32323, 115. ib. 118. 140. 142, 145: cf. φθόϊς; *Melipthongus* 6171: cf. Μελίφθογγος, PA.: *Pthongus* 5011: cf. Φθόγγος.

There are no examples of the spelling *PHTH* in 1st century AD Roman inscriptions.

Comparative material from Pompeii includes the following, as cited by VÄÄNÄNEN (p. 56): *ampitheatru*; *ampura*; *Aprodite*; *chirograpum*; *Dapnus*; *Dipilus*; *elepantu*; *Epapra*; *Grospis*; *Nicepor*; *Nype*, etc.; *Palepati*; *Philadelpus*; *Pilipus*; *Pilo*; *Pilocalus*; *Posphorus*; *Pospori*, *Phospori*; *Pronimi*; *Prunicus*; *Prunis*; *Sope*; *Stepano*, *etc.*; *Sympore*; *Sypo*; *Tropimi*.

Below are presented examples of spellings with *F*:

a. In the middle of a word between vowels: *Elpideforus* 4877, *Helpidefori* 13472: alongside *Elpidephoro* 33175; cf. Ἐλπιδηφόρος, PA.; *Eufemia* 7377: alongside *Eupemus*, *Euphemus*, cf. above; *sarcofaga* 4870: alongside [*sarcop*] *hagu* 8431; cf. σαρκοφάγος; *Stefanis* 5817: alongside *Stephanus* 163. 200, col. II 51, etc. 3951. 4240. 5390, etc., Stephania 8039, etc.; cf. Στέφανις, Στέφανος, PA.; *Tafi* 4302: cf. Τάφος, PA.; *Trofimo* 4731, *Trofime* 7260: alongside the frequent *Trofimus* 200, col. II 32, etc., 761. 4370. 4858, etc., *Trophime* 4863. 5735. 6205, etc.; cf. Τρόφιμος, Τροφίμη, PA.

b. Word initially before a vowel: *Faonis* 33369: cf. Φάων, PA.; *Fenia* 30855: cf. Φαίνιος, PA.; *Filemoni* 4795: alongside *Philemoni* 33768; cf. Φιλήμων, PA.; *Filenis* 4795: alongside *Philaenis* 4832. 5488, *Philaenidis* 4767, *Philaenidi* 18396; cf. Φιλαινίς alongside Φιλήνιον, PA.; *Fosporus* 6290: alongside *Phosporo* 23601, *Posphor*, *Pospor*, etc., cf. above.

c. Together with a consonant: *Eufras* 3317: cf. Εὐφράσιος, Εὔφραστος, PA.; *Eufrosine* 4386: alongside *Euphrosyne* 27490, *Euphrosynus* 18055, *Euphrosyno* 33129; cf. Εὐφροσύνη, PA.; *Sunfonia* 4720: alongside *symphoniacus* 4472. 6356, *symphoniacorum* 2193 (= 4416), *symphoniaca* 33372; cf. συμφωνία.

Mentioned separately should be the name *Saffo* 4532: alongside *Sappho* 6577, *Sapphos* 4519. 4520; cf. Σαπφώ, PA.

The confusion in the spelling of *P and PH* led to hypercorrect spelling with *PH* instead of the regular *P*. This became evident in the following inscriptions: *Agaphima* 6555: cf. Ἀγάπημα, PA.; *Agatophus* 200, col. VI 18 and 56: alongside the regular *Agathopus* and also *Agatopus*, cf. above; cf. Ἀγαθόπους, PA.; *Arphocras* 7255, *Arphocrae* 9016: alongside *Arpocra*, *Arpochra*, cf. above; cf. Ἁρποκρᾶς, PA.: *Cryphius* 1815: alongside *Grypo* 2065, col. II 65, *Grypia* 5421: cf. Γρύπος, PA.; *Philagryphni* 4803: cf. Ἀγρυπνίς, the name of a festival, PA.; *Phylades* 766. 4637: alongside *Pylades* 200, col. VIII 67. 33115. 37688, *Pyla*[*des*] 200, col. IV 37; cf. Πυλάδης, PA.; *Phyramo* 2313: alongside *Pyrami* 5749; cf. Πύραμος, PA.; but also cf. *Fyramus* 33109, which indicates that the aspiration already existed in the Greek name; *Teraphne* 4965: cf. Θεράπνη, PA.; *Zophrus* 5045: perhaps to Ζώπυρος, PA.

As is known, the alternation included also the Latin noun *sepulcrum*, written as *sepulcri* 5200. 18123, *sepulcro* 14211, but as *sephulcru*[*m*] 8942; more frequently, the aspirations occurs in the concluding element of this word, i.e. as *sepulchrum* 6150. 8021, etc., cf. above. The word *triumphus* and its derivations was written with *PH*, cf. *triumphalis* 8546, *triumphans* 1315, [*triump*]*havit* 1315; but there is also the spelling *Triumpus* 5898, cf. above. From Pompeii, VÄÄNÄNEN cites (p. 57) *Ephaphroditi*, and, as an example of *PH* instead of *F*: *Ruphus CIL* IV 4615.

It remains necessary to explain the double replacement of the Greek aspirated stop φ: sometimes as *p*, and sometimes as *f*. The issue is quite complex because many factors come into play here. It is clear that, in Archaic Latin, the regular equivalent of the Greek aspirated stop was *p*. It suffices to recall the development of the Latin word *ampulla* (diminutive of *ampora*, cf. E.–M. s.v. *amphora*). At a later date literary Latin introduced *ph*, which predominates in Classical Latin; however the pronunciation of colloquial and especially of vulgar Latin most probably retained the earlier form. As a result, inscriptions with *P* instead of *PH* must be regarded as reflecting a phonetic archaism. (More precisely, as a systemic archaism retaining a former system in which aspiration in stops is not phonemic.)

The appearance of the equivalent *f* is not dependent on phonological changes in Latin.; the development of the aspirated labial stop into a labial fricative most probably was accomplished in Greek, cf. the discussion in SCHWYZER, *Gr. Gramm.* I 206[4]. This change was characteristic of spoken Greek and was not reflected in Greek spelling. Thus Latin inscriptions with *F* instead of *PH* should be considered as a manifestation of phonetic spelling and characteristic of vulgar Latin texts. The oldest known example of this way of rendering Greek φ in Latin inscriptions dates back to the 1st century BC: *Fedra CIL* I² 1413. More frequent are such occurrences in inscriptions from the 1st century AD, and they are also found in the texts fom Pompeii, cf. *Dafne CIL* IV 680; *Trofime* 2039; *Fileto* 2402; *Filetor* 9015; *Fyllis* 1265ᵃ. 7057; cf. VÄÄNÄNEN's remarks (p. 57) about *Venus Fisica*.

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[4] E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I, München 1934–1939.

Later alternations are merely the result of the clash of the three different traditions: the archaic tradition with the consonant *p*, the newer tradition with the fricative *f* and the scholastic, literary tradition, with the pronunciation *ph* and the spelling *PH.* The mutual influence of these three traditions led to confusion and to the hypercorrect spelling *PH* instead of the spoken *p*, as can be seen from the examples mentioned above.

In certain cases additional factors may have come into play. Thus in words with two aspirated consonants dissimilation may have played a role, in part in Latin and in part perhaps already in Greek. Thus *Posphorus* may reflect an already unaspirated Πώσφρος, as is posited by Schwyzer, I 204. Probably, the dissimilation in Latin is reflected by the stable spelling *PTH* instead of *PHTH* for the Greek cluster φθ, cf. *Pthongus, pthoibus*, etc. This dissimilation gave rise to uncertainty as to which consonant should be aspirated: thus alternations such as *Agatophus* alongside *Agathopus*, etc., are found, and similarly *sepulchrum* alongside *sephulcrum*, etc. Finally, names in *-por*, such as *Nicepor*, may reflect the influence of Roman names of the type *Marcipor*; cf. E.–M. s.v. *puer*.

4. ALTERNATION OF *R-* : *RH-*

In a few rare personal names of foreign origin that begin in *r-* the Greek spelling *RH-* predominates. This is found in the following cases: *Rhemius* 4400: cf. Ῥήμιος, Pa. (but also common Latin *Remmius*); *Rhesus* 7988, *Rhésus* 6605: cf. Ῥῆσος, Pa.; *Rhodanus* 5706: cf. Ῥοδανός, Pa.; *Rhodaspes* 1799: cf. Ῥωωδάσπης, Pa.; *Rhodine* 4780. 14843. 34476, *Rhodene* 6670; *Rhodinus* 8434. 14843: cf. Ῥοδίνη, Pa.; *Rhodes* 6635; *Rhodia* 5851; *Rhodo* 4711. 8781[d], *Rhodonis* 8434: cf. Ῥόδη, Ῥόδος, Ῥόδων, Pa.; *Rhodope* 4784: cf. Ῥοδόπη, Pa.; *Rhoemetalcaes* 20718: cf. Ῥοιμητάλκας, Pa.; *Rhomeni* 15589: cf. Ῥώμη, Pa.

Simmilarly for two names of uncertain origin: *Rhoci* 4330; *Rhosice* 3932.

Also in the common noun: *rhet.* (i.e. *rhetori*) 9857: cf. Greek ῥήτωρ.

Alongside these, spellings in which aspiration is not marked are found less frequently: *Rodine* 4970. 6657: cf. above *Rhodine*; *Rotho* 15243: cf. Ῥόθος, Pa.; *Rythiae* 8673, ib.: cf. Ῥυτία, Pa.; *Rythimiano* 38369[a], *Rythymus* ib.: cf. Ῥυθμικός, Pa.; ῥυθμός.

In the names *Rotho*, *Rythimiano*, *Rythymus*, it is possible to suspect the tendency to avoid writing a second aspiration found in an adjacent syllable (a certain type of dissimilation; whether merely graphic or phonetic is hard to determine). In the spelling *Rythiae*, the aspiration was written in the wrong place, as is shown by the Greek equivalent Ῥυτία. Thus there are two words (in three inscriptions) which omit the aspiration: *Rodine*, which occurs twice and *Rythiae*, which occurs once. From this one should conclude that, in the living Latin language, aspiration did not occur word initially in the pronunciation of foreign names; the spelling *RH-* is therefore indicative only of a style of writing upheld by the scholastic

tradition. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Latin grammarians consider word initial *RH* as characteristic of words of Greek origin, cf. Diomedes, *GL* I 425, 25: "in Graecis dumtaxat nominibus".

In the middle of the word, the aspirated spelling, i.e. -*RH*- is very infrequent. It appears in a geminate in names: *Pyrrhus* 200, col. VIII 20: cf. Πύρρος, PA.; *Pyrrhichi* 11854: cf. Πυρρίχιος, PA.; *Tyrrheni* 20311: cf. Τυρρήνιος, PA. Also found, however, *Murri* 4618. 4619, *Murrius* 5277: cf. Μύρρος, PA.

Other instances of the spelling *RH* in the middle of a word have a specific explanation. Thus *Callirhoe* 6169 has *RH* at the beginning of the second element of the compound, cf. Καλλιρόη alongside Καλλιρρόη, PA. The names: *Parhalia* 5909 (alongside *Paralia* 6629), *Parhesia* 6166 consist of the prefix *par*- and the second element which contains the aspiration. In the names *Trhasylli* 4461, *Trhepti* 4566, *Crhesimus* 6430, *Teucrhianus* 6430, the aspiration is notated at the end of the consonant cluster instead of after the letter which marks the first consonant, cf. frequent *Threptus* 6635. 14959 etc., *Chresimus* 4290. 5847, etc. (cf. above) *Teucher* 6584. This spelling of *TRH* instead of *THR* can already be found in Archaic Latin inscriptions, cf. *Trhaso CIL* I² 1549. 2542; *Mitrhidatis* I² 743 (cf. *CIL* VI 19968: *Thrasiae*; Greek Θράσων, Θράσιος, PA.); it is doubtful that this denotes anything more than a spelling convention.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the linguistic analysis of errors in the placement of aspiration it is necessary to distinguish the characteristics of the living, spoken, colloquial speech and the literary language.

The great number of examples of the omission of aspiration in writing, as well its hypercorrect introduction where one does not expect it, is perhaps rather indicative that, in the 1st century AD, aspiration generally did not exist in the spoken language of the uneducated masses.

In cultured, literary language, however, aspiration could be maintained, as is shown by certain instances of stable alternation as compared with the occurrence of aspiration in Greek. This is most clear in the spelling of consonantal groups composed of two aspirated consonants. It has been mentioned that the Greek cluster φθ is regularly reflected in Latin inscriptions by a cluster with only one aspiration, i.e. as *PTH* (*Apthonus*, *pthoibus*, *Melipthongus*, *Pthongus*). This spelling leads to the conclusion that, in this case, aspiration was a living phonetic phenomenon that was rendered in Latin differently than in Greek. Because aspiration was characteristic of cultured speech only, it did not spread permanently into the language as a whole, but was nevertheless maintained throughout the 1st century AD through the influence of schools and thus was able to have a more widespread impact on the speakers of Latin.

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HUMOUR IN PLUTARCH*

By

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When we glance at the G. Soyter[1] edition of a short collection of texts that illustrate Greek humour from Homer up to the present time, we will observe that among the authors of the Hellenistic-Roman period we find, of course, Lucian, Aelian, Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius, but we do not find Plutarch. Moreover, when we read in a standard text, W. Schmidt and O. Stählin's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, that "satirische oder humoristische Töne findet Plutarch nicht leicht"[2] we can conclude that those who enjoy humour need not keep Plutarch at hand. Even though the author of the latest monograph on Plutarch, K. Ziegler, responds ironically to the comment quoted above, concluding that "apparently, he [*scil.* W. Schmidt] did not read Plutarch very carefully"[3], neither he himself nor the other monographers of our author devote any space at all to this attribute of Plutarch's literary output. Perhaps, therefore, some words on this subject will not be amiss.

In the first place, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the concept of humour is in general a difficult and complicated one. If today's theory of literature has not yet worked out a satisfactory and universally accepted definition and theory of the comic and of humour, then it is not surprising that antiquity did not progress beyond a descriptive treatment of this phenomenon in literary criticism and that it struggled rather ineffectually with the classification of its distinct variants.

In one of the latest studies, the French monograph *L'humour* of R. Escarpit[4], we find the following definition which has the advantage of being somewhat humorous itself:

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LIV 1964, fasc. 1, pp. 87–98.

1 G. Soyter, *Griechischer Humor von Homers Zeiten bis heute*, Berlin 1959.

2 W. Schmid, O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, vol. V 2, 1, München 1920, p. 493.

3 K. Zeigler, *Plutarchos*, *RE* XXI 1 (1951), col. 892.

4 R. Escarpit, *L'humour*, Paris 1960.

> Humour is a complicated feeling, in which the comic backdrop which is created with the help of a voluntarily transposed presentation, and which is at the same time aware of our concepts and sentiments, is often modified and even blurred by an emotional, moral and philosophical reaction of very different hues, which arises from the overall suggestion influenced by the facts presented and the innumerable signs in which the interior stance of the humorist is revealed.

Very clear, concise and accurate, right?

If, therefore, we should begin to search for a precise definition of humour structured according to the classical schema *per genus et speciem*, we will not find it, neither in Th. Lipps, nor in J. Bystroń, nor in J. Kleiner, nor even in the extensive dissertation of A. Haury (who is constantly drawing on Bergson)[5]. It becomes very clear in all these authors that it is very difficult to differentiate that which we call humour from the other forms of the comic; that the concepts here are unclear, the boundaries shaky and the formulations subjective. Soyter, whom we previously mentioned, does not feel obliged to offer any sort of definition and does not involve himself at all in the theory of the concept. He states in his introduction that Greek literature exhibits over the span of many centuries rather little of a sunny and benevolent type of humour but instead displays a sharp critical sense which surfaces in shrewd jests. The examples given, however, do not fully prove this assertion, for obviously in first place we have Homer and epic in general, to which the editor himself ascribes a naive humour (much, however, depends on how we view Homer's attitude to the divine world – but this is a separate problem). But further on we find Aristophanes' parody of Sophocles, the humorous rivalry for beauty between Socrates and Critobulos (in Xenophon), Lucian's cutting satire on mythology and philosophy, an innocuous anacreontic about Eros stung by a bee and popular sayings. In short, we conclude once more that, into the category of "humour", Soyter draws everything which can be more broadly described as "humorous", such as all kinds of wit, jokes, comedy, irony, satire or anything that can evoke laughter or smile. For the moment, we will use this broad defintion and disregard those areas in which the theorists of literature fail.

It is perhaps advisable to start by looking at the efforts to investigate this complicated phenomenon which have been preserved from antiquity.

Quintilian says outright that he does not understand why laughter can be evoked by very different things (*Inst.* VI 3, 35: "unde autem concilietur risus et quibus ex locis peti soleat, difficillimum dicere"). Plutarch, in his *Table Talk* (*Quaest. conv.* II 1 = *Mor*. 629 E–634 F) puts before the banqueters the issue what Xenophon had in mind when he said that there exist things in respect to which it is more pleasant to be the butt of questions, jokes and taunts, than not to be. Here we would expect

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[5] Th. Lipps, *Komik und Humor*, Hamburg–Leipzig 1898; J. Bystroń, *Komizm*, Wrocław 1960; J. Kleiner, *Studia z zakresu teorii literatury*, Lublin 1956; A. Haury, *L'ironie et l'humour chez Cicéron*, Leiden 1955.

a discussion or lecture on the topic of a jest at someone's expense, σκῶμμα, for in the conclusion we read: ὅτι τοῦ πεπαιδευμένου καλῶς ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ παίζειν ἐμμελῶς καὶ κεχαρισμένως ("a man needs to be educated and cultured in order to be able to joke tactfully and with grace"). In reality, however, this dialogue brings to mind rather Bystroń's *Komizm*. In both, instead of theory illustrated, so to speak, by examples, we find a rather rich collection of jokes barely grouped into some sort of categories. Moreover, Plutarch does not quite follow his introduction and begin by discussing those taunts which cause pleasure; he begins, instead, by discussing unpleasant ones, and explains that σκῶμμα is something that is more hurtful than normal λοιδορία, using a comparison to barbed arrows that remain in the wound longer and are more painful than ordinary sharp ones. But he does not attempt to explain why this is so. He indicates only why this causes pleasure for those present: because they partake in the taunt, so to speak, completing in their minds what the jest implies: συνδιασύρουσι καὶ συνυβρίζουσι. Here, Plutarch refers to Theophrastus. But even without this reference, by analyzing Plutarch's views on jests, it was easy to conclude that he shares and repeats the views of the Peripatetic school. But these conclusions did not answer the question completely. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle gives a definition of the comic: τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημά τι καὶ αἶσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν· οἷον εὐθὺς τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης ("funniness is a form of error and ugliness, but it is harmless and cannot hurt anyone, e.g., a comic mask is an ugly thing of caricature, but it does not distress anyone"). This definition is strangely inaccurate and one-sided, and it does not explain at all why this type of ugliness not only does not cause distress but actually evokes pleasure, often very pronounced. To this question also Plutarch does not give a theoretical answer; perhaps the ancient theory did not differentiate funniness from jest – τὸ γελοῖον denoted both the situational context that gave rise to jest as well as the jest itself. Overall, the theory itself lagged far behind practice. All the magnificent humour which characterized Greek literature from its inception (and which could, when appropriate, be in perfect harmony with the sublime) was very meagerly addressed in theoretical speculations, and only with respect to two literary genres: comedy, of course, which, as we know, Aristotle discussed in the *Poetics*, and oratory, of which the third book of the *Rhetorics* summarily disposes without really differentiating the vitality and crudeness of style from the joke itself, or an accurate metaphor or colourful antithesis from humour, describing all of these by the term ἀστεῖον. The views of Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phaleron, both of whom wrote Περὶ γελοίου and Περὶ χάριτος are known to us only through Cicero and Quintilian (Domitius Marsus' *De urbanitate* has also been lost), and they, too, addressed comedy and oratory, i.e. a very specific application of jest. In this, there is nothing strange. In antiquity, rhetoric served as the theory of prose and, although many of its conclusions and observations were applicable to other literary genres, whether letters, essays, diatribe or history, they are nevertheless characterized by

a clear specificity of their original and main application, i.e., from the point of view of their effectiveness, such as their direct influence on judges as they come to a vote or else on the members of a political assembly. That is why jest is discussed primarily from this point of view. Cicero (*De orat.* II 235 ff.) announces through Caesar Strabo's lips a very fundamental analysis of the phenomenon of laughter: "quid sit", "unde sit", "sitne oratoris risum velle movere", "quatenus", and finally, "quae sint genera ridiculi". He gives up at once on the first physiologically based question, passing it on to Democritus; the second question, the source of laughter, he describes as *turpitudo* and *deformitas* (following Aristotle), thus ignoring the whole possible range of non-malicious laughter. It becomes clear, of course, that the speaker can and should evoke laughter, because in this way he can create a mood favourable to himself, aptly strike at his opponent and lighten an atmosphere of severity and gloom, etc. As for its application, Cicero warns against laughter caused by inappropriate subjects or by means which do not behoove the gravity of a man of rank, e.g., great misfortunes or great crimes should not be derided, those who are near and dear should not be rediculed, jokes that are vulgar or obscene should absolutely never be used, and not every opponent can be mocked on every occasion. But all these are generalities. Cicero only enters into details when he provides a classification of jest, but at this he is not very successful. After the Peripatetics, he divides jests as being based on *res* and *dictum* and correctly emphasizes that not everything that is funny is also a jest: "non esse omnia ridicula faceta", giving as an example the jester *sannio* from the comic stage. He adds: "notissimum ridiculi genus cum aliud exspectamus, aliud dicitur", or ἀπροσδόκητον, but he does not realize that he has hit upon the principal source of the comic, for, noting only that we find such an error naturally funny, he passes on to other things. After giving a series of examples, he finally groups laughter-producing moments into several categories: disappointed expectation, caricature, irony, pretending that one does not understand what is going on, and the ridiculing of someone else's stupidity. In short, a rather random assortment, but one amply illustrated with jokes, taken primarily from the practice of law. We should not be surprised, because Cicero himself was known for his incisiveness and spiteful reason: we have proof of this in his biography by Plutarch.

Quintilian, another theorist of the comic, draws heavily upon Cicero and on other sources common to them both, but he also focuses exclusively on its application to rhetorical goals. Like Cicero, he asserts that the best application of jest is in a reply. The very same thing is said by Plutarch in *Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα* (*Mor*. 803 C ff.): μάλιστα δ' εὐδοκιμεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα (*scil*. σκῶμμα καὶ γελοῖον) περὶ τὰς ἀμείψεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις, because if someone does this intentionally, ἐκ παρασκευῆς, and accosts his opponent in this way, then such a reply earns for the speaker the opinion of a choleric man and a mocker, as had occurred with Cicero and Cato the Elder. But a sharp reply is very much appropriate, e.g., when Demades was shouting that Demosthenes wanted to rebuke him: ἡ ὗς τῆν

Ἀθηνᾶν, Demosthenes immediately countered, "Aha, this Athena was recently caught in fornication!" Plutarch also praises the jest of a general who, when the citizens were accusing him of fleeing from the field of battle when he was a *strategos*, shot back, "But in your company, my very dear ones!" In this section of his essay, Plutarch is most probably drawing on existing models without thinking them through, because he is not consistent. He criticizes those jests which place the speaker in a comic light but immediately afterwards, as an example of a convincing and accurate gibe, he cites Leo of Byzantium who, when he was dealing with the quarrelling parties in Athens and being ridiculed for his short stature, replied, "Ah, if only you could see my wife who barely reaches my knees!" which made the laughter increase even more. "But even though we're so small, all of Byzantium cannot contain us when we quarrel!" Other instructions for good jests given by Pluarch are often highly doubtful, e.g., in the previously mentioned *Table Talk*, he says that it is permissible to make bald men the butt of jokes, because people will not find this offensive, but not those with only one eye, and he gives separate but highly unconvincing examples. Or, when Plutarch cites an alleged taunt (but in reality a compliment), saying that a young man is pleased when he is taunted for being too thrifty when his father is present or too faithful and obedient to his wife when she is present, we may doubt this would be truly pleasing to the henpecked husband. In short, these theories in our author just "don't work". By the way, because the leading characteristsic of a philosopher (and Plutarch certainly is one) must, in his opinion, be self-control and moderation, it could be expected that he would not have any understanding of the brilliant, elemental *vis comica* of Aristophanes (although Plato did!): in the extant abbreviated comparison of Aristophanes with Menander, Plutarch has for the former only expressions of the sharpest condemnation, describing his humour as clownish, scandalous, boorish, slanderous, fitting only for debauchers and wantons and recapitulating insulting epithets in φλυαρία ναυτιώδης. He praises the moderate, discrete and modest Menander and his "Attic salt" – here is an author for a cultured gathering!

Without a doubt, Plutarch is correct when he asserts that tact and culture constitute the leading elements of jest that is social, accurate and full of charm. This, of course, is a truism, and neither great philosophy nor familiarity with literary criticism is necessary to draw a similar conclusion. But it comes to mind to ask whether Plutarch himself, who without any doubt embodied these virtues, and whom Eunapius (who in late antiquity wrote biographies of the philosophers) calls ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἁπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα ("the personification of grace and melodiousness in philosophy", *VS* 454) – was he himself lacking this ability to make a timely jest? For it is possible to do well in practice what one lacks in theory. How prominent in his own life was that which he calls παιδιά in *Table Talk*?

Now Plutarch's literary output, in the realm of biography in particular, is characterized by a rich vein of anecdote, notably the kind culminating in aphorism which ancient rhetoricians called χρεία. It frequently contains humour as we un-

derstand it; but it does not need to contain it in order to merit the term ἀστεῖον, which, as we discussed, has a quite general meaning of "successful, lively, deft, pleasing" or something of this sort. He draws the material for these anecdotes primarily from prepared collections of such χρείαι which were in circulation in his time. A few collections of this nature have been preserved under his name: these are the co-called *Apophthegmata of Kings and Leaders*, *Laconian Apophthegmata* and *Apophthegmata of Laconian Women*. It has long been demonstrated, however, that these are not excerpts from Plutarch's works, but on the contrary, sources on which he drew and which for that reason cannot be considered.

In the biography of Alexander the Great, Plutarch states that a short response or even a jest is often more effective to characterize a hero than a detailed description of his deeds, and in this he is quite right. Moreover, this is in complete accord with the rhetorical nature of history as it was viewed by the ancients and with the Greek predilection for the gnome, a short, terse and blunt saying. Indeed, what can better illustrate the exceptional intelligence and alertness of Pericles than the following funny episode:

> At the very moment that the fleet was ready to sail and when Pericles embarked upon his trireme, an unexpected eclipse of the sun occurred. Suddenly it grew dark and everyone was terrified by this sight, reading into it some terrible omen. Pericles, however, when he noticed that the steersman of the ship was also overcome by great fear and total helplessness, covered his face with his cloak and asked, "And do you think that this is also something terrible or a bad omen?" When the steersman answered no, Pericles asked again, "In what way does the first phenomenon differ from what I did? Surely in no way whatsoever, except that the object causing the eclipse of the sun must be bigger than my coat."

Again, does the following anecdote not perfectly reflect Themistocles' awareness of his own merits?

> When one of the *strategoi* [...] was impudently boasting before Themistocles, and setting his own merits against his [...] Themistocles answered, "Once upon a time, the second day of the festival was quarrelling with the first day, saying that the main holy day is full of troublesome duties and chores, while during the second day everyone has time to rest and, at the festivities, can peacefully enjoy all that had been prepared. Then the first day answered, 'That's true. But without me, you don't exist'. And so", Themistsocles continued, "if I had not been there then, where would all of you be now?"

That these words were not uncritical self-aggrandisation but rather a sober assessment of chance and worth, can be shown by his blunt answer to an inhabitant of Seriphos, a small island, who was swearing at Themistocles, saying that he owed his fame to the greatness of his country, not to himself. To this, Themistocles answered that, indeed, just as he himself would not have accomplished anything had he been from Seriphos, his abuser would not have accomplished anything if he had been an Athenian.

As mentioned before, Plutarch is surely not the creator or these apophthegmata, but the aptness of their choice is proof of his sharpened sense of what HIRZEL calls "die grösste der Musen, die Gelegenheit", which in Plutarch's time was called καιρός: the appropriate moment. Some of these sayings, owing to their accuracy and pertinence have certainly merited becoming κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί. Here we recall the reply of Cato the Elder who, when someone was asking him with great indignation why he did not yet have a statue in the forum as did so many other worthies, answered, "I'd rather that people asked why I don't have a statue rather than why I do!" We met in Plutarch all the various types of jests which were catalogued in the theory of rhetoric, e.g., in Quintilian. Here, in the life of Fabius Maximus, is an example of the apparent acknowledgement of a fault instead of its denial:

> When Hannibal seized Tarentum, the leader of the defending Roman contingent was Marcus Livius. Although he had lost the town, he barricaded himself in the town's citadel and kept it in his control until the town was won back by the Romans under the leadership of Fabius. Livius was later very envious of Fabius' fame and once, driven by envy and ambition, he spoke in the senate, saying, "I, not Fabius, am responsible for the retaking of Tarentum". At this, Fabius laughed and said, "You're completely right, Livius. For had you not lost the town, I would have had nothing to retake!"

Pretending to misunderstand the speaker's meaning is shown, e.g., in the life of Lysander, who, when the tyrant Dionysius sent him two expensive dresses and ordered him to choose whichever one he wished and take it to his daughter, answered that she would choose better herself and left taking both dresses with him. The ostensible support of an obvious falsehood by means of an even more glaring lie can be found in the life of Cato the Younger, who, in spite of his reputation for stern virtue, was reproached by a certain Memmius for spending all his nights in drunkenness. "But why don't you add", Cicero interjected, "that he spends all his days playing dice?" Or the kind-hearted reply found in the life of Alexander the Great. When the Indian herald Acuphis asked Alexander what they must do in order to be his friends, he answered, "They must choose you as their chief and send me a hundred of their best citizens". At this, Acuphis laughed and said, "But, o king, I will be better able to govern if I send you a hundred of my worst, rather than best, citizens". Scathing irony can be found, e.g., in the life of Phocion, who never catered to the crowd and, being an extraoridnarily forthright and uncompromising man of rank, did not enjoy much popularity. When it once happened that he received general applause, he anxiously turned to his friends and asked "Did I perhaps say something stupid?" Etc., etc.

In short, Plutarch's biographies are a very rich source for various types of jests, and the ages that follow draw upon them so very frequently. In particular, the biographies of the orators, e.g., Demosthenes, Cato, Cicero and Phocion, are a veritable mother lode of such jests. Of course, not all since, e.g., the tragic life

of King Agis is completely devoid of a humorous element. Admittedly, these anecdotal insertions are usually kept in the direct discourse and have the character of quotations and therefore of sayings that do not come from the author himself. Doubtless the author's own comments and expressions that contain humour are rather rare. One example is the duplicity of Demosthenes, who wrote speeches for both sides in a lawsuit. Plutarch states that he sold knives from the same foundry to the opponents in the same duel. Or his slightly ironic reply about Nicias: that access to him was easy for evil men on account of his cowardice, but for good men on account of his obliging nature. In any case, we can never be completely sure whether such a comment was not already existing in the source from which other information had been drawn.

Plutarch's literary output is so rich, however, that if we turn from the *Lives* to the *Moralia*, we will find significantly more material in them.

Eunapius praises Plutarch's charm. In this domain, can charm be obtained without even a light note of humour? Let us take Plato's dialogues and consider how frequently in them we find a humorous atmopshere, e.g., in a dialogue such as the *Euthydemus*, in which both sophists maintain that they know everything, while Socrates shows them the absurdity of the sophistic art. Socrates, as is generally known, is an example of what antiquity called εἴρων, and a modern theorist (J. Moreau quoted by R. Escarpit) defines as "a man of irony is someone who in his arguments reduces or depresses reality, does not admit to his own merits, pretends ignorance and retreats to a purely questioning stance". Would such a definition fit Plutarch, who admired Plato and may have wanted to imitate him in his own dialogues? Certainly not. Plutarch is neither a man of irony nor a satiricist. It can even be said that he is a complete opposite of someone like Lucian. The dominant characteristic of his nature is not that sense of his own superiority which characterizes both the man of irony and the satirist, but rather an affection for people and life: that very συμπάθεια, fellow-feeling, the sense of an interior togetherness with human beings, all that he so neatly expresses by the verb συνανθρωπεῖν. Indeed, the modern theorists I have mentioned, despite all the inconsistencies already discussed and the lack of an accurate definition, all come to the conclusion that this is the plane in which humour arises. Haury asserts that

> humour, without having to be optimistic and cordial, aims at creating bonds of affection between the author and the reader or listener [...] In it there is no aristocratism, Platonic or otherwise. It places itself on equal ground with us.

Kleiner:

> humour, in its proper meaning, has a sympathetic attitude to phenomena; their funniness makes humour regard them with an increased sympathy which uncovers the attributes of that all that is little, slight and weak, and leads to the seeking of supplementary qualities in human beings and in manifestations that arouse laughter; in fact, it frequently greets such phenomena not with laughter, but a warm smile; it has a sense of superiority, but simultaneously grants to phenomena the

> characteristics of nearness and surrounds them with love [...] Serene, wise and great humour is an elevation of an ordinary world, ostensibly grey, to heights invigoratingly provisioned and illuminated by the warmth of the heart.

Finally, Escarpit:

> we have to take under consideration the intention of the humorist and the state of mind of the hearer or reader who is receiving his comments. It even seems that this is precisely what differentiates humour from other forms of the comic. Indeed, [...] our whole historical description indicates that one of the constant characteristics of humour is a sympathetic attitude, or at least a spirit of tolerance.

It is clear, of course, that a sympathetic attitude towards the world is not in itself sufficient to create an ambience of humour; a sensitivity to the funny side of reality is also necessary, and a certain general proclivity to laughter or, as Kleiner correctly distinguishes, to smiling (he also correctly asserts that the range of laughter exceeds the range of funniness because it is also a natural expression of a good mood). This sensitivity, as we have seen, cannot be denied to Plutarch as witnessed by his predilection for humorous anecdotes. In the *Moralia*, where there is much more of a personal element than in the *Lives*, the tone is more free and we can expect to see a smile more often. Let us take up once more the treatise *Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα* – at every step we come across a smile despite a definitely serious topic. Here also, as in the *Lives*, anecdotes will occur. In order to illustrate, e.g., the thesis that tolerance is necessary for a ruler, Plutarch tells the story that Alexander the Great, who, when his sister forgot herself somewhat with a handsome young man of his court, instead of getting angry is supposed to have said "Oh, let her also get something from this rule of mine!" It should be mentioned, however, that Plutarch weakens the humorous effect of these words by assuming a critical attitude towards them. In the same way he did not understand the reasons for the action of Onomademus, a man of rank on Chios, who opposed the exile of all political opponents because he understood the strengthening role of opposition and justified his stance by saying, "If we won't have enemies, we will start to quarrel with friends!" But the whole tone of his considerations in this essay is what the French call *enjoué*, and this is shown even by the quotation from Simonides: πάσαις κορυδαλλίσι χρὴ λόφον ἐγγενέσθαι (which can be expressed as "everyone has something to crow about"). What else if not humour full of resignation can we call Plutarch's manifestation of political lucidity, when he speaks of the high political offices of his time?

> Now we must recall not only the words that Pericles used to repeat to himself as he donned the chlamys of the *strategos*, "Be careful, Pericles, for you rule a free people, you rule Hellenes, you rule the citizens of Athens!", but we also have to repeat to ourselves, "You rule, but you yourself are ruled as a subordinate, because the city is subject to the proconsuls, the representatives of the emperor"; there is no more "spear on the field of honour" nor "the power of ancient Sardis or Lydia";

> you have to put on a humbler chlamys and gaze from the rostrum to the praetorium and not let the wreath you wear go to your head when you see Roman boots over it!

Further on, Plutarch counsels with the same wisdom and humour that, while trying to keep your country obedient to a foreign rule, you should not run to the conqueror with every detail and thus humiliate your country even more by emphasizing its slavery, saying "When your feet are in fetters, don't put your neck into chains as well!"

Also full of common sense and humour is Plutarch's essay on superstition, in which he warns his fellow countrymen against the savage eastern cults that are full of irrational and absurd elements, and primarily against imagining the gods as vengeful powers lying in wait for every unwary step made by a human being. Although in this work he also criticizes and condemns atheism, which he considers to be nonsense, he also says:

> You say that he who does not believe in the gods is an ungodly man. But the man who takes the gods to be what the superstitious imagine them to be, isn't he guilty of an even more ungodly belief? As to me, I would prefer that people said that Plutarch does not and did not exist, rather than they said that Plutarch is capricious, prone to anger, vengeful and irascible. If you omit him when inviting others to a banquet, and if, lacking time, you do not go to greet him, he will pounce on you and start to devour you or he will kidnap and torture your child to death, or set some monster loose on your crops and orchards!

The entire profound Hellenic culture is speaking through these jesting words, by which Plutarch is not as much deriding and ridiculing as he is wanting to correct: διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή.

The little essay *On Garrulousness* is a veritable mine of funny examples and stories, from which it is impossible not to cite at least the following accurate characteristics of a reply:

> There are three types of replies to a question, namely, the necessary, the polite and the excessive. For example, if someone asks if Socrates is at home, another person answers reluctantly and almost unwillingly, "He's not there". For an even more laconic response, the rest of the sentence can be omitted and only the negative used, "No". In just this way the Lacedaemonians answered Philip's letter asking whether they would let him into the city by writing a large NO on the sheet and sending it back. The polite person will reply, "He's not there, he went to the moneychangers". And if he wants to add something else he will say, "He's waiting there for some foreigners". But the excessive reply of a garrulous fellow, particularly if he's read Antimachus of Colophon, goes likes this: "He's not at home, he went to the moneychangers, is waiting there for some arrivals from Ionia, of whom Alcibiades had written to him. He is now in Miletus, having fun at the court of Tissaphernes, a satrap of the Persian king, who previously aided the Lacedaemonians, and now, at Alcibiades' bidding, is aiding the Athenians; for Alcibiades, who wants to return to his homeland, is influencing Tissaphernes in this fashion". And in this way, he will recite the entire eighth book of Thucydides and will engulf his interlocutor with speech, until Miletus have time to fall and Alcibiades go into exile a second time before he finishes!

Haury asserts that humour does not apply to quotations, but that we can perceive it only in the longer setting of the whole story. I think that his "only" is an exaggeration, but it is certainly emphasized by all the longer sections of, e.g., dialogues such as the *Ἐρωτικός*, which describes the funny amorous adventure of a young widow, Ismenodora, who, having fallen in love with the handsome Bacchon, kidnaps him with the help of her servants. The friends and acquaintances of both sides take this opportunity to discuss which love is better: for boys or for women. A certain Protogenes quotes a cynical (in our sense of the word) joke of Aristippus, who, responding to someone's mocking quip that the hetaera Lais surely does not love him, said, "I think that fish or wine also do not love me, but this does not prevent me from enjoying them very much!" Nothing can be further from Plutarch's personal views, but he has the ability to quote, at the proper time, a joke that is appropriate to the characterization of the speaker who wants to prove at all costs that a relationship with a woman does not of itself contain anything ideal. Zeuxippus retorts by citing the blindness of a person in love: at the banquet of Anytus, his beloved Alcibiades bursts in with a suite of revellers and snatches half of the expensive dinner service from the table. Anytus' guests are angry that the bold young man has treated him so badly, but Anytus says, "What do you mean, 'badly'? Rather 'graciously'! He left this much for me when he could have taken it all!"

Similarly, in Plutarch's *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, we have to read the whole engaging story in order to be drawn into its subtly humorous atmosphere. We could also exploit many other works this way and have a good laugh at the funny jokes we find.

In conclusion, it should again be emphasized that Plutarch evokes laughter primarily by means of anecdote and quotation. Where he speaks for himself we will find a smile instead. But even a smile has its boundaries, sometimes quite unexpected ones. In the already mentioned *Table Talk*, for example, we would expect that, particularly with wine at hand, παιδιά should outweigh σπουδή. Yet this does not happen: serious discussion predominates, even topics which today would be difficult to consider seriously, e.g., uninvited guests who arrive as a hangers-on of the invited ones or the reasons why women seemingly get drunk least easily while old men do so most easily. Already in the introduction we read that in amicable conversation as in all else, the voice of philosophy (which the author nicely describes as τέχνη περὶ βίον οὖσα) must in the end be heard, but it can be heard in jest as well.

Even more typical may be the dialogue *Beasts Are Rational*. In it, we find Odysseus, Circe and a certain Gryllus, whom Circe has changed into a pig. Here, the comparison with the *Dialogues of the Gods* of Lucian is inescapable. The beginning of the dialogue between Odysseus, who is demanding that Circe change his companions back into men, and Circe, who explains to him that they themselves would not wish it because it is much better to be an animal than

a human being, is purely "Lucianean" – the humorous tone is achieved solely by the contrast of mythological personalities and the highly realistic note of the conversation. For example, Odysseus bridles:

> Again, you're making a cup of poisoned magic for me, but this time in words. Obviously, you're still planning to change me into a beast, if I let you convince me that being changed from beast to man is a catastrophe!

To this, Circe replies:

> "As if you haven't committed the greatest stupidity all by yourself! You have given up the immortality and eternal youth you shared with me for the sake of a mortal woman who is, if truth be told, no longer young. And now you're rushing through innumerable toils and troubles in order to gain more fame than you already have. You're chasing after an imaginary good rather than a real one". – "So be it, Circe, why should we always be quarrelling about the same thing. But, please, change my comrades back into men and give them back to me!"

But when Gryllos, at Circe's request, begins to convince Odysseus that animals are more intelligent, more virtuous and more fortunate than human beings, the character of a humorous dialogue is immediately lost as it is transformed into a one-sided lecture. Although this part is punctuated with joking interpolations, it basically takes on a serious moralizing tone instead of exploiting and emphasizing the expected paradox. This is due to the fact that Plutarch really believes that animals possess some amount of intelligent consciousness (as can be seen from his other works as well). But the fact remains that the artistic and literary goals of his writing unconsciously give ground before the educational purposes which for him are undoubtedly of the utmost importance (and which we also can see clearly from, to take one example, the essay *On How the Young Man Should Listen to Poets*). Plutarch's work has rightly been called the "shepherding of souls", and the shepherd in him triumphs over the artist and perhaps this is what at times makes Eunapius' praise seem somewhat overdone.

However, the fact is that Plutarch's educational ideal is εὐθυμία, or tranquillity of spirit. In the essay Περὶ εὐθυμίας, he cautions us against making our lives ἀμειδής, without a smile, through our own fault. It is therefore likely that his own attitude to life was characterized by this smile, warm and filled with tolerant wit, a smile which, in his writings, to a very great degree counteracts the stamp of venerable boredom which the later title of *Moralia* unwittingly suggests.

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ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΑΙ OR ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑΙ? IN SEARCH OF THE ORIGINAL FORM*

By

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The Indo-Europeanist and Slavist onomast receives from the classical philologist priceless onomastic source material; priceless, because it is strictly speaking "literary", or original, since Greek and Roman authors – the historiographers and geographers, often simultaneously diplomats, strategists and merchants; even their philosophers and poets – listed foreign ethnonyms, hydronyms, oronyms and even toponyms in their works.

The borders of the *oikoumene* shifted for the Greek settler and merchant; already in the 8th and 7th centuries BC the restless Ionians founded cities on the Black Sea (such as Olbia and Tyras). Generals and traders would conquer ever new lands in Europe and Asia for the Roman Empire. That was the route along which the earliest geographical and ethnographic reconnaissance proceeded of those regions called Scythia, Dacia, Moesia, Sarmatia etc. Ionian logographers, especially Hecataeus and Xanthus, the excellent historian Herodotus and his successors – Ephorus, Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, the historian Polybius, the geographers Strabo and Ptolemy – provide us with very rich onomastic material for European and Asian peoples. Finally, Roman authors of the Imperial period (Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and others) besides traditional Greek sources had their own, based on the military and commercial intelligence of the Roman Empire, which in its efforts to defend its territories from the attacks of the Celts, Thracians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Slavs and Germans took care to have those lands well mapped, even in the cartographic sense.

There was on the one hand cartography, more or less faithfully rendering the geographical nomenclature learned by the author himself or from military and commercial reports; and on the other, literature, or more exactly "literary arm-

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LV 1965, fasc. 2, pp. 228–244.

chair geography"[1], traditionally copied and "improved upon", that is modified or copied with inaccuracies. And that kind of *traditio scripta* went on for ages, since the earliest preserved manuscript copies can be dated to the Middle Ages, or specifically the 10th century. Classicists have produced model editions of and commentaries on Greek and Roman prose and poetic texts, but foreign onomastic material quoted in those works would seem to require a separate collective editorial and commenting process, followed by etymological derivation. W. Pape and G.E. Benseler's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* is valuable, but its first edition came out in 1842, while for instance its third in the years 1863–1870. Some more recent Greek or Latin dictionaries[2] include onomastic material, but with the many text variants the onomast linguist needs his onomastic material to be more complementary, so as to distinguish *lectio prima*, *secunda*, *falsa* etc.

The Slavist ought to receive some "Fontes ad Slavorum terras spectantes e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis collecti", since in controversial and arduous onomastic reconstruction attempts, M. Plezia's greatly valuable studies *Najstarsze świadectwa o Słowianach* (Poznań 1947) and *Greckie i łacińskie źródła do najstarszych dziejów Słowian* (Poznań–Kraków 1952) cannot, as the author himself noted, replace the originals provided with appropriate commentary and variants arranged according to filiation. That is all the more necessary because without preliminary text-based analyses even a seasoned Indo-Europeanist and Slavist could well fall for a substituted (and so non-original) example, supplying a false etymology for it. So the outstanding onomast and linguist J.M. Rozwadowski, the author of a monumental work[3], fell for the typographic variants found in ancient and early mediaeval sources for the name of the Vistula (*Vistla*, *Vistula* – *Viscla*, *Viscula* – Οὐιστούλα, *Vis-la*: **veis-*, cf. *vъ Visl̆ěxъ*, Βίσλας), adopting actual morphological variants *Vis-tula*, *Vis-cula*, *Vis-ula / Visla*. Meanwhile, those were clearly *Schriftformen*, *Viscla* (*sl* → *scl*), *Vistla* (*sc* ↔ *st*, with a palaeographic confusion of *c* and *t*), and the substitutive *Viscula*, *Vistula* and *Visula* (with a svarabhaktic *u* before the *l*)!

Without meticulous philological and linguistic research it would have been impossible to reduce to their common denominator the diverse textual variants: cf. Ἀρκύνια ὄρη (Arist. *Mete.* I 13), Ἑρκύνιος (Strabo VII 2), Ὀρκύνιος (Ptol. II 11), *Hercynia* (Tacitus) = IE *Perkunia*: PIE **perqu-*, 'Eiche', Lat. *quercus*, OHG *Fergunna*, since initial *p* disappeared in the Celtic language, which the Greeks indicated by smooth breathing, and the Romans by *h*; at the same time, the Greek υ = *u* was transliterated into Latin as *y*, hence *Hercynia*[4].

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[1] Cf. B. Biliński, *Drogi świata starożytnego ku ziemiom słowiańskim w świetle starożytnych świadectw literackich*, Archeologia I 1947, pp. 139–169.

[2] H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford [9]1940.

[3] J. Rozwadowski, *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*, Kraków 1948, pp. 264 f.

[4] A. Bach, *Deutsche Namenkunde*, vol. II, Heidelberg [2]1954, p. 50.

Using the example of the Greek variants Σαρμάται – Σαυρομάται (Lat. *Sarmatae*, *Sauromatae*) it is possible to illustrate the need for textual research that would enable us to reconstruct the original form *Sarmat-*: PIE **ser-* // **sor-* // **sr̥-*, Sanskr. *sar-* 'to flow'. My comparative linguistic investigation[5] has determined that the original form was indeed *Sarmat-*, not *Sauromat-*: Avest. *saorōmant*, gen. *-matō* 'mit dem Schwert versehen', or Osset. *sau-* 'schwarz' + Old Ind. *roman-* 'Körperbehaarung'.

We are now interested in textually determining the form Σαρμάται as original, and Σαυρομάται as secondary. As the *opinio communis* has it, the earliest form Σαυροματ-, found in Herodotus in the 5th century BC, was later shortened (?) to Σαρματ-, Lat. *Sarmatae*. The ancients had a folk etymology for that supposedly primary Iranian form *Sauromat-*: Σαυρόματιδες = Σαυροπάτιδες παρὰ τὸ σαυρὰς πατεῖν (Stephanus of Byzantium). The Sarmatians would then be lizard eaters; cf. Gr. σαῦρος 'lizard' and its any compounds, such as ~βριθής, ~ειδής or ~κτόνος. That secondary form (as I shall demonstrate below, a result of Hellenisation) was also seen as connected to Gr. σαυροτός, 'armed with a spear'. However, with an Iranian people in question one should look for an etymology drawn from the lexical and morphological range of an Iranian language. Adopting Σαυροματ-, or even Συρματ- as *lectio prima*, and Σαρματ- as *lectio falsa*, scholars did not pause to think about the origin of the supposed shortening from Σαυροματ- to Σαρματ-, even though the usual direction of the primary *Lautform* changing into a secondary *Schriftform* is determined by a *lectio difficilior* (from the perspective of the alien phonological and morphological system of the writer) becoming *lectio facilior*. That is, as I have demonstrated[6], the reason why in the so-called *Dagome iudex*, a lost document from the time of Mieszko I, preserved only in the copies of regesta of the Roman cardinal Deusdedit from the 11th and subsequent centuries, the portmanteau appellation or ligature of the name of the first ruler of Poland, DAGOME = Dago (Dagobert) + Mesco, recte: Mysco (Myszko, a diminutive form of his father's name Siemomysł) was also written in a Latinised form as DAGONE under the influence of the many Latinised names ending in *-o*, *-onis*, *-onem* etc.

Both the Greek and the Latin phonological system have a clear diphthong αυ, *au*, practically never monophthongised (unlike the diphthongs *oi* and *ei*, monophthongised in Greek and for that reason phonetically or hyper-correctly written ΕΙ ↔ Ε and ΟΙ = Ο: ΑΡΓΕ = Ἄργει; ΔΟΛΟΙΣ = ΔΟΛΟΝ). Neither can explain a shortening from *Sauromat-* to *Sarmat-*. After all, the diphthong αυ was carefully indicated in the earliest manuscripts, inscriptions and papyri with

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[5] S. Rospond, *Baza onomastyczna pie. *ser- // *sor- // *sr̥- // *sreu-. Sarmaci i Serbowie*, Lingua Posnaniensis X 1965, pp. 15 f.

[6] S. Rospond, *Mileniowe badania onomasty. I. Dagome – tajemnicze imię lub imiona pierwszego władcy polskiego*, Język Polski XL 1960, pp. 17 ff.

such complex graphemes as αου (Ἀουγούστας) and even with F (*digamma*). Instances of omitting the second element of that diphthong (υ) are most exceptional and rare: Ἀγούστου-, Lat. *Agustus*, Goth. *Agustau*; in Wulfilas' Gothic ἀπόστολος – *apostaulus*, Τρῳάδα – *Trauda*[7].

Even so, the incorrect view prevails that, considering Herodotus' testimony, the original form was *Sauromat*-. L. Niederle[8] wrote: "Staršího tvaru užívá vedle Herodota i Hippokrates [...] F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 293, pokouší se *pouvodní tvar Sauromat* spojovati s awest. *saoromant...*, z čehož povstalo skrácené Sarmat". L Zgusta[9], however, doubts in any such αυ → α shift:

> Beide Etymologien scheitern aber wieder an der Unmöglichkeit, einen Lautwandel αυ → α in dieser iranischen Sprache anzunehmen. Die Verhältnisse und die Herkunft der beiden eben behandelten Stammnamen müssen vorläufig für unklar gelten, weil eben die Lautverhältnisse durch die verschiedenen Umschreibungsversuche der klassischen Autoren undurchdringlich verdunkelt worden sind.

Those variants, Greek Σαυρομάται, Σαρμάται, Συρμάται etc., and Latin *Sauromatae* and *Sarmatae*, caused some ancient authors to misleadingly distinguish between two different peoples; cf. Plin. *HN* IV 80: "Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae", but *ibid.* VI 19: "dein Tanain amnem gemino ore influentem incolunt Sarmatae, Medorum, ut ferunt, suboles, et ipsi in multa genera divisi. Primi Sauromatae...".

That ancient notion, according to which the people in question were called Σαυρομάται in Greek, but *Sarmatae* in Latin, was renewed during the European Renaissance; Marcin Kromer in his chronicle *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, Basileae 1568, p. 3, wrote "Sarmatas, uel ut Graeci dicunt Sauromatas..."

Besides the above two basic and most frequent variants, others appeared, clearly defective: Συρμάται, Σαμάται, Σαλμάται, and Σαυροβάται. M. Rostovzev[10] even regarded Συρμάται as the original and correct form, later replaced with the incorrect (!) Σαρμάται under the influence of Σαυρομάται.

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[7] E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I 1, München 1939, pp. 147, 162 and 198 f.

[8] L. Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. I 2, Praha 1904, pp. 321 f., n. 1. Cf. other attempts at upholding this etymology of *Sauromatae* in: K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. III, Berlin 1892, pp. 37–42; V. Miller, *Osetinskie etiudy*, vol. III, Moskva 1887, p. 84; M. Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven*, vol. I: *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, Leipzig 1923, p. 51; J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, vol. II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 155–178: *Sauromat*-: Avest. *Sairima*-; Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, p. 1566; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, pp. 289 and 292; H. Lommel, in: Archiv für slavische Philologie XL 1926, p. 153.

[9] L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, Praha 1955, p. 265.

[10] M. Rostovzev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, p. 114; idem, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, vol. I: *Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen*, Berlin 1931, p. 101.

Ancient scribes multiplied typographical variants, and on that basis commentators multiplied imaginary peoples. Not just *Syrmatae*, but also *Saudaratae* and *Sargatae* tended to be interpreted as peoples distinct from the Iranian Sarmatae[11].

One must begin a textual and commentatorial overview of the very abundant material with contrasting quotations from the two representative authors, that is Herodotus and Ptolemy. The former used only Σαυροματ- (over ten times); the latter, exclusively Σαρματ- (over twenty times):

HERODOTUS[12]	PTOLEMY[13]
Σαυρομάται, Σαυροματέων etc.	Σαρματία, Σαρματικά, Σαρματικός, Σαρμάται etc.
IV 21; 57; 110; 116; 117; 119; 120; 122; 123; 128; 136.	I 8, 2; II 11, 6; II 11, 7; III Arg.; III 5, 22; V 4, 8; 9, 1 (twice); 9, 11; 9, 14; 9, 15; 9, 16 (four times); 11, 1; 12, 1; V Arg. 2; VI 14, 1; VII 5, 2 (twice); 5, 6; 6, 2; 10, 2.

Eleven occurrences in total in Herodotus; twenty-four in Ptolemy. Herodotus' use of Hellenising and 'meaningful' geographical names is explained by his profile as an author. Following earlier Ionian logographers, primarily Hecataeus and Xanthus, in the famous Scythian *logos*, or book IV of his work, the 5th century historian outlined the geography and ethnography of the lands on the Black Sea. When he was in Olbia and Tyras, he himself collected from Greek merchants reports of those Iranian peoples living on the Black Sea coast, and the Greek inhabitants of those cities certainly used substituted Greek names to refer to them. However, for most of his facts Herodotus relied on Hecataeus and Xanthus. As a historian he proved a vivid narrator, interested even in the plot of fables, and so his work is regarded as a literary piece. He explained many names, and even

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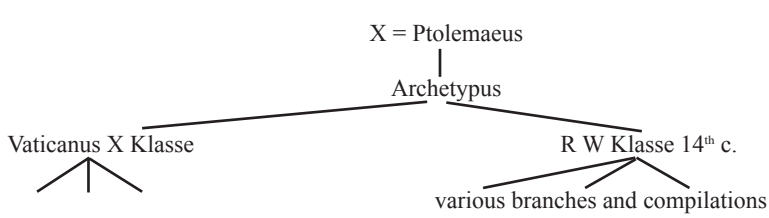
[11] Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 275 and 420 f.

[12] Cf. E. Legrand, *Hérodote*, Paris 1954, index s.v., p. 144; C. Hude, *Herodoti Historiae*, Oxonii 1908. As regards the various codices from the 10th to 14th centuries, cf. C. Abicht, *De codicum Herodoti fide atque auctoritate*, Berolini 1870. The earliest codex A, Laurentianus, comes from the 10th century, the remaining ones from the 11th and subsequent centuries.

[13] Quoted after the edition C.F.A. Nobbe, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1898, vol. II, Lipsiae 1913; cf. O. Cunz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus*, Berlin 1923, pp. 45 ff. with chapters II 7–III 1 reprinted. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14 for the filiation layout of the mediaeval manuscripts :



Cf. K. Müller, *Ptolemaei Claudii Geographia*, Parisiis 1883.

– as we shall see – coined some as well; it has been duly noted[14] that "Natürlich sind das mehr oder weniger hellenisierte Leute, wie alle ἐπιχώριοι mit denen H. zu tun hat". He did not know the languages of those peoples, which all the more encouraged one sort or another of onomastic substitution.

The onomast who applies the methods of textual criticism must not analyse a selected example in abstraction from the complete onomastic material of a source or work; in a word, he ought to know his author's literary profile in the light of extensive material.

In Herodotus, since his work is not merely geographical, but also ethnographic, it is quite easy to spot meaningful proper names which are not copies of foreign forms, but so to speak armchair substitutions, at times even literary. Naturally, most of them were based on authentic foreign names.

But as the eastern neighbours of the Neuri Herodotus listed the Μελάγχλαινοι and Ἀνδροφάγοι, whose names went perfectly with the report of their characteristic attire and harsh customs respectively. These are obvious Greek "literary" names, meaning literally the Black Cloaks and the Man-Eaters. Cf. Herodotus IV 106: ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων, and 107: Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν μέλαινα φορέουσι πάντες.

The frequently interpreted hydronyms Βορυσθένης (the Dnieper), Τάναϊς (the Don), Πυρετός (the Prut), Ὕπανις (the Boh, or Southern Bug), and others are not transliterations of foreign names, but rather forms diversely adapted by Greek authors or settlers. After all the Greek writers and settlers called the two great rivers of Mesopotamia the Tigris and the Euphrates (Gr. Τίγρις and Εὐφράτης; cf. ἡ τίγρις 'tiger', and εὐφραίνω 'I cheer'), so adapting Assyro-Babyl. *Diglat* and *Purat*. Unfortunately the majority of Indo-Europeanists and Slavists interpret those names literally. Take for example Πυρετός: Gr. πῦρ[15] 'fire'. (Is a metaphor as far-fetched as 'a river of fire' even possible here?) A much simpler etymology has Avest. *pərətu* 'ford'. Cf. at any rate the variants: Πυρετός // Πύρατα. Βορυσθένης or Βαρυσθένης resembles Gr. βαρύς 'heavy; weighty, important' (a very frequent morpheme in Greek compounds, such as βαρύ- ~βρομος, ~στονος or ~τονος) and Gr. -σθενης (a morpheme often found in names, such as Δημοσθένης or Ἐρατοσθένης; W. Pape's dictionary has around 38 such compounds). The etymology Βορυσθένης: Iran. *varu-*, Avest. *vouru-* 'broad' + Iran. *stana-*, *sthāna*, Osset. -*ston* 'place' is unlikely in that a Greek would take over *Varustāna* as *Οὐαρύστανος or *Οὐαρύστηνος; at that time the Greek *b* could not correspond to foreign *v*, normally written ου, as for instance in Οὐαρδάνης

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[14] Cf. F. Jacoby, *Herodotos*, *RE* Suppl. II (1913), col. 431 (on Herodotus' chapters IV 1–144, discussing Darius' expedition against the Scythians); W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1912, vol. I, p. 463 (on Herodotus).

[15] T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań 1946, pp. 61 and 169; see *ibid.* for further literature.

= *Varudānu* (a river in Kuban) or Οὐιαδούα = the Oder etc. So if it is really Iran. *Varustāna* that is meant, then Herodotus associated the first component of that name with Gr. βαρύ- (cf. Βαρύφονος etc.), and the second with -σθένης[16]. The relationship between the ancient hydronym Τάναϊς (Hdt. IV 21, 57 and 122) and its modern equivalent *Don*: Iran. *dānu*-, Osset. *don* 'river; water' has not been thoroughly clarified[17], since it would not have been as simple as it seems for the foreign *d* to transform into a Greek *t*. J. Rozwadowski[18] tried to explain it by the Cimmerian *t*↔*d* (and so in Armenian and Tocharian). In that case, however, we would etymologically separate the two names, Τάναϊς and *Don*. Did the hellenising Herodotus not adapt the foreign hydronym *Dānu*- in that case, too, to Gr. ταναός 'long, extended'? River names such as Ὕπανις = Boh have not been derived satisfactorily, cf. Gr. ὑπ(α) 'below'. The etymology Ὕπανις: Iran. *hupāna* 'under the protection of the gods' is not very convincing (cf. also Γέρρος Ὕργις). Indeed, attempts at deriving other variants of ancient ethnonyms and hydronyms should take into consideration also that possible aspect of Greek substitution: Καλλιπίδαι = Kallipidi-Karpidi; Ταῦροι etc.: ταῦρος.

In my discussion of the etymology of Pol. *Kalisz*, I pointed out that Ptolemy's Καλισία is a phonetic-morphological adaptation hellenising the Proto-Slavic *Kališče*[19].

The Iranian Scythians had as their neighbours the Proto-Slavs, called in Herodotus IV 17 Νευροί, or the Slavic Nurs. Cf. the extensive onomastic branch *Nur*, *Nurzec*, *ziemia nurska*, *Nurzyna* (all Slavic geographical names) etc.; **nur*-, **nyr*-, *nyrati*, *nyrěti*, Pol. *nurek*, *zanurzyć* 'to submerge': PIE **neur*-[20]. The Greek diphthong ευ then indicates a hellenised Proto-Slavic *u*! Cf. νεῦρον 'Sehne', νευρά, *item* and Lat. *nervus*, *item*. That is an obvious example of Herodotus, and probably also Ionian logographers, hellenising foreign proper names.

Ptolemy, fl. 2nd century AD, was primarily a geographer and cartographer, who tried to precisely locate place names according to latitudinal zones. To that purpose he had at his disposal the military and commercial reconnaissance of the Roman Empire, since it was mostly for Dacia, Moesia, Germania and Sarmatia that the Romans tried to have exact topographical and geographical orientation. Towards the end of the first century BC Agrippa produced the first attempt at mapping the territories on the Danube between Germania and the European Sarmatia.

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[16] O.A. Bìlec'kij, *Borìstenes – Danapris – Dnipro*, in: *Pitannâ toponìmìki ta onomastiki*, Kiìv 1962, p. 54 ff.

[17] Lehr-Spławiński, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 62 and 171.

[18] J. Rozwadowski, Rocznik Orientalistyczny II 1919–1924, p. 193; Lehr-Spławiński, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 171, explains the alternation *t–d* with Thracian phonetics, with *b d g* pronounced *p t k*.

[19] S. Rospond, *Pierwotna nazwa Kalisza*, Slavia Occidentalis XX 1960, fasc. 2, pp. 133 ff.

[20] Lehr-Spławiński, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 13 f.; M. Rudnicki, *Prasłowiańszczyzna – Lechia – Polska*, vol. II, Poznań 1961, p. 5.

Ptolemy, too, made mistakes typical of an "armchair geographer" (but not those of an author of belles-lettres), since in some parts of his *Geography* he relied on compiling earlier sources (mainly Marinus of Tyre). Thus alongside names which can be located with precision (such as Καλισία = Kalisz), he has some that are odd, etymologically doubtful and of uncertain identification (e.g. Ἀμάδοκαι or Βουδοργίς). However, after removing such impurities or compilation accretions from his text, we get a relatively faithful and so valuable geographical and topographical account of Sarmatia, based on trade routes running from the south to the north or the other way round[21]. As a geographer and astronomer, Ptolemy avoided any "literary" processing of his onomastic material, although in compiling earlier sources he did sometimes confuse name variants.

In the light of the above we cannot regard his exclusive variant (exclusive in all the codices), repeating more than twenty times, as secondary, just because Herodotus wrote earlier (5th century BC) than Ptolemy (2nd century AD). That would be all the more wrong when that "Ptolemaic" variant, Σαρμάται, already occurred much earlier, in Hecataeus, Polybius and epigraphic material. And at any rate the proposed shortening (!) of Σαυρομάται to Σαρμάται, or Latin *Sauromatae* to *Sarmatae* has only been "explained" overly mechanically and without looking into its possible causes. Why would the distinct Greek σαυρο- shorten to Greek but indistinct σαρμ-?

Below I list the remaining material, very abundant because of the later distinction between Asian and European Sarmatia, chronologically and according to filiation, authors and fundamental variants[22], where Σαρματ- or *Sarmat-* means Σαρμάται, Σαρματία, Σαρμάτης, Σαρματικός or *Sarmatae* (*-arum*, *-as*), *Sarmatia*, and *Sarmaticus*, *-a*.

I. ΣΑΡΜΑΤ- AND *SARMAT-*

Hesiod (8th /7th cent. BC): Σαρματία – following L XIX 294 (see n. 22).

Hecataeus of Miletus, a logographer (6th/5th cent. BC), author of the Γενεαλογίαι and the Γῆς περίοδος (*World Survey*), works based on his own observations, made during his journey to Scythia. He wrote in the Ionic dialect, the same as Herodotus, but the form he used was Σαρμάται – L XIX 300.

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[21] Cf. Biliński, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 24 ff.

[22] I cite material either directly from editions, or indirectly, following: V. Latyšev, *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis*, vol. I–III, Sanktpeterburg 1893–1900; cf. idem, Izvestiâ drevnih pisatelej o Skifii I Kavkaze, VDI XIX 1947; XX 1947; XXI 1947; XXII 1947; XXIII 1948; XXIV 1948; XXV 1948; XXVI 1948; XXVII 1949; XXVIII 1949; and XXX 1950 (with the index of the authors and loci of the names, and references to the book reprinted). Cited here in an abbreviated manner, thus: L XIX 300 = Latyšev, *op. cit.*, journal volume XIX, p. 300 of the reprinted material. Another important collection of the relevant Greek and Latin forms is Pape, *op. cit.*, pp. 1347–1354, cited here as P. Cf. also the following contributions, quoting selected material: Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9); Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8); and Biliński, *op. cit.* (n. 1). Further cf. Rostovzev, *Skythien...* (n. 10) (*non vidi*). Ancient authors have been identified using *OCD* and other standard encyclopaedias; for Byzantine authors cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur 527–1453*, München 1897.

Callisthenes, a historian (4th cent. BC): id. – L XXI 245.

Nicander, a poet (3rd cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXI 302.

Agatharchides, a historian and geographer (2nd cent. BC), quoted in fragments by his successors: Σαρμάται – following P.

Polybius, a historian (2nd cent. BC), XXV 2, 13[23]: Σαρμάτης.

Antigonus of Carystus (3rd cent. BC), *Hist. mir.* 167: id. – following P.

Pseudo-Scymnus, a geographer (2nd cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXI 312; K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, Parisiis 1855, p. 876 – cf. P.

Diodorus Siculus, a compiler historian (1st cent. BC), IV 45, 4: Σαρματῶν.

Strabo, an Augustan era geographer (1st cent. BC/1st cent. AD), XI 2, 1; VII 3, 17; XI 2, 16; VII 2, 4: Σαρμάται etc. – cf. P and L XXII 193, 200, 207, 209, 215, 218, 225, 237, 245 and 246.

Agrippa, the first cartographer of the Danube basin, author of a map based on Roman military and commercial reconnaissance (1st cent. BC): *deserta Sarmatiae* (to the east of the Vistula, mentioned under that name).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an Augustan era rhetor and historian, living in Rome (1st cent. BC): Σαρμάται – cf. L XXII 225.

Josephus, a Jewish historian (1st cent. AD), *Bell. Iud.* VII 4, 3: Σαρμάται – cf. L XXII 276 and P.

Augustus, the emperor: *Sarmatae* – following L XXVII 215.

Ovid: *Sarmatae* etc.; cf. L XXVII 234–236 and 243 – cf. also P; *Sarmaticus* etc.: *Tristia* V 7, 13; I 8, 40; I 5, 62–65; I 7, 58, and *Ex Ponto* IV 10, 38.

Pomponius Mela, author of the *Chorographia* (*De situ orbis*; 1st cent. AD): *Sarmatas* I 19; *Sarmatae* III 6; *Sarmatia* III 33 – cf. P and L XXVII 270, 273 and 283.

Seneca the Younger (1st cent. AD): *Sarmatae* etc. (several times) – cf. L XXVII 263, 264, 266 and 267.

Plutarch (1st/2nd cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXII 289; perhaps Σαρματικός *Rom.* 11 – following P.

Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian (1st cent. AD), VII 7, 3: *Sarmatarum* – following P; also L XXVII 291.

Pliny the Elder (died 79 AD), *HN* IV 80: *Sarmatae*; IV 81: *Sarmatas* – following P; Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), and Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 24; cf. also the several examples in L XXVIII 274, 275, 278, 279, 285, 292, 293, 302, 303, 308, 312, and 313; following L XXVIII 279 and 284: *Sarmatia* and *Sarmatica Insula* (IV 24, 24) – following P.

Martial (1st cent. AD), *De Spectaculis* III 4: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 351, 352 and 353; VII 5, 19: *Sarmaticus* – following P.

Tacitus (1st/2nd cent. AD), *Hist*. I 79: *Sarmatica gens*; *Ann*. XII 29, 30: *Sarmatae* – following P; cf. also L XXIX 211, 212, 220 and 222.

Juvenal (1st/2nd cent. AD), III 79: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. also L XXIX 225 (scholia).

Valerius Flaccus (1st cent. AD), VI 122, 281: *Sarmatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 349.

Suetonius (1st/2nd cent. AD), *Tib*. 41: *Sarmatae*.

Lucan (1st cent. AD), I 430: *Sarmata* – following P; cf. L XXVIII 321 f.; also the respective scholia, L XXVIII 327 and 330.

Statius (1st cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – cf. L XXVIII 335; for the scholia, cf. L XXVIII 338.

Iulius Frontinus (1st cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – cf. L XXVIII 355.

Appius Claudius Pulcher, proconsul of Macedonia in 78 AD: Σαρμάτ- – cf. Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 327.

Appian, author of a history of Rome in Greek (2nd cent. AD), *Mithridatica* XV 53: Σαρμάταις – cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 48; also L XXIII 283.

Florus, a Roman historian (2nd cent. AD) IV 12 – following P; also L XXIX 230.

Polyaenus, a Greek from Macedonia (2nd cent. AD), *Στρατηγήματα* VIII 56: Σαρμάται – following P; also L XXIV 219.

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[23] Cf. Th. Büttner, *Polybii historiae*, vol. IV, Lipsiae 1904, p. 176.

Clement of Alexandria (2nd cent. AD), *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 25: id.

Justin (2nd cent. AD), *Iun. descr. orb.* LVII: *Sarmatae* – following L XXVII 246; also P.

Festus, a grammarian (2nd cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 281.

Sextus Empiricus (2nd/3rd cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXIV 267.

Tertullian (2nd/3rd cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXV 221 f., 226 and 229–232.

Herodian (3rd cent. AD): Σαρμάται – following L XXIV 259; Σαρματία *ibid.*

Lucius Ampelius (3rd cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 228.

Demetrius of Thessaloniki, an ecclesiastical writer (3rd cent. AD): Σαρμάτ- – following Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 323.

Origo generis humani (3rd–4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 249 and Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 321 n. 1.

Eusebius of Caesarea (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 228 f.

Ambrose (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 232 f.; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.* 231.

Epiphanius (4th cent. AD): Σαρματία – following L XXV 243.

Eutropius, a historian (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 279; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.*

Solinus (3rd cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 241; Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 24 f.

Iulius Valerius (3rd/4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 268.

Firmicus Maternus (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following XXIX 270; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.*

Aurelius Victor (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXIX 277; also P, p. 1347.

Socrates Scholasticus, a historian of the Church (4th/5th cent. AD), *Hist. Eccl.* I 6: Σαρμάτης – following P, p. 1347; Σαρμάται – following L XXV 286.

Aurelius Symmachus (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 236.

Avienus (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 239 f.

Latinus Pacatus Drepanius (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 247.

Ammianus Marcellinus (4th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following P; L XXIX 297, 298 and 308.

The 4th century original of the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana* (with copies from the 13th century), section VIII: *Sarmatae*.

Jerome (4th/5th cent. AD), *Chron.* ad a. 337: *Sarmatae* – following P.

Orosius (4th/5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 272 f.

Claudius Claudianus (4th/5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 252.

Olympiodorus of Thebes (5th cent. AD): Σαρματῶν – cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci...*, IV 63/27, and P.

Martianus Capella (5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 278 and 280; *Sarmatia*, *ibid.* 280.

Honorius (4th–5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 275.

Prosper Tiro (4th/5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – L XXX 283.

Priscianus (6th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 300.

Sidonius Apollinaris (5th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* – following L XXX 287.

Iordanes (6th cent. AD), *De origine actibusque Getarum* 34: *Sarmatum* – cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci...*, IV 95, 9.

Stephanus of Byzantium (6th cent. AD): *Ethnica* (where he explained, or pseudo-etymologised, names): Σαρμάται – following L XXV; Σαρματία, *ibid.* 318 and 326.

The Ravenna Geographer (7th cent. AD): *Sarmatae*, *Montes Sarmaticae* (!)[24].

Cosmographia (Aethicus Ister; 5th or 6th cent. AD): *Sarmatae* (gloss on a map).

Beatus, a Spanish Benedictine monk and author of a map (8th cent. AD): *Sarmatica*, *Sarmati*, *Sarmatae*, *Sarmatia*.

Etymologicum Magnum (10th–11th cent.; based on scholia and lexica), 232, 57: Σαρμάται – following P.

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[24] Cf. T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja*, Kraków 1950, p. 21. All the early mediaeval examples following the Ravenna Geographer also come from Ulewicz. Cf. also H. Miller, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vols. I–VI, Stuttgart 1896 (with around 200 world maps spanning the period from the 4th to the 14th century).

Constantine Porphyrogennetos (10th cent.), *De adm. imp.*, 144 ff.: Σαρματ- – following P.
Albategnius (al-Battānī): *Sarnatia* (!) *Evronka*, or Ptolemy's Σαρματία ἥ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ.
Imago Mundi (1106 AD): *Sarmati*.
Henrici canon. Moguntini mappa mundi Cantabrigensis (1110 AD): *Sarmathe* (!).
Hereford Mappa Mundi (England, 13th cent.): *Sarmate* (!) (east of Germania).
The Ebstorf Map (Hannover, 13th cent.): *Sarmatie* (in the Balkans?)
The London psalter world map (13th cent.): *Sarmatica* (in the territory of Poland).
Inscriptions are of utmost importance here[25]; cf. no. 2130, ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑ = Σαρμάτα (a marble tablet from Crimea), and 2131, CAPMATAC = Σαρμάτας (a stone from Anapa); as a personal name of private persons, Σαρμάτας: *Bospori ora Asiatica* II 403, 8; Σαρμάτα, *ibid.* II 402, 60; Σαρμάτας, *ibid.* II 403, 5[26].
Cf. also, following P: Σαρματικός (*Inscr.* III 4168, b 5891), Σαρματία (*ibid.* 2065), and Σαρμάτας (*ibid.* II 2131, 7, 2130, and 60).

II. ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤ- AND *SAUROMAT-*

Pseudo-Scylax, a geographer (4th cent. BC), *Periplus* 70: Σαυρομάται – cf. L XXI 241, and ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 26, n. 22.
Hippocrates (5th/4th cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – cf. also L XX 295.
Aristotle, *Anim. gen*. V 3: Σαυροματικός – following P.
Heraclides Ponticus (4th cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 268.
Apollonius of Rhodes (3rd cent. BC), III 353 and 394: Σαυρομάται – following L XXI 284; cf. P.
Isigonus (3rd/2nd cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 268.
Phanodemus of Athens (3rd cent. BC): Σαυρομάται – following L XXII 176.
Pseudo-Scymnus (2nd cent. BC), *Periegesis* 881: Σαυρομάται; 874: Σαυροματῶν – following P.
Diodorus Siculus II 43, 6: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXII 460 and 122.
Nicolaus of Damascus (1st cent. BC): *Sauromatae* – following MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci...*, III, 460, 122.
Strabo II 114–117 and 305: Σαυρομάται – following L XX 187–189, 192, 196, 198, 225 and 237; also P.
Pseudo-Orpheus, *Argonautica* 1065: Σαυρομάται – following P, p. 1354.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Σαυρομάται – following L XXXIII 237 and 239.
Ovid, *Ex Ponto* I 2, 79; IV 7, 9; *Tristia* III 3, 6; III 10, 5: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVII 228 f., 231–233, 235 and 237 f.
Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia* II 2: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVII 273, 276 and 278; cf. also P.
Pliny the Elder, *HN* VI 19; VI 18: *Sauromatae* – following P; cf. also L XXVIII 278, 283, 292 f., 302 and 309.
Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* X 63 and 67: *Sauromatae*, X 64: *Sauromates.*
Plutarch: Σαυρομάται – cf. L XXII 289.
Appian, *Mithr*. 19, 69 and 120: Σαυροματῶν; also L XXIII 282, 284 and 291.
Lucian, *Tox*. 40: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXIII 308 f. and 313.
Arrian (2nd cent. AD), *Anabasis* I 3, 2; *Tactica* IV 7–44: Σαυρομάται – following L XXIII 276 ad 281; cf. also P.
Statius: *Sauromatae* – following L XXVIII 335–337; cf. also the relevant scholia – following L XXVIII 338.
Martial: *Sauromatae* – following L XXVIII 354.

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[25] Cf. A. BOECKH, *CIG*, Berolini 1843, vol. II, part IX, pp. 165–167.

[26] Cf. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 336.

Juvenal: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 223; also the scholia – following L XXIX 225.
Galen (2nd cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXIV 220.
Zenobius (2nd cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXVI 290; also P.
Pausanias (2nd cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L 227 f. and 230; I 21, 5: Σαρματικός – following P.
Dionysius Periegetes (2nd cent. AD), 15–680: Σαυρομάται – following P.
Festus: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 281.
Cassius Dio (3rd cent. AD), LIV 20; LV 30: Σαυρομάται – following P; also L XXIV 275.
Aulus Gellius (2nd cent. AD): *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 235.
Claudius Aelianus (2nd/3rd cent. AD), *VH* III 39: Σαυρομάται – following P.
Clement of Alexandria (2nd/3rd cent. AD), *Protr*. I 5: Σαυρομάται – following P; cf. L XXIV 281; the scholia – following L XXIV 282.
Herodian, *Hist. Gr.* VII 8, 2: id. – following P; also L XXIV 307.
Eusebius: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 228 f. and 233.
Epiphanius: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 243–245.
Libanius (4th cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 240.
Basil the Great (4th cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 251.
Themistius (4th cent. AD), XIII 179 – XV 198: id. – following P; also L XXV 271.
Eunapius (4th cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 272.
Oribasius: id. – cf. L XXV 250.
Socrates Scholasticus: id. – following L XXV 289.
Theodoretus, a Christian author (4th/5th cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 299 f.
Sozomen (4th/5th cent. AD): id. – following L XXV 303; VI 36 – following P, p. 1354.
Solinus: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 243.
Origo generis humani: *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 249.
Claudius Mamertinus (4th cent. AD): *Sauromatae* – following L XXIX 273.
Ausonius (4th cent. AD): id. – following L XXIX 274.
Ammianus Marcellinus: id. – following L XXIX 287 and 303.
Paulus Orosius: id. – following L XXX 272.
Salvianus, an ecclesiastical writer: id. – following L XXX276.
Nonnus of Panopolis (5th cent. AD) XIII 86: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 277; cf. also P.
Periplus Ponti Euxini (anonymous) 45 (cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci...*): Σαυρομάται – following P.
Sidonius Apollinaris (5th cent. AD): *Sauromates* – following L XXX 290 f.
Proclus, a Neoplatonist (5th cent. AD): Σαυρομάτιδες 'a name for the Amazons' – following P; also L XX 318.
Zosimus (5th cent. AD): Σαυρομάται – following L XXVI 280 f.; also P.
Priscianus: *Sauromates* – following L XXX 299 and 301.
Stephanus of Byzantium: Σαυρομάται – following L XXV 314, 320 and 325 f.
Stobaeus: id. – following L XXVI 272 f.
Nicephorus Blemmydes (12th cent.): id. – following L XXVI 241.
Eustathius, a commentary on Dionysius Periegeta (12th cent.): id. – following L XXXIII 241.
Scholia to the *Iliad* XIII 6: id. – following L XIX284; also P.
The Ravenna Geographer: *Sauromates*[27].
S. Hieronymi *De quaest. Hebr. cod. Londinensis* (map of 1150 AD): *Sauromate* (!)
Epigraphical material: no. 2124 ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑ = Σαυρομά[την]; no. 2125 ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑ = Σαυρομά[της][28].

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[27] Cf. Ulewicz, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 21.

[28] Cf. Boeckh, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 165–167.

As a majestic personal appellation of royalty, a noble *Schriftform* occurs in inscriptions a few times: Σαυρομάτης I, II, III and IV[29].

From the 15th century on, Ptolemy reigned supreme in European humanistic geography, read in many copies in the Latin translation (produced by Giacomo Angelo of Florence), *Descriptio cosmographorum cum Marino accordata 1447. Tabula Genuensis*. Naturally for that reason the forms *Sarmat-* and Σαρματ- were dominant. E.g. a 1350 commentary on Ptolemy by Nicephorus Gregoras of Constantinople repeated the names Σαρματία and Σαρματικός[30]. In addition, in the Middle Ages the form *Sarmat-* was much used to refer to the Slavs and specifically to the Poles: Flodoard, a French chronicler in 966, *Sarmatarum*; Richer, a Benedictine monk of Reims in the 10th century, *Sarmatae*; Ermenric, a 9th century monk, *Sarmata belax*; Theodulf, a Gothic poet bishop in 821, *Sarmata durus*[31] etc.

The chroniclers of Poland, Gallus and Kadłubek, and the historian Jan Długosz all knew the terms *Sarmatia*, *Sarmaticus* and *Sarmatae* as referring to Poland and the Poles[32].

During the period of Renaissance humanism in the 15th and 16th centuries forms in *Sarmat-* were still almost exclusive, but already accompanied here and there, under the influence of familiarity with Herodotus, by *Sauromat-*. For instance, a text published in response to a parliamentary speech by Jan Ostroróg from 1467 was referred to as "responsio cuiusdam Italici... (in) gelidos Sauromatas". On the map of Nicolaus Cusanus and Nicolaus Germanus (1450–1491) next to *Sarmatia* in the hexameter caption there were "Sauromatumque truces populi"[33].

That forms in *Sauromat-* appeared too, albeit rarely, was conditioned by the two great ancient sources, Ptolemy's cartography and Herodotus' history; by school commentaries of ancient authors and the increased familiarity with them during the Renaissance. For example in Marcin Kromer's chronicle, we have *Sarmaticus*, *Sarmate*, *de Sarmatis*, *de Sarmatia*, but also "Quo fit, ut Slauos et Venedos ipsos esse priscos Sarmatas, uel, ut Graeci dicunt, Sauromatas"[34]. Piotr Mycielski of Kalisz used both versions: "Sauromatae rozmnożenia więtszego

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[29] Cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 6, 45 and 336.

[30] Cf. Ulewicz, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 23; K. Miller, *Die ältesten Separatkarten der 3 Erdteile wahrscheinlich von N. Gregoriis im 1350 in Konstantinopol entworfen*, Stuttgart 1931.

[31] Cf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores III 573, VIII 364 and XXIII 761; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* II 32, XXVII 370 and XXVIII 351.

[32] Cf. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*; cf. also Ulewicz, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 20 and passim.

[33] Cf. Ulewicz, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 40.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

mieć by nie mogli [...] Sarmathae et Scytae, a dla Sauromatów państwo rzymskie upadło. Sarmatae [...] przeciw Sarmatom i Owidiusz pisał...”[35].

Alessandro Guagnini, an Italian of Verona, in his printed work *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio...* (1578) used forms in *Sauromat-* sporadically: *Sauromaticae gentis*, fol. 2v; “Slaui vel Sauromatae [...] Sarmaticae siue Slauonicae linguae apud Sarmatas usus”, fol. 3r. He also repeated the folk etymology introduced by his predecessors, who saw it in the word σαῦρος ‘lizard’.

In his chronicle (1597) Marcin Bielski most often speaks of “us, the Sarmatians”, using such phrases as *my, Sarmate* (fol. 155r), *do nas Sarmatów* (fol. 116v), or *naszy Sarmatowie* (fol. 274r), but also (fol. 154r):

> Sauromacyjej kraina [...] przeważnie jest ta część trzecia świata po grecku Sauromacyją, od ludzi z jaszczurczemi oczyma, bo *sauros* po grecku jaszczorka, *omma* oko, może się też rozumieć od tych straszliwych ludzi, bo przed tymi ludźmi wszystka ziemia drżała.
> [Usually that third part of the world is called Sauromatia in Greek, so from lizard-eyed people, since *sauros* means ‘lizard’ in Greek, and *omma* ‘eye’; which could also be understood as the terrifying people, for before that people the whole earth trembled.]
>
> (Cf. also fol. 335r): Narod polski (na co się wszytcy zgadzają) poszedł jest ze słowieńskiego narodu z krainy Sauromacyjej, która leży w Europie, trzeciej części świata. Dzieli tę Sarmacyją od wschodu rzeka Thanais i jezioro Meotis.
> [The Polish nation (and everybody agrees on this) originates from the Slavs, from the region of Sauromatia, which lies in Europe, the third part of the world. From the east, this Sarmatia is divided by the river Thanais and the lake Meotis.]

Other 16th century geographers and chroniclers used forms in *Sarmat-* almost without exception; those included Aeneas Silvius, Maciej Miechowita, Bernard Wapowski, Wacław Grodecki, Maciej Strubicz, Sebastian Münster, Gerardus Mercator and others[36].

The above examples, including some from poets, come in the thousands and prove that the terms *Sarmatia*, *Sarmatae* and *Sarmaticus* took over completely; thus Pol. *Sarmata*, *sarmatyzm* or *sarmacki*[37]. According to the summary index for a dictionary of 16th century Polish being prepared by the Polish Institute of Literary Research (Instytut Badań Literackich), there are 119 examples of *sarmacki*, *Sarmata* and *Sarmacyja*, but only 6 of *sauromatski*, *Sauromate* (!) or *Sauromata* (found in Stryjkowski, Bielski, Klonowic and others). The following forms must be considered clearly defective: Σαμάται ← Σαρμάται (Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes 284 and 302; scholia to Dionysius, chrestomathy for

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[35] Cf. J. Czubek, *Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia*, Kraków 1906, pp. 367 f., 395 f.

[36] Cf. Ulewicz, *op. cit.* (n. 24).

[37] Cf. J.S. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Lwów 1854 ff., s.v.

Strabo's *Geography*; Stephanus of Byzantium – following Л XXIII 238, 246 and 259; XXV 317); Συρμάται ← Σαυρομάται (Stephanus of Byzantium; Pseudo-Scylax; Herodian – following L XXI 241 and 273; XXIV 259; XXV 326; XXVIII 305); *Syrmatae* (Pliny VI 16, 48). That variant led to incorrect guesses about it being the original form, with the supposedly secondary and incorrect (!) Σαρμάται developed under the influence of Σαυρομάται[38]. Cf. also Σαλμάται (scholia to the *Iliad* XVIII 5, following P, p. 1332), and Σαυροβάται (following L XXV 221); possibly also *Sermende* (in king Alfred the Great's description of Germania)[39]. How could such philologically and linguistically incomprehensible modifications or distortions have come about? Erroneous mediaeval copies of ancient authors brought with them other distorted forms, such as *Saurobatae* (*Origo generis humani* 140; *Excerpta latina barbari* 196[40]). An one-word inscription Σαυδαράται, of which its editor A. Boeckh wrote "*Saudaratae*, de quibus non habeo quod dicam"[41], is probably another such defective. Other scholars believed the Saudaratae a Sarmatian tribe identical with Herodotus' Μελάγχλαινοι (the Black Cloaks), deriving *Saudarat-*: Osset. *sau* 'black' + *dar* 'bearing', yielding Osset. *saudar* 'wearing black' + Greek suffix -ται[42]. Cf. the juxtaposition in the text: Σκύθας καὶ Σαυδαράτας[43]. Cf. also Pliny IV 84 the mysterious names *Exobygitai* and *Sargatioi* (Ammianus XXII 8, 38: *Sargetae*)[44].

From the above it is obvious that the "armchair geography" of scribes and commentators through the so-called *Schriftformen* (various distorted names taken from ancient authors) erroneously extended the list of peoples, for which etymologists were even able to fashion far-fetched derivations and local identifications. If we ignore the clearly wrong variants (Σαμάται, Σαλμάται, Συρμάται etc.), the above material, very rich, but also rich in oppositions (Σαρματ- vs. Σαυροματ-) shows that Herodotus' variant Σαυροματ- was repeated by his imitators (Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, Ephorus, Dionysius Periegetes and Stephanus of Byzantium), whereas Σαρματ- began already with Polybius and especially Ptolemy, and was predominant in Roman authors, who did not merely imitate the Greeks as regards the names of foreign peoples, but rather had their own, authentic names based on their strategic and commercial intelligence. Cf. the map of Agrippa as well as other sources as proof that Roman strategists and merchants had at their disposal maps necessary for better military and merca-

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38 M. Rostovzev, *Skythien...* (n. 10), p. 101; Latyšev, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 83.

39 Cf. A. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. I, Lwów 1864, pp. 13 f.

40 Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), vol. I, p. 321, n. 1.

41 Boeckh, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 85; cf. also Pape, p. 1353.

42 Niederle, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 275, nn. 1 and 2.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 420 f.

torial orientation. The majority of compiler authors (Pseudo-Scymnus, Appian, Diodorus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny etc., but also inscriptions) have both variants.

From the earliest times the view was accepted that it should be Σαυροματ- "in Greek", but *Sarmatae* in Latin: "de Sauromatis [...] quos Latini vulgo Sarmatas vocant [...] Graecis esse Sauromatas dicat, qui Latinis sint Sarmatae, et Graecis quoque non inusitata forma Σαρμάτης etiam in titulis"[45].

It is obvious that both those variants cannot be primary, since the phonetic alteration *a* : *au* is out of the question in Old Iranian, as is *-r-* // *-ro-*. That the direction of the change was in fact Σαρματ- → Σαυροματ-, and not the opposite, is primarily decided by the following three facts: (1) the hellenised foreign proper names in Herodotus and in Greek "literary armchair geography" in general (cf. also Δαρεῖος, Κῦρος and Ξέρξης); (2) the understandable direction of substitution of Greek *Sauromat-* for Iranian *Sarmat-* (where the opposite direction would not be); and (3) the etymological derivation *Sarmat-* : PIE **ser-* // **sor-* = Iran. *sar-* 'to flow; river; water'.

The below filiation scheme according to authors will best demonstrate the primary status of the form *Sarmat-* and the secondary of *Sauromat-*, with *Syrmat-*, *Saurodat-* and the like being clearly defective:

SARMAT- (the Old Iranian archetype)					
Σαρματ-				Σαυροματ-	
(Greeks on the Black Sea and Ionian geographers)					
A	Σαρματ- and *Sarmat-*	A	B	B	Σαυροματ- and *Sauromat-*
		(both variants)			
A 1	Hecataeus	Pseudo-Scymnus		B1	Herodotus
A 2	Polybius	Diodorus		B2	Pseudo-Scylax
A 3	Agrippa	Greek inscriptions		B3	Hippocrates
A 4	Ptolemy	Strabo		B4	Galen
A 5	*Tabula Peutingeriana* etc.	Dionysius			
		Mela			
		Pliny			
		Plutarch			
		Ovid			
		Juvenal			
		Martial			
		Solinus			
		Statius			
		Appian			
		Herodian			
		Lucius Ampelius			
		Stephanus of Byzantium			
		etc., etc.			

[45] Boeckh, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 83.

And so, the most numerous authors are those who, as compilers, used both forms. The exclusive use of Σαυροματ- ended early! The *opinio communis* current until now, of Σαυροματ- being the original, and Σαρματ- the "shortened" form never explained that supposed mechanically understood shortening (!?). In a word, the form Σαρματ- was treated as equivalent to Σαλματ-, Σαυροβατ- etc.

My claim, on the other hand, that the Old Iranian form was *Sarmat*-, transliterated accurately in Greek as Σαρματ-, and substituted for with Σαυροματ- finds its explanation and justification not only in the very productive PIE (mostly eastern) onomastic base **ser*- // **sor*- // **sṛ*- // **sreu*-, that is Iran. **sar*- 'to flow; water; river', but also in the phonological and morphological systems of the Greek language.

Namely, next to the liquid consonant -*r*- there often appeared an anaptyctic *o* or *a*: Τέροπων = Τέρπων (on a vase from the 6th century BC), Γορογοῦς = Γοργοῦς, Ἐρεμῆς, ἄραχοντος, Σαλαμώνα, Τολοφώνος etc.[46] That initial Hellenisation of *Sarm*- to *Sarom*- paved the way for further change, that is *au* replacing the *a*, all the more easily that unlike other diphthongs *au* was stable in Greek. It was never really monophthongised, so one should rather consider its being secondary in Greek than its disappearance. Similarly in Latin the diphthong *au* was strong, giving no reasons for supposedly primary Σαυροματ- to be substituted in Latin with *Sarmat*-.

Moreover, the element *Sarm*- was morphologically weak to the Greeks (cf. the words in which it sounds, only three and not much used, σαρμός, σάρμα and σαρμεύω) and so substituted with the morphologically stronger *Saurom*-, since words derived from σαῦρος were very many and frequent in texts: ~βριθής, ~ειδής, ~κτόνος etc.[47]

Deriving *Sauromatae* from lizard eyes was risky, even unprofessional; the explanation of *Sauromatae* as 'the northern Medes' is equally unacceptable: "nomen derivat a Matenis seu Matienis seu Medis et voce Lithuanica 'szaure', quae septentrionem designat"[48].

The above onomastic considerations bring to mind certain additional methodological remarks. The Indo-Europeanist and Slavist onomast, who has at his disposal very ancient material collected from early sources, but containing two competing forms, must not omit:

1. to microphilologically analyse the diverse and abundant material in order to determine the written and oral, or secondary and primary form; or

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[46] Schwyzer, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 278; J. Safarewicz, *Historyczna gramatyka języka łacińskiego*, Warszawa 1953, p. 48.

[47] Liddell, Scott, Jones, *op. cit*. (n. 2), s.v.

[48] Boeckh, *op. cit*. (n. 25), p. 83.

2. a lot of Hellenisation or Latinisation of the transmitted material (as a linguist onomast rarely engages in such arduous philological inquiry, which takes notice of the text as a whole and of its author, and so also of the various chronological filiations of orthography).

Obviously, some collection of ancient texts would be necessary for that purpose, commented on, entitled "Corpus onomasticum Indoeuropaeum et Slavicum". An etymological dictionary and index appended would come in handy as well.

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REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF LUCILIUS*

By

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The tradition of Latin epic language created by Ennius lasted until the middle of the 1st century BC. All Roman poets who were writing in hexameter during that time modelled themselves on Ennius in their expression and applied those norms and linguistic conventions that Ennius had sanctioned in his works. Conscious imitation appears primarily within the area of stylistic phenomena. More generally, however, it can be concluded that Latin epic language did not undergo substantial change until the middle of the of the 1st century BC, when a group of poets from Catullus' circle not only brought forth a new poetic programme but also opposed the old language tradition.

Lucilius was not an epic poet. He was the author of satires, which are, however, from the linguistic point of view placed within the frame of epic tradition. On the other hand, the literary genre he practiced permitted him to draw amply from the living language of his day and for this reason, extant fragments of his poetry are doubly valuable in the history of the Latin language. In the first place, they indicate how the previous literary tradition was being continued, and in the second, they familiarize us with the state of spoken language of the cultured classes of Lucilius' day, i.e. the second half of the 2nd century BC.

In the system of language, both in phonetics and in morphology, we do not see significant differences between the language of Lucilius and that of Ennius. The same alternations in the use of optional inflections that constituted a characteristic trait of the *Annales* also appear in the text of the satires of Lucilius. Generally speaking, we can say that the language of Lucilius belongs in its entirety to the archaic tradition of Latin literary language.

The shortening of long vowels in final syllables before *-t* and before *-r* had already taken place almost universally. In Lucilius we find *uolăt* (168), *occupăt*

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(257), *amputăt* (281), *culpăt* (345), *obiciēbăt* (394), *scāberăt* (333), etc.; *licĕt* (82), *habĕt* (244), *prōtollerĕt* (7), *siĕt* (374), etc.; *redĭt* (122), *conuestĭt* (129), *fĭt* (440), etc.; *patĕr* (413, 418), etc.; *ecferŏr* (158), *pūmicŏr* (264), *praetŏr* (91), *longiŏr* (168), etc. Only in 391 the form *languōr* is found:

> languor, obrepsitque pigror torporque quietis.

This is probably a trace of the older tradition, still that of Ennius, which permits alternation in such cases.

The problem of iambic shortening deserves special consideration. This phonetic phenomenon was active during the 3rd century BC (it is frequently found in Plautus), and it left clear traces also in the texts of the 2nd century BC (particularly in the comedies of Terence). In the poems of Lucilius we see that iambic shortening is still active. In some words it led to the generalization of the shortened form, in particular in the adverbs *benĕ* and *malĕ*, which do not appear in iambic form, cf., for example, 268 (hexameter):

> calda siem ac benĕ plena, si olorum atque anseris collus,

or 470 (hexameter):

> non malĕ sit: ille, ut dico, me exenterat unus.

The word *ubi*, e.g., in hexameter 18, has the same pyrrhic form:

> – ⏑ ⏑ haec ubĭ dicta, dedit pausam ore loquendi.

The length of the adverb *ibi*, which stands before the caesura in hexameter 110, cannot be determined. In other expressions, however, we see an alternation; sometimes the shortened form predominates, such as in dat. sg. *tibĭ*, which occurs 9 times in its pyrrhic form, e.g., in hexameter 1030:

> nolito tibĭ me male dicere posse putare,

but in hexameter 1011 we need to read it in iambic form:

> gratia habetur utrisque, illisque tibīque simitu;

an uncertain *tibī* is found in 564 (hexameter) before the caesura after the seventh half-foot. There are two clear examples of pyrrhic *sibĭ* (678, 988) versus one iambic form in 479. The word *uti* normally assumes a pyrrhic form (e.g., 53, 291, etc.), but it has been used once as two short syllables (in an iambic senarius 765); that this was not just a metrical liberty but a symptom of alternation characteristic of a living language is shown by the constant (three occurrences) use of the word *sīcŭtĭ* with a short final syllable, e.g. in hexameter 198:

sicuti cum primos ficos propola recentis,

similarly in 1029 and 1298. The word *modo* appears in either of two prosodic forms in the same line 703 (troch. septen.):

modŏ sursum, modō deorsum, tamquam collus cernui;

cf. also *eodem... modō* in 887 (troch. septen.). That iambic shortening was still a living process in Lucilius' language is shown by *ad hoc* shortenings in isolated words and groups of words with iambic structure, such as *uidĕ* (603), *meŏ* (abl. sg., 913; dat. sg. 965), *domŭm* (815, next to *domum* with the final syllable not shortened, in the caesura of hexameter 1142; *domī* 562), *capŭt* (883); also *misĕrrimum* (733, but *miserque* without shortening 332), *diŭtius* (907), *nec ĕsse* (662), *quod ĭllī* (722), *sine ăd mē* (731), *et ĭn malā* (699), and perhaps also *Arĭstippum* (742, troch. septen.), if we read *mīsisse* following the manuscripts of Nonius:

Socraticum quidam tyranno misisse Aristippum autumant

(Marx corrects to *mīsse*, in order to avoid the shortening in the next word).

Pertaining to the shortening of a long vowel in position before another vowel, the language of Lucilius in general represents the same state as we already find in Ennius: in some morphological forms, shortening is universal, in particular in the inflection of verbs in stems in *-ē-* or *-ī-*; we read, therefore, *nocĕō* (280), *habĕam* (181), *manĕat* (175), *indigĕāmus* (308), *pollicĕātur* (270), etc.; *uenĭō* (282; *peruenĭō* 127); *adueniĕntibus* (50), *ēsuriĕnte* (286), etc. Similarly in the declension of the noun *grūs*: nom. *grūs* but abl. *grŭe* (both in 168). In some cases, however, alternation can be seen, particularly in the inflection of the verb *fiō*: as a rule, the long quantity of the vowel *-ī-* is preserved, as in *fīō* (670), *fīunt* (1214), *fīam* (671), *fīat* (232, 361, 370, 1065, 1130), *fīant* (365), *fīet* (366, 749); but in the infinitive *fierī* the vowel in the initial syllable is always short, not only in dactylic verse (26, 1214), but also in trochaic (654, 698, 704). In the perfect *fuī*, however, the extant verses of Lucilius show only forms with a shortened *-u-*: *fŭisti* (30), *fŭit* (132, 149, 152, 289, 419, 468), *fŭimus* (740), *fŭērunt* (110), *fŭēre* (111), *fŭisset* (427), *fŭerint* (1098), *fŭisse* (395, 542). It can be seen that the short vowel has spread here in the living language of Lucilius' time. This shortening was such a durable element that it could also cause iambic shortening in the next syllable, as we see in v. 468 (hexameter):

in terra fŭĭt, lucifugus, nebulo, id genus sane,

similarly in hexameter 542:

conpernem aut uaram fŭĭsse Amphitryonis acoetin.

This interpretation seems more likely than reading the relevant verses with monosyllabic *-ui-*, as is proposed by Marx (vol. II, p. 203). In the text of Lucilius, in the declension of nouns we infrequently come across forms of the gen. sg. in *-āī* that has not been shortened: *ferāī* (164; manuscripts of Nonius have here *ferat*), *patriāī* (1337; manuscripts of Lactantius give the reading *patriae*), *rūtāī* (135; transmitted as *rutia*), *Tīresiāī* (226; in the manuscripts of Nonius *Tiresiam*), *uiāī* (993; in the mansucripts of Nonius *ui*). Forms in *-ae* are the norm, however, e.g., *terrae* (1), similarly *Diānae* (104), *Minervae* (125), etc. Pronouns and numerals appear in Lucilius very rarely in the gen. sg.; we find *illĭus* once (158), *ūnĭus* also once (366). The lack of forms in *-īus* may be coincidental.

As a result of anaptyxis in the consonant cluster *-cl-* there arose alternate forms of the noun ending in *-clum* or *-culum*. On the other hand, as a result of the loss of a short vowel in an interior syllable (i.e. syncope), forms such as *caldus* were produced alongside the earlier *calĭdus*. Similarly in compound forms of the verb *pōnere*, alongside of the regular *posĭtus* shortened variants *compostus*, *dēpostus* came into use. In Lucilius' time these alternate forms, differing as to their origin, constitued unstable elements of spoken language and the poet exploited the existing alternation in his literary works. The shortened variants were certainly used more frequently in the everyday speech, thus they preponderate in Lucilius. In many cases, the shortened form is confirmed by metrical analysis, as, e.g. in the following verses:

14. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – mīrācla ciet tylyphantas

(the manuscripts of Nonius, who quotes this fragment, have here *miracula*, which is incompatible with the metre);

303. cum poclo bibo eodem, amplector, labra labellis...

cf. *dēpōclāssere* in 682;

905. cuius si in perīclo feceris perīculum

(iamb. senar.); in the same line we find *perīclo* alongside *perīculum*, similarly in 913 we read *perīclō*. In the same way we have to explain the alternation in *āridum* (354) alongside *ārdum* (733), *caldus* appears twice (268; probably also 291) alongside the classical *calidus*, *lārdum* (79) alongside of the *lāridum* known from Plautus, *frīgdāria* (317) alongside the classical *frīgidus*, and maybe also *uirde* (945) alongside the classical *uiridis*. Metrics imposes the reading *compostae* (84), *dēpostus* (105), although in both cases the longer forms, e.g. *compositae*, *dēpositus* have been transmitted. Finally, we also have to mention the acc. pl. form *dītiās* (717), with is transmitted in the manuscripts as *diuitias*, but also known from Plautus (*Capt.* 170): the alternation here is based on the coalescing of the element *-īui-* into one syllable. All these shortened forms are certainly variants used in everyday speech.

In the case of two adjacent vowels of the same timbre, contraction would ensue in the living spoken language, which could cause a lack of transparency in the morphological structure of the relevant form. This applied in particular to the inflection of names with stems in *-io-* or *-iā-*, if the final element began in *-i-*. Resulting from this were alternations in the use of the forms of the gen. sg. and nom. pl. in *-ī* or in *-iī*, in the dat. and abl. pl. in *-īs* or in *-iīs*. Lucilius attempted to standardize these variants, using in gen. sg. only the monosyllabyic ending *-ī*, most probably according tho the common pronunciation (particularly since the contraction of vowel in this case occurred much earlier). In his text, we find forms of the gen. sg. such as *dupundī* (1318), *ōtī*, (1140), *trīclīnī* (1107), and in personal names *Calpurnī* (573), *Caelī* (1295), *Cornēlī* (363, 621), *Lūcīlī* (366, 580, 774), etc. On the other hand, the gen. sg. *uentī Emathiī* (41; i.e., Greek Ἡμάθιος) indicates that forms with a reconstituted two-syllable ending were not lacking in the Latin of those times. In other occurrences, however, the poet employs the construction in *-iī, -iīs*, probably following the usage of everyday language. We find nom. pl. *aliī* (424), *propitiī* (929), *sociī* (1089, 1323), and similarly *Pompiliī* (484); also *dēliciīs* (277, 705, 896, 1140), *praecordiīs* (590), *cōpiīs* (665), etc. He also tried to standardize the perfect of the type *periī* (*periimus* 710, 843, *periisse* 184, 958, *abiit* 1093, *rediisse* 677), probably forming on this model an aritifical form *repperiī* (665). It would seem that Lucilius' efforts did not influence the state of the literary language, in which, variants of this sort were found. For us, all these forms provide evidence of an alternation which existed during Lucilius' times.

Alternations in the pronunciation of the everyday language were also reflected in the consonantal or vocalic use of the resonants *i* and *u* adjacent to a vowel. Standing at the end of the hexameter, *omnia* (438) must surely be read as a bisyllabic word. i.e. *omni͡a*; if the name *Pācīlius* contained in the second syllable a vocalic long *i* (which is indicated by *Paceilius* in inscriptions, *CIL* VI 36029, cf. Marx vol. II, p. 217), then in v. 581 it should be read as a three-syllable word, i.e. *Pācīli͡us*; this recalls the reading *Servīli͡us* found in Ennius and Horace. Also read as a three-syllable word is the twice-occurring 2 sg. perf. *māluistī*, 91 f.:

> maluisti dici. Graece ego praetor Athenis,
> id quod maluisti, te, cum ad me accedis, saluto,

thus *mālu͡istī*; less likely here is the hypothesis that we have iambic shortening here (*mālŭĭstī*), which, however, is not altogether impossible because this is probably how we should explain the metre of 438:

> – ⏑ ⏑ – primum dŏmĭni͡a atque sodalicia omni͡a

with a three-syllable form of the word *domini͡a*.

Already in Lucilius' time, final *-d* after a long vowel was not pronounced. Even monosyllabic forms of the pronouns *mē*, *tē*, *sē*, which earlier ended in *-d* undergo elision in his poems, cf.:

470. non male sit: ille, ut dico, me extenterat unus,
32. stulte saltatum te inter uenisse cinaedos,
202. Laeuius pauperem ait se ingentia munera fungi.

Only in a few isolated cases can we suspect the preservation of the old forms, passed on by literary tradition:

781. utrum ánno an horno té abstuleris á uiro

(iamb. senar.), where the editors complete as *tētē* (L. Müller), *tū tē* (Leo) or *tēcum* (Marx); this was, perhaps, *tēd*. Similarly:

601. súspendatne sé an in gladium incúmbat, ne caelúm bibat

(troch. septen.); possible, although unnecessary, is the reading *sēd ăn ĭn gládium*, with iambic shortening (*ĭn*). But these are doubtful cases and they certainly do not reflect the state of the living language.

On the other hand, final *-s* following a short syllable was still, as in Ennius' time, an optional element. It was omitted before a word beginnning in a consonant, e.g., in 2:

irritata canes quam homo quam planiŭs dicit.

Frequently, however, the consonant *-s* in this conmbination formed a closed syllable, not only before an enclitic as in *Postumiusque* (60) or *genusque* (152), *iocusque* (111), but in various contexts, e.g., in 243:

cui neque iumentum est nec seruus nec comes ullus,

where the noun *seruus* takes the place of a spondee. The cases where *-s* is omitted are much more frequent than cases where it is retained. Before a word beginning in a vowel, however, the fricative *-s* was always consonantal, e.g., 4:

consilium summis hominum de rebŭs hăbebant,

thus preventing the elision of vowels.

In syllabification, the language of Lucilius does not differ from what can be seen in Ennius. The only case where alternation was possibly found pertains to the two possible ways of dividing the consonant cluster *muta cum liquida*. In Lucilius, this cluster is as a rule not divided, i.e. its use with a preceding open syllable. This can be seen in 164 (hexameter):

concursaret ăgros, catulos fetumque ferai,

cf. also *celĕbri* (992), *cerĕbrō* (224), *cerĕbrōsum* (514), *fĕbris* (494), *lăbra* (1004), *lăcrimās* (206, 307), *lăcrimōsae* (194), *ŭtrīque* and the like (419, 584, 1011, 1119). There are, however, quite numerous examples of the division of the consonant cluster between two syllables, e.g. in hexameter 575:

iam disrumpetur, medius iam, ut Marsus colubras,

where the word *colubrās* contains a long medial syllable; similarly *febris* (923, iamb. senar; with the prosodic value of a trochee), *fibrās* (1201, spondee), *labra* (303, trochee), *retrō* (1012, spondee), *sacra* (1219, spondee), *utrōque* (358, with the first syllable long), also *mitrae* (71, spondee). In particular, the variation in the length of the first syllable of the words *febris*, *labra* indicates that, in this case, the alternation was the charateristic of the living spoken language.

The linguistic principles of Lucilius' versification were the same as in Ennius' time. The hexameter of satires consists of two elements, each permitting variations in quantity in the final value, and thus, before a masculine caesura, not only a long syllable but also a short (anceps) can be found, as in hexameter 550:

cetera contemnit || et in usura omnia ponit.

The final syllable of *contemnĭt*, before a word beginning in a vowel, takes the place of a long syllable. This characteristic of the caesura, not as a linguistic, but as a metrical trait (i.e. as a principle of versification), was also exploited by Lucilius with other types of caesuras, namely after the third half-foot of the hexameter:

330. crisabit || ut si frumentum clunibus uannat,
361. quae iacimus, || addes e 'peila' ut plenius fiat,

and probably also in 1094:

praestringat || oculorum aciem splendore micanti,

because shortening of the vowel before final *-t* occurs throughout in Lucilius, it was probably read as *praestingăt*.

Also present in Lucilius, however, are certain characteristics which are not found in the language of Ennius. This pertains primarily to the use of elision. It already appears in Ennius, e.g. in *Ann.* 11 f.:

non animam: et post inde uenit diuinitus pullis
ipsa anima,

but is an infrequent phenomenon. The poet clearly tried to avoid word combinations in which elision had to occur. In a longer section of 17 hexameters (*Ann.*

35–51) only one example of elision occurs: *uestigare et* (42), and in another 20-line section (*Ann.* 77–96) there are only two examples: *auspicio augurioque* (78) and *atque ore timebat* (87). In Lucilius, however, elision is extremely frequent.

This phenomenon obviously stems from the living spoken language. This can be inferred from the fact that in Latin there exist side by side words with or without a final vowel, e.g., *neque* alongside *nec*, *atque* alongside *ac*, *nēue* alongside *neu*. The disappearance of the final vowel was probably initially dependent on its position in the sentence: it would occur when the next word began in a vowel. But very early on (in a pre-literal period, in any case), in certain morphological formations or in specific words, shortened variants became generalized, with the result that in some cases no or very few traces remained of the alternate longer variants. In this way, in the historical period, for example, there remains no sign of the word **eti*, from which the conjunction *et* arose. We can reconstruct the early form on the basis of its correlation with the Greek adverb ἔτι. In versification, this linguistic alternation of shorter and longer forms of a word was utilized in a somewhat artificial manner, employing elision every time two vowels met across word boundaries. The artificiality of this system was probably due to the fact that, while in living everyday language elision took place perhaps only in groups of words that were related contextually, elision could be utilized in verse at will at the boundary between two words, even when a pause was expected. We can imagine, therefore, that the expression *populum atque urbem* could have been pronounced in the living language of prose as *popul(um) atqu(e) urbem*. If so, then the phonetic form of Lucilius' line (5):

> quo populo atque urbem pacto servare potisset

agreed with the pronunciation of the everyday speech. But already in, e.g., 9:

> o curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane!

the elision *homin(um) ō* cannot be justified in the living language, in which there surely must have been a pause before the exclamatory *ō*. This line illustrates the transfer of phonetic characteristics of the sentence to the verse element: the verse was treated as if it comprised one continuous sentence.

The frequency of elision, therefore, is linguistically justifiable: in the conventions of versification, the verse comprises the phonetic equivalent of the sentence. Nevertheless, an overly frequent use of this device led to the unnatural enhancement of its use and thus to the unnatural flow of speech, i.e. to a clear discrepancy between poetic language and the everyday speech. Later writers (as Ennius before Lucilius) avoided this type of artificiality by arranging their words so that elision was not frequent. Lucilius did not avoid the use of elision which appears very often in his work, e.g., in lines:

49. ad cenam adducam, et primum hisce abdomina tunni...
61. ceteri item, in capulo hunc non esse aliumque cubare

and in many other places.

The consequences of using elision in the everyday language was the appearance of shorter variants in some frequently used words. Some of these shortened variants permanently entered general Latin usage, e.g., imperative *dīc* (Lucil. 208), *dūc* (884, also probably 1145), also *fac* (in Lucilius still *face*, 890), while others remained as optional forms, existing in the shortened form only in everyday speech and only exceptionally entering literary language. One such non-literary form was probably *ill*, the shortened variant of the pronoun *illĕ* (nom. sg. masc.). In the fragments of Lucilius, this form appears once, in 720 (troch. septen.):

ille contra omnia inter plures sensim et pedetemtim foris,

where the metre demands the reading of the form *ill*.

The conventions of versification which phonetically treat the verse as one complete sentence employed, at the boundary between individual words, inter-word phonetic processes of which elision is one manifestation. Given the conventions of considering the language content enclosed within one verse, it was therefore possible to treat certain groups of words as homogeneous elements. In this case, it was possible to employ intra-word rather than inter-word phonetic processes. Thus elision did not occur when two vowels were adjacent in the middle of the word, but correption, the principle of shortening a long vowel before another vowel (*vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*) did. The manifestion of hiatus in certain cases, associated with the shortening with the first of the adjacent vowels arises most probably from this. Here are some examples from Lucilius:

2. irritata canes quăm hŏmo quam planius dicit (hexameter),
661. tuorum, quăm ĭn album indidit a dextera, conficis ibi (troch. septen.),
774. Lucili, sĭ ĭn amore inritarit suo (iamb. senar.),
787. priuabit, igni cŭm ĕt aqua interdixerit (iamb. senar.).

Each example involves the joining of a monosyllabic word closely associated with the word that follows. There existed, therefore, specific conditions which facilitated the joining of word association indicated into one word and which explain the application of intra-word phonetics rather that the expected and normally applicable inter-word phonetics leading to elision. Such cases are exceptional, as they constitute a somewhat artificial departure from the normal conventions of versification.

In the poetic technique of Lucilius we can see another characteristic that is particularly specific to this writer: Lucilius did not make an effort to use alliteration in his poetry. This was probably due to his tendency to Hellenize the Latin

language. The earlier native Latin tendencies to introduce compatible sounds of the intial elements of words left only faint echoes in his works, although the poet could find copious models in the poems of Ennius. Several times in Lucilius we can come across alliterating groups of words which are closely bound together and form consistent associations, e.g., *pestem permitiemque* (77), *mancus miserque* (332), *plurima et plenissima* (739), *nil parui ac pensi* (765), *populusque patresque* (1229) and the like. Whole lines with obvious alliteration occur at times, such as:

199. protulit et pretio ingenti dat primitus paucos,
1337. commoda praeterea patriai prima putare,
1340. uis est uita, uides, uis nos facere omnia cogit,

but these are exceptional cases, either traces of an earlier tradition of versification or else occasional ornaments of the verse which are based on earlier models but no longer form a constant compositional element. In this sense, Lucilius broke with the tradition of Ennius.

In terms of vocabulary, the most conspicuous characteristic of the fragments of Lucilius is their saturation with Greek terms. These words are very numerous; their number approaches 8% of the total lexical content (it exceeds 180). Admittedly, the frequency of Lucilius' use of Greek terms is less than the use of native words, but the reader is immediately struck by their presence. In some verses, whole Greek-sounding expressions or even sentences are introduced, as occurs, e.g., in 231 (including a quote from Homer, *Il*. XX 443):

<nil> ut discrepet ac τὸν δὲ ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων,

or in 462 f. (cf. Hom. *Od*. XI 491):

non paucis malle ac sapientibus esse probatum
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

Servius, in the commentary to the *Georgics* of Vergil (II 98), quotes an expression from Lucilius: Χῖός τε δυνάστης (1131). Lucilius often uses individual Greek words, either in the Greek alphabet, as in lines:

342 f. tota Ilias una
est, una ut θέσις annales Enni,
923. at cui? quem febris una atque una ἀπεψία,
961. ὠμοτριβὲς oleum Casinas,

or else partly in the Greek and partly in the Latin alphabet, cf. 786–790 (iamb. senar.):

non aderit: ἀρχαῖς hominem et stoechiis simul
priuabit, igni cum et aqua interdixerit.
duo habet stoechia, adfuerit anima et corpore

> (γῆ corpus, anima est πνεῦμα): posterioribus
> stoechiis, si id maluerit, priuabit tamen,

or else written in a Latinized form, e.g., nom. sg. *sophos* (1236), *tacoglyphos* (497), *Atticon* (1199), or acc. sg. *disyllabon* (544), *cacosyntheton* (377), *cercopithecon* (1321), *pareutacton* (752), *poeeticon* (495); acc. sg. fem. *empleuron* (1251), *calliplocamon* (540), *callisphyron* (540), *scolen* (756), *acoetin* (542); gen. sg. *alochoeo* (25); nom. pl. *amphitapoe* (252), *pareutactoe* (321), *chirodytoe* (71), or else verb formations *diallaxon* (306), *chaere* (93, 94), etc. For the most part, however, words of Greek origin have in Lucilius the form which is entirely adapted to Latin grammar, e.g., *agelastus* (1300), *asparagi* (133, 945), *emblemate* (abl., 85), *hexametro uersu* (299) and others. This wide range of the use of Greek words that the author inserts here and there in his work is clear evidence that the knowledge of the Greek language in the literary circles of Rome was widespread and also that the use of Greek was fashionable. This is reminiscent of the use of French in 18th century Poland. In this way, Lucilius' language is testimony to how far the Hellenization of Latin had progressed over the century which separates this poet from the time of Ennius.

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ANCIENT CULTURE IN POLAND: A MILLENNIUM*

By

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Among the profusion of millennial spectacles which our country celebrated, particularly in the last year, it is certainly strange that the milestone of a thousand years since the appearance of ancient culture in Poland passed by unsung and unremebered[1]. And yet this is a very lofty aspect of the Polish millennium, an aspect that, without exaggeration, can be considered as important as the millennium of the Polish state or of the Polish Church. For it is only from the time that the noble bough of Rome was grafted onto the ancient native trunk of Slavic custom and way of life that national Polish culture as it still exists today began to take form. Just as the golden bough of the Cumaean Sybil opened for Aeneas the way to the underworld where, in the intention of the poet, he would see not only his dead father but the entire many-centuried span of his nation's future, so for us this engrafting into the Latin culture opened the way to higher forms of civilization in which we only then gained a share – for the entire one thousand years which is now reaching its completion.

It is not difficult to comprehend the epochal importance of the breakthrough that took place one thousand years ago. It was only with Latin culture that the use of writing reached us, possibly the greatest writing any civilization has produced until now, since before our very eyes it is spreading across the world as the most suitable for use. Along with a familiarity with the Latin language we gained a means of communicating with other civilized peoples in the cultural circle of western Europe and, more importantly, direct access to the literary riches of Mediterranean culture over many centuries, expressed and in a sense codified in this very language. Only then did we welcome such lofty agents of intellectual progress as books and schools. Only then, a thousand years ago, did we move out

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[1] Paper presented on 29 June 1966, at the General Assembly of the Polish Classical Association in Warsaw. [In 1966 the Poles celebrated the millennium of the Polish state as well as Christianity in Poland.]

from the provincialism of northeast Europe into a wide world with old and rich traditions of intellectual life. For although I do not wish to belittle in any way the virtues of our pre-Christian, native civilization (the material side of which we know so much better today thanks to the archaeological studies of recent years), it is not possible to deny that, in the domain of the culture of the intellect (which shapes the future of every nation) at that time we stood much lower than peoples who had come earlier into the cultural heritage of the ancient world.

It was right, therefore, that at this year's reunion of our Association, we decided to remind both ourselves and others of this crucially important aspect of the Polish millennium, given that we, Polish classical philologists are qualified to do so in a very special way: first on account of the topics and interests which unite us in this Association, and then on account of the longstanding tradition of this very task. For from the time that scholarly research into the ancient world began to be practiced among us (this refers to the activities of Groddeck in Vilnius in the first quarter of the 19th century) all the more notable representatives of our branch of learning attempted to delve to a greater or lesser degree into the history of antiquity in Poland. Another point is that to take on such a task within the constraints of one lecture, necessarily limited in time, is quite difficult. Such a lecture should encompass the thousand-year span of historical development dependent on many various factors and not yet completely illuminated in its entirety by specific studies, although, in particular, the studies of the worthy Nestor of our Society, Tadeusz Sinko, have advanced our knowledge in these matters to a great degree. However, taking for granted that these are sufficiently well-known to our hearers, we will attempt in greatly abbreviated form to indicate at the very least the major stages of the process mentioned above against a backdrop of the history of the successive rebirth of ancient culture throughout Europe, since what was happening to some degree among us was always the result of cultural currents of much broader scope.

First, therefore, we must ask in what form did the ancient culture appear among us in the second half of the 10th century alongside Christianity? And how did it happen that these two cultural elements arrived among us together and at the same time? We know that at the wane of the ancient world in the 4th century there arose, after the three centuries of conflicts and struggles, a peculiar symbiosis of Christianity and the Graeco-Roman culture which constituted the last foundation for the flowering of both these ancient literatures, a flowering which is linked with the names of the great writers of the Church: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Pope Leo and Prudentius in the West; Basil, the two Gregories and John Chrysostom in the East. These writers and thinkers, categorically rejecting certain ideas which existed under the rule of Roman culture, particularly those which were linked with the polytheism that predominated in the Graeco-Roman world, concluded that many other concepts of the world and human beings characteristic of this culture (especially those developed by certain

Greek philosophers), could without difficulty be reconciled with the teachings of Christianity. More than that, they themselves could not do without the conceptual and linguistic tools which had been developed throughout the many centuries that the Graeco-Roman civilization existed, and by means of which they could try to present, explain and justify the truths of the Gospel. And so they enthusiastically drew from the legacy of pagan culture everything that they considered useful to transform into a new Christian culture. And because all these previously mentioned writers and thinkers were greatly renowned in the Church throughout the centuries that followed, and also because of the outstanding literary excellence of their writings, the synthesis they created quickly took on classical status and became the common property of many generations of Christianity.

In this way, in the history of our cultural circle, was accomplished the first (according to some researchers) Renaissance of Graeco-Roman civilization which for the first time inseminated a new culture that was just being born, imparting its most essential values. Soon after, migrations of various peoples put an end to the existence of the Roman empire in the West, and from that time the fortunes of western and eastern Europe began to develop along different tracks. The Church, however, survived this time of crisis and, along with the faith it proclaimed, it imparted to the young peoples of mediaeval Europe cultural elements it had inherited from antiquity. It could not reject these elements, just as it could not give up Latin in the western part of our continent, for its entire intellectual achievement until then was locked and codified in this language and by these intellectual conventions. Thus the Church, defending this achievement among the generalized downfall of civilization and attempting to pass it on to the next generations, expended unceasing effort to preserve the Latin civilization, impoverished and weakened, but still transcending the intellectual level of the new societies. Two hundred chaotic years later, when the Empire of Charlemagne arose and coalesced in Western Europe, an empire that politically harked back to the traditions of Imperial Rome, the Church eagerly joined in the reconstruction of this civilization and in bringing it out of oblivion, inaugurating in this way the second, Carolingian, Renaissance which was the direct heir to the first one dating back to the time of the great Fathers of the Church.

A century and a half later, the Carolingian order of things was reeling under the blows of new waves of invaders, the Hungarians and the Normans. Because of this, culture in western Europe was undergoing the next period of barbarization and backwardness. It was in this time, in the second half of the 10th century, that Christianity arrived in Poland. It is highly likely that Mieszko I intended to strengthen the rule of his dynasty and the freshly built state by transforming it into a state according to the Carolingian model, and that this and not any other motive induced him to accept the new faith. This step, however, had much more extensive consequences than even such a far-seeing politician as our first historical ruler could foresee. Among other things, along with Church organization,

Latin culture arrived among us, which Mieszko surely saw primarily as a useful tool for international contacts. From then on, however, Latin culture became one of the factors that deeply influenced and shaped our national character.

In the 10th and the 11th centuries, however, this process was just beginning. The influence of Latin culture was most likely limited to a rather small circle of the more educated clergy, at first primarily of foreign origin, and perhaps only to a few members of the house of Piast. These were, however, tiny islets in a sea of native Slavic culture. In addition, the level of Latin culture at that time was rather low and it was not able to provide more powerful incentives on the ground it had just recently broken. In any case, because of an almost complete lack of sources from these times, it is very difficult to gain a clearer understanding of the earliest contacts between Poland and the legacy of the civilization of the ancient world. Even worse is the destruction of the achievements of the first fifty years of the Polish Church by the so-called pagan reaction in the third decade of the 11th century (in reality a reaction against the state of the Piasts and the clergy as its main prop) which, in tandem with attacks from outside Polish borders, did not spare our oldest secular and sacred buildings, schools and collections of books (if any had existed in Poland at that time).

Nevertheless, something did survive from this first "Flood" in our history, even with respect to matters of interest to us here. For even before the first half of the 11th century, when Casimir the Restorer undertook the rebuilding of the state of his ancestors as well as the organization of the Polish Church and returned to Poland, the oldest Polish chronicle, already begun in the times of Mieszko and Chrobry, as well as the now lost life of St. Adalbert, once known to Gallus Anonymous, returned with him (or perhaps they had endured the difficult times in hiding). These were written in the Latin language using the Latin alphabet and thus accessible only to the clergy. Nevertheless, these documents reinforced the memories of events which were still recent in terms of time, but, after so many upheavals, seemed already distant. They were considered so precious that great care was taken for their preservation and, in the case of the chronicle, their continuation. In this way, the gains of the new civilization, earlier unknown in Poland, were seen as necessary and valuable for the continued well-being of the state, and it was no longer possible to ignore their existence.

Throughout the next two hundred years, approximately from the mid 11th to the mid 13th century, Latin culture spread its roots among us ever more widely and deeply. As it is impossible to discuss these matters in detail, we will try to characterize this process by means of specific examples. Already at the end of the 11th century, we encounter a school (a cathedral school, of course) in Cracow and we know the stock of books it had at its disposal from the inventory (compiled at the very beginning of the 12th century) of the treasury of the cathedral. It is striking that in second place, immediately after texts intended for liturgical use, are the works of ancient authors: Terence, Sallust, Ovid, two exemplars

of both Statius' *Thebaid* and Persius. If to these we add such Christian writers from antiquity as Boethius (*De consolatione*), Gregory the Great (*Dialogues*) and Isidore of Seville (who is still entirely grounded in ancient sources) as well as textbooks of grammar and dialectics that are not described any further, we obtain a quite typical image of a small humanistic library of Europe at that time. The 12th century sees the first appearance among us of people with a more extensive education, usually described in the sources as "master" (*magister*), which in this case does not represent their function as teachers, but is a type of scholarly title (not a university ranking, as this only appears in the 13th century). In the mid 12th century, these "masters" were most probably still foreigners, as is attested by their typically Roman names, e.g., Fulbert, Robert and Stephan, but towards the end of this century we meet the first Polish scholar who merited this title: the chronicler Vincent (called Kadłubek), later Bishop of Cracow 1208–1218.

His chronicle, which is written at the turn of the 13th century, is the first national history written by a Pole. If examined on its own, in isolation from its period, it must and often did appear as the height of peculiarity. Ever since some familiarity with the scholarly processes of historiography appeared among us, the stories in this chronicle which portrayed wars waged by Leszek with Alexander the Great or by Popiel with Julius Caesar caused ceaseless wringing of hands. Already in the Middle Ages, there was great dismay that the chronicler devoted so little place in his work to Polish matters while he found a great deal of it for reminiscing about various events from antiquity. However, if we regard the chronicle of Kadłubek as a witness to the penetration of ancient culture into Poland, we will be amazed at how close and how dear antiquity was to the thoughts and the heart of this first Polish intellectual, whose life and work we know quite well. It is not enough that his work is replete with quotations from Justin, Seneca, Cicero, Sallust, Julius Valerius and Macrobius as well as Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, Lucan, Persius, Juvenal and Claudian, but most importantly, the events of antiquity are coalesced with the events of Poland into a viable whole. This can be attested not only in the context of the work, in those wars of Poles of long-ago with Alexander and Caesar and in the numerous references to parallel events in antiquity, but also in the formal presentations of national history in the categories of Roman public institutions, particularly those of Roman law (it has been calculated that Vincent quotes Justinian's legislation over a hundred times, while from contemporary canon law i.e. the Decree of Gracian, he quotes a mere thirty-three times). The chronicler exerts all his effort to present Poland and its history in the manner of the Roman historians, and, at the same time, to build a conviction in the reader that the Polish people are no worse a nation than the great peoples of antiquity.

His actions make him a true child of his time, of this 12th century which witnessed the third successive and very ample rebirth of ancient culture in Western Europe, a new flowering of literature in Latin of the sort not seen since the 4th

century, the flourishing of schools and libraries, the renewed discovery of Roman law, and a much deeper acquaintance with the whole heritage of ancient Roman writing. But Vincent's work and his admiration for antiquity could not have been an isolated phenomenon even on Polish terrritory, the sole result of his studies ouside the borders of Poland and the interests he brought back home. If that were so, for whom in Poland would he have been writing his chronicle? The periodic devastations of our country, repeated so many times throughout its thousand-year history, have deprived us of the opportunity to track this phenomenon by means of more ample documentary materials. Only the archaeological studies of the last years have permitted us to better evaluate the richness of the Romanesque period in Poland, the period that covers the same time span as the events described here. The number and artistic maturity of architectural artifacts now known to us must have had their analogical counterparts in the level of intellectual culture, and the chronicle of Master Vincent was not some sort of meteorite that, falling from the sky, struck Polish soil. Indeed, at that time there was extant (though lost before our time) a long Latin poem about Peter Włostowicz, composed shortly after the first half of the 12th century in Wrocław and, contemporary with it, an Arab geography textbook, known as the *Book of Roger*, calls Poland "a land of wisdom and ar-Rum sages" (i.e. those using the Latin language). A more peculiar trace of another form of the popularity of antiquity in the 12th and 13th centuries in Poland was conserved by old Polish names: at that time, we meet many a Hector, Achilles and Ajax – and this among the knighthood, not the clergy – from which we can draw the conclusion that the names of the heroes of Greek mythology had meaning for secular society as well.

The situation underwent a distinct change from the mid 13th century. At this time, the artistic level of Latin literature among us diminishes as does the interest in antiquity. As an example, it suffices to mention that in two popular lives of St. Stanislaus written about 1253 (the date of his canonization), we do not come across any quotations from ancient authors. This converges with the general lowering of the level of intellectual culture, most probably dependent on difficult political and economic conditions in a period of struggles for the unification of the Kingdom of Poland. Once this main goal was accomplished in 1320 by Władysław Łokietek, the economic-cultural impasse will only slowly be addressed by Łokietek's son and heir, Casimir the Great. There were, however, other, more general causes for this state of affairs: after the Renaissance in the 12th century, the wane of the Middle Ages causes a shift in the focus of intellectual life from humanistic and literary to philosophical and scientific. In the time of flowering of scholasticism and then its slow decline, the most widely-read authors are no longer the classical authors of Roman literature, but Aristotle and his Arab commentators in slavish, primitive Latin translations, which so impacted the tone of writing in this period that its Latin came to be called "translation Latin". Poetry lost ground in favour of scientific prose which was indifferent to artistic details, or

at best adorned itself in the very primitive effects of shoolboy rhetoric. *Artes* enjoy victory over *auctores*, as in the famous *fabliau* of a poet of that period, Henry d'Andeli. The knowledge of the Latin language spreads considerably, however (both among us and elsewhere), due to the increase in the number of (parish) schools, primarily in the cities, and also the great centres of learnings, such as universities. As usual, this expansion in quantity occurs at the cost of quality and graduates of these schools often used a Latin which over time provoked humanists' satirical reaction immortalized in the *Epistulae obscurorum virorum*.

In the 15th century, when, to the south of the Alps, the Italian Renaissance is flowering fully, Poland is still in the throes of a profound medievalism. Humanism clears its path to us slowly and with great difficulty, first through a circle of people close to Bishop Oleśnicki, then later and more effectively through the court of King Casimir Jagiellończyk, where, after his arrival from Italy, Philippus Callimachus (Filippo Buonacorsi) is active. This was a very slow process, which can best be appreciated through the study of the successive stages by which arose the historical work of Jan Długosz. It was most probably Livy's example that gave the Canon from Cracow the scope and courage to spread his wings so widely (he was also the first to bring a manuscript of Livy from Hungary to Poland), but the material from which a great picture of the history of the nation began to arise as well as its original structure were still completely medieval. Only with time did the untiring chronicler (perhaps under the influence of his friendship with Callimachus) adorn his work with borrowings from classical authors. This is still partially visible in his notes, written in his own hand on the extant autograph of the work, and, in the preface, he gave a veritable display of his erudition in this area. Throughout the *Histories*, however, we see the tension between the old and the new and Długosz's grave prose, imitating Livy's periods less than skillfully, never achieves a truly humanistic fluidity.

Affairs at the Cracow University fare much the same. Slowly and by stages it introduces more and more amply the reading of the best writers of Ancient Rome into courses that are obligatory in the faculty of arts. Throughout the 15th century, in accord with the medieval order of studies, Aristotle reigned, but the thought of this great Greek philosopher never found an answering spark in us. In Cracow, therefore, study was limited to the repetition of various variations on concepts of scholastic philosophy shaped in the west. It is notable how very little attraction ancient speculative thought ever had for us, nor did it ever stimulate us to independent reflection. A striking example of this is the fact that, up to the present, we have only with difficulty managed to publish translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics* or *Economics* of Aristotle (once at the beginning of the 17th century, and the second time in our own times). The 17th century also saw the publication of the translation of the so-called *Problems*, and the last decade has added to this poor legacy only the *Poetics* and the third book of the *Rhetorics*. Nothing else from the remaining enormous *Corpus Aristotelicum* has

been translated. The humanistic and literary aspects of antiquity, not the speculative, have definitely always held more interest for us.

Let us return, however, to the beginnning of the 16th century which, in the area of the reception of ancient culture in Poland, brought about enormous and fundamental changes. The real Renaissance among us begins only with the 16th century, proclaiming a decided return to antiquity in its pure and pagan form, not to the antiquity seen from the Christian perspective of the first renaissance from the times of the Church Fathers, as happened in the Middle Ages. I would not like to underestimate here the value of patristic literary activity shaping the intellectual culture of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, it was only humanism that associated itself consciously with classical culture, bypassing and even rejecting its medieval interpretation. This manifested itself in attempts to bring about the rebirth of classical Latin and in the renewed familiarity with Greek literature in the original Greek. The Hellenic world was not completely unknown to the Middle Ages, but its legacy was accessible only through Latin references and translations since the knowledge of Ancient Greek from the 6th until the 14th century was extremely rare in Western Europe. Furthermore, while in the Middle Ages any direct access to ancient culture belonged exclusively to the clergy (as the only educated social class of the time), at the time of the Renaissance the cult and knowledge of antiquity spread to the same degree, if not more so, among secular society.

All these phenomena we meet also on Polish soil. True humanistic Latin appears among us only in the 16th century. This can be seen clearly if, for example, one compares the language of diplomatic correspondence from this as well as from the previous century, such as the documents contained in the *Codex diplomaticus saec. XV* on the one hand and in the *Acta Tomiciana* on the other. Comparing the language of successive generations of Polish-Latin poets is no less informative: Paul of Krosno and John of Wiślica with Dantyszek and Janicki, and then with Kochanowski and Szymonowic. The study of the Greek language begins to be offered at the Cracow University only at the start of the 16th century, and, at the end of the same century in Zamość, an important (at least in the eyes of the founder of the academy there) centre for the Greek studies arises, which unfortunately dwindles along with the general decline in our school system and culture in the 17th century. For approximately one hundred years, however, the direct contact between our enlightened classes and Greek language and literature was alive and very fruitful in results. At the same time, we also have oustanding classical scholars, of whom some, such as the Latinist Nidecki or the Hellenist Burski, were at a truly European level. Finally, among us also, a classical education becomes available to lay people. It is true that not long into the second half of the 16th century, Górnicki recalled that a gentleman would be ashamed to speak in Latin "because it is a priestly thing". But soon after anecdote could put into the lips of King Stefan Batory the well-known words: "Disce, puer, Latine, faciam te *mości panem* (gentleman)", which attests that knowledge

of this language was becoming characteristic of belonging to a certain societal class. Nevertheless, in this golden age of Polish culture and literature, the merchant class was also deeply and actively interested in antiquity (a phenomenon that unfortunately disappeared in the following century), and motifs of classical origin could be found in the earliest artifacts of popular market literature, where they maintained themselves until the 19th and perhaps even until the beginnning of the 20th century.

There is no doubt that the richness and standard of our literature and intellectual culture of the 16th century in general remains completely proportional to the familiarity of the individual creator with ancient culture. How clearly we see this when we compare, e.g., the admittedly very talented self-educated Rej with the extremely well-educated humanist Kochanowski! The creativity of the latter, as beautiful in Latin as in Polish guise, may serve as a classic example of the ennobling influence of the models of antiquity, drawn (and this is worth stressing) from both Greek and Roman literature, on the literary output in our national tongue. The first Polish drama, *The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys*, spun around mythological themes and realized in the form of a Greek tragedy, but also saturated with our national spirit and Polish political thought, is the most beautiful monument of this Renaissance symbiosis. Without the models and inspiration of antiquity, the works of Kochanowski cannot really be understood, and the same is true of the second greatest poet of those times, Szymon Szymonowic.

It is not only belles-lettres, however, that attests at that time to the close ties of our intellectual elite with the ancient world. The works of political writers with S. Orzechowski and A. Frycz Modrzewski in the lead, are filled with examples of this. Even such concepts as election *viritim* and *liberum veto*, which proved so harmful in the life of our nation at a later date, originate solely from transplanting certain reminiscences of the Roman constitutional system into our native soil. The Polish language of the Renaissance, of which we are rightly proud, reaches its flowering due to a purposeful nurturing and results to a large degree from the imitation of Roman writers of the Golden Age and of their attitude to the Greek language, which was considered as more elevated culturally and whose richness and attributes the Roman writers attempted to consciously assimilate into their native tongue while at the same time preserving its distinct national flavour. The greatest arbiter of the Polish language at the turn of the 17th century, Grzegorz Knapiusz, in his monumental *Thesaurus Polonolatinograecus* applies the same criteria to literary Polish which Cicero and Quintilian used with respect to Latin: being careful to use purely Polish idiom, avoiding of archaisms and vulgarisms and only a sparing use of neologisms.

Knapiusz published the second edition of his *Thesaurus* during the time of Władysław IV, on the eve of the longlasting wars which, in the middle of the 17th century not only shook the political and economic structure of the Polish nation, but also had a fatal effect on our culture. Its overall decline also brought

about a loosening of close ties with antiquity. School, however, remained Latin and pupils learned Latin together with their native tongue from the very first steps of reading and writing (this persisted until the 18th century), and the goal of education was to enforce that the learner was adept at Latin prose and verse: our literature until the times of Stanislas August was always bilingual and if we examine bibliographies, we see that the same people publish in both Latin and in Polish and that the number of books published in each language is more or less equal. Nonetheless, this contact with antiquity was superficial and unproductive. From the beginning of the 17th century, the teaching of Greek, this infallible indicator of the authenticity of any humanism based on ancient models, disappears for approximately one hundred and fifty years: the belief spreads among the gentry and the clergy that Greek is not a necessary part of a general education. The teaching of Latin is mired in school rhetoric and declamations, and sight is lost of the great artistic and pedagogical values of Roman literature. Shortly after the beginnning of the 17th century there is the demise of scholarly research on antiquity which cannot be replaced by even the still quite numerous translations, and school, now masticating only foreign material, deteriorates.

In the next century, however, with the first attempts at the rebirth of our culture after profound stagnation and decline during the Saxon times, the reformers once more reach for the life-giving sources of antiquity (among others). The school reform of Konarski aims at the reintroduction of serious study of Roman authors in the teaching of Latin, to draw the knowledge of the language from these rather than from a 16th century grammar of Alvares. Konarski's battle with verbosity and muddled cirumlocution is based on the best traditions of classical Latin stylistics. Konarski even tried to reintroduce Greek into Piarist schools, but in the end this attempt came to nothing. The currents of the Englightenment soon brought among us the models of French culture, which at that time was based on the conviction of the superiority of *les modernes* over *les anciens*. The National Commission on Education, permeated by these currents hallowed in its enactments the absence of Greek in our secondary schools and directed that Latin be taught simply as a foreign language, still truly indispensable at that time for an educated person because a considerable part of scholarly works was still being written in Latin. Thus the Commission's preference for "practical" authors, such as Columella (who wrote about agriculture) and Pliny the Elder, while simultaneously ignoring the educational and generally cultural merits of antiquity.

When the old Rzeczpospolita disappeared from the map of Europe, it seemed that our traditional links with ancient culture were broken. In 1803, Kołłątaj wrote:

> The Latin and Greek tongues, with which our fathers were familiar, from which they drew the purest rules of good taste are today neglected to such a degree that, if for the next few years we do not dilligently apply ourselves to Latin and Greek, all the costly treasures of literature enclosed in these two languages will become inaccessible to us.

A new Renaissance, born in the 18th century in England and Germany and known as neohumanism or neohellenism because it emphasized the Greek aspect of antiquity (viewed from a historical perspective as the "youth" of humankind) brought about a turn for the better. The Polish school system which, in the first quarter of the 19th century, enjoyed considerable independence in the Russian zone of the partitioned Poland found itself, to some degree, under the influence of the new ideas. At the University of Wilno (Vilnius), which at that time was flowering, dramatic disputes took place between the Rector, Śniadecki, who represented the ideas of the Enlightenment, and the Professor of Greek Literature, Groddeck, the ardent supporter of neohellensim. Although Śniadecki towered over Groddeck in both character and breadth of vision, it is Groddeck who had as students A. Mickiewicz and J. Lelewel. Moreover, in the schools of the Wilno district which had been reformed in the spirit of neohumanism, J. Słowacki was being educated, and Z. Krasiński was being taught by a graduate from these same schools, J. Korzeniowski. The effects of neohumanism in education were preceded among us at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century by a prominent interest in the artifacts of Greek art and the first (private) collections are begun at this time in Poland. The theoretical expression of these interests was *Winkelman polski* of J.K. Potocki.

We would be completely justified in extending the question that I. Chrzanowski chose as the title for his beautiful study (*What Was Vergil for the Poles after the Loss of Independence?*) and investigating what Graeco-Roman antiquity was for the Poles in these post-partition times. In such a study, we would start by A.J. Czartoryski's *Ode to the Fatherland*, 1796, modelled on Pindar, through Krasiński's *Iridion*, Słowacki's *The Tomb of Agamemnon* and Ujejski's *Marathon* and continue until Wyspiański's *November Night* and *Acropolis*, spinning a yarn about how the greatest minds of our nation during the time of captivity sought the reflection and resemblance of the difficulties and struggles of their own times in the mirror of classical antiquity. Thankfully, today we know these things quite accurately due to the seminal monographs of T. Sinko *Mickiewicz and Antiquity*, *The Hellenism of Słowacki*, *Classical Laurels of Norwid*, and *The Antiquity of Wyspiański*. We can also add the significant fact that the first Polish literary work to win the Nobel prize was Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*, and we have described as concisely as possible the profound identification of our 19th century literature with the themes of antiquity. Without the knowledge of these, it is impossible to either understand or experience in full all these greatest accomplishments of our culture.

In fact, in those sad days of captivity, ancient writers accompanied Poles everywhere they went. Rykaczewski was translating Cicero's letters in a Paris under bombardment by the Prussians in 1871, Kraszewski was translating Plautus during his fortunately short-lived incarceration in a German prison in 1883, and Przychocki was translating the same Plautus in the trenches in Bukowina in 1916.

Throughout the entire 19th century and into the beginning of our century, the foundations of this identification were laid by the secondary school system, which, particularly in the Prussian and Austrian partitioned zones, was based in a great part on the teaching of both ancient languages, in this way giving a large percentage of the Polish intelligentsia the opportunity to familiarize themselves personally with at least some of the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature. Given, however, that the pedagogical methods were not always correct or skillful, there was also a danger of surfeit and indifference to values which were often rendered extremely unappealing by the school routine. The "cramming of *cum*-s and *ut*-s in a hopeless grind" (according to the words of the poet) often obscured the humanistic values of antiquity for the pupils of such schools. The foundations, however, were solid, and when the political conditions of post-constitutional Galicia permitted it, the development of Polish studies in classical philology was rapid, with centres at two universities (in Cracow and in Lwów) as well as in the Faculty of Letters of the Cracow Academy of Arts and Sciences. Our Association also arose in Galicia at the very end of the 19th century and began to publish its own important research journal, "Eos". The growth of the academic personnel was so rapid that, after independence was regained in 1918, it permitted the staffing of positions in the departments of four other Polish universities that had recently come into existence. This progress in the real knowledge of antiquity has taught us to consider the classical world not as an aesthetic ideal or as a period of history when human beings were the closest to a "natural state", but as the beginning of a historical process from which our present reality is also derived, and to see in it, according to Tadeusz Zieliński, "not the norm, but a seed".

This settled state of affairs which in the second half of the 19th century seemed long-lived and solidly grounded already began to change in the twenty years between World Wars. This fact has already been brought to our attention by Kazimierz Morawski in the introduction to the *Outline of Roman Literature* (1922). On one hand, the superabundance of schooling unilaterally based on the teaching of classical languages, and on the other the requirements of a new technological civilization combined in order to bring about the gradual diminution of the role of Latin and Greek in the Polish school system. This in itself would not have been harmful, had it not been followed by a turning away from ancient culture as a whole. Its decline in schools continued even further after the Second World War, until today, as we know, we only find a smattering of Latin in secondary schools and, for several years now, a complete disappearance of Greek. The situation described by Kołłątaj a hundred and fifty years ago is repeating itself almost exactly. In this case, however, as so many times in the past, this state of affairs in Poland in not an isolated phenomenon: at present, the withdrawal of classical subjects in schools can be observed throughout Europe.

In our specific Polish realities, is this accompanied by a lack of interest in ancient culture as a whole? Not in the least. This is attested by a strikingly great

number of translations from both ancient languages that appeared in the past twenty years, a number that, given the short space of time, has never been previously equalled among us. Moreover, these translations are selling well and some, e.g. Suetonius' *The Lives of the Caesars*, in the translation by Janina Pliszczyńska (to name only one) literally fly off the shelves. The same can be said about the little classical volumes of the National Library, of which, e.g., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appear every several years in printings of tens of thousands of copies (and again disappear from the booksellers' shelves). The popular yet accurate renderings of selected episodes from ancient history by Aleksander Krawczuk are also widely read. Our two monthly philological publications, "Meander" and "Filomata", which is aimed at school age readers, are quickly circulated among our readership. Works of ancient drama are also strikingly often included in the repertoire of our theaters and television.

At the wane of the first millennium of the history of ancient culture in Poland an important question arises: what should be the foundations for its future in our society? Everything seems to point to it still being an integral part of our national culture and to this day it is perceived as such. The above short overview has shown that a more profound knowledge of antiquity has always accompanied times of the flowering of our cultural life: in the period of the Renaissance in the 12th century, in the period of 16th century humanism and in the 19th century. Conversely, the neglect of the legacy of the ancient world has always coincided in time with periods less favourable for Polish culture. We will not be so conceited as to conclude that antiquity has always been a force for development while its neglect a cause for decline. Perhaps the opposite was true: perhaps a general flowering of intellectual life brought with it a heightened interest in antiquity. In any case, the synchronicity of these two phenomena cannot be questioned. The actual and enduring merits of antiquity in the development of any form of humanism in our section of the globe cannot be disputed either. If we do not want to become captives and slaves of our own technical civilization we must at all costs create an equivalent counterbalance in the form of a rich humanistic culture. Moreover, what can be more advantageous to the very necessary rapprochement of European nations and their mutual understanding than an appeal to our common cultural heritage of antiquity? We have to take care of this heritage and nurture it, all the more because, for a thousand years, it has been an integral part of our own national accomplishments. This goal, however, cannot always be achieved by the same means. Surely it is the great task of our generation to find new ways for the transmission of antiquity. Nor should we be disturbed by difficulties. History teaches that, while the values which are so dear to us were at times forgotten with great harm to those who forgot them, these values will always, in a continual series of Renaissances, be once more reborn. *Desinunt ista, non pereunt*.

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THE PLAY ON GYGES BY AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR*

By

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In 1950, Lobel published an Oxyrhynchus papyrus from around 200 AD[1], containing some previously unknown Greek text in iambic trimeter. The content of the fragment, as well as the names Candaules and Gyges occurring in it, indicate beyond any doubt that it came from a work of poetry featuring Herodotus' version of the story of Gyges. Gyges was a young bodyguard of Candaules king of Lydia. He killed his king, took over his throne and married his widow. According to widespread opinion[2], the fragment is all that remains of a play, presumably a tragedy. That opinion is justified by *paragraphoi* indicating a change of speaker found between the lines of column III; there is certainly a *paragraphos* between lines 8 and 9, and possibly also between lines 12 and 13. The fragment was badly preserved at any rate; out of its forty-four lines, only sixteen trimeters of the second, central column could be deciphered with any certainty. Only the final words of column I and the initial letters of column III are preserved, and the bottom part of the leaf is missing, so that column II text does not follow immediately after the fragementary column I text. Moreover, the writing was made less legible by traces of another, erased text, and the still preserved letters of an account, running across the lines of the play. What we have is then a private copy, not a professional publication. Then there are many stains, some of them obscuring letters. Even so, the fragment was already given the correct reading in its first

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LVI 1966, fasc. 1, pp. 73–82.

1 E. Lobel, *A Greek Historical Drama*, PBA XXXV 1949, pp. 1–12; later as *P. Oxy*. 2382 (vol. XXIII, 1958).

2 The only differring opinions are: R. Cantarella, *Il frammento di Ossirinco su Gige*, Dioniso XV 1952, pp. 3–31 (who thinks the text is a fragment of a poetic paraphrase of Herodotus); I. Cazzaniga, *Il frammento tragico su Gige e la tradizione retorica*, PP XXXII 1953, pp. 381–398 (who discerns in it a rhetorical essay); and H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Gyges Fragment. A New Possibility*, PCPhS CLXXXII 1952–1953 (who believes it is possible that the fragment is from Archilochus' iambs).

edition, at least as far as column II is concerned. Only the reading γ̣λ̣εφ̣ at the end of line 7, column I, rouses doubt, since no Greek word may end this way. That edition's suggestions for incomplete words proved correct as well, and only the more heavily damaged places were reconstructed differently in later research, and then usually as to wording, not sense. The fragment follows (column II according to Stiebitz[3]; columns I and III according to *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XXIII, p. 102):

column I		column II	column III
		Γύ[γην δ' ἰόν]θ' [ὡ]ς εἶδον, οὐκ εἴκασμά τι,	. ρ .[·
		ἔδει[σα], μὴ φόνου τις ἔνδον ἦ<ι> λ[όχο]ς,	τιδη̣[
] . . [ ] . [ ]		ὁπ[οῖα] τἀπίχειρα ταῖς τυραννίσιν.	ἀλλ . [
] . υγα . . [ ].		ἐπε]ὶ δ' ἔτ' ἐγρήσσοντα Κανδαύλην ὁρῶ,	νε̣[
] . .[.]υσμ . ν . . . η	5	τὸ δραθὲν ἔγνων κα[ὶ] τίς ὁ δράσας ἀνήρ.	ω̣χ[
]. αγης		ὡς δ' ἀξυνήμων καρδίας κυκωμένης	χρυσ̣[
] . ιρουγ̣λ̣εφ̣		καθεῖρξα σι[γῆι τὴν ἀπ']αἰσχύν[ης] βοήν.	ε̣[
] . . ἐνχωρίοις		ἐν δεμνίωι [δὲ φρον]τίσιν στρωφωμένη<ι>	δρασα[
]προσκυνῶ		νὺξ ἦν ἀτέρ[μων ἐξ] ἀυπνίας ἐμοί.	[.]ι̣μ̣ε̣ . . [
]θέσθαι τάδε	10	ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλ[θεν εὐ]φαὴς ἑωσφόρος,	η . . . . [
] . ἀμηχανῶ		τῆς πρωτοφεγ[γοῦς ἡ]μέρας προάγγελος,	θέλω δ̣ε̣ . [
] . α καὶ πρὸ τοῦ		τὸν μὲν λέχους ἤγειρ[α] κἀξεπεμψάμην	ἐμαῖς ἀνω̣[
]ν̣ λέξω τὸ πᾶν		λαοῖς θεμιστεύσοντα· μῦθος ἦν ἐμοί	λέγοις ἂν ὦ
] . ε γίγνεται		πειθοῦς ἑτοῖμο[ς . .] το[.]οσ . [. .]. ει . . [	] . υδων τι . [
]π̣ρ̣οέδραμεν	15	εὕδειν ἄνακτα παν[τελῆ μεθ' ἡμέραν ?	
]ι̣δω μοι λόγου		Γύγην δέ μοι κλητῆρ[ας ἐκπέμπω καλεῖν ?	
]ξ̣υνήλ̣ι̣κας			

When I saw that the man leaving was indeed Gyges, and not some image, I feared lest some murderous ambush was brewing in the house, such being the reward meted out to rulers. However, seeing that Candaules was not yet asleep, I understood what had been done and whose doing it was. As if unaware of anything, though my heart seethed, I suppressed the cry of shame. I tossed in my bed and a lot of thoughts ran through my head; I could not sleep; the night had no end to me. And when the bright morning star rose, the harbinger of a coming day, I woke him (*scil*. Candaules), and sent him out, to judge over the people. I had a story at hand to convince him... [saying] it would not do at all for a king to sleep [during the day]; and as for Gyges, I [shall send out] the heralds [to summon him] to me...

Clearly it is Candaules' wife speaking, telling somebody trusted of how Candaules wished to boast of her beauty to his bodyguard Gyges, and asked him to steal into the royal bedroom by night, which he did.

For the first seven years after publication the fragment was much discussed; around twenty papers on it were written then, mentions in reviews and bibliographies excluded. More recently, though, the discussion has grown quiet. Mostly,

[3] F. Stiebitz, *Eine griechische Tragödie von Gyges und Kandaules*, SPFB VI 1957, p. 145.

two problems have been raised: possible reconstruction of the plot of the tragedy, and its approximate date.

The best solution to the problem of the possible reconstruction was proposed by Stiebitz[4]. Using the preserved words of column I, Stiebitz reconstructed the main points of the first part of the Queen's speech. She is probably on stage because she has left the palace to bow (προσκυνῶ) before the gods of the land (ἐνχωρίοις) and to sacrifice to them (θέσθαι τάδε). For she is helpless (ἀμηχανῶ) and only the gods can show her a way out, as they did before (καὶ πρὸ τοῦ). Meanwhile she decides to tell everything (λέξω τὸ πᾶν) for the matter cannot remain hidden anyway and either will or already has become known (προέδραμεν). She is probably addressing the Chorus, made up of her companions (ξυνήλικας). And so the Queen tells her companions the reason for her fluster, recounting the events of the last night (II 1–16) to reveal at the end that she will send or already has sent for Gyges. In column III there are two traces of change of speaker, but it is undoubtedly part of the same scene featuring the Queen and the Chorus. Nothing can be gleaned from lines 1 to 8, most likely spoken by the Chorus Leader. In lines 9 to 12 the speaker is probably the Queen (θέλω δὲ), and in line 13, the Chorus Leader again (λέγοις ἄν, ὦ [ἄνασσα ? δέσποινα ?). In the final line one may read κλύδων, thus perhaps "how your thoughts billow".

The scene must come from close to the beginning of the tragedy, probably right after the *parodos*. Those must have been preceded by a prologue, maybe in the form of a monologue, perhaps spoken by Candaules leaving the house at dawn. That prologue would have contained information about the secret deal between Candaules and Gyges, the same deal that had caused the events of the night. After Candaules' departure the Chorus would enter on some trivial pretext; then the entrance of the Queen would trigger the scene our fragment belongs to.

We can imagine what happened next based on Herodotus' story: one of the scenes following shortly after this one would have the Queen talking to Gyges. As a result Gyges would be forced to decide to kill the king on the night after, probably with the Queen having him guarded and locked in a palace chamber in the meantime (so that he could not see Candaules, or else her plans could be ruined). The play must also have had a scene where Candaules returned to the palace, possibly announced by a messenger, as in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. We should depict the Queen in that scene behaving much as Clytaemnestra does in Aeschylus, welcoming her husband with false and ambiguous tenderness to lead him to the chamber whence a moment later one can hear the cries of the man being murdered. Later a detailed account of off-stage events will be given by somebody who was present, perhaps the Queen herself. The ending certainly featured the motif of unrest among the people loyal to the murdered king, men-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 141–166.

tioned by Herodotus; it would also be the right moment for a god to appear, a *deus ex machina*. Since in Herodotus the matter was eventually decided by the Delphic Oracle, the god in question was probably Apollo (who is also the patron of Gyges' entire dynasty, as can be seen in Herodotus' account of Croesus on the pyre). Thus Apollo legitimises the takeover of the Lydian throne and pacifies the restless people.

The reconstruction proposed by Stiebitz shows that even if the plot closely followed Herodotus' version of the story of Gyges, the play need not have been either as uneventful as Latte supposed[5], or as far from preserving the classical unities of place and time as Lesky thought[6]. It also means that we need not resort to other versions of the legend, such as that by Xanthus of Lydia, preserved in Nicolaus of Damascus. (Using that version, Bickel reconstructs the play on Gyges as a tragedy of jealousy; his reconstruction is very interesting but barely related to the fragment in question[7].)

As for the second problem, that is authorship and so the date of the play, the debate of many years has brought no resolution satisfying to all.

The question is exceptionally difficult. There are no testimonies in either ancient or Byzantine authors of any play about Gyges' rise to power. While the original editor of the fragment, and other scholars following him, can see a trace of the awareness of such a play in Achilles Tatius I 8, that trace if very weak if it is indeed a trace at all. The place is a rant against women, who κἂν φιλῶσι, φονεύουσι, κἂν μὴ φιλῶσι, φονεύουσι: kill both out of love and hate. To illustrate that truth, the author lists tragic characters first. They are Eriphyle, Philomela, Stenoboa, Aerope and Procne. Then in a new sentence he moves on to non-dramatic characters, citing the disasters caused by Agamemnon's love for Chryseis and Achilles' love for Briseis, the terrible outcomes of Helen's beauty, and even Penelope's faithfulness. It is among those that there is a mention of Candaules, also doomed by his wife's beauty. There can be no doubt that the author of the novel is alluding to Herodotus I 8–13; Homer's characters must have suggested to him a motif in the work of the "Homer of prose". It can be clearly seen that it is not a tragedy he refers to here from the fact that elsewhere he lists the women by name, but is content with "Candaules' wife" here, just as Herodotus was, whereas any tragedy would have used a proper name.

Given all that, the text itself is our only source of information for the date. The analysis must begin with us noting that the fragment bears striking resemblance to Herodotus' account, where the Queen also spots Gyges as he leaves,

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[5] K. Latte, *Ein antikes Gygesdrama*, Eranos XLVIII 1950, p. 141.

[6] A. Lesky, *Das hellenistische Gyges-Drama*, Hermes LXXXI 1953, p. 9; idem, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Bern 1963, p. 797.

[7] E. Bickel, *Rekonstruktionsversuch einer hellenistischen Gyges-Nysia-Tragödie*, RhM C 1957, pp. 141–152.

guesses her husband's role in the matter, stifles a cry of shame and gives no outward sign of her emotions, to call Gyges to her in the morning. The phrasing of the two versions is saliently similar as well. Let us compare:

II 5	τὸ δραθὲν ἔγνων καὶ τίς ὁ δράσας ἀνήρ	Hdt. I 10	μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ
II 7	καθεῖρξα σιγῇ τὴν ἀπ' αἰσχύνης βοήν		ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα

Thus it seems certain that the two accounts are related; either Herodotus drew on the tragedy, or the tragedy, on Herodotus.

Lobel, who discovered the fragment, accepted the former possibility, influenced by the fragment containing many words attested only in early tragedy, namely in Aeschylus. However, other characteristics of Aeschylus' style are absent, and no title of a play by that poet fits the material of the fragment. Thus Lobel was inclined to see the author as another tragic poet of the same period, and had in mind Phrynichus as the author of two tragedies depicting events from recent history, making him likely to draw on historical events two centuries earlier. We must note here that the term "historical drama" applied by Lobel to the play on Gyges has been challenged[8]: while Gyges was indeed a historical character, so many legends and myths surrounded him that to the Greeks his story was as mythical as that of their own kings of the Mycenaean era. Lobel's opinion that the play probably originated in the earlierst period of Greek tragedy, the first quarter of the 5th century BC, was shared by D.L. Page, who published a short study devoted entirely to the fragment[9]. That dating is supported by the long observed dramatic quality of the part of Herodotus' work which deals with kings of Lydia being thus explained without the need to ascribe to Herodotus any outstanding poetic talent. One would of course have to assume that he drew, not on one tragedy on Gyges ascending to the throne, but rather on a whole trilogy, presenting also the story of Croesus. We know that Herodotus knew Aeschylus' *Persae* and used it (even though he omitted the most valuable information, namely the description of the battle of Salamis); he could also have used Phrynichus' tragedy *Μιλήτου ἅλωσις*.

Even so, other considerations undermine a dating so early. First of all, it is not allowed by the language of the fragment, which, despite some Aeschylus-like expressions, does not appear archaic, its style is smooth and flowing. Therefore it seems advisable to seek the author among later tragic poets. Even if the tragedy predates Herodotus, it may be roughly contemporary with him. Still, so far A.E. Raubitschek[10] has been the only scholar to raise the possibility, putting forwards Ion of Chios as the author of the Gyges tragedy.

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[8] V. Martin, *Drame historique ou tragédie*, MH IX 1952, pp. 1–9.

[9] D.L. Page, *A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1951.

[10] A.E. Raubitschek, *Gyges in Herodotus*, CW XLVIII 1955, pp. 48–50; and idem, *Die schamlose Ehefrau*, RhM C 1957, pp. 139 f.

But the reverse relationship, that of the play imitating Herodotus, is also possible and actually more likely. That is the impression one receives when comparing the two texts. The poet appropriates all the elements of Herodotus' story, embellishing it with details of his own to add psychological depth to his heroine and to motivate her actions. Herodotus (I 10) reports: "Then she saw him [*scil.* Gyges] leaving and understood that it was her husband's doing", without clarifying what caused the realization. In the tragedy the Queen does not immediately assess the situation correctly as she spots an intruder in the bedroom; her first thought is that there might be a plot to assassinate her husband, naturally posing a threat to her as well, and so she is afraid (ἔδεισα). However, a glance at her husband is enough to find out that he is not yet asleep but does not react, although he must have seen Gyges too. Only then does she guess her husband's role in the scheme. Finally, it is psychologically justified and natural that in the morning the Queen cannot wait for her husband to go, wanting as she does to speak face to face with Gyges; so she wakes him at dawn and sends him off to his duties. If Herodotus had been drawing on a pre-existing play, he certainly would not have omitted those highly suggestive motives. Likewise, the Queen not having a name would be inexplicable; it is only explained by assuming that Herodotus was just retelling a story he had heard. Opinions that the tragedy was post-Herodotean were expressed within months of the fragment's publication.

The first scholar who not only expressed that opinion, but also attempted to justify it in depth, was Kurt Latte[11]. In more recent years, more and more researchers believed the fragment came from a tragedy written in the 4th or possibly 3rd century BC[12]. Today it is usually classified as a "Hellenistic period tragedy" on Gyges, a shift caused largely by the authority of Lesky as the author of *Das hellenistische Gyges-Drama* (see n. 6 above), and of a number of discussions of available literature on the fragment published in "Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft". That is also the dating accepted by Lesky in his *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* ([2]1963).

The arguments for Hellenistic dating are diverse.

First, the *subject matter* of the tragedy is extraordinary, in fact very different from the themes of myth and the epic cycle traditionally employed in the classical period. That can be part of a trend visible in Hellenistic era tragic poets, in so far as can be gleaned from the titles preserved. We are told that in the second half of the 4th century BC Moschion wrote a tragedy on Themistocles, and another, the *Φεραῖοι*, which probably dealt with contemporary political events in Thessaly; that another tragedy on Themistocles was written by Philicus, one of

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[11] Latte, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 136–141.

[12] Especially J.C. Kamerbeek, *De novo fragmento tragico in quo de Gyge et Candaule agitur*, Mnemosyne V 1952, pp. 108–115; and J.Th. Kakridis, *Ἡ γυναῖκα τοῦ Κανδαύλη*, Hellenica XII 1952–1953, pp. 1–14 and 372.

the poets of the Pleiad; that Lycophron wrote the *Κασσανδρεῖς*, probably about the founding of the city of Cassandrea; and the titles *Μαραθώνιοι*, *Ὄρφανος* and *Σύμμαχοι* likewise indicate historical or contemporary subject matter. In his 4th century tragedy *Mausolus* Theodectes could have celebrated a contemporary satrap of Caria.

The *lexis* of the fragment is characterised, as immediately noted, by a number of rare words, previously found only or primarily in Aeschylus. That applies to εἴκασμα (II 1), τἀπίχειρα (3), ἀξυνήμων (6), and κλητῆρ[ας (16), with the last two found in the same part of the trimeter as in Aeschylus. Finally, the phrase ἐν δεμνίῳ [...] στρωφωμένῃ (8) is quite Aeschylus-like in quality (cf. *Ag*. 1224: λέοντ᾽ ἄναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφώμενον). But other words are distinctly epic, especially ἐγρήσσοντα (4) and θεμιστεύσοντα (13)[13]. What is more, borrowings from other archaic and classical authors are fairly obvious: the phrase καρδίας κυκωμένης must to an extent depend on θυμὲ κήδεσιν κυκώμενε in Archilochus fr. 66, and the plural τυραννίσιν = τυράννοις (3) has only one parallel usage, in Herodotus VIII 137. After all, that kind of recycling of the vocabulary of the early poets is characteristic of Hellenistic poetry and tragedy cannot have differred in that respect. It makes sense, too, for Herodotus to be recycled alongside the poets; he was the only prose author the Alexandrian scholars believed a classic, interpreted and edited.

As J.A. Davison[14] demonstrates, the rare word προάγγελος (II 11) may also point to the play originating from the 3rd or late 4th century. Elsewhere it is only attested in late authors, starting with Plutarch. However, the Latin word *praenuntius* (first found in Lucretius and Cicero), apparently a calque of the Greek, may mean that προάγγελος existed earlier than that. Both προάγγελος and *praenuntius* are only attested in figurative uses, but Davison believes that the Greek word at least must have been in literal use before, namely to mean a messenger who announced the arrival of a king or some other grand person. Now the 3rd and 4th centuries BC, the era of large states and magnificent courts, provided perfect conditions for such an office to evolve.

The argument about προάγγελος may not be unshakeable, but there are sturdier hints in *the metrical and prosodic structure* of the fragment. From the

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[13] The damaged line 15 may also well refer back to epic style, since it could be completed εὕδειν ἄνακτα παν[νύχως βουληφόρον, modelled on *Il.* II 24: οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα. Such completion was proposed when the discussion of the fragment was beginning, but later abandoned, based on the reasoning that if the morning star has already risen, the night is over, so the Queen may no longer tell her husband, "You must not, as the king, sleep all night". But first, this morning star is only προάγγελος τῆς πρωτοφεγγοῦς ἡμέρας, that is, it portends the day, and besides, charmed by the epic phrasing, the poet might have been a little inconsistent. So also in *Od.* VI 36 Nausicaa is commanded in a dream to ask her father for a cart and mules before the dawn of day, ἠῶθι πρό, but only does that when the glow of day wakes her.

[14] J.A. Davison, *Προάγγελος and the Gyges Fragment*, CR (n.s.) V 1955, pp. 129–132.

beginning it was pointed out that all its iambic trimeters are made up by disyllabic feet, no long syllable resolved into two short ones; that each trimeter makes a certain syntactic whole (no enjambement); finally that syllables followed by a *muta cum liquida* are regularly treated as long by position (no *correptio Attica*). There are four such cases in the fragment: ἐγρήσσοντα (II 4), ὃ δράσας (5), ἀῡπνίας (9), and προέδραμεν (I 15); ἔγνων (II 5) may be omitted, as the cluster γν always gives position even in Attic comedy. There is no certain case of *correptio*, and only one probable: in I 9 Porson's Law requires a short syllable immediately before the προσκυνῶ which ends the trimeter. Now such utter disregard of *correptio Attica* could not happen in a classical tragedy, and especially in an early one. Calculations carried out using the texts of the preserved tragedies demonstrate that Aeschylus is the most consistent in applying *correptio*, since of all the cases where the quantity of the syllable preceding a *muta cum liquida* can be discerned for sure, only 13% are long. For Sophocles and Euripides the numbers are 17% and 20% respectively. In addition it is very rare for classical tragedy to preserve a long syllable in a prefix, augment, or immediately before a word or morpheme boundary, that is in cases such as προέδραμεν and ὃ δράσας (3 times in Aeschylus, 7 in Sophocles, and 25 in Euripides, with only two examples occurring before a word boundary, both in Euripides).

In their search for a tragedy of similar prosody and metrical structure scholars first pointed to Hellenistic tragic fragments. Latte investigated the two longest fragments to be found in Nauck's collection, since of course only larger texts may provide statistical data which could justify valid conclusions. The two were fragments by Moschion and a fragment from Sositheus' *Lithyerses*, fewer than 100 lines in total. In Moschion, Latte found 5 syllables long by position before a *muta cum liquida* (all inside a word) against 1 preserved short (actually there are 6 long against 2 short); in Sositheus, 3 against 3 (actually, 3 against 4). Thus in Moschion at least, disregarding *correptio Attica* in a majority of cases is likely, although the brevity of the material does not allow safe conclusions. Lesky attempted to extend the data by including a fragment from the *Ἐξαγωγή* by Ezekiel the Tragedian; the play was probably written in the 2nd century BC, so it can be considered, in language and metre at least, a relic of Hellenistic drama. According to Lesky's calculations, the *Ἐξαγωγή* ignores *correptio* in 40% of cases, much more often than classical tragedy, although still less frequently than it leaves the syllable short.

It would seem that the work most resembling the fragment about Gyges in vocabulary, prosody and meter is Lycophron's *Alexandra*. While that poem is not a proper tragedy, it certainly is a tragic *rhesis* and written according to the principles of the tragic poetic art. In the 1474 iambic trimeters of the *Alexandra*, 53% of relevant syllables before a *muta cum liquida* become long, not counting the *lenis cum μ* and *lenis cum ν* groups which regularly gave position even in Attic tragedy. Lengthening of syllables in prefixes, augments and final parts

of morphemes is very frequent, and there are nine instances of it involving syllables final in their words, caused by the initial clusters of the words following: line 110 ἐνὶ δράκοντος, 522 ὁ Κρώμνης ἄναξ, 577 ἐξεπαίδευσε θρασύς, 661 χερσὶ προτείνων, 677 συμμεμιγμένᾱ τρυγός, 678 στέμφυλᾱ βρύξουσιν, 916 ὅς ποτε φλέξας, 1014 ἄξουσι πνοαί, and 1078 πυρὶ φλέξασα. Our fragment is most unusual in that it contains four certain cases of lengthening before a *muta cum liquida* but not a single *correptio*; however, it loses much of its extraordinary character against the background of the *Alexandra*, where whole sections of multiple lines can be found without a single *correptio* (e.g. 127–143, 17 lines with 5 cases of lengthening in them, or 197–216, 20 lines with 4 cases, or 315–346, 32 lines with 7 cases). What is more, as was observed long ago, Lycophron's iambs rarely resolve a long into two shorts; it happens only 19 times in the whole poem, or roughly once every 78 lines on average; they however appear in bunches and hundreds of lines can pass without a resolution.

As for the vocabulary of the *Alexandra*, it has been long established that Lycophron likes rare words, borrowing them from the tragic poets, especially Aeschylus, but also from the epic[15]. At the same time one can see in the *Alexandra* traces of Herodotus, clear especially in the light of C. Holzinger's commentary[16]; the poet makes the most use of book I.

And so, it is in Lycophron that all the characteristic features of our fragment can be found at their fullest and beyond any doubt. Does it follow that it was Lycophron who wrote the tragedy about Gyges? Such a conjecture was made by M. Gigante[17]. However, the material at our disposal does not seem to justify such a conclusion. The details of lexis and metre discussed above were certainly not specific to Lycophron, but rather found in other Hellenistic tragic poets, as they reflect the poetic principles of the period. Even the aforementioned prosodic features stem from the same archaising trend which had poets employ the vocabulary of early literature, by then obsolete or even incomprehensible. The Hellenistic period had dozens of tragic poets living and writing beside Lycophron, authors of dozens of tragedies each. According to the *Suda*, even Callimachus wrote them, so the list of potential authors of the fragment is vast. One could try to take some hint from research into which Hellenistic authors of tragedies were much read at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD to the extent that private copies of their works were made. Unfortunately, of

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[15] See the data in J. Konze, *De dictione Lycophronis Alexandrinae aetatis poetae*, pars I: *De Lycophroneae dictionis proprietate in universum ratione simul habita Homeri et tragicorum*, Monasterii 1870.

[16] *Lykophron's Alexandra. Griechisch und deutsch*, ed. C. Holzinger, Leipzig 1895.

[17] M. Gigante, *Un nuovo frammento di Licofrone tragico*, PP VII 1952, pp. 5–17, and idem, *De fragmento tragico in quo de Gyge agitur*, Dioniso XVIII 1955, pp. 7 f.; I have not been able to peruse either paper.

the thirty or so published tragic papyrus fragments from the period which have not been identified as authored by one of the great three, most are *adespota*. Only two lines published in 1919 in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. XIII can be identified as part of the *Omphale*, a satyr play by Ion of Chios. And then there is the fragment published in 1906 by Crönert, which could come from the *Medea* by Neophron, a tragic poet of probably the 4th century (although ancient tradition would occasionally have him predate Euripides). Papyri earlier than the 2nd or later than the 3rd centuries AD are nameless as well, except for two fragments attributed, without much certainty, to Astydamas, also a 4th century poet. While 4th century poets in general should be considered as potential authors of the Gyges fragment, Neophron probably should not and neither should the two Astydamases who most likely flourished in the first half of the century; as the evidence of the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus* indicates, the prosody of that time is not that different from classical yet.

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CICERONIANUS: THE LITERARY MANIFEST OF ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIVE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE GREAT DUTCHMAN (1469–1969)*

By

MARIA CYTOWSKA

In the year 1528 the presses of the famous Froben printing house in Basel released the dialogue of Erasmus of Rotterdam entitled *Ciceronianus seu de optimo genere dicendi*. This work is aimed at the over-zealous imitators of Cicero's language, who, particularly in Italy, are at this time starting to establish themselves as practically omnipotent arbiters of the style of Latin prose[1].

One of the characters in the dialogue, Nosoponus, an eager worshipper of Cicero, has not touched any work by another author for seven years, removing himself from public life and shutting himself in a study filled with the writings and portraits of his master and loaded with all kinds of indexes to the works of the orator he adores, as he perfects his Latin syle. Although, after proper preparations and fasts (in order to avoid burdening his mind, he eats only ten Corinthian raisins before working and throws a special type of imported wood on the fire that does not crackle in the hearth and break his concentration), during one long winter night he sometimes succeeds in composing one Ciceronian sentence, he fortifies himself with the thought that he might gain that most esteemed epithet, Ciceronianus, before the end of his life. Nosoponus's friends, Bulephorus and Hypologus, are afraid that this admirer of Marcus Tullius will work himself

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* Originally published in Polish in "Eos" LVIII 1969–1970, fasc. 1, pp. 125–134.

[1] Extensive literature is devoted to the question of Ciceronianism, among other works: R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo*, Torino 1885; T. Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1897; J.E. Sandys, *The History of Ciceronianism*, in: *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*, Cambridge, MA 1905. Lately this problem was addressed by B. Otwinowska in the book *Modele i style prozy w dyskusjach na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1967 (with ample bibliography).

to death, just as the half-French, half-Brabantian Christophorus Longolius[2] has recently done. He was the only person north of the Alps to have gained the epithet of Ciceronianus from the envious Italians, but he paid for it with his life, since his exaggerated efforts brought him to an early death. Nosoponus' companions wish to save him from this fate. They use a ruse, pretending that they too belong to the caste of blind imitators of the Roman orator, and they draw Nosoponus into a discussion from which he emerges cured of his sickly mania and abandons his rigorous efforts to imitate Cicero's style. He discovers the truth that authentic imitation of Cicero does not consist of literal imitation but extends beyond stylistic constructions. Bulephorus, the main participant in the discussion and the *porteparole* of Erasmus himself in the dialogue, calling time and again upon the writings of Quintilian, Seneca, and even Cicero, convinces Nosoponus that he will never be able to make himself completely like his ideal model, Marcus Tullius. Even the ideal itself cannot, at present, be discerned in its entirety. A large part of the writing of Cicero has been lost, and expressions which the Ciceronianists say should not be used might well have existed in those lost texts. If these works were to be found, many expressions now condemned as non-Ciceronian would acquire "citizen status". Furthermore, even though it is without doubt easier to limit one's imitation to one ideal model, no such blameless model for imitation actually exists. Even Cicero had his faults. There are certain characteristics of style that should preferably be taken from other authors. Following Quintilian's advice, each writer should adopt the best features of other writers. In fact, this was what Cicero himself did. He, too, did not always follow the same model, but was able to select from the writings of various authors what was most suitable. In order to make oneself like Tullius, Bulephorus continues, one must possess the identical talent. For each one of us has his own individual gifts. A man with the talent for one type of speaking will vainly try to train himself in another direction; he should realize his innate aptitudes and perfect them instead. The "complete" Cicero, in Bulephorus' opinion, "must be sought only and exclusively within oneself". This is the reason he reminds Nosoponus:

> If you wish to imitate Cicero with great rigour, you will not be able to express your own personality, and then your words will sound false and artificial [...] We can speak about a real imitation of Cicero only if we do not try to achieve those same characteristics, but rather, based on the example of our own ideal we nurture similar attributes and even, if at all possible, we try to surpass him in virtue [...] Then it might happen that someone who does not at all resemble Cicero becomes a real Ciceronianist. Only the man who is as talented as Cicero, speaks as well as Cicero

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[2] Christophorus Longolius (1488–1522), called the French Pico della Mirandola, a Brabantian humanist educated in Paris and in universities in Italia; he owed his name of Ciceronianist to his speeches which were modelled after Cicero, including *Oratio apologetica in Urbis encomium* (1518), *Orationes duae pro defensione sua in crimen laesae maiestatis* (1519).

> and is as well versed in the affairs of his own time as Cicero was in his own pagan times is able to speak in the Ciceronian manner.

Bulephorus mentions in the discussion that in his arguments he does not take under consideration speeches that have no practical end; it is fine to declaim them in schoolrooms and in them, a literal imitation of Cicero's style suffices. There is a great difference between one who declaims and a real speaker. For a real speaker speaks for a specific reason and before a specific audience, whom he should properly instruct and convince ("oratio non potest esse Tulliana id est optima, quae nec tempori, nec personis, nec rebus congruit"). The speaker must be involved in the affairs of his times. Speaking the language of Cicero in the 16th century, in times completely different from republican Rome, examining the issues he examined, but which are now irrelevant, is an exercise in futility.

> Thousands of things exist in our world and we must speak about them frequently, even if our Tullius never saw any of them even in his dreams. If he were living, he would discuss them with us [...] Upon such a changed scene of human history can we really speak as befits the circumstances if we follow blindly after Cicero? What can a speaker who uses only words found in the Ciceronian corpus possibly have to say to us? Surely the complete change of conditions throughout the world has introduced a completely new lexicon?

Bulephorus attempts to prove that the efforts of the Ciceronianists are not only worthless to society but also do not lead to the longed-for goal, i.e., the complete and excellent imitation of Cicero. As proof, Bulephorus provides a catalogue of writers from ancient times up to his own time and demonstrates that no one has as yet truly merited to be called a second Cicero. He emphasizes one more aspect: if the Ciceronian style was to be used in all writing, the reader would be bored by the uniformity. Bulephorus quite rightly asks, "Who would wade through all the literature if all authors had the same style and language?"

In this way, Erasmus of Rotterdam uses the form of light satire in order to defend the right of the author to a style of his own and revolts against a rigorous imitation that does violence to the writer's nature. In that period, Cicero's style was being recognized as the only model worthy of being imitated, and the attitude to this ideal model defined the position towards questions about the individuality of the writer's art. The defence of independence of style had to lead to taking a stand against a too-narrow imitation of Cicero's language and against a too-narrow conception of Ciceronianism. Equally important was the problem of the social function of the writer, which is also addressed in the dialogue *Ciceronianus*. In the opinion of Erasmus, a writer should be closely involved with his own time, in his particular case, with the Christian era. The writer must proclaim the ideas of his time in the same way that, as consul, Cicero proved to be the best at expressing the views of his own time, republican Rome. "If we believe that the greatest worth of Cicero's speeches was their relevance to their

own time, no modern speech should be adjusted to suit the situation of those pagan times", announces Erasmus through the lips of Bulephorus. Connected to the subject of the relevance of literary works is in turn the issue of their word-garb, or the language that is used to express these ideas. Erasmus proves that the principles of the ultra-Ciceronianists, which are bolstered by the argument "Cicero did not speak this way", actually cause the language to become impoverished, make the expression of thought more difficult and lead to artificiality.

The work of the Dutch humanist, the dialogue of Bulephorus and Hypologus with Nosoponus, who is caricatured as a blind imitator of Cicero's style, should be counted among the early works in the field of literary criticism and theory. The issues raised and discussed in the *Ciceronianus*, mainly that of imitation and its relationship to the works of Cicero, were already touched upon in ancient times, and they also occupied the intellects of leading humanists[3]. Petrarch focused on these problems, while the discussion between Angelo Poliziano and Paolo Cortesi, conducted on the topic of literary imitation was famous. Erasmus himself, in the second edition (1529) of his dialogue, mentions the dispute waged by Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola and the leading representative of the Ciceronianists, Pietro Bembo. Erasmus explains[4] also that, only after having written his book, he discovered the correspondence of these humanists on the very topics that Bulephorus found so interesting.

Although the first edition of the *Ciceronianus* appeared only eight years before the death of the Dutch humanist, the issues presented there had attracted Erasmus' attention much earlier. The great scholar discusses the issue of the relationship of Christianity to learning and pagan literature in his youthful little work *Antibarbarorum liber*, in which he encourages "mala illis (*scil*. ethnicis) relinquamus, bona vero nobis usurpemus", and he calls upon[5] the examples of Augustine, Jerome, John Chrysostom and Basil, who benefitted from the output of pagan writers. In this youthfully passionate attack on barbarian teachers who were hindering the development of humanists, alongside the works of the Church Fathers and the Latin poets so enthusiastically worshipped by the Augustinian al-

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[3] Humanistic works devoted to the theory of imitation are discussed by Otwinowska, *op. cit.* (n. 1), and in her study *Imitacja – Eklektyzm – Spontaniczność*, in: *Studia estetyczne*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1967, pp. 25–38.

[4] Cf. A. 2088: "multo post aeditum Ciceronianum comperi hoc ipsum argumentum fuisse tractatum tribus epistolis inter Franc. Picum Mirandulanum et Petrum Bembum". I am giving the numbering of the letters of Erasmus according to the edition of P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, H.W. Garrod, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford 1906–1958 (employing the abbreviation A. in further notes).

[5] *Antibarbarorum liber* LB X, 1710 B: "Sic contempsit Augustinus ethnicas disciplinas, sed tum posteaquam principatum in his esset assecutus. Sic litteras ciceronianas et platonicas Hieronymus, ut nihilo minus egregie teneat, et passim utatur, sic Basilius, sic Chrysostomus...".

umn, the influences[6] of the work of Laurentius Valla, *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*, can be discerned. In this work, the Italian humanist was calling also for the study of classical works, proclaiming this to be the duty of a Christian[7]. Erasmus, in his earliest work, repeats Valla's thoughts and sometimes even his very words. In the *Elegantiae*, Valla analyzes the antithesis of Jerome: Ciceronianus – Christianus, being the first, it seems, to introduce this motif into literature. Erasmus, following in the Italian humanist's footsteps, also takes up this topic. In his little work *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (first edition from 1511) he introduces it only as a motif worth working on in order to take it up in the *Ciceronianus*, where he draws on many ideas of Valla. It would also seem that it was from the *Elegantiae* that Erasmus borrowed the comparison[8] of writers who draw imitation from many authors to a bee that makes into honey the pollen taken from many flowers (although he could have borrowed it directly from Seneca[9]). Already in his earliest letters, Erasmus declares his judgement that one's reading should not be limited to Cicero, but rather enlarged. That he remained faithful to this principle is attested by a school reading list which he prepared as a lectuerer at Queen's College in Cambridge in the paedagogical treatise *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores* (first edition from 1511), which is based to a great degree on the directions of Quintilian and the Church Fathers. At the same time, already in the early period of his literary activity[10] the learned Dutchman comes to the conclusion (likely following Quintilian) that style is something innate, the most individual characteristic of every author, and that it needs to be formed by taking as models the writers to whom one feels the most attracted, even omitting Cicero at times. For this reason in his Paris letter[11] of 1497, Erasmus instructs Christian Northoff: "Id autem genus potissimum eligendum ad quod te potissimum natura composuit. De te coniecturam sumere licet. Videris ad Timonis propius quam ad Ciceronis formam accedere". The principle that no author should be

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[6] In his early letters, Erasmus is amazed by the work *Elegantiae*. Cf. A. 20, 23, 24, 26, 29, 34.

[7] Cf. L. Valla, *In quartum librum Elegantiarum praefatio* in: *Prosatori Latini del Quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin, Milano 1951, p. 620: "At qui ignarus eloquentiae est hunc indignum prorsus qui de theologia loquatur existimo. Et certe soli eloquentes, quales ii quos enumeravi columnae ecclesiae sunt etiam ut ab apostolis repetas. Non modo non reprehendum est studere eloquentiae, verum etiam reprehendum non studere [...] Non lingua gentilium, non grammatica, non rhetorica cetereque damnandae sunt".

[8] Valla, *op. cit.* (n. 7.), p. 622: "Veteres illi theologi videntur mihi velut apes quaedam in longinqua etiam pascua volitantes, dulcissima mella cerasque miro actificio condidisse, recentes vero formicis simillimi, quae ex proximo sublata furto grana in latibulis suis abscondunt. At ego, quod ad me attinet, non modo malim apes quam formica esse, set etiam sub rege apium militare quam formicarum exercitum ducere".

[9] Seneca, *Epist.* 84. Although Otwinowska omits Valla, she rightly draws attention to the presence of this motif in the letters of Petrarch as well, *Modele i style*... (n. 1), pp. 24, 137.

[10] Cf. A. 20, 27, 31, 38, 39, 63.

[11] A. 54.

disrespected is made manifest by Erasmus in his collection *Adagia*, where, in addition to the Bible, he gathers sayings from as many as 363 sources[12]. The scholar includes here writers of every period, from the earliest times up to the time of his teacher Hegius, the grammarian Perotti and the famous historian Sabellicus. He likes to include these sayings in his works and letters, particularly in his later years, which would have been totally inadmissible for any rigorous Ciceronianist who was entirely limited to Ciceronian phrases. It would be very interesting to analyse the characteristics of the style of Erasmus himself. Unfortunately, such an undertaking would demand a very detailed analysis of every work of this great humanist, which is at present impossible[13]. Nevertheless, just on the basis of a very incomplete reading of his works, it is possible to conclude that, unlike the ultra-Ciceronianists, he draws his lexicon from Latin authors of all periods: from Plautus, Terence, Cato, Varro, Caesar or Cicero up to Gellius and the Church Fathers. Cicero's style does not suit Erasmus very well, as he concludes in his letter[14] to Francis Verger:

> Ego tantum abfui semper, ut Ciceronianae phraseos figuram exprimerem, ut etiamsi possim, assequi malim aliquod dicendi genus solidius, astrictius, nervosius, minus comptum magisque masculum, quamquam alioqui leviter mihi curae fuit verborum ornatus, etiamsi mundiciem, cum ultro praesto est non asperner.

The Dutchman's Latin has nothing of unctuous artificiality; the author is able to express all his thoughts with great freedom and clarity. His works are written with great liveliness and do not bore his readers with a monotonous or unchanging style. Alongside Seneca's short sentences we find Cicero's long rhetorical phrases; in addition, the rhythm of periods is irregular and the length of sentences never evokes a feeling of heaviness. Alongside regular constructions we also find anacolutha. Short and unexpected historical or mythological allusions also serve to add life to the style. The author possesses an exceptional ease of expression, easily shapes his tongue to every thought, astounds by his richness of synonyms, unexpected associations of words and mastery of the use of antithesis and metaphor. In the prose of Erasmus of Rotterdam we will find a Ciceronian turn of phrase seasoned with irony next to a stinging sentence of Seneca and a Plinian observation of great finesse. This is a language that does not follow the stylistic rules of any one particular classical writer. It is the language of Erasmus.

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[12] Cf. M. Mann-Phillips, *The Adages of Erasmus*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 393–403.

[13] The style of *Dulce bellum inexpertis* was charactertized in the preface to the J. Remy, M.R. Dunil-Marquebrecq edition, Bruxelles 1953, p. 14; the style of the work *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* is characterized by J.C. Margolin in his edition of the work, Genève 1966, pp. 599–612.

[14] A. 1885.

The writer himself several times describes his stylistic tendencies. His reply in a letter[15] to Budaeus from 15 February 1517, is interesting. The Dutch humanist explains that he does not care as much if his style is beautiful as that he might convince his reader, sway him towards his ideas. Not the choice of words but the thought itself conveys the greatest meaning:

> Ego ad hoc ut grandis sit dictio, verborum apparatum minimum momenti adferre existimo, nec ita multum conferre schematum ornamenta, nisi si qua in rebus sita sint, non in verbis.

He does not, however, completely renounce attention to style. He observes:

> Magis affectavi mundam orationem quam phaleratam et solidam masculamque potius quam splendidam aut scenicam, quae rem ostenderet citius quam quae scriptoris ingenium ostentaret. At ego ut phaleratam orationem non ambio, ita puram, aptam, facilem ac dilucidam optarim si contingat, sed ita facilem ut tamen neque nervis neque aculeis, ubi res poscit, deficiatur. Quam si minus assequor, ingenii culpa est, non instituti.

In Erasmus' opinion, the author, instead of showing off his erudition and masterful style, will achieve his goal when "quod voluit persuasit". An excessive artifice of language often discourages and scares readers away: "Maxime probatur oratio, quae maxime congruat rei". Included in this interesting conversation with Budaeus is also Erasmus' defence of stylistic freedom as opposed to the rigorism of the Ciceronianists. He asserts:

> Inter tot scriptorum species nullos minus fero quam istos quosdam Ciceronis simios [...] praesertim cum fatearis ut suam cuique faciem, suamque cuique vocem, ita suum cuique stilum et institutum semper fuisse.

Here also, from the position of a Christian philosopher, the Dutchman also stresses his right to a language other than that of the rhetoricians, citing the authority of Cicero himself:

> Quo mihi videris iniquius facere, qui scenicam etiam eloquentiam exigis a theologo Christiano, cum Cicero ab ethnico philosopho non requirat omnino ullam, hoc contentus, si intelligatur modo.

In the same letter, he strongly emphasizes the meaning of his mission as a writer. According to his tenets, he does not want to be an elitist writer:

> Tu maluisti ab eruditis dumtaxat intellegi, ego si possim a plurimis; tibi propositum est vincere, mihi aut docere aut persuadere.

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[15] A. 531.

These characteristics of Erasmus' style were already noted by his contemporaries, including Longolius[16], Vives[17], and Beatus Rhenanus[18].

The historical sense of Erasmus of Rotterdam, his ability to observe the continual changes occurring in each period, and also his knowledge of his own individuality and deep comprehension of his mission as a writer influenced the humanist to publish a literary manifesto, for this indeed is the true nature of the work *Ciceronianus seu de optimo genere dicendi*. When we compare this rather late work of the scholar with his earlier writings, it is difficult for us to agree with what J. Huizinga says in his book on the Dutch humanist[19]: "Was Erasmus aware that he here attacked his own past? [...] We here see the aged Erasmus on the path of reaction, which might eventually have led him far from humanism". As we have demonstrated, however, the thoughts expressed in the dialogue *Ciceronianus* had already been appearing in his earlier works. According to his earlier formulations[20], the Erasmian imitator of Cicero was not to limit himself to literal translation but rather to take over the most beautiful characteristics of the Arpinate's personality and talent. Over and over, from his first works until his death, he repeats[21] "totum Ciceronis pectus requiro", referring to the similar words of Augustine[22]. For him as for Laurentius Valla, the terms *Ciceronianus – christianus* are not opposing concepts. As Bulephorus explains to Nosopomus,

> There are no obstacles to speaking simultaneously as a Christian and after the fashion of Cicero. If, of course, you would call a man who speaks clearly, concisely, forcefully and fittingly for both the circumstances and the position of those interested a Cierconianist.

By nature, Erasmus is a moralist and an educator of society and he always considers his own literary activity from this standpoint. His works have nothing of the declamatory performances of the schoolroom; he never forgets his mission. Given these assumptions, the Ciceronianists' method of working, of slowly forging their periods with great pains, is impossible. In Erasmus' opinion, a scholar must write quickly, at times trying to keep up with the printer who is

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[16] A. 914.

[17] L. Vives, *De epistolis conscribendis,* Paris 1534, p. 38.

[18] A. I, III, pp. 52–72.

[19] J. Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*, transl. by F. Hopman, New York 1957, pp. 172 f.

[20] The reply contained in letter A. 396 is interesting: "Equidem sic opinor, si quis cum Tullio (ut hunc exempli causa nominem) complures annos domesticam egisset consuetudinem, minus noverit Ciceronis quam faciunt hi, qui versandis Ciceronis scriptis cum animo illius cotidie confabulantur". Cf. also A. 152, 1013, 1390.

[21] Cf., among others, A. 1794, 1885, 1948, 2044, 2249, 2453.

[22] Augustinus, *Confessiones* III 4, 1.

setting up his work. "Certamen erat inter typographum ac me, utrum ille plus excuderet singulis diebus suis formulis ac ego meo calamo describerem" – he is reporting the development of his work on *Paraphrasis in duas Epistolas ad Corinthios* to bishop of Leodium (letter 918). "Effundo verius quam scribo" – he confesses elsewhere (letter 935). On yet another occasion he explains: "Nunc adeo non vacat expolire, quod scribo, ut crebro nec relegere liceat [...] Mihi nonnunquam uno die liber absolvendus est" (letter 1885). The scholar's first care is for the contents of the work and he is prone to correct, if necessary, erroneous thoughts and beliefs rather than the manner in which they are delivered. Erasmus, who refers to himself as a theologian[23], believes that his literary production demands a different language, one that is adequate to this specific task. "Caelestis illa philosophia ut habet suam sapientiam ab humana diversam, ita suam habet eloquentiam" (letter 3043) – this is the argument with which he defends himself against the attacks of language purists. This thought, already expressed in the previously mentioned letter to Budaeus, is underlined with particular emphasis by the author in the *Ciceronianus*. In it, Bulephorus is arguing with Nosoponus that each domain of knowledge is entitled to its own lexicon. Grammarians are entitled to use the terms *supinum*, *gerundium*. Mathematicians have their own terminology in the same way that farmers and artisans possess terms that are proper for their tasks. It is the same with Christian literature. It can have its own language, create its own, necessary words and expressions. In any case, Cicero acted in this way, when he was acquainting the Romans with the basic tenets of Greek philosophy. We should also remember (Bulephorus is repeating the words of Erasmus from the letter to Budaeus) that Marcus Tullius did not demand oratorical skill from the philosopher of his times, so there is no basis to demand them from a philosopher-Christian. Even Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, frowned-on by humanists who accuse them of a certain barbarism of speech, when addressing topics relevant to their times resemble Cicero more closely than those *Ciceronis simiae* who mechanically imitate his style. For like the Arpinate, those mediaeval writers are able to speak as befits the circumstances, while the imitators of Cicero are not speakers but only declaimers.

The arguments presented here are strangely familiar; they resemble the words of the letter[24] (from 3 June 1485) of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (the elder) to Hermolaus Barbarus. In it, Mirandola is dealing with questions pertaining to Latin style and he defends the right of the philosophers to possess their own language by calling upon Cicero's authority: "Non desiderat Tullius eloquentiam in philosopho, sed ut rebus et doctrina satisfaciat". He also shields the writings of Thomas Aquinas and Scotus from the accusation of critics concerned with the

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[23] E.W. Kohls, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*, Basel 1996, draws particular attention to this facet of Erasmus' personality.

[24] *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin, Milano 1952, pp. 804–823.

purity of language. In Mirandola's opinion, the language of Cicero is not proper for the philosopher who has other tasks to carry out.

> Non omnia omnibus pari filo conveniunt [...] Sciebat tam prudens quam eruditus homo nostrum esse componere mentem potius quam dictionem, curare ne quid aberret ratio non oratio.

It is sufficient when the philosopher is teaching in a correct and understandable tongue:

> Non exigo a vobis orationem comptam, sed nolo sordidam, nolo unguentatam, sed nec hircosam. Non quaerimus ut delectet, sed querimur quod offendat.

When the reasoning is correctly developed, when it builds conviction, the argument: "hoc non est Latinum" has no meaning. Philosophers express themselves in ways that they find suitable. It should not be demanded that they also simlutaneously be orators. The principles of what constitutes correct language are themselves relative also ("Anacharsis apud Athenienses soloecismum facit, Athenienses apud Scythas"). The arguments presented above lead us to the conclusion that the words of Erasmian Bulephorus are like an echo of Mirandola as well. His opinions could easily have influenced the author of the *Ciceronianus*.

Researchers analyzing the dialogue of Erasmus devoted a lot of attention to the connections between this work and mediaeval and humanistic literature, they indicated possible sources of the author's thoughts and the influence of his readings, the reflections of which we find in the treatises of the great Dutchman. Not without reason did they see[25] in his dialogue many formulations resemblings the judgements of Quintilian, and also of Cicero. They also recognized the relationship between the *Ciceronianus* and Laurentius Valla's *Elegantiae*, which was already emphasized by the generation contemporary with Erasmus[26]. Lately, there has been a rather unceremonious attempt to link[27] the writings of Erasmus on the topic of imitation with the opinions of the younger Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco, contained in his correspondence with the Ciceronianist Pietro Bembo, while ignoring the assertion of the author that he did not know of these letters at the time he was composing his dialogue. It is true that many of Mirandola's beliefs overlap with the assertions of Bulephorus, the main character in the dialogue. But is it permissible to completely ignore Erasmus' assurances that he

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[25] Cf. A. Gambaro, *Il Ciceronianus di Erasmo da Rotterdam*, in: *Miscellanea, Scritti Vari*, Torino 1950, and the critical edition of the text: *Il Ciceroniano o dello stile migliore*, ed. A. Gambaro, Brescia 1965.

[26] Cf. A. 2064.

[27] Cf. G. Santangelo, *Le epistole De imitatione di Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola e di Pietro Bembo*, Firenze 1954 (Nuova collezione di testi umanistici inediti o rari XI); M. Pompilio, *Una fonte italiana del Ciceronianus di Erasmo*, GIF VIII 3, 1956, pp. 193–207.

had not read this work? It may be more correct to turn one's attention to the fact that Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, a student of Poliziano, follows his master closely with respect to the principles of imitation and does not depart from his theories. Perhaps truly, therefore, the letters of Mirandola were at that time not known to Erasmus? The observed correlations between the *Ciceronianus* and the correspondence of Pico stem from the fact that they both, Erasmus and Giovanni Francesco, drew upon the same source, from the letters[28] of Poliziano to Paolo Cortesi which were dedicated to questions of style. Poliziano's judgements on the topic of imitation are congruent with the beliefs of Erasmus. It is worth mentioning here that the Dutchman was an eager reader of the works of Poliziano, and he most probably acquired his admiration for Polizianio's talent from his French (Jaques Lefèvre d'Étaples) and English (Linacre, Grocyn) students who worshipped the Italian humanist. His interest in Poliziano and his thorough familiarity with Poliziano's correspondence[29] also spurred Erasmus to become familiar with the addressees and the friends of the Italian humanist: Mirandola the elder and Hermolaus Barbarus. Already in his early correspondence, Erasmus jointly names these men, placing them *in maximis authoribus*. He is also lavish in his praise for them in the *Ciceronianus*, where, as it seems, both Poliziano and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola provide arguments for Bulephorus in his fight for the independence of style.

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[28] *Prosatori*... (n. 24), pp. 902–911.

[29] Cf. *Declamatio de pueris*, ed. J.C. Margolin, pp. 587–590, where 26 references to Poliziano were cited in the correspondence of Erasmus, as well as his knowledge of the letters of Poliziano to Mirandola (among others in the treatise *Declamatio de pueris*). Erasmus' use of the works of Poliziano in the *Adagia* is asserted by M. Mann-Phillips, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 392, 400.

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BIPALIUM – AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT OR TECHNIQUE OF TURNING THE SOIL?*

By

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An enormous role in the agriculture of ancient Italy was played by the use of various kinds of hoes and spades in the manual cultivation of the soil. The very large proportion of manual labour among all agrotechnical procedures was responsible for the very labour-intensive state of agriculture, and this in its turn affected many aspects of economic life in Italy[1]. According to the norms of labour found in the treatise of the Sasernae, whose calculations were later adopted by Columella (*Rust.* II 12), the cultivation of one *iugerum* of land sown with grain took ten and a half days. Of these, four days were dedicated to plowing, one and a half days to harvesting, and the remaining five days to a series of agrotechnical procedures which were carried out manually, such as harrowing (*occatio*) or else hoeing and weeding (*sartio* and *runcatio*). Manual labour with the aid of hoes and spades also played an enormous role in the cultivation of vineyards and gardens. Unfortunately, the problem of manual cultivation of the soil, despite its importance, has found almost no reflection in literature[2]. Although the ancient plow has been discussed on many occasions, manual agricultural implements have gone almost completely unresearched. Only lately has K.D. White's[3] insightful book dedicated also to this category of implements appeared in print.

The focus of this article is *bipalium*, a term associated with the manual cultivation of the soil. This word appears many times in the agronomical works of

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1 J. Kolendo, *Postęp techniczny a problem siły roboczej w rolnictwie starożytniej Italii*, Wrocław 1968; idem, *Le travail à bras et le progrès technique dans l'agriculture de l'Italie antique*, Acta Poloniae Historica XVIII, pp. 51–62.

2 Cf. Ch. Parain, *Les anciennes techniques agricoles*, RS LXXVIII 1957, p. 326: "Il est devenu nécessaire de constituer toute une ethnographie, toute une histoire de la houe".

3 K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World*, Cambridge 1967; cf. J. Kolendo, *W sprawie metody badań rzymskich narzędzi rolniczych. Na marginesie książki K.D. White*, Archeologia XXII 1971, pp. 204–213.

The gravestone of Leo discovered in the catacombs of St. Callixtus in Rome. After R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio*, Romae 1702, p. 574, no. 60.

Cato, Varro, Columella and in the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny the Elder[4]. This term is universally explained in dictionaries[5], encyclopaedias[6], commentaries to the texts of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*[7] and works dedicated to the history of Roman agriculture[8] as a special kind of spade that was used for a deep turning over of the soil. This interpretation was based on the etymology of the word (*bipalium*). It was believed that this was a double spade (*pala*[9]).

As a rule, *bipalium* is identified with a spade that, above the working section of the shaft, has a crossbar (pedal) that is used to press this tool with the foot. An iconographical representatinon of just such a spade appears on the gravestone

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[4] Summary of locations in *ThLL* II, col. 1999; cf. K.D. White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 20 f.

[5] See standard dictionaries, e.g. Forcellini's *Lexicon totius latinitatis* and *OLD* s.v.

[6] A. Rich, *Dictionnaire des antiquités romaines et grecques*, Paris 1873, p. 81; Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. I, Paris 1873, p. 711: *bipalium* (E. Saglio); F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. II, Paris 1907, coll. 631 f.: *bêche* (H. Leclercq).

[7] H.B. Ash, in: Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *On Agriculture*, vol. I, London 1940, p. 266, n. a; M.E. Sergeenko, in: Mark Porcij Katon, *Zemledelie*, Moskva–Leningrad 1950, p. 133, n. 5; A. Mazzarino, in: M. Porci Catonis *De agri cultura*, Lipsiae 1962, p. 123 (index in the *instrumentum mutum* section); P. Thielscher, *Des Marcus Cato Belehrung über die Landwirtschaft*, Berlin 1963, pp. 201 f.

[8] M. Mongez, *Mémoire sur les instruments d'agriculture employés par les anciens*, Histoire et mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Classe d'Histoire et de la Littérature Ancienne, vol. III 1818, pp. 11 f.; M.G. Bruno, *Il lessico agricolo latino e le sue continuazioni romanze*, RIL XCI–XCII 1957–1958, p. 414, no. 166; White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 20–24 (foot-rest spade).

[9] *RE* XVIII 2 (1949), coll. 2441–2443: *pala* (E. Schuppe); White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 17–20 and 27 ff.

of Leo, which was found in the catacombs of St. Callixtus in Rome. This artifact is known only from the drawing in the corpus of inscriptions of Fabretti[10]. The gravestone of Leo shows a man holding in his right hand a two-bladed hoe (*bidens*[11]). On his right is the spade described above which is generally called *bipalium*, and a knife used to cut grapevines (*falx vinitoria*[12]), and on his left there is a tree and a dog. In the description of this artifact given in Latin by Fabretti, the spade was called *bipalium*. The implement represented on the gravestone of Leon could in reality serve for the digging of soil to a depth of 25–35 cm[13]. This type of spade could enter the earth as far as the crossbar.

Fabaretti's description became in the encyclopaedias of Rich, Daremberg–Saglio and in a series of later works[14] the basis of identification of the name *bipalium* with the iconographic representation described above. The association of the iconographic source with the data contained in the texts served in its turn as a basis for a detailed reconstruction of the appearance and function of this implement. According to E. Saglio[15], *bipalium* is a

> bêche munie d'une barre transversale un peu au-dessus du fer, sur laquelle on posait le pied au lieu d'appuyer sur le fer même, comme on fait ordinairement en creusant la terre. On pouvait de cette manière enfoncer l'outil avec plus de force et plus ou moins profondément, selon que la barre était placée à une hauteur plus ou moins grande (*bipalium altum*, *non altum*).

It was sometimes assumed that by metonymy *bipalium* can also denote the depth of the overturned soil (approximately two times 19.851 cm or the so-called *Spatenstich*)[16]. There were some quite isolated opinions that the term *bipalium* should be understood exclusively in this meaning. J.G. Schneider[17] in the commentary to his edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae* drew attention to the fact that "bipalium esse mensuram aliquam, vel modum fossionis, non instrumentum aliquod, fosssioni aptum". This interpretation was adopted by G. Furlanetto,

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[10] R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio*, Romae 1702, p. 574, no. 60. Cf. Thielscher, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 202 and tabl. 3.

[11] White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 47–52.

[12] E. de Saint-Denis, *Falx vinitoria. Archéologie et philologie*, RA XLI–XLII 1953, pp. 163–176; White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 93–98.

[13] Cf. H.J. Hopfen, *L'outillage agricole pour les régions arides et tropicales*, Rome 1960, p. 40.

[14] Thielscher, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 202; White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 23.

[15] Saglio, *loc. cit.* (n. 6). A very similar description is given by Rich, *loc. cit.* (n. 6).

[16] Olck, *RE* III 1 (1897), col. 488; Saglio, *loc. cit.* (n. 6); K.E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, Hannover–Leipzig [8]1913, col. 832: "meton. der Doppelspatenstich"; A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris [4]1959, p. 475; *Słownik łacińsko-polski*, ed. M. Plezia, Warszawa 1959, p. 367.

[17] J.G. Schneider, *Scriptorum rei rusticae veterum latinorum*, vol. II 2, Lispsiae 1794, p. 674; cf. vol. IV, p. 119.

who in 1827 published the enlarged and corrected edition of FORCELLINI's dictionary. In 1848, this understanding of the term *bipalium* was given a wider validation by R. KLOTZ[18]. This interpretation, although registered in later editions of FORCELLINI's dictionary, was basically not noticed. In fact, at the time of the 1889 publication of the gloss[19]: "bipalium (MSS bipallum) ferramentum rusticum", it could be assumed that the question was in essence completely resolved.

A closer analysis of the texts of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, based on a familiarity with the methods of using a spade and not limited to the places where the term *bipalium* is found but investigating as well instructions pertaining to the manual cultivation of the soil, permits us, in my opinion, to return to the interpretation which was suggested in 1794 by J.G. SCHNEIDER, and validated by R. KLOTZ in 1848.

The word *bipalium* is found in texts which deal with the depth to which soil has to be turned over, the so-called *pastinatio*[20]. This very labour-intensive agrotechnical procedure[21] was used when starting nurseries, planting grapevines, and in the cultivation of gardens. A series of texts explicitly indicates that *bipalium* is *altitudo pastinationis*. Concrete data about the depth to which the soil was turned is given in the following table[22]:

Bipalium: the depth to which the soil is turned

SOURCE	NAME	DEPTH TO WHICH THE SOIL IS TURNED	
		IN FEET	IN CM
Col. *Rust.* III 5, 3	*bipalium*	*in duos et semissem convertitur humus*	75 cm
Col. *Rust.* IV 30, 3	*bipalium*	*in duos pedes et semissem pastinare*	75 cm
Col. *Rust.* XI 2, 17	*bipalium*	*altitudo duorum pedum*	60 cm
Col. *De arb.* 1, 5	*bipalium quod vocant rustici sestertium*	*ea repastinatio altitudinis habet plus sesquipedem, minus tamen quam duos pedes*	more than 45 cm, less than 60 cm
Col. *Rust.* XI 3, 11	*non alto bipalio*	*minus quam duos pedes ferramento novale converti*	less than 60 cm
Plin. *HN* XVIII 159	*bipalium altum*	*pastinari debet ternos pedes*	90 cm

[18] R. KLOTZ, *Miscelle XI*, Neue Jahrb. Suppl. XIV 1848, p. 320.

[19] *Glossae codicum Vaticani 3321, Sangallensis 912, Leidensis 67 F*, ed. G. GOETZ, Lipsiae 1889 (Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, vol. IV), p. 25, 60; cf. vol. VI, p. 142.

[20] A detailed description of the technique of *pastinatio* is found in Columella, *Rust.* III 13.

[21] Cf. Col. *Rust.* XI 2,17: "Pastinatur autem terreni iugerum ita, ut solum in altitudinem trium pedum defodiatur operis LXXX: vel in altitudinem dupondii semissis operis L: vel ad bipalium quae est altitudo duorum pedum, operis XL".

[22] The calculation of depth in cm is approximate. One foot actually equals 29.63 cm.

Bipalium is the measurement of turning the soil to a depth of two feet (60 cm) or two and a half feet (75 cm). There were also derived terms, such as *bipalium altum* (three feet = 90 cm) and *bipalium non altum* (less than two feet, therefore less than 60 cm). One of the so-called *rusticae voces* referred to a *bipalium* which countrymen called *sestertium.* Its depth measured more than 45 cm and less than 60 cm. *Bipalium*, therefore, indicated a quite peculiar unit of measurement of the depth to which the soil was turned (*pastinatio*). At first glance, it may appear that this measurement was quite imprecise. Even for the same author, some texts say that *bipalium* is turning the soil to a depth of two feet, others, two and a half. These differences, however, did not interfere in the measuring of the depth of the *pastinatio*[23]. They may instead be suggesting the existence of certain differences in the method of carrying out this agricultural procedure, associated with natural conditions, the type of crop[24], or the type of agriculture[25]. In one area, *bipalium* could have measured two feet, while in others it measured two and a half feet.

In Cato and Varro in particular, we frequently come across the phrase *bipalio vertere*[26]. Columella who gives a detailed description of the manner of carrying out *pastinatio* may give us the explanation of this phrase. This author[27] is against the widely used practice of his time which consists in the gradual removal of layers of soil, most probably over large areas so as to reach the desired depth only at the second or third repetition. Columella himself believed that the soil should immediately be dug to the desired depth. His recommendations focus on the necessity of digging furrows with regular, vertical sides. In this way, the

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[23] Cf. W. Kula, *Miary i ludzie*, Warszawa 1970, p. 63 – interesting comments on the changing of measurements which have some kind of meaning.

[24] In *Rust.* III 13, 8, Columella discusses the dependence of the depth of *pastinatio* on natural conditions; cf. also XI 3, 11 – dependence on the amount of water in the soil; IV 32, 1: "Harundo minus alto pastinatio, melius tamen bipalio seritur".

[25] Col. *Rust.* III 13, 5: "At qui pastinationis impensam reformidant, sed aliqua tamen parte pastinationem imitari student [...] sulcos dirigunt". Columella, a supporter of intensive economy, recommends a deeper turning over of the soil than Cornelius Celsus in his description of extensive economy. Cf. *ibid.* IV 1: "quosdam repertos esse ais qui cetera quidem nostra praecepta laudassent, unum tamen atque alterum reprehendissent; quippe seminibus vineaticis nimium me profundos censuisse fieri scribes adiecto dodrante super altitudinem bipedaneam, quam Celsus (fr. XIV F. Marx) et Atticus prodiderant". On the tendencies of the treatise of Columella, see J. Kolendo, *Postęp...* (n. 1), pp. 30–33.

[26] Cato 6, 3 (cited by Varro, *Rust.* I 24, 4); 46, 1; 48, 1; 151, 2; Varro, *Rust.* I 37, 5 (quoted in 29 below); Col. *De arb.* 1, 5; Plin. *HN* XVIII 236. Cf. *bipalio convertere* – Col. *Rust.* IV 30, 3; XI 3, 11.

[27] Col. *Rust.* III 13, 9: "Primum autem praedicti operis exordium est, non ut huius temporis plerique faciunt agricolae, sulcum paulatim exaltare et ita secundo vel tertio gradu pervenire ad destinatam pastinationis altitudinem; sed protinus aequaliter linea posita rectis lateribus perpetuam fossam educere et post tergum motam humum componere, atque in tantum deprimere donec altitudinis mensuram datam ceperit".

entire expanse of soil would gradually be turned over to the desired depth with regular furrows.

In the light of this text, we must accept that *bipalium* is the turning over of the soil to a depth of two spades (*pala*), or more exactly, "two measures". But was it possible to turn the soil over by these "two measures" to a depth of 60–75 cm? A knowledge of modern techniques permits us to conclude that a spade, particularly one equipped with a pedal, made it possible to turn the soil over to a depth of 25–35 cm[28]. In practice, however, when turning over to greater depths, one takes off somewhat thinner layers of soil. In the case of turning the soil over to a depth of 60 cm, it was possible to do so "in two measures". In the case of turning the soil to a depth of 75 cm, however, it was necessary to remove and throw to the side two layers of soil (two "measures") and then turn over in place a third layer. The soil that had been thrown to the side served to cover the furrow that had been previously dug. This reconstruction of the technique of *pastinatio* which is compatible with the description of Columella may constitute the complete explanation for the term *bipalium*. This term was connected with the fact of throwing two "measures" of earth to the side. These two, thrown to the side, and one turned over in place would total a depth of 60–75 cm. Each "measure", therefore, had a depth of 20–25 cm, which is completely in accord with modern practice.

A confirmation of this interpretation of the term *bipalium* as presented above may be found in the analysis of the name *sestertium* (literally: two and a half) which refers to the turning over of the soil to a depth greater that 45 cm and less than 60 cm. *Sestertium* becomes obvious when we accept that this referred to two and a half "measures". Each "measure" in this case would be greater than 18 cm and less than 24 cm. It should be accepted, therefore, that *bipalium* is the technique of the deep turning over of the soil. An analysis of the text of Varro[29], which contains a classification of various means of mechanical cultivation of the soil. Mentioned there successively were plowing, digging the soil and *bipalio vertenda terra* to greater or lesser depths.

A technological analysis completely rules out current interpretations of *bipalium* as a special type of spade[30]. The turning over of the soil to a depth of 60–75 cm cannot be done by means of a "double spade". An increase in the length of working part of the spade does not render the employing this technique to a greater depth easier or faster, particularly when large areas are involved. A "double spade" would be a technological nonsense. It is also difficult to accept

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[28] Cf. n. 13.

[29] Varro, *Rust.* I 37, 5: "ad alia arandum aut fodiendum, ut si segetes instituas; ad quaedam bipalio vertenda terra plus aut minus".

[30] For the size of spades discovered in the areas buried by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 AD, see White, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 24.

that the the name of the method of turning over the soil passed to the implement used for this purpose. Special spades used for the turning over of soil for a depth of two "measures" could not have existed. An ordinary spade, used for various tasks, was sufficient. The information provided by the gloss, that *bipalium* is a *ferramentum rusticum*, should be considered as imprecise[31]. This would constitute the same type of error that was committed by modern investigators, when they interpreted *bipalium* found in the texts of the *Scriptores rei rusticae* as meaning "spade".

Summarizing the arguments presented above, we can conclude that the name *bipalium* refers to the technique of turning over the soil to a great depth (60–75 cm), with the first two layers removed and the third turned over in place. By metonymy, the term could also have signified the depth of the soil that was turned over by means of this technique.

[31] On the value of glosses, see M.G. Bruno, *Apporti dalle glosse alla conoscenza del lessico agricolo latino*, RIL XCIII 1959, pp. 115–154.

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POPULUS IN CLASSES DISTRIBUTUS IN MUNICIPAL *CURIAE* UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE*

By

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The present author has published two other works on municipal *curiae* – or the sections into which the municipal *populus* was divided in Italy and the provinces, just as *populus Romanus* was divided into *tribus* – limiting their territorial scope to Roman Africa[1]; for it is for that part of the Empire that we know the most about *curiae* thanks to inscriptions from African *municipia* and *coloniae*[2], already well over a hundred in number. That relative abundance of sources has attracted the attention of scholars investigating the Roman municipal political system, especially as the African soil, rich in monuments, has been revealing ever new documents able to shed light on the origins, organisational structure and evolution of the institution in question.

In recent years a new centre has appeared on the map of Roman Africa's municipal *curiae*: the city of Mustis, or *Municipium Iulium Aurelium Mustitanum*[3]. Luckily the latest French-Tunisian archaeological dig in the ruins of Mustis

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1 T. Kotula, *Les curies municipales en Afrique Romaine*, Wrocław 1968 (Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, ser. A, CXXVIII); idem, *Studia nad genezą municypialnych kurii w rzymskiej Afryce*, Antiquitas III 1969, pp. 87–132.

2 It is only very rarely, on the other hand, that any information on *curiae* is transmitted by literary sources, so that in practice we have here an institution which it is only possible to research through epigraphic discoveries, as is the case with many other municipal institutions. The latest, and owing to paradoxical coincidence the most specific testimony on African *curiae* in ancient authors is a passage in St. Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (75, 1 and 121, 7), although by his time they were but an empty shell, a shade of the past. Even the very term *curia* had completely changed its meaning: in the late Empire it denoted the municipal senate. See Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 132 ff.

3 On my map of preserved inscriptions referring to *curiae*, published before the publication of most recent inscriptions, there is under no. 93 for Proconsular Africa the town of Henshir el-Ust, which we now know to lie within the territory of the ancient city of Mustis; Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), p. 48 and tables on p. 38, no. 93.

(present-day Henshir Mest) revealed within the sector of the Byzantine citadel a whole set of official inscriptions which greatly improve our knowledge of the history of that town of Proconsular Africa. We owe the publication of those new Mustitan inscriptions, and extensive commentary on them, to A. Beschaouch, who in the first part of his monograph on Mustis presented its history in the light of literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources[4]. The Tunisian scholar put forward the very likely hypothesis according to which *Municipium Iulium Aurelium Mustitanum* was one of Julius Caesar's few African *municipia*. The city was situated on the Numidian side of the *fossa regia*, which had once separated Masinissa's kingdom from Carthaginian territory, in an area of Marian colonisation, which had left its permanent traces in epithets of the surrounding towns, and in Mustis itself in the form of the many veteran Marii enrolled in *tribus Cornelia*; it also lay on the main axis of Roman expansion, connecting Caesar's colony of Carthage with the later colony of Thebeste, and probably enjoyed particular favour of the dictator victorious at Thapsus. With time, the *municipium Iulium* received further privileges from an Aurelian emperor, probably Marcus Aurelius, and immortalised his memory with its new epithet[5].

Hypothesising that the origins of the *municipium* were so early, perceptible as part of the Roman colonisation of the fertile basin of the middle Bagradas, sheds new light on the problem of the chronology of municipal *curiae* in Mustis. Collecting all African epigraphic material to mention *curiae* demonstrates that they only made it into the local inscriptions in the 2nd century in the reign of Trajan[6]. To an extent that is explained by the general state of preservation of epigraphical sources, and in particular of municipal inscriptions, which during the first century of the Empire were still relatively few. However, there can be no doubt that citizens were automatically enrolled in *curiae* as soon as their African cities were granted a Roman charter, and so the beginnings of municipal curiae in Africa reach back to the decline of the Republic and the rise of the Empire, to the time of Caesar and Augustus, when the first *coloniae Iuliae* and *municipia Iulia* were founded, of which Mustis was probably one, in the territory of the former Carthaginian state, in the kingdom of Numidia and on the coast of Mauretania. *Curiae* were among the Roman municipal institutions and they took a Roman form in Africa too, modelled on the charters of cities in Italy. An echo of a municipal charter seems to sound in an inscription from Trajan's *Municipium Ulpium Thubursicu Numidarum* in the north-western part of Proconsular Africa province, an interesting text which next

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[4] *Collection épigraphique de la Revue "Karthago"*, fasc. 1: A. Beschaouch, *Mustitana. Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis, cité romaine de Tunisie*, vol. I, Paris 1968.

[5] Beschaouch, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 33 ff.

[6] See Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 34–32, tables.

to the *ordo*, or council of *decuriones*, lists as its partner in the honorific decree the *[popul]us in cu[rias cont]ributus*[7].

The origins of African *curiae* are somewhat elucidated by an inscription from the colony of Curubis on Cape Bon, one of the *coloniae Iuliae* in the vicinity of Carthage itself, probably founded by Julius Caesar[8]. In that text, dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD, so rather late, we have a *curia Poblicia*. Its name, stemming from somebody called Publicius, has not been explained so far, but it probably reaches back to the beginnings of the colony, founded in the territory of a Punic city governed by suffetes, who during one of Caesar's consulships took as their patron an otherwise unknown Gaius Pomponius[9]. It is exactly the archaic name *Poblicia*, that of the only curia attested in Curubis, that would allow us to date its origin as early as the forties of the 1st century BC. That would make it the earliest municipal *curia* known in Africa and a confirmation of *curiae* being formed in the earliest Roman colonies in Carthaginian territory.

It needs to be emphasised, however, that the mere fact of grafting the Roman institution on African soil does not explain the particularly intense (judging from the preserved sources) development of municipal *curiae* in Africa. Already towards the end of the 19th century scholars noted the striking disproportion between the considerable number of epigraphical testimonies relating to *curiae* found in the African provinces, and the few located in Italy and the remaining parts of the Empire, and wondered whether the African *curiae* had a predecessor in an equivalent Punic municipal institution[10]. As I have mentioned above, Mustis lay in the close vicinity of the border which before the Third Punic War separated the Carthaginian state from Masinissa's kingdom, growing at the expense of Carthage. However, the influence of Carthaginian civilisation extended

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[7] *ILAlg* I 1295. Municipal charters themselves have not been preserved among African inscriptions. The primary comparative source in that regard is the so-called *lex municipii Malacitani*, the charter of one of the Spanish *municipia Flavia*, unfortunately to paragraph 51 preserved only in part, on one bronze tablet (*CIL* II 1964 = H. Dessau, *ILS* 6089). From paragraph 52 the charter determines the rules for convoking the *comitia* and the voting system (par. 55), which took place according to the Roman tradition *curiatim* and were based on all the citizens being distributed in *curiae* (cf. par. 52: "ea distributione curiarum de qua supra comprehensum est", that is in the part of the *lex* that is lost). On the basis of that *lex Malacitana* it is usually accepted that such a system of convoking the popular assembly and distributing the municipal *populus* into *curiae* acting as voting units was universal in the early Empire; see M. Gervasio, *Curia*, in: E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità Romane*, II 1910, p. 1395; cf. J. Roman, *Notes sur l'organisation municipale de l'Afrique romaine. I: Les curies*, Annales de la Faculté de Droit d'Aix IV 1910, fasc. 1–2, pp. 96 ff.

[8] *ILA* 320 = Dessau, *ILS* 9407; Kotula, *Studia nad genezą...* (n. 1), p. 100.

[9] *CIL* VIII 10525, cf. 977; L. Teutsch, *Das römische Städtewesen in Nordafrika von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus*, Berlin 1962, p. 107; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Roma 1959, p. 141 and n. 1.

[10] See Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 11 ff., and the bibliography.

far beyond the *fossa regia* into the interior, and grew especially strong after 146 BC, in the period known as Neo-Punic.

It is not a coincidence that recently, several scholars have directed their interest towards an inscription of momentous import for the problem in question: a text from Thugga, an old Numidian centre near Mustis. It is a dedication from 48/49 AD, to divine Augustus and the incumbent emperor Claudius, by the patron of the local community of Roman citizens, *pagus civium Romanorum*, which from the 1st to the early 3rd century co-existed with the native city (*civitas*) on allotted ground next to it[11]. The piece of information in the text of particular importance to the question of the origins of *curiae* in Africa is the mention of suffete elections – evidence for relics of the Punic political system surviving in Thugga into the Empire – by the *senatus et plebs* ***omnium portarum sententiis*** (lines 10 f., my emphasis; cf. "a civitate et plebe suffragio creatus [*scil.* sufes]" in line 15)[12]. Without going here into the very complex issue of whether there was a popular assembly in Carthage[13], I would like to pause at the word *portae*, which in Thugga must have meant a municipal institution. The text of the inscription suggests that they were districts or quarters of the city adjoining its several gates, according to which all the citizens of *civitas Thugga* were distributed into groups. So constituted and under the aegis of their "senate", they voted to elect their officials. In that sense, though, the expression "senatus (= civitas) et plebs omnium portarum sententiis (= suffragio)" would in fact indicate the existence in *civitas Thuggensis* of a specific popular assembly, probably stemming from the Punic tradition[14]. And in that same sense the *portae* could be considered, on the one hand, a distant echo of *hetaireiai* into which, as Aristotle seems to suggest in his *Politics*, the Carthaginian population (arranging, just as

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[11] *CIL* VIII 26517 = Dessau, *ILS* 6797. See W. Seston, *Des "portes" de Thugga à la "Constitution" de Carthage*, RH CXXXVII avril–juin 1967, pp. 277–294, and, partly arguing against him, G.-C. Picard, *La révolution démocratique de Carthage*, Bruxelles 1968 (Collection Latomus CXII), pp. 129 f., and Kotula, *Studia nad genezą...* (n. 1), pp. 93 and 101; idem, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 26–30. In earlier literature, see L. Homo, *Les suffètes de Thugga d'après une inscription récemment découverte*, MEFRA XIX 1899, pp. 297–306.

[12] It is worth noting the extraordinary synonymity of *senatus* (the native city council) and *civitas* in the passages quoted. *Civitas* used in this sense is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον of sorts in the African epigraphic corpus, as is the term *portae*. Seston, *op. cit.* (n. 11), passim, deduces both those terms from the Punic and Oriental traditions of Carthage, the new Tyre.

[13] Seston, *op. cit.* (n. 11), claims that the Carthaginians did not have a popular assembly in the classical sense of the term; contra: Picard, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[14] Recently, C. Poinssot expressed the view that all the institutions mentioned in the Thugga inscription are typically Punic and that the inscription itself seems as a whole to be a translation of a Neo-Punic text into Latin: C. Poinssot, *M. Licinius Rufus, patronus pagi et civitatis Thuggensis*, BCTH V 1969, p. 238 and n. 86.

the Spartans or the Cretans, common meals) was divided[15]; and on the other, an African equivalent of the municipal *curiae* of the Imperial period. Most likely the institution of Punic origin referred to as *porta* in the Latin version of the Thugga inscription towards the end of the Republic spread through the part of Africa which was under the influence of Carthaginian civilisation. Taking into account that the greatest concentration of municipal *curiae* attested by sources can be found within the territory of the former Carthaginian state or on its periphery, it appears that the Roman institution was particularly lively on African ground in those places which had a living local tradition of the city people being distributed into *hetaireiai*, or *portae*[16].

Still, it is necessary to admit that so far in Mustis, the city whose example I mean to use to present in the light of new inscriptions the evolution of *curiae* as reflecting the social changes of the Imperial period, no traces of Punic municipal institutions have been found. What is more, the Mustitan *curiae* appear more Roman in form than elsewhere, even though the *municipium* probably did have a pre-Roman past as the *oppidum Musti*[17].

In our *municipium Iulium Aurelium* municipal *curiae* come up in four inscriptions altogether, all rather late. The one earliest chronologically, and the longest known, comes from 188 AD, so from the reign of Commodus[18]; of the recently discovered ones, one was carved under Macrinus (217–218 AD)[19]; the remaining two, under Severus Alexander (222–235)[20]. It is in the latter two that we find the only named *curia* in the Mustitan epigraphical corpus, the *curia Augusta*. Mustis is the fifth city, after Lepcis Magna, Leptis Minor, Sabratha and Lambaesis, where there was a *curia* bearing that imperial name. Comparing in my book all

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[15] Arist. *Polit.* II 8, 2. It should be emphasised that African *curiae* regularly held sacred feasts as well, which was probably a local tradition.

[16] I elaborated on that conception in my *Studia nad genezą...* (n. 1), and in chapter 1 of *Curies municipales...* (n. 1). Here I merely summarise my argument, confronting it with more recent approaches. My hypothesis has been questioned in a review by L. Maurin, REA LXXI 1969, pp. 230 ff. Since discussion continues in latest literature, I plan to return to the problem of the Thugga inscription, marginal to this article, in another paper. Recently, H.-G. Pflaum, in his excellent study on the Romanisation of the former Carthaginian territory, drew attention to the Romans intentionally inhibiting that process themselves, unwilling to do away with Punic city institutions still prospering in that highly urbanised region in the first two centuries of the Empire: H.-G. Pflaum, *La romanisation de l'ancien territoire de la Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes*, AntAfr IV 1970, pp. 75–117. In my opinion Pflaum's thesis could also explain why there were no municipal *curiae* in that part of Africa before the 2nd century: it was only gradually and slowly that they replaced the Punic institution the traces of which I am looking for.

[17] Beschaouch, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 9 f.; cf. pp. 33 ff.

[18] *CIL* VIII 16417 = Beschaouch no. 14 (= *AE* 1968, 609).

[19] Beschaouch no. 16 = *AE* 1968, 591. According to the editor that is the only municipal inscription in the honour of the ephemeral emperor Macrinus in Proconsular Africa.

[20] Beschaouch no. 19 (= *AE* 1968, 593) and no. 20 (= *AE* 1968, 588).

known names of *curiae*, usually stemming from names of emperors and gods, I reached the conclusion that the name *curia Augusta* could refer to any of the emperors. It would then have a general, common adjectival meaning: "the imperial *curia*"[21]. However, if we are to accept Beschaouch's theory about Mustis as Caesar's Julian *municipium*, then in that particular case the *curia Augusta* would owe its name to one specific Augustus: the first princeps, making it another argument for the *municipium*'s early origins[22] and at the same time the first instance in African inscriptions of a name of a *curia* derived from a 1st century emperor. While we could suspect that under Augustus a new *curia* formed in Mustis was given his *cognomen* as its name, it seems more likely that one of the original *curiae* of Caesar's *municipium* was renamed in honour of the son of *divus Iulius*.

That set of four inscriptions paints quite a stereotypical picture of the activities of municipal *curiae* in Mustis, with their social relationships and religious life the same as can be observed for all the other *curiae* in Africa[23]. As was the custom, outstanding and wealthy citizens, the officials and priests, on the occasion of being made *duumviri*, *aediles* or *flamines* of the municipal imperial cult, vowed to honour and adorn their city with statues or to erect monumental buildings. On the day of the dedication, accompanied by religious rituals, they held sacred feasts, or *epula*, for all the *curiae*, comprising all the *populus* of the city. Sometimes they would also leave the city sums of money in their will with the provision that *curiae* could spend their interest to hold such feasts themselves on the anniversaries of the benefactors' birthdays.

One such event in Mustis fell in 188. C. Orfius Luciscus, one of the *duumviri*, the highest officials of the *municipium*, who then had judicial and censorial powers, the municipal priest of the goddess Caelestis and of Aesculapius, adorned his home town with a "triumphal" arch, so fulfilling an obligation he had undertaken, as well as erected statues to Janus and the silenus Marsyas, the latter of which in the forum as the traditional symbol of municipal autonomy. To commemorate the dedication of the arch the founder had theatre plays staged in the city, as well as the customary *epulum* held for the municipal *curiae* and the collegium of worshippers of Ceres[24].

The new inscription of 217/218 AD brings an interesting testimony regarding the initiative of a former curial priest, who had held his religious function for one year, as reflected in his title, *flamen annuus*[25]. That man, L. Nonius Rogatianus

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[21] Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 77 ff.; see *ibid.* for the conclusions.

[22] So Maurin, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 234.

[23] Cf. chapters 2 and 3 of my *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), passim.

[24] *CIL* VIII 16417 = Beschaouch no. 14 (cf. n. 18), revised and amended.

[25] Beschaouch no. 16 (cf. n. 19). The difference ought to be explained between two functions in Honoratianus' career, *fl(amen) an(nuus)* and *fl(amen) perp(etuus)*. In his commentary on the inscription Beschaouch claims that both titles refer to the position of the municipal priest of

Honoratianus, then had a municipal career in Mustis, and during the reign of Macrinus, an emperor from Caesarea in Mauretania, dedicated some monument vowed to the city, left undefined in detail in the text, increasing the amount of money declared for that purpose. On the same occasion, together with his wife Orfia Fortunata, a member of the generous *gens Orfia* mentioned above, and with his sons, he treated the municipal *curiae* to a sacred feast.

However, among the stereotypical two inscriptions stand out, and those two I have saved for last. They are the first epigraphical sources to contain the information that municipal *curiae* were internally subdivided into *classes*. Let me quote both in full (the numbers refer to Beschaouch's edition[26]):

> [No. 19:] Pantheo Aug(usto) sac(rum). Pr[o s]alute / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Seve(ri) Ale[x]andri Aug(usti) / totiusq(ue) domus eius divinae; classis tertia / ex curia Aug(usta) templum vetustate corruptum, sum/[ptu suo, re]stit[uit et e]x[or]n[avit] ex decreto decurio[n]um.

> [No. 20:] Cereri Aug(ustae) sac(rum). Pro [salute] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) *M(arci) Aureli(i)* Severi A[lexandri] / Pii Felicis Aug(usti) [*et Iuliae Mamaeae Aug(ustae)*] / [*matris Aug(usti)*] et senatus et cas[trorum et pa-]/triae; munus quod Iulia Q(uinti) f(ilia [..... ho]/nestae memoriae flaminica, imi[tata paren]/tes maioresq(ue) suos – qui munifici in [patriam] / extiterunt, id est C(aium) Iulium C(aii) f(ilium) Cor(nelia tribu) Fe[licem] / Felinianum flam(inem) perp(etuum) qui statuam Iov[i victo]/ri in foro posuit patriae suae per decr[etum] / universi ordinis – promisit, inlata suo [tempo]/re legitima summa honoris, et ampliu[s, curi]/ae honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e summam p[ecu]/niae dignam, ex cuius usuris annuis redac[tis] / omnib(us) annis in perpetuum epularetur, t[ri]/buit donoq(ue) dedit epulumq(ue), decedens, ob dedi[c](ationem) / curiis dari iussit – Q(uintus) Iulius Felix frater eius / et Iulius Homullus et Iulius Honoratus eius / ab ea statuam adlat(am) statuer(unt) et, epulo curiis dato, ded(icaverunt).

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the imperial cult, first held for a year and then appointed perpetually, but in my opinion *fl(amen) an(nuus)* is the curial priest, whereas *fl(amen) perp(etuus)* is the municipal priest of the imperial cult, in Africa appointed for a year with only the honorary title "perpetual" granted for life (cf. Poinssot, *op. cit.* [n. 14], pp. 250 f.). One must agree with Beschaouch that the title *flamen annuus* is rare in African epigraphical sources (but see an example he failed to mention, *ILT* 728, Thuburbo Maius, *curiales universi curiarum undecim* in honour of a *flamen annuus*; and cf. *ibid.* the editor's commentary). It is also true that curial priests are also at times called *flamines perpetui* (undoubtedly under the influence of the municipal office) or simply *flamines* (see Kotula, *Curies municipales...* [n. 1], p. 35, n. 67 and pp. 67 ff.). On the whole, however, at the present state of preservation of the sources, the examples for contrasting *flamines annui* or (as in Leptis Minor) *antistites sacrorum anni...* with "perpetual" priests argue for the view, proposed already by O. Hirschfeld and J. Schmidt, that the inferior title *flamen annuus*, emphasising the temporary status of the distinction, was generally reserved for curial priests. In Mustis we would then have a priest who, having completed his curial function, started on a municipal career, crowned with the high office of the "perpetual" flamen. Let us add that according to W. Seston one-year priestly offices were characteristic of the religious life of *curiae* in Africa (W. Seston, *Liber Pater et les curies de Lepti Minus*, CT XV 1967, p. 74 = *AE* 1968, 630).

[26] See n. 20 for references to *AE*.

At first glance, in those two texts nothing departs from the stencil either. Some representatives of the *curia Augusta* probably came forward with a project, resulting in the council of the *decuriones* issuing a decree authorising members of the *curia*, who were expected to fund public projects, to rebuild at their own cost the temple of some deity called Pantheus Augustus, which was threatened with ruin. The second text informs its reader that the inheritors of the late *flaminica* Julia, a municipal priestess generous to her home town, carried out her last will by erecting a statue of Ceres and holding an *epulum* for all the *curiae*. However, the rebuilding and redecoration of the pantheistic god's temple was undertaken not by the whole *curia Augusta*, but only its *classis tertia*, third class, presumably especially involved in his cult; and the *flaminica* did not honour the whole *curia Augusta* either, but rather its *classis prima*, first class, making special generous bequest to it as a foundation. Interest from that *summa pecuniae digna* was to provide the members of that first class with enough to pay for yearly banquets[27].

An explanation is needed for what those curial *classes* were, so far out of almost 140 inscriptions from 49 African cities attested only for Mustis. The texts quoted above indicate that the Mustitan *curiae* were divided into at least three classes each. And so there was a hierarchy to the collective of *curiales*, a grading the criteria for which we do not know. Sill, since municipal curiae were a Roman institution in origin, we can suspect that the *populus* in *municipia* and colonies reflected – *mutatis mutandis* – the traditional structure of the Roman *comitia*. Using the sources for the so-called Servian reform, A. Beschaouch presented a hypothesis, very likely and convincing in the present state of the sources, according to which the "class" division of *curiae* was based on a property census[28]. According to his theory, the formal distinction between the internal structure of the *comitia centuriata* in Rome and the composition of municipal curiae would all come down to the fact that the Servian classes were higher level units than *centuriae* (voting units), while the curial ones were fractions of whole voting units of the popular assemblies of *coloniae* and *municipia*.

But the question remains of how we ought to reconcile the existence of property classes with the information we have of another internal subdivision of *curiae*, namely that into groups of *seniores* and *iuniores*. We know of those from two inscriptions, from Leptis Minor and Lambaesis[29]. The first mentions the *iuventus cur(iae) Ulp(iae)*[30]; the second, which dates to the reign of Severus

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[27] For the cost of such "banquets" in Africa, probably hardly Lucullan, see Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 62–64 and 108–119.

[28] Beschaouch, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 38: a list of sources to mention the Servian *census* and the division of *populus Romanus* into five property classes.

[29] For a discussion see Kotula, *Curies municipales...* (n. 1), pp. 130 ff.

[30] *CIL* VIII 22901 + *AE* 1896 32, not dated. I believe it is not an autonomous *collegium iuvenum* that is meant here, but merely a fraction of the *curia*, its junior group.

Alexander, just like both the Mustitan inscriptions to mention *classes*, points to a group of curial dignitaries, *seniores curiae Sabinae*[31]. Yet, as Beschaouch was right to point out, it would be difficult to regard the Mustitan *classes* as such age groups, since there were in Mustis at least three of them. We must then suppose that in those cities where the citizenship formed into age-based groups of *curia* members alongside the political units of *curiae* themselves and their *classes*, the two divisions co-existed. Probably such a system of perpendicular divisions made the life of the *curia* a tad more complicated, especially when it came to co-ordinating its operations. The *seniores* and *iuniores* groups in Lambaesis and Leptis Minor worshipped and honoured emperors, their outstanding fellow citizens, their benefactors and patrons just as the several *classes* did. However, it bears emphasising that in contrast to the official distribution of *curia* members into *classes*, the senior and junior clubs formed quite spontaneously: an illustration of the universal Roman association drive, they were a result of natural differences, also in rank, of the *natu maiores* and *natu minores* in the municipal community. They were purely social institutions and did not encroach upon the political divisions and organisations of the *populus in curias contributus*.

The significance of discovering a system of property classes in the internal structure of municipal *curiae* lies primarily in facilitating the solution of one of the hardest problems presented by that institution so far. Namely, that kind of division is a decisive argument in favour of the hypothesis put forward by J. Roman and taken up by me, according to which in Africa, too, *curiae* comprised all the citizens of a city, rather than only the privileged elite, as others supposed[32]. Naturally we would need to make the assumption that the division into *classes* was universal in the internal structure of *curiae*, but that does not seem to raise any doubts. As indicated by the inscriptions quoted above, it was official, and so probably based on the charters of *municipia* and colonies which regulated the *distributio curiarum*. In that case it would have been present in African *curiae* since the dawn of the Empire, and that would apply, among others, to Mustis, and perhaps already to the original *municipium Iulium*.

Without returning to the arguments adduced in *Curies municipales*... in order to demonstrate that they comprised the whole municipal *populus* in the political sense, let me add to them an interesting testimony from Agbia. That city in Proconsular Africa, again a neighbour of Mustis, apparently until the 3rd century

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[31] *CIL* VIII 2714 + 19118. The presence of *iuniores* and *seniores* in the *curiae Ulpia* (Leptis Minor) and *Sabina* (Lambaesis) would seem to mean that such groups of *curiales* existed in both those cities from the 2nd century on.

[32] See Kotula, *Curies municipales*... (n. 1), pp. 54–62, arguing against G. Charles-Picard. That scholar presented further arguments in defence of his thesis and against mine in his review of my book, before he could have access to the new Mustis inscriptions: G. Charles-Picard, BCTH IV 1968, pp. 223 f.).

remained, just as the nearby Thugga, a so-called double community[33]. Now one of the inscriptions from Agbia, made in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161), actually mentions that "double community": *pagus* (*civium Romanorum*) *et civitas*[34]. It is a typical honorific inscription, in which a grateful city decrees honours due its outstanding citizen and patron for his generous donations to the public. It deserves our attention that a text of this type should contain formulaic expressions commonly found in inscriptions referring to municipal *curiae*: "decurionibus [...] sportulas [...] universis civibus epulum". It would seem to be one of the many African examples of native cities, *civitates peregrinae*, aspiring to take over certain Roman institutions or even to apply Roman terminology to their own political solutions before they reached the higher status of a *municipium* or *colonia*. For us here what matters is that the formula *universi cives* already replaces here, as though in advance, the expression *universae curiae*, obviously synonymous to municipal *curiae* which undoubtedly did not yet exist in *civitas Agbia* under Antoninus Pius.

Also in those cities where *curiae* are attested in inscriptions, the expressions *universae curiae* (or similar) and *universi cives* (or *universus populus*, *universa plebs* etc.) appear in inscriptions side by side. In some of those cases they were without any doubt used synonymously and interchangeably[35].

As I have mentioned above, the new information on the organisational structure of *curiae* reinforces the impression that they took a completely Roman form. However, for the problem at hand the archaic "Servian" traditions are less important than the role played by the property classes in the changing societal relationships of the Imperial era. In chapters 2 and 3 of my *Curies municipales...* I tried to demonstrate that under the principate that institution, democratic in its premises, a legacy of the Roman *comitia*, was doomed to a gradual loss of its original political functions. As monarchy solidified in the Empire, *curiae* first of all lost their important power to appoint municipial officials and to issue decrees. In the face of the growing authority of the city council, *splendidissimus ordo*, the assembly of *universi cives* distributed into *curiae* fell by the wayside. The

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[33] That view has recently been opposed by C. Poinssot, who maintains L. Poinssot's claim that Agbia was administratively subordinate to Thugga as its *vicus*: Poinssot, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 237 and n. 77. However, see Pflaum, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 76.

[34] *CIL* VIII 1548 = Dessau, *ILS* 6827.

[35] For example on the 3rd century inscriptions from Sufetula, *CIL* VIII 11332, *curiae universae* to the city's curator for his services to *singuli universique cives*; or *ibid.* 11340, *ordo et universus popul(us) col(oniae) Sufetulensis* to a city magistrate and at the same time imperial procurator, for services *erga singulos universosque cives*. In that context it is tempting to suppose that in the inscriptions from those *municipia* and *coloniae* where so far we know nothing of municipal *curiae*, occurrences of *universi cives* (and similar formulae) are identical with *curiae*, provided that at the moment of their carving the city already had a Roman charter. That would allow us to add at least a few cities to the map of *curiae* in Africa; but in the present state of the sources it would be difficult to go beyond guesses.

banal epigraphic formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, so obvious and common that two letters, standing out in the text by their size, were enough to indicate it in official documents engraved in bronze or marble, is an eloquent symbol of the new political reality in which the city *populus* of full citizens had to be content with empty acclamation of motions prepared by the council of *decuriones*. Native African traditions, it seems, had been moving in the same direction anyway. The *portae* of *civitas Thuggensis*, sections of its popular assembly which had survived through the Neo-Punic period and into Roman times, were probably similarly subordinate to the local "senate"[36]. In such circumstances *curiae* inevitably degenerated, turning into quasi-colleges, increasingly locking themselves up within their close confines and contenting themselves with religious and social activities. That process probably went further in the 2nd century under the rule of the Antonines to find its conclusion in the "military monarchy" of the Severi.

The political degradation of the popular assembly was accompanied by corresponding social change. Let me remind the reader that beginning with the end of the 2nd century, within the order of *decuriones* itself, so far quite homogeneous, there occurred a clear stratification, resulting in the emergence of an oligarchic group of *principales*, well known from the African epigraphical corpus. The same phenomenon took place *a fortiori* in the collective of the *universi cives*, and so within the structure of municipal *curiae*. Now it is very characteristic that no activity of the several curial classes was apparent before the 3rd century, and it is only under Severus Alexander that they left a trace of their life in Mustitan inscriptions. In earlier inscriptions one usually finds *universae curiae*, or else *curiae singulae* taken as a whole. Most likely it is the aforementioned social change that explains such a late appearance of *classes* in the preserved sources. These smallest cells of the municipal *populus* were undoubtedly born with the *curiae* and for two centuries of the principate led their statutory existence within the voting units of African *municipia* and *coloniae*, but it was only the climate of a later era with the stratification of social classes typical of it that woke them to autonomous life, making them closed "clubs" of sorts whose hierarchical gradation mocked the democratic appearances of municipal *comitia*. Thus from the 3rd century on whole electoral sections lost initiative for their subsections which presumably numbered fewer than twenty citizens each: the *classes* and the groups of *seniores* and *iuniores*; and by initiative I mean that regarding the whole urban life, political, religious and social: dedications in honour of emperors, worship of gods, construction and reconstruction of temples, finally holding regular *epula* or curial banquets.

We can witness that "club-like" operational style on the example of *curia Augusta* of the *municipium* of Mustis, whose epithet *honestissima* seems to reflect the social division, dating to the Severan era, into *honestiores* and *humiliores*. It

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[36] Cf. Seston, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 293 f.

is not an accident that the second of the two Mustitan inscriptions quoted above indicates a privileged status of the first class, which led its *curia Augusta* and received from the wealthy *flaminica*, who certainly belonged to the same social class and circle as the most prominent *curiales*, a considerable sum for its expenses. However, members of the third class of that *curia* were not quite poor either if together they were able to pay for reconstructing the temple of Pantheus Augustus[37]. In the ubiquitous emulation, in that municipal rivalry in furnishing their home city with as much grandeur as possible, they too tried to distinguish themselves at all cost from the masses of the *humiliores*. The dominant position of the members of the first class, the *principales* of the city; the ambitions of the third class citizens, possibly not yet the lowest in the structure of the Mustitan popular assembly; it all seems to indicate that the dissociative process in the municipal society was running even deeper. In the third century of the principate, so grandly begun in Africa under the auspices of the Severi, *populus in classes distributus* heralded the dynamic change from which the hierarchical pyramid-like social structure typical of the late Empire would emerge.

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[37] There is not enough data for us to calculate the cost of that undertaking, and thereby to determine, if roughly, the degree of wealth possessed by those less distinguished *curiales*. In his statistics of public expenses in African cities, R. Duncan-Jones listed 27 examples of liturgical construction of temples. Most of those fall in the 2nd century and during the reign of the Severi. The most expensive of those temples, the Capitol in Lambaesis, cost its founder 600 thousand sestertii. The cheapest, dedicated to Mercury Sobrius, 3 thousand sestertii. Thirteen of the examples, so nearly half of those listed, fall between 100 and 20 thousand sestertii. The latter sum is regarded by the author as the cost of an average temple with appropriate décor (R. Duncan-Jones, *Costs, Outlays and Summae Honorariae from Roman Africa*, PBSR XXX 1962, pp. 79 f., cf. p. 64). If we were to assume that such was the sum collected by *classis tertia curiae Augustae* for the reconstruction and renovation of the temple of Pantheus Augustus; that an average *curia* in Africa counted, as Duncan-Jones would have it (*Wealth and Munificence in Roman North Africa*, PBSR XXXI 1963, p. 171; but cf. Kotula, *Curies municipales...* [n. 1], pp. 62–67) 60 members; and that there were in Mustis only three property classes, each of which had on average 20 members – then the share per member would be a round one thousand sestertii. Now if we take into account that under the Severi charity for public undertakings was still generous, we have here people of rather modest means. However, too many variables in those rough calculations remain unknown.

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CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF EARLY RECEPTION OF LUCRETIUS IN POLAND*

By

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Ancient Christianity did not only cause the elimination of the Jovian Olympus or its transformation into new religious realisations, but it also gave an effective blow to its most dangerous enemy, Epicureism. In its fight against Olympus, Christianity utilized Epicureism in part as an ally, but at the same time, it saw in Epicureism a danger to itself even greater than that of Olympus.

In this depopularization of the teachings of Epicurus even Lucretius suffered. Belittled by the Church writers, Lactantius, Jerome and others[1], Lucretius' work with difficulty survived the first centuries of the Middle Ages. In fact, although with the passing of time some macuscripts of Lucretius became once more available (particularly from the time of the Carolingian Renaissance)[2], even the later Middle Ages did not create conditions favourable to the spread of his Epicurean teachings. These teachings – which were known not only or even in spite of Lucretius' poem as much as from Cicero's anti-Epicurean writings[3] – bore a decidedly negative reputation for godlessness, earthly hedonism and enmity towards the Church. For this reason, even in the 13th century, Dante was not yet able to think about Epicureism without condemning it[4].

It was only the 15th century that declared battle in order to once more restore to Epicureism its proper place in European learning and philosophy. At that time,

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1 The work of Lactantius *De opificio Dei* is a seemingly continuous dispute with Epicurus-Lucretius; this author attacks them also in the *Divinae institutiones*. He does not hold back from expressions such as *delirat Lucretius*, *poeta inanissimus*, *ineptus* and the like. Also unfavourable is Jerome's comment on Lucretius: "T. Lucretius [...] amatorio poculo in furorem versus, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset, [...] propria se manu interfecit" (*Chronici canones*, ed. I.K. Fortheringham, London 1923, p. 231, for the year 1923 = 94 BC).

2 M. Brożek, *Dzieje tekstu poematu Lukrecjusza*, Meander XXVI 1971, pp. 101 f.

3 J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Wien 1930, p. 288.

4 Burckhardt, *op. cit.* (n. 3.), pp. 288 f.

Renaissance also began to restore Luctretius' poem, which, for almost a thousand years had lain unkown and condemned, or at best hidden from Church authorities, to the status of a literary and, shortly after, a philosophical work. We know that the well-known Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), who searched for and discovered many manuscripts of ancient writers, in 1417/1418 found a manuscript of Lucretius' poem and made a copy for himself. The first copy was already finished in 1418 and this very copy became the source for others which, however, were generally made only in the second half of the 15th century. As we well know, Guttenberg's discovery did not immediately strike the pen from the hands of scribes. The first printed editions of Lucretius' poem appeared in the last quarter of the 15th century[5]. Since then, this poem has not ceased to influence the form and thought of European, and therefore also Polish, writers and thinkers.

The preparation of a monograph on the history of Lucretius in Poland was the idea of the untiring researcher of ancient inspiration in the history of our writers, Tadeusz Sinko, that Titan of not only classical studies, but also of Polish and Latin-Polish studies in Poland. He tried to interest his students in whatever he did not have the time to do himself (since his almost ninety-year lifespan proved much too short). The observations in this article are also the fruit of his encouragement. This fruit is necessarily incomplete. The preparation of the entire subject requires assiduous preliminary studies, detailed studies from which the monographic image of the topic could be composed as visualized by T. Sinko.

In these studies, however, it is necessary to distinguish the influence of Epicureism on later thought from the influence of Lucretius himself. In Poland, Epicureism was known not only from Lucretius, but also from other sources, e.g., from the writings of Cicero or Lactantius. Research into the reception of Lucretius will, of course, need to be conducted against the backdrop of the history of Epicureism or the materialistic, hedonistic and sensualistic philosophical concepts developed from it or even the polemics stemming from them, but despite this, the result of these investigations should give the clearest possible picture of the reception of Lucretius alone, both here in Poland and more generally in the literature and learning of the world.

In mediaeval Poland, it is likely that only this negative attitude of the Church toward Epicurean thought, was known, particularly in its mediaeval shape. Among us at that time, even the name Epicurus or Lucretius would have been familiar, at least to foreign clergy[6].

The first preserved traces of a knowledge of Epicureism among us can be attested in the well known precursor of humanism in our country, Gregory of

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[5] The first edition of Lucretius appeared in Brescia in 1473, the next in Verona in 1486, and then in Venice in 1495 and 1500 (*editio Aldina*).

[6] In any case, also e.g. by Lactantius, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, etc.

Sanok (d. 1477), who is also believed to have known Lucretius' work. It would appear, however, that this view is taking matters too far.

Philippus Callimachus writes that in his early youth Gregory spent several years in German territory, even beyond the Laba river[7]. But is it possible to theorize that somewhere out there and already at that time Gregory became acquainted with Epicureism?

Later, between 1437–1439, he used to visit Italy. Here, in humanistic circles, the recently discovered manuscripts of ancient authors were certainly being much discussed, Lucretius among them. However, the fact that even Poggio himself had in 1429 not yet recovered his manuscript and did not read Lucretius in full[8], that Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) did not yet reveal a knowledge of *De rerum natura*, that even Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), even he, most probably knew Lucretius only second-hand, i.e. from quotations in ancient lexicographers, grammarians and encyclopaedists[9], demonstrates that the dissemination of first-hand knowledge of Lucretius' poem was in Italy even at that time rather slow. This suggests that such an early exposure to the poem was very unlikely for Gregory as well. In the humanistic circles in Italy, Gregory could only have heard (but not read) about the discovery of Lucretius' work and perhaps its contents as well.

It is also possible that Gregory could have heard about Lucretius later, in Hungary, in the circle of the bishop-humanist János Vitéz in Várad[10].

Finally, after 1469/1470, Gregory's interest in Lucretius' poem may have been evoked by an Italian refugee, Phlippus Callimachus (1438–1496). He was Gregory's guest and may have brought news about Epicurean-Lucretian affairs into Gregory's entourage and conversed with him on their subject. Gregory may have been open to some of these concepts, and later, in his biography, Philippus may have indicated that Gregory had accepted them.

All of this, however, remains in the realm of assumption and possibility. There is no strong evidence that Callimachus brought with him to Dunajów a manuscript of the poem *De rerum natura*[11], just as nothing permits us to conclude that Gregory himself read the poem[12].

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[7] *Vita Gregorii* 1: "in Germaniam ultra Albim fluvium penetravit".

[8] In 1425, Poggio wrote to Niccoliegi in Florence, to whom he had once sent (probably in 1418) his manuscript of Lucretius: "If you send me Lucretius, many persons will be much obliged to you" (*Epist.* II 26). But even in 1426, he wrote again: "Make an effort, if you can, so that I can have Lucretius; for until now I haven't had the chance to read it through, since it has constantly been out of my house" (*Epist.* IV 2). Cf. G.D. Hadzsits, *Lucretius and His Influence*, London 1935, pp. 252 f.

[9] Hadzsits, *op. cit.* (n. 8.), pp. 256 f.

[10] K. Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 1, Kraków 1900, pp. 315 f.

[11] T. Sinko, *Polski Anti-Lukrecyusz*, Kraków 1911, p. 7.

[12] Cf. K. Leśniak, *Lukrecjusz*, Warszawa 1960, p. 117: "Gregory drew the theory of sensual recognition from the poem of Lucretius"; also A. Nowicki, *Grzegorz z Sanoka*, Warszawa 1958, p. 170: "He most probably read Lucretius in his later years".

The arguments proposed by A. Nowicki[13] (following T. Sinko and A. Miodoński), which would attest to Gregory's knowledge of the work of Lucretius do not prove this knowledge came from Gregory's own personal reading. The expression "(Gregorius) legebat [...] aut medicinas aut rerum naturas"[14] is seen to be worth little already by Nowicki (p. 197), following Sinko, who correctly reminds us that Isidore of Seville also left a work *de natura rerum* at the beginning of the 7th century, and, we may add, a hundred years later, Bede did the same. Moreover, just as *medicinas* denotes work within the domain of medicine, so *rerum naturas* can denote work within the domain of nature in general, and not particularly the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius. The juxtaposition of *medicinas* with *rerum naturas* also permits us to think of the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny. In any case, in the library of P. Tomicki (d. 1536), besides books on theology and medicine, Pliny (the Elder)[15] was also found (among others).

The second argument is also hypothetical. This argument proposes that Callimachus ascribed to Gregory the opinion[16] that the belief that animals should be considered as non-rational beings (*bruta carere ratione*) stemmed from human beings, not nature, since everything originates from the same seeds (*semina*) and all living creatures (*animantia*) preserve the system of multiplying themselves and existing[17] – as if this opinion was supposed to have stemed from Lucretius' *De rer. nat.* II 991 f. With Lucretianism and Epicureism in general, this opinion of Callimachus-Gregory shares only the general thesis: "omnium initium ab eisdem seminibus". Lacking in Lucretius, however, is the basic thesis of Callimachus-Gregory: "bruta carere ratione hominum dicebat esse inventa, non naturae". Also lacking is the comment: "generandi rationem vitamque ab omnibus animantibus aeque tueri ac conservari", as a conclusion or else argumentation to support the general thesis: "omnium initium ab eisdem seminibus". There are no grounds, therefore, to conclude that the above-mentioned opinion of Callimachus-Gregory can be traced to Lucretius alone[18]. The question of the rationality of animals was already discussed in antiquity, e.g. in Seneca and Plutarch[19], and the problem

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[13] Nowicki, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 196 f.

[14] *Vita Gregorii* 50.

[15] H. Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Kraków 1935, p. 696. Let us add that the aforementioned Bede enlarged his work *De natura rerum*, based on the work of Isidore, with borrowings from Pliny, and he refers the reader to Pliny for more information on a given topic.

[16] *Vita Gregorii* 45.

[17] We should read *generandi rationem vitamque*, after A. Miodoński, although MSS C, F and the last editor I. Lichońska (*Philippi Callimachi Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei*, ed. I. Lichońska, Varsoviae 1963) have *ratione*, which was certainly not the intention of Callimachus-Gregory.

[18] Sinko, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 6.

[19] Sen. *Epist.* 121, where at the end we read: "tacitis quoque et brutis [...] ad vivendum sollertia est". (As for Plutarch, cf. Sinko, *op. cit.* [n. 11], p. 6, footnote).

of the difference between the *animal rationale* (human beings), and the *animal brutum* (animals) was particularly emphasized by Christianity, so Gregory could have been familiar with these from other sources.

The third argument suggesting that there was a direct connection between the thought of Callimachus/Gregory and the thought of Lucretius, also lacks force of evidence. Callimachus writes: "quae a physicis dicuntur de solis lunaeque ac reliquorum siderum magnitudine" etc. (*Vita* 45)[20]. Epicurean views on the magnitude of the sun are dicussed by Cicero, e.g., in *Academica* II 82. He also returns quite often[21] to this topic and that of the magnitude of stars in general. He, too, employs the collective term *physici*. Similarly Seneca and Pliny the Elder did not omit this topic in their discussion of natural phenomena[22].

Finally, the occurrence of the expression *aestate cicadae* in Gregory proves little, for these words must have been familiar to Gregory from Ovid[23], whose lexicon resounds in Gregory's entire work[24].

I. Zarębski[25] discovered in cod. 1198 of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow a commentary to Vergil's *Bucolics* which had not been noted by Wisłowski in his description of the contents of this codex. Zarębski expresed the hypothesis that this commentary could have served Gregory in his exegesis of the *Bucolics* at the Cracow University in 1438–1439 which is noted by Callimachus[26]. The hypothesis is interesting, but not necessarily fruitful. Interesting, because the sixth *Bucolic* of Vergil, as explained by Gregory, provided in lines 31 ff. an opportunity to refer to Epicureism and Lucretius; but it is uncertain if fruitful, because this codex Bibl. Jag. 1198 was bought by the the Cracow University in 1447[27], that is ten years after Gregory's presentation of the exegesis of the

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[20] Lucr. V 564 f. (cf. IV 478 f.); cf. T. Sinko, *De Gregorii Sanocei studiis humanioribus*, Eos VI 1900, pp. 268 f.; idem, *Polski Anti-Lukrecyusz* (n. 11), p. 6 f.; Nowicki, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 198 f.

[21] E.g., *Acad.* II 126; 128 (cf. II 19 and 79); *Fin.* I 28.

[22] Sen. *Nat.* I 3, 10; Plin. *HN* II 49 f.; 58; 85; cf. Bede *De natura rerum* 22.

[23] Lucr. IV 58 ("cum teretes ponunt tunicas aestate cicadae"); Ov. *Ars* I 271 ("vere prius volucres taceant, aestate cicadae"); Gregory, *Ad Callimachum* 5 ("id melius gratis possent aestate cicadae"); cf. A. Miodoński, *Philippi Callimachi et Gregorii Sanocei carminum ineditorum corollarium*, Kraków 1904, pp. 13 f. (= Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności XXXVI 1903, Kraków 1904, pp. 406 f.).

[24] The contents of Gregory's work (similarly to that of Callimachus to Gregory, to which Gregory responds in his work) of an elegiac-erotic nature, the elegiac couplet and also Ovid's favourite terms *patulus*, *Thalia*, *Aonius*, *garrulus*, *mulcere*, *mitis* which are rare or absent in Lucretius, clearly indicate Ovid's influence.

[25] I. Zarębski, *Okres wczesnego humanizmu*, Kraków 1964, pp. 168 f., n. 26 (= *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, Kraków 1964, pp. 151–187).

[26] *Vita Gregorii* 2.

[27] This can be seen from the original annotation on the cover: "Liber librariae collegii artistarum emptus pro tribus florenis, quorum duos mgr Zwanow dedit, quos ex dispensatione tenuit, et tertium de fisco [...] mgr Jacobus protunc decanus adiunxit". The Peter of Żwanów mentioned

Bucolics. Nor we do know where it was purchased or how long the codex had been in Cracow. In any case, what we read in it concerning Lucretius is in fact a clear misunderstanding, which argues against the commentator's knowledge of Lucretius' work[28].

As a result of the above observations, it seems that the issue of the Gregory's knowledge of Lucretius has to be punctuated with a large question mark, if not crossed out. Gregory could have known something about Lucretius only in an indirect way.

Similarly, other people in our country, and in fact not just in Poland, must have gained information about Lucretius earlier than they gained first-hand knowledge of him through their own reading of his work. In the libraries of professors at the Cracow University in the 15th and at the beginning of the 16th century Lucretius is not found[29]. He appears here only later in the 16th century, and we can consider this as the earliest time that the knowledge of Lucretius could be obtained in Poland through a direct reading of his work.

Particularly in the 16th century (and even earlier, in fact) many people would travel to Italy to study. They could all have come across the problem of Epicureism and information about the poem of Lucretius in some way (and in fact most probably did so). Not all of them, however, left clear traces of this in their works.

As is noted by the outstanding researcher into Polish culture and learning in those times, H. Barycz[30], Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) lived in Italy in 1496–1503, which, in fact, is after the first printed editions of Lucretius and in a time when the Epicurean movement was well established in Italy, without doubt fuelled by the discovery and publication of Lucretius' work. Whether or not, however, he came to know the contents of that work through his own reading, is proved neither by his mention of atomism in *De revolutionibus* I 6 (towards the end of the chapter)[31], nor the similarity of the thought of *De revolutionibus* I 8

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here was a Master from 1433, Dean in 1443 and died before 1450, while the Jacob mentioned in the provenance of the codex is Jacob from Łyszów, Master from 1441 and Dean in 1447, 1451 and 1466. During the lifetime of Peter of Żwanów, Jacob was Dean in 1447.

[28] In the commentary to the words *per inane*, *Bucol.* 6, 31 we read: "Diversae sunt philosophorum sententiae de rerum origine. Nam Anaxagoras et Heraclitus dicebant omnia ex igne procreata, [...] Thales Milesius ex aquae humore, [...] Empedocles et Lucretius ex quattuor elementis; Epicurei vero, quos nunc dissequitur (hic sequitur?), dicunt duo rerum principia, coprus et inane: corpus vocant atomum, inane vero spatium in quo sunt atomi. Ex his duobus volunt quattuor elementa procreata, quae omnibus aliis rebus praestant originem".

[29] W. Szelińska, *Biblioteki profesorów uniwersytetu krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1966.

[30] H. Barycz, *Mikołaj Kopernik, wielki uczony Odrodzenia*, Warszawa 1953, pp. 43 and 54.

[31] The relevant words: "Quemadmodum ex adverso [...] stellarum sphaeram", which in the MS are enclosed in parentheses and lightly crossed out, were already restored to the text by the Zellers in their Munich edition in 1949, and not by R. Gansiniec in the publication of book I in 1953, as

with the *De rerum natura* IV 387 ff. Here, Copernicus is clearly quoting Vergil's *Aen.* III 72: "provehimur portu terraeque urbesque recedunt", and he in no way notes the fact that Lucretius had already made a similar observation even though invoking Lucretius would in this case have been more apt! In view of these facts, we must abandon all our *piissima desideria* for an early introduction of Lucretius into Poland.

Copernicus, who mentioned by name many authors who had been a source or inspiration for his approving or critical thoughts, did not mention Lucretius[32]. Overall, it does not seem possible to obtain any clearer evidence for Copernicus' Lucretianism.

For some writers, their subject matter did not yield an opportunity to refer to Epicurus or Epicureism. Thus, e.g., even on medical and therefore nature-related topics, adhering closely to this specialized subject, Józef Struś (Struthius, 1510–1586) mentions atoms in his medical work[33], but only in comparison: the "seeds" which cause the Gallic illness to become infectious are tiny bodies resembling atoms. "But not Epicurean atoms", the author stipulates.

In his lecture on the atomically invisible germs of disease Struthius followed in the footsteps of a doctor from Padua, Hieronymus Fracastorius (1483–1553), whom Struthius defends right after his mention of atoms against the charge of Epicureism (in this way defending himself as well). Struthius refers primarily to Galen and Hippocrates, who also see the invisible "seeds of pestilence" as the cause of infectious disease. Fracastorius, however, could have been led to consider the cause of infectious disease in invisible "seeds" by not only the "seeds" of Galen or Hippocrates, but also the atoms of Epicurus.

During the Renaissance, the main obstacle to revealing a knoweldge of Epicurean or Epicurean-Lucretian ideas was still the consideration of orthodoxy with respect to the teaching of the Church. University faculty was composed of clergy. These, bound by either the traditional world-view or else by religious obligations, even if they knew and were inclined to accept certain conclusions of Epicurean thought as rational (as Callimachus asserted that Gregory of Sanok had done), did not want and indeed could not do so overtly.

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thinks A. Nowicki (*op. cit.* [n. 12], p. 195), who moreover baselessly and unnecessarily concludes from this comparison of invisibly small atoms and the visibly great bodies created by them with the relationship of small astronomical distances to great ones, conclusions that go too far pertaining to Copernicus as a supporter of atomism.

[32] Pertaining to the matter of the size of the sun or moon, *De revolutionibus* IV 20, he could have rejected what Lucretius writes about the sun in V 564 f., but here he does not assume a polemical stance.

[33] *Sphygmicae artis libri quinque a Josepho Struthio conscripti*, rev. J. Wikarjak, Posnaniae 1968 (Polish translation alongside the Latin text), pp. 308 f.

Moreover, many other educated people in Poland during the early Renaissance, even if they revealed that knowledge of Lucretius, also compensated for this by religious or simply anti-Lucretian declarations.

In Paul of Krosno (d. 1517) and his student John of Wiślica (d. not long after 1516)[34] it is difficult to find even a trace of familiarity with Lucretius.

Similarly, Andrew Krzycki (1482–1537), Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland, did not leave in his poetic works any traces of a knowledge of Lucretius, although as a student in Bologna at the end of the 15th century he could have become familiar with him in Italy[35]. The same can be said as well of his protégé Klemens Janicki (1516–1543). For although he, too, was in Italy between 1538–1540, no echoes of Lucretius can be discerned in his works. Admittedly, already W. Masłowski[36] and others after him, including L. Ćwikliński[37], would like to compare praise of wisdom (*sophiae*) in Janicki's *Tristia* (3, 49 ff.), to Lucretius' *De rerum natura* II 1–61 and III 1 ff., and to see in this praise clear evidence that Janicki had read Lucretius. For this hypothesis, or even assertion, to gain credibility, however, one must bring to it a large measure of one's own desire that this be so. For neither Janicki's thought nor the vocabulary used in the praise support this conclusion.

Morever, the attempt to comment[38] on *Tristia* 1, 85 "mortem astare" as a *locus similis* to Lucretius III 959 "mors ad caput adstitit" (cf. 1078 "finis vitae mortalibus adstat") also comes to nothing because the word *adstare* (*astare*) is commonplace in the poets as are expressions such as *effigies*, *imago*, *umbra astat* with reference to visions and images in dreams.

By ascertaining the lack of clear traces of the influence of reading Lucretius in the writers mentioned above, we would rather see in this the proof that these writers did not reveal their familiarity with Lucretius rather than that they had not read him at all. For we can discern this concealment in their contemporary, Jan Dantyszek.

Dantyszek travelled throughout Europe and also in Italy; he came late to the priesthood. Despite this, we find in his writings only one or two phrases that

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[34] *Pauli Crosnensis atque Ioannis Visliciensis carmina*, ed. B. Kruczkiewicz, Cracoviae 1887, pp. XXXII ff. (cf. p. XXXVII, where Kruczkiewicz concludes that Paul had a knowledge of Catullus, Vergil, Horace, Persius, Lucan and others), also p. XLII (referring to the classical education of John of Wiślica).

[35] *Andreae Cricii carmina*, ed. K. Morawski, Cracoviae 1888, pp. XXIX ff., XLV ff. (pertaining to the Latin poets known to Krzycki). R. Gansiniec planned to prepare a new edition of the works of Krzycki, but was unable to do so due to his sudden death.

[36] W. Masłowski, *De vita et poeti Clementis Janicii*, Vratislaviae 1857, p. 36.

[37] L. Ćwikliński, *Klemens Janicki, poeta uwieńczony*, Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydziału Filologicznego XVII 1893, pp. 283–476, Kraków 1893 (referring to Lucretius on p. 458); cf. *Clem. Janicii poetae laureati carmina*, ed. L. Ćwikliński, Cracoviae 1930, p. L.

[38] Klemens Janicki, *Carmina, Dzieła wszystkie*, ed. J. Krókowski, Wrocław 1966, p. 21.

suggest Lucretius[39] among many echoes of Ovid, Vergil, Statius and many other ancient poets. The strongest evidence of borrowing from Lucretius and therefore of a knowledge of his poem *De rerum natura* in Dantyszek are the words *genus omne animantum*[40], which can only recall Lucretius' *De rerum natura* I 4, for it is less probable that Dantyszek acquired this expression indirectly[41].

If, however, Dantyszek borrowed these words directly from Lucretius, then we again wonder that in the same work, i.e., *Carm.* 34 (*Epithalamium reginae Bonae*), in the speech of Mars to Venus, Dantyszek exploited only Statius' *Thebaid* III 291 ff., although Lucretius' famous invocation to book I of the *De rerum natura* could have provided him with many beautiful turns of phrase, spoken by Mars to the goddess. We can deem such an avoidance of Lucretius on the part of an orthodox Christian and son of the Church as completely understandable. More than that – we can even see in Dantyszek the first Polish Anti-Lucretian.

For in Dantyszek's *Carm*. XXXIII 1 ff.[42] we read such statements as "sunt superi, caelumque suo rectore moveri quis, nisi mentis inops, cernens convexa negabit aetheris? Hoc tellus, aer et pontus..." etc., so

> that there are heavenly beings, and who, unless one deprived of reason, will look at the vault of heaven and conclude that it is not moved by its steersman! By his hand is steered the earth, the air and the sea and everything that dwells within, is born of them and that takes its place in the established order. Surely, he has a care for this great machine of the world, thanks to which the life of the human race and all kinds of living creatures are equally upheld with lifegiving breath. He, omnipotent sower of human beings and creator of all directs everything by his will. Nothing ever happens that the will of God has not long ago foreseen...

If we then read such words and in addition to this if, in the Latin text, we clearly perceive Lucretian style and lexicon and a Lucretian spirit, then it is difficult not to see in these words a conscious polemic with Lucretius' ideas.

In this way, from this work of Dantyszek from 1518 we have gained a much earlier "sure document attesting to the vitality of Lucretius in Poland" than from

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[39] Ioannis Dantisci *Carmina*, ed. S. Skimina, Cracoviae 1950. Parallel passages from ancient authors are noted below the text. On p. 14 (ad I 3, 221) Skimina notes that the expression *belli fulmen* was used by Lucretius III 1032 (= 1034 Martin) for Scipio, conqueror of Carthage; but Dantyszek, when he called Hannibal and Hasdrubal *duo belli fulmina* was familiar with this expression probably from Vergil *Aen.* IV 842: "geminos, duo fulmina belli, Scipiadas". This was already exploited by Paul of Krosno (p. 21 in the edition of Kruczkiewicz), and also by John of Wiślica, *Bell. Pruth.* I 19 f.: "fulmina Martis Scipiadas". Similarly, the expression *canum vis* in Dantyszek, 23, 94 (ed. Skimina, p. 96). Also Dantyszek knew the ablative *famē* primarily from Vergil (*Georg.* IV 318; *Aen.* VI 421). Cf. also following note.

[40] 24, 170, ed. Skimina, p. 108.

[41] It also appears unexpectedly, e.g., in the epilogue to the work *De conflictu duorum ducum et animarum* of Reiner of Leodium (1156–after 1182); cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. III, München 1931, p. 168.

[42] Ed. Skimina, pp. 92 f.

the elegy of Kochanowski to Firley[43] which was previously viewed as such by T. Sinko[44] and which was composed after 1570.

More specific inquiries may reveal that this elegy is not even the second earliest such document. It is preceded, for instance, by the earliest editions of the *De rerum natura* from the catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow originating from the years 1514, 1531, 1564 and 1566. For these editions were not only printed at that time, but presumably were also early arrivals in Poland[45]. The presence of Lucretius' poem is in any case noted in the library of Walenty Widawski (1537–1601), who died while he was Rector of the Cracow University[46].

Before we pass to Kochanowski, we should mention that in spite of everything, the knowledge of Lucretius in Poland in the 16th century was not an evenly dispersed phenomenon. For one could think that Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski (1503–1572) also preceded Kochanowski as a "document" of the knowledge of Lucretius. We read even in the literature on this subject such statements as: "A. Frycz-Modrzewski knew and quoted Lucretius..."[47]. Meanwhile the only quotation from Lucretius[48] in Modrzewski – "Denique coelesti sumus omnes semine oriundi, omnibus ille idem pater est" – was without a doubt repeated directly or indirectly after Lactantius[49]. Modrzewski does not mention Lucretius by name but he calls him in a non-specific way, *poeta ethnicus*.

Finally, however, given the present state of preservation and our knowledge of early literature in Poland, the first author among us who identifies Lucretius by name and even with some praise is Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584). In one of his Latin elegies (II 10, 65), Lucretius appears as *Latii lumen orbis*, i.e. as the star of the Latin world. In another (II 9, 22), Kochanowski also mentioned Epicurus and his theory of the building of the cosmos from atoms, without doubt also influenced by his reading of Lucretius.

However, in his elegy to Firley[50] (IV 3), which is the one most important for our topic, Kochanowski ascribes only as much reason to Lucretius as he could

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43 *Eleg.* IV 3; discussed later.

44 Sinko, *Polski Anti-Lukrecyusz* (n. 11), pp. 7 f.

45 Unfortunately, the examplars of these editions in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library lack annotations which would permit the identification of their earliest provenance. To the editions from the 16th century that are found in the Jagiellonian Library also belongs the edition of D. Lambinus, Frankfurt 1583, and others from 1595.

46 Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońkiego...* (n. 15), p. 577; Nowicki, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 193, following H. Rybus, *Widawskie Archiwum Kościelne*, Łódź 1939, p. 35.

47 Nowicki, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 194.

48 Lucr. II 991 f.; cf. A. Fricii Modrevii *Commentarium de republica emendanda libri V* ([1]1551), ed. K. Kumaniecki, vol. 1, Warszawa 1953, p. 137 (*De rep. emend.* I 24, 3, 1).

49 *Divinae institutiones* VI 10, 7; *De opificio Dei* XIX 3. In both places in the same wording as in Modrzewski.

50 Cf. Sinko, *Polski Anti-Lukrecyusz* (n. 11), pp. 7 ff.

grant him in keeping with his traditional Christian orthodoxy: "The world is not created for human beings". But the interesting thing is how this statement of Lucretius[51] was here exploited in the interest of Christianity itself, whose believers could rightly ask: if God's providence guards the world, why do so many misfortunes befall human beings? Dantyszek asserted the intervention of God's will in the functioning of the world, but he was not able to give sufficient evidence for this, mentioning only its positive action in the life of humans beings at the individual level[52]. Kochanowski gives a reply that is more advantageous for Christianity: God created the world not for human beings, but for Himself, for His own pleasure in an excellent work worthy of its Creator, and in which the fitting position of the human being is that of servant, not that of the master for whom the world was to have been created[53].

In Kochanowski, therefore, the Creator-God, his excellent work, the duality of human nature, the immortal soul and its reward or condemnation after death remain, and only the responsibility for the afflictions of nature, which spoil earthly happiness for human beings, has been lifted from the shoulders of divine providence.

We must also remark that in the Latin works of Kochanowski (who spoke about "Latii lumen Lucretius orbis") the impact of Lucretius' language, style and thought is strangely inconspicuous. What we have are just a few verbal echoes[54], only seldom an affinity of ideas.

Here it is worth remembering e.g. *Elegy* III 17, 45 f., where the Epicurean *clinamen*, i.e. the swerve or deflection in motion of atoms as the mechanistic causal forces in the creation of the phenomena of nature, has been replaced by the force of love, by Amor. The poet writes:

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[51] Lucr. V 156 f.: "Dicere porro hominum causa voluisse parare/ praeclaram mundi naturam [...] desipere est".

[52] As in the life of Sigismund von Herberstein, who, in his role as ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor returned succesfullly "from a voyage to Moscow full of adventure and dangers"; cf. S. Skimina, *Twórczość poetycka Jana Dantyszka*, Kraków 1948, p. 100.

[53] In Hymn 4 of the *Fragments*, Kochanowski opposes similar human reproaches to the particular care of God over human beings; cf. Jan Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, vol. II, Warszawa 1969, p. 34.

[54] Perhaps then, the *caelituum* in *Eleg.* I 2, 20, which may be analogical to Lucretius' *alituum* (II 928; V 801, 1039, 1078; VI 1216, ed. Martin). But the form *alituum* is also found in Vergil (*Aen*. VIII 27), in Statius (*Silvae* I 2, 184) and in Claudian, Lactantius and others; similarly *canum vis* in the hexameter clausula of *Eleg.* I 13, 25 is found in Lucretius (IV 681, VI 1222, ed. Martin), but also in Vergil (*Aen.* IV 132), Statius (*Theb.* I 625: *canum vim*) and others. Finally, therefore, a clear borrowing from Lucretius in the Latin works of Kochanowski can be attested only in a few expressions in *Eleg.* IV 3. Cf. Ioannis Cochanovii *Carmina Latina*, emend. J. Przyborowski, Varsaviae 1884. – We could also expect the influence of the lexicon of Lucretius in Kochanowski's verses that complete the Ciceronian *Aratea*. But even here the author, limited by the Greek text of Aratus, disappoints us and we can only infer here and there some echo of Lucretius, e.g., in v. 75: "quo nomine sit vocitanda"; Lucr. VI 298: "quem patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen". Cf. the edition of Przyborowski, pp. 375 f.

> It is this god, who tore apart the darkness of endless night and from ancient chaos brought forth shapes; who brought the the battling seeds of things into a state of friendship and created the work of the world, worthy of being known. After penetrating all elements of nature, he alone upholds all creatures in endless succession.

In any case, the genesis and function of this train of thought in the *Elegy* is only explained by the context. This is a love-elegy, in which the poet condemns the greed of a maiden who preferring gold to love, sells her love although it is after all the highest creative power in nature. Let us add: just as Venus is in the introduction to the first book of Lucretius' work.

In this elegy we also perceive a little of the spirit of Lucretius' poetry. A little, because overall few traces of the mood and style of the Roman poet remain in the Latin works of Kochanowski. Another point is that at the very outset, *Eleg.* I 1, our poet observes the he has been made a poet by love.

Equally fainter, even perhaps more elusive traces of the knowledge of Lucretius or Epicurean thought in general have been left by Kochanowski in his Polish works. His well known hymn about Divine Providence "What do you want from us, Lord, for your generous gifts" (Hymn 25, *Hymns*)[55] is aimed against Epicurean ideas of the gods, and is echoed by Hymn 5 of the *Fragments* which, with equally open Christian avowal challenges the Epicurean notion of the unconcern of the gods: "Lord, how greatly err those who judge you to be careless, who think that you do wish to care for almost nothing. I do not know what else is necessary: against them the heavens witness and the stars...", etc.[56]

Elsewhere (*Threnodies* 19, 65 ff.), basing himself on the hedonistic and ataractic ideas of the gods living in the *intermundia*, Kochanowski constructs his own imaginings about the life of the saved souls in heaven: "In heaven true delights, eternal delights, free from all decrees and secure: here no worries rule, here work is not known, here unhappiness, calamity has no place...", etc.[57]

It is clear that he who accepts a life in heaven must reject the mortality of the soul. In the same poem (lines 25 ff.), the author does this in the words:

> And so you consider us dead and lost and that for us the sun has been extinguished for ever? And we, truly, are living a life that has gained as much importance as the spirit is more noble than this gross body. Earth returns to earth, but how can the heaven-granted spirit be lost and not be summoned back to its proper abode?

Similarly, the poet presents the problem of the fear of death in a non-Epicurean fashion: evil people fear death, and rightly so, but it is not right for a good person to fear death. Thus it is not the belief in the mortality of the soul which

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[55] Jan Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, vol. I, p. 299.

[56] *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 35.

[57] *Ibidem*, p. 81.

frees us from the fear of death, but a virtuous life. The poet assures us (Hymn 24, *Fragments*)[58] that "Heaven is the reward for virtue...".

All of the above examples show us that, although Lucretius was known to Kochanowski, he was not among the authors that Kochanowski found useful in his manner of thinking or for his writer's craft. Epicurean physics did not suit his philosophy which was anchored deeply in religious and traditional concepts, and Epicurean ethics did not suit his more stoic rather than hedonistic practical philosophy. He learned more from Cicero and also from Horace than from Lucretius[59].

From among other poets, let us also turn our attention to Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640), who, in his lectures on poetics which he most probably wrote between 1619 and 1626[60], quotes Lucretius as an example not of a poet, but at most a philosopher of nature, just as he considers Vergil in the *Georgics* to be at most a man skilled in the running of a farm, or Manilius as an astronomer, not a poet[61]. Moreover, in his lecture on dactylic hexameter, he gives an example from Lucretius II 76 of a four-syllable word at the end of the verse as a bad conclusion to hexameter verse: "augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur", and, for another reason, a quote from Lucretius II 343: "squamigerum pecudes", a phrase which also appears in II 1083. He does not mention Lucretius by name with either of these quotes[62], but this is what he also does in the case of other poets, where the crux of the matter lies not in the author, but in his poetic art.

Except for these quotes from Lucretius which are given only for formal exemplification, Sarbiewski once addressed the content of Epicurean teachings. Writing about the role of ethics in poetry, he saw in the "conversation of the feasters in the *Odyssey*" the expression of Epicurean ethical thought, as in other places he saw expressions of Stoic or Peripatetic ethics[63].

With such consideration of Epicureism and Lucretius in Sarbiewski's scholarly writings[64], we could expect some inspirations in his *Hymns* to also be more

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[58] *Ibidem*, p. 56.

[59] Cf. also S. Schneider, *Lukrecyus i Horacy a "Treny" Kochanowskiego*, Eos X 1904, pp. 72 ff., where the author, encouraged by the comments of Kallenbach, sees an overly pronounced influence of Lucretius in the *Threnodies* of Kochanowski.

[60] M.K. Sarbiewski, *De perfecta poesi*, ed. S. Skimina, Wrocław 1954, p. V.

[61] *Ibidem*, p. 42 (21) I 4; 494 (247) IX 9.

[62] M.K. Sarbiewski, *Praecepta poetica*, ed. S. Skimina, Wrocław–Kraków 1958, pp. 161, 4 and 174, 14.

[63] *De perfecta poesi* (n. 60), pp. 181, 19 f.

[64] It is true that in these works we are dealing with both learning and quotations that are undoubtedly taken from reciprocal sources, as in the great mythological work of Sarbiewski entitled *Dii gentium* (ed. K. Stawecka, Wrocław 1972), written about 1627, where the author also borrows references to Lucretius from his source, in this case Natalis Comes; cf. p. 390, n. 20; p. 406 and nn. 42 and 43; also p. 122 and n. 83.

clearly drawn from Lucretius. This Jesuit professor, however, who, in the years 1622–1626 did not just study theology in Italy but also became acquainted with the humanistic content of what he was studying, based his own poetry on the examples of Horace and Catullus, longed to become a Latin Pindar in Poland, and, in his literary works, addressed historical, panegyric, moral, religious but not philosophical topics. If ever he fell into philosophical thinking, he always heard the voice of Sacred Scripture, Stoic or even Platonic ideas more easily than he would permit the words Epicurus or Lucretius to break through. Thus he did not draw on Lucretius, not even on his purely poetic devices. Nor is he ever drawn into polemic with him.

In the end, therefore, this poet, excellent in form particularly in the work published during his life, but not profound in content, proves completely disappointing to our topical expectations.

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ANCYRA: FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY*

By

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The name Ancyra tends to evoke associations with the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the best known ancient epigraphic monument found in that city and the most important source for research on the actions of Augustus. The inscription has attracted many scholars and remains worthy of study[1], but the place where it was found does not raise much scholarly interest. Few have noted the role the city played as the administrative centre of Galatia, as well as an important staging point on the road to the eastern border of the Empire, and even then only in the context of broader discussions of Roman provinces in Asia Minor. Usually authors also mention in passing something of its internal organisation as an urban centre[2]. And there the range of their reasons for investigating Ancyra ends, although it was one of the greatest cities in this part of Anatolia during the Roman rule. Yet it is not totally irrelevant what factors decided on its importance, since the same factors had a similar influence on the lives of a number of population centres in the northern and eastern provinces of Asia Minor. Therefore investigating these factors ought to illuminate, if in a somewhat unaccustomed manner, the causes behind the phenomenon of urban revival observable in that part of the Empire between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

There are few sources on which to base an inquiry into Ancyra's history. The preserved testimonies contain only a few mentions, but they are too short and incidental to allow a detailed picture of the city's past to be formed, so that only

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1 Almost every volume of "L'Année Philologique" contains several items related to the monument (for earlier literature, see *SEG* VI 50) or its copies found in Apollonia (*CIL* III, pp. 773 ff.; *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* IV 143) or Pisidian Antioch (W.M. Ramsay, JRS VI 1916, pp. 108 ff.; W.M. Ramsay, A. von Premerstein, *Monumentum Antiochenum*, Klio-Beiheft XIX, Leipzig 1927).

2 A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford ²1971, pp. 408 f., n. 10; A. Ranovič, *Vostočnye provincii Rimskoj Imperii v I–III vv.*, Moskva–Leningrad 1949, p. 111; also see n. 17 below.

a rough outline emerges. The major type of source at our disposal is inscriptions, and while these may appear to be quite numerous (several hundred have been discovered in Ancyra and its immediate region)[3], only a small number of them pertain directly to the history of the city.

The earliest period for which mentions of Ancyra can be found is the end of the 4th century BC, during Alexander's campaign against the Persians[4]. The rest relate to the events of the 3rd and 2nd centuries: the war between Seleucus II Callinicus and Ptolemy III[5], the Galatian conquest of Phrygia[6], and the expedition of Gn. Manlius Vulso in 189 BC[7]. The most valuable information is to be found in the works of Strabo[8] and Pliny the Elder[9], who write about the Ancyra of their own times. Their testimonies show that even as late as the mid-1st century AD Ancyra was but a small defensive settlement[10]. Comparing their accounts to the epigraphic material, one can clearly see how fast Ancyra developed in a relatively short time, as witnessed by its urban character. That urban character was expressed through the titulature of Ancyra's official documents[11], as well as

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[3] Putting that source material to use is made considerably difficult by its scattered appearance in numerous publications, many of them hardly available today as they came out in the 19th century. See the full list in E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, Ankara 1967 (Türk Tarih Kurmuru Yayinlarindan, VII Seri – No. 46), pp. XV–XVIII (hereafter Bosch, *Quellen*). Bosch's book aims to make them more accessible; it contains testimonies which refer to Ancyra's past or its people in any way, be they epigraphic texts, legends on coins, or literary references. Many of them are made available for the first time (see *AE* 1969/1970, nos. 601–605, and cf. J. and L. Robert, Bulletin Épigraphique (Paris) VI 1972, pp. 225 f., no. 566). In spite of its impressive size (it lists 372 numbered items), that collection is far from complete, omitting as it does many shorter Ancyran inscriptions, as well as all Christian ones; see e.g. J.G.C. Anderson, *Exploration in Galatia cis Halym*, JHS XIX 1899, pp. 97 f., nos. 79–84, or G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, MUSJ XIII 1928, pp. 278 ff., nos. 54–67. That is not explained even by the editor's principle not to exceed the time of Constantine the Great's rule.

[4] Arr. *Anab*. II 4, 1; Curt. III 1, 22.

[5] Pomp. Trogus, prol. 27.

[6] Memnon 11, 6 f. (= F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* III B, no. 434, pp. 346 f.).

[7] Liv. XXXVIII 24, 1 f.; 25,1; Polyb. XXI 39, 1 f.

[8] Strabo XII, p. 567.

[9] Plin. *HN* V 146.

[10] Strabo uses the word φρούριον; Pliny, *oppidum*.

[11] *CIG* 4010; Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 76, no. 72. One very characteristic feature of Ancyran inscriptions and coins has been long noted: F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, Paris–Leipzig 1883, p. 415, no. 174; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria. British Museum. Catalogue of Greek Coins*, London 1899, p. 8, nos. 1–2 (hereafter *BMC Galatia*); see also B.V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, Oxford ²1911, p. 747 (hereafter Head, *HN*), and Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 55, no. 58, and p. 58, no. 63. Namely, during the course of the 1st century AD one finds many ethnic terms, which disappear in the first half of the 2nd century only to return a little later, but then in combination with topographical names (*IGRR* III 180; Bosch, *Quellen* [n. 3], p. 240, no. 181 = *AE* 1969/1970, no. 605); see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950, p. 1319, n. 29.

Ancyra's own coins. It is also demonstrated by the attested presence of various offices typical of Greek cities. The offices are not merely empty formal dignities; rather, each is a function related to a definite section of urban affairs[12]. Such offices are only found in large communities, where small councils of magistrates are not up to the task of managing their collective lives.

The sources, while meagre, do not speak of Ancyra simply as a lively centre of communal life, but also make it possible to point to the factors its greatness depended on. These factors appeared in various periods and there were a number of them, which is why one cannot agree with the view according to which *the* impulse that decided on the urban growth of Ancyra was that it became the provincial centre of the worship of the Roman emperor[13].

Locating the provincial temple of Augustus in Ancyra was directly related to another event, momentous in its consequences for Ancyra; this event was transforming the domain of Amyntas, the last of the Galatian kings, into a Roman province. Coming under the Roman rule was accompanied by a number of changes related to introducing Roman provincial administration[14]. To soften the bad impression these changes may have given, the Romans needed to win the support of the Galatian higher classes. To that purpose an assembly of representatives of the population of the province (κοινόν) was called into being at the same time as Roman administration was introduced[15], in order to represent the interests of all the inhabitants of the province, and it was formed of members of the Galatian tribal aristocracy[16]. The assembly had care of the provincial temple of Augustus and the cult there, and Ancyra was chosen as its seat and as the administrative centre of the province. This created the first premise for the city's development, for a Roman official attracted not just petitioners, but also men of

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[12] Those include: ἀστυνόμος – *CIG* 4019, 4026, 4032 (= JHS XLIV 1924, pp. 43 f., no. 80), and 4069; ἀγορανόμος – *IGRR* III 173, and *SEG* VI 10; εἰρήναρχος – *IGRR* III 203 (cf. *SEG* VI 9), and 208, JÖAI XXX 1936/1937, Beibl., coll. 2 f., no. 2; ταμίας – *IGRR* III 195; and ἐπιμελητής – *CIG* 4017, 4018, 4019 etc. For the extent and kind of duties assigned to these offices, see A.H.M. Jones, *Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford 1940; W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im Römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig 1900; Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 11.); and the relevant entries in *RE*.

[13] Ranović, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 112.

[14] The changes included requisitioning the lands of Galatian kings (Ranović, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 114 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford ²1963, p. 652, n. 1; see Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 1325 ff., n. 44; and cf. *CIL* III 256) and temple property (Strabo XII, p. 567; Ramsay, JRS XII 1922, p. 149; and T.R.S. Broughton, *Roman Asia*, in: *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank, vol. IV, Baltimore 1938, pp. 642 f. and 650). The problems related the imperial lands in Galatia, while recently investigated again by B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, pp. 216 ff. (Appendix VI), need more discussion.

[15] W.M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia*, JRS XII 1922, pp. 154 ff., 175 f., and see pp. 163 f. For the nature and organisational structure of such bodies, see *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) s.v. Κοινόν; and J.A.O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1955 (Sather Classical Lectures 28), pp. 106–125.

[16] Ramsay, JRS XII 1922, pp. 173 f.

business. The effects that factor had can only be seen after some time. In the case of Ancyra they are discernible, although obscured by the geographical factor.

Scholars writing on Ancyra emphasise its importance as a road junction[17]; many of the Roman roads crossing Bithynia and Galatia converged there, and roads leading to Roman territories further east fanned out from there. Ancyra already played a similar role much earlier during Persian times, when it lay on the Royal Road[18]. However, one should note one important political condition without which Ancyra could not have become a major road junction: *all* of Asia Minor needed to be part of one political organism; only then could Ancyra's central situation be put to its full advantage. Thus, while incorporating Galatia into the Empire did increase Ancyra's significance as the centre of political power in the province, the road junction aspect only came into play later, as Roman rule gradually extended to Cappadocia, Polemoniac Pontus and Lesser Armenia[19].

The new territories needed to be tied as firmly as possible to the other Roman lands in Asia Minor, for administrative reasons, and even more so for military ones. A well developed road network was one of the factors guaranteeing the stability of the Roman rule, with local roads allowing access to the most remote parts of the province, while strategic roads enabled fast transportation, swift transfer of units to a threatened section of the border and supplying the garrisons, but also formed a connected organic system with other similar roads that already existed in other provinces. For the network to be fully functional it had to be maintained and extended.

In this discussion of the road system of Roman Asia Minor we do not mean all the roads that existed there, as we can no longer tell where and how they ran, but rather the routes built by emperors, their legates and procurators. Little can be said of local roads, since nothing remains of them, perhaps because of their poor construction; one must remember that the task of constructing and maintaining local roads was handed over to cities[20] and country settlements, which did not always cope well with it[21].

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[17] Broughton, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 862 and 864; E. Gren, *Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Uppsala–Leipzig 1941 (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 9), pp. 44 f.; and I.W. Macpherson, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Galatia*, AS IV 1954, p. 111.

[18] W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Amsterdam 1962 (reprinted), pp. 35 ff. and passim; Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 42 f.; and see Levick, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 10 ff.

[19] On the circumstances of that extension, see F. Cumont, *L'annexion du Pont Polémoniaque et de la Petite Arménie*, in: *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.M. Ramsay*, eds. W.H. Buckler, W.M. Calder, Manchester 1923, pp. 109 ff.

[20] There is a testimony from Ancyra according to which that city also bore the cost of repairing the nearby Roman roads: *CIL* III 6900 (= 6058).

[21] Liebenam, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 145 ff., and p. 146, n. 1.

When reconstructing the course of Roman strategic roads, it is possible to draw on several types of sources, which also make it possible to learn the role played by cities located on the roads.

The most important group is made up by epigraphic sources; the data they contain is vital and often very detailed. Th group can be divided into two subgroups, *miliaria* and "other". *Miliaria* inscriptions say when the road was built and by whom, as well as who oversaw the works or what exact kind of work was done. Among the sources in the "other" subgroup are honorific inscriptions[22] and epitaphs[23]. Of equal value are any preserved remains of road engineering, such as sections of the surface layer or parts of bridge structure[24].

The remaining sources are somewhat different in nature; they have nothing to say directly of the roads then in existence; instead they allow us to determine the routes most often taken by Roman legions. Thus, they often inform us of roads of which we otherwise have no knowledge, or else supplement the other data. That group includes references to Roman march routes in the literary and historical tradition[25], and a certain special sort of bronze city coins, the so-called *Signamünzen*[26]. Those coins are significant in that they prove that there were Roman soldiers in the city that issued them, as cities minted them when Roman units on the march stopped there for a while so as to satisfy the rapidly increased demand of the local market for a small perfunctory coin[27]. That type of coin was

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[22] See: *IGRR* III 173; Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), pp. 123 f., no. 106; *SEG* VI 57 (Ancyra); F.K. Dörner, *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien*, Wien 1952 (Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. LXXV, 1), p. 17, no. 10; *IGRR* III 60, 66, and 68, and cf. no. 62 (Prusias ad Hypium).

[23] See Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 277, no. 213; F.K. Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien*, Berlin 1941 (Istanbuler Forschungen 14), p. 105, no. 121; these sources are very rare in that they clearly indicate the dead man's part in the construction, complete with the name of the legion in which he served during the war against the Parthians or Persians. Attempts to discover which Roman units participated in the successive wars in the East usually run into considerable difficulty, and some need to be corrected again and again. See *AE* 1962, no. 311, an inscription which makes it possible to determine that Legio XXII Primigenia P.F. fought in Trajan's war against Armenia and the Parthians, while previously it was thought it only took part in L. Verus' campaign: *RE* XII 2 (1925), col. 1813; cf. *CIL* III 269 (= 6765), and 260 (= 6761).

[24] Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 112; Dörner, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 33 f.; Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), p. 46; J.A.R. Munro, *Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman*, JHS XXI 1901, p. 65; see K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, Istanbul 1942 (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 5), pp. 9 ff.; cf. J. Sölch, *Bithynische Städte im Altertum*, Klio XIX 1925, pp. 173 f., n. 5.

[25] Cf. e.g. the itinerary of Julian the Apostate in Amm. XXII 9, 3–8 and XXV 10, 4–11.

[26] C. Bosch, *Kleinasiatische Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, AA 1931, coll. 426 f.; and C. Bosch, *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Part II, vol. I (*Bithynien*), Stuttgart 1935, pp. 94 ff. (hereafter Bosch, *KM*); cf. Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 150.

[27] Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 150 ff.; and J.P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*, Paris 1969 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 214), p. 28.

issued so often in a number of cities in Asia Minor during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD[28] that it is possible to determine the most frequented routes. Three of them were used particularly often[29]. All three had their beginning in Bithynian cities on the coast of the Propontis, and ran through Bithynia and Pontus to the eastern border of the Empire, converging or splitting in major centres of communal life in the region. There is much evidence from many periods that care was taken to maintain them in good repair, serving as proof of their great importance.

While referring to the great significance of the highways in northern and eastern Anatolia, both from west to east and from north to south, it is necessary to note why the Romans put so much effort into their construction and maintenance.

As the border of Roman Empire moved east, the need to secure it grew. The task was not easy. From Augustus to the waning years of the Empire, keeping the peace in the East forced successive emperors to undertake ever new diplomatic interventions and military actions alike. First the Parthians, then the Persians proved difficult neighbours who always kept the Romans on their toes. The main cause for conflict and tension between Parthia and Rome was Armenia[30], since for either side to hold it would mean a grave threat to the other's security. Parthian influence in Armenia was especially dangerous to the Romans, as for a time their position was not that strong either in the Syrian borderland or in north-eastern Anatolia[31]. The threat in these places only abated after Rome conquered Commagene, Polemoniac Pontus and Lesser Armenia.

The nature of their relations with Parthia led the Romans to undertake measures to guarantee the eastern provinces of the Empire their security[32]. That meant

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[28] For a list of cities issuing *Signamünzen*, complete with an indication of the period their known series come from, see Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 97 f.

[29] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), *loc. cit.*; his division refers to the major military roads of all of Roman Asia Minor, not merely those crossing Bithynia and Pontus; see Bosch, AA 1931, coll. 426 f. Discussed in more detail in J. Sölch, Klio XIX 1925, pp. 170 ff.; and Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 511 ff. See also J.A.R. Munro, *Some Pontic Milestones*, JHS XX 1900, pp. 159–166; M.I. Maksimova, *Antičnye goroda jugo-vostočnogo Pričernomorija. Sinopa, Amis, Trapezunt*, Moskva–Leningrad 1956, pp. 311 f.; and Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 11), passim.

[30] Literature on Roman–Parthian relations is quite abundant; a concise presentation of the Parthian problem can be found in *CAH* X–XII (1934–1939), with bibliography.

[31] O. V. Kudriavcev, *Rim, Armenija i Parfija vo vtoroj polovinie pravlenija Nerona*, VDI 1949 fasc. 3, p. 61.

[32] Despite many failures, Rome never gave up trying to influence Armenian affairs. The policy of the Flavians is characteristic in that respect: they gave up on direct attacks and instead tried to establish closer relations with the minor states surrounding Armenia yet hostile towards it. These closer relations encompassed not only diplomatic contact (F. Grosso, *Aspetti della politica orientale di Domiziano*, Epigraphica XVI 1954, passim, and especially pp. 150 ff.), but also aiding their rulers (*SEG* XX 112). In developing those ties, the Flavian emperors intended even more to keep the borders safe from raids by nomadic peoples (Grosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.; see *CAH* XI, p. 95; and E. Täubler, *Zur Geschichte der Alanen*, Klio XI 1909, pp. 18–21). It is probably to the same end that changes were made in the provincial administration of those regions (R.K. Sherk, *The Legates*

creating a permanent defence system which would also allow aggressive action to be taken.

The task was undertaken by the emperors of the Flavian dynasty. The Romans were fully aware that successfully defending the borders in eastern Anatolia could not rest on the units stationed along them alone[33]; it also depended to a large extent on the ability to send in reinforcements from other provinces as they were needed. The extra legions used on the eastern front were usually those stationed on the Danube. This kind of troop movement could only be made possible by roads crossing Asia Minor from west to east. With this in mind it should be clearer why the three routes just mentioned were of such great importance.

Frequent marches of large armies, the presence in some cities of permanent Roman garrisons, the need to provide enough supplies, the cost of road repair and maintenance, and finally the large amount of money in circulation – all these elements impressed in various ways on the lives, not just of cities, but also of the province as a whole. Thus when reflecting on the factors in the development of Ancyra, but also of other Anatolian cities, one must not ignore economy[34]. Its influence can be seen in the growth of many cities located near Roman roads or at junctions, such as Amasia, Caesarea-Mazaca, Tavium, or Ancyra. They all flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, when traffic on the roads was very lively. Under the Late Empire, when many new factors caused a number of these routes to lose their old significance[35], the relationship between the rank of a road and the development of nearby urban centres was especially clear, since changes in the status of the roads were soon followed by the decline of their respective cities.

The purpose of the discussion in this paper so far has been to identify the factors which could have considerably influenced Ancyra's development and could have decided its importance as a result. Now let us find out whether those factors are reflected in the preserved testimonies.

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of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian, Baltimore 1951 [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIX, 2], p. 40).

[33] That mission was assigned to two legions (cf. Suet. *Vesp*. 8) and their auxiliaries (J. Szilági, *Les variations des centres de prépondérance militaire dans les provinces frontières de l'Empire romain*, Acta Antiqua II 1953, pp. 161 f.) Initially, in Satala there was Legio XVI Flavia (*RE* XII 2, 1925, col. 1765), later replaced by Legio XV Apollinaris (*ibid*., col. 1754; V.W. Yorke, *Inscriptions from Eastern Asia Minor*, JHS XVIII 1898, pp. 321 f., no. 35), whereas in Melitene it was the camp of Legio XII Fulm. (*RE* XII 2, 1925, col. 1707). Smaller units from those legions were placed along the border with Armenia and the coast (*CIL* III 6745, and cf. 6747; Maksimova, *op. cit.* [n. 29.], p. 312), guarded also by a squadron of warships (*RE* III 2, 1899, col. 2643), as well as in various cities of the province (including Ancyra: *CIL* III 252 (= 6754) and 266 (= 6758); also *SEG* VI 12).

[34] As regards some provinces of the Balkan region and Asia Minor, those issues are discussed extensively in Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 89–155.

[35] Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 74 and 242.

It has already been emphasised that Ancyra was not just a staging point on the road to the eastern border of the Empire, but also an important road junction; it remained that during the Late Empire. The numerous milestones[36] found preserved in the region provide information on the directions of these roads.

The most important was the road from Nicaea via Juliopolis to Ancyra, as it connected Ancyra to the Bithynian cities on the coast of the Propontis. It was a section of one of several main and most used military routes, as proven by the large number of series of *Signamünzen* issued in those cities towards the end of the 2nd and at the beginning of the 3rd century AD[37]. Another important road, and one which allowed access to the cities of the province of Asia, was the route from Dorylaeum via Germa to Ancyra[38]. Based on our source for it, we can suppose that it was one of the earliest great Roman roads in that part of Galatia[39].

Ancyra's advantageous situation caused all the roads which started there and gave access to cities in the north, east or south to assume the status of major transportation highways, maintained in good condition with much effort.

Connection to other military routes crossing Bithynia-Pontus, and even more importantly to the cities on the coast of Propontis and the Black Sea, was provided by the road from Ancyra to Gangra[40]. Two other arteries of note were the

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[36] At present we have around 50 milestones from the region of Ancyra. Many of the inscriptions found on them were published in *CIL* III, as well as by de Jerphanion, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 277, no. 53; K. Bittel, AA 1932, col. 260; H. Miltner, *Epigraphische Nachlese in Ankara*, JÖAI XXX 1936/1937, Beibl., col. 19, no. 16; col. 27, no. 28; and *AE* 1946, no. 178. All of these are collected in Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3). Many completely new ones, as well as some whose existence was known of but which were unavailable, were published by Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 113 ff.

[37] From the section between Juliopolis and Ancyra we have: *CIL* III 14184[61–64]; Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 113, no. 1, and p. 114, no. 3. The earliest of these dates back to the times of Hadrian. See Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 58 ff., for an attempt at locating and identifying the places known from the tradition, a description of the remains and the inscriptions found along that section. For a list of the known series of *Signamünzen* from Nicaea, Juliopolis and Ancyra, see Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), p. 97. For coins issued by each of those cities in general: W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon, T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1910, vol. I, 3: *Nicée et Nicomédie*, p. 423, no. 195; p. 436, nos. 297 and 298; and p. 442, no. 349; *BMC Pontus, Paphlagonia*, p. 159, no. 49; p. 161, nos. 61 and 62; p. 65, nos. 82 and 83; p. 166, no. 86; etc.; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (*The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals: Danish National Museum*), *Bosphorus-Bithynia*, Copenhagen 1944, nos. 512, 513, 514, 519, 520, and 526 (Nicaea); *BMC Pontus, Paphlagonia*, p. 150, no. 9; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, *op. cit.*, nos. 463 and 464 (Juliopolis).

[38] *CIL* III 317, 318, and 14184[59, 60]; Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 84 ff.; and Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 237 f.; see also Cumont, *L'annexion...* (n. 19), p. 114.

[39] *CIL* III 318. The road was built during the reign of Titus, in 80 AD.

[40] *CIL* III 309 (= 6898), 310, 314, 317, 13645 (= AS IV 1954, pp. 118–119, no. 17) and 14184[55, 56, 57]; *AE* 1946, no. 178; and AS IV 1954, p. 119, no. 19; see Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 258 f.; and Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 112 f. The road was not all that useful for military purposes. Totally different considerations occasioned its construction; it made it easier to supply the troops from the Pontic ports on the Black Sea (Maksimova, *op. cit.* [n. 29], p. 314). Besides the garrison stationed in Ancyra, other units needed to be provisioned, namely those headed east or returning

roads leading east from Ancyra, to Tavium[41], and south, allowing access to such important Anatolian centres as Archelais and Caesarea-Mazaca[42]. Based on some discovered *miliaria* we can date their construction precisely to 80–82 AD[43]. They were built as part of the Flavian plan for a road network in the border regions of Pontus and Galatia, which was to form the foundation for their defence system. The guess that these roads were part of a broader plan is justified not only by the coincidence of their construction with roadworks in Pontus and Lesser Armenia[44], but also by their direction. According to that design, they were supposed to be great arteries allowing for fast reinforcements, while also connecting the major cities of the province to its administrative centre.

Ancyra's role as a road junction was not limited to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but continued later on, as can be concluded from various itineraries, the major source for our knowledge of the road system of the Late Empire[45]. Undoubtedly the most important road to cross Ancyra then was the so called "pilgrim road", leading from Constantinople through Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Ancyra and Tarsus to Jerusalem[46]. Its importance as one of the most vital routes of Anatolia

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from there. This was not always possible, and then the duty to provide supplies fell to the people of the city (*IGRR* III 173; Bosch, *Quellen* [n. 3], pp. 123 f., no. 106; and *SEG* VI 57) and province (J. Guey, *Inscription du second siècle relative à l'annone militaire*, MEFR LV 1938, pp. 61 ff., 69 ff., and esp. 71–77). Many other Pontic roads of similar direction served the same purpose, the most crucial one being the route from Amisus to Amasia (*CIL* III 6895, 12158–12161, and 14184[22, 24, 25]), the only one that allowed access from the shores of the Black Sea to the interior of Anatolia (see Munro, *op. cit.* [n. 24], pp. 52 ff.). It was used to convey military supplies from the Bosporus (Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* [n. 14], pp. 154 and 259; cf. idem, *Pontus, Bithynia and the Bosphorus*, BSA XXII 1916–1918, p. 13).

[41] *CIL* III 311 (= 6901), and 6899; AS IV 1954, pp. 115 ff., nos. 8–16, and cf. p. 115, no. 6. Only the publication of those latter testimonies explained many doubts as to the course of that road: Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 112; Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 258 f.; Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 98 ff.; and Bittel, *op. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 16 ff. They also supplied us with another vital piece of information, that is the date when it was constructed. The earliest of its milestones known by then came from Nerva's times (*CIL* III 6899), but now it is possible to establish the date as 80–82 AD (AS IV 1954, p. 115, no. 8). That would make it another road built in that part of Anatolia under the Flavians alongside those from Ancyra to Germa and from Ancyra to Caesarea (*CIL* III 14184[48]; the origin of another Flavian *miliarium*, *CIL* III 312, is not known).

[42] *CIL* III 316, 14184[47–52]; AS IV 1954, p. 114, nos. 4 f.; p. 115, nos. 6 f.; and p. 120, nos. 7A and 7B; cf. *CIL* III 14184[45] (= (?) AS IV 1954, p. 114, no. 4). Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 100 ff.; Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 254 ff.

[43] The legate then was A. Caesennius Gallus (Sherk, *op. cit.* [n. 32]; *PIR*[2] C 170; see also *RE* III 1, 1899, coll. 1306 f.; and *RE* Suppl. I, 1903, col. 269).

[44] See *CIL* III 306 and 14188[3]. Also Maksimova, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 313; and Cumont, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 113 f.

[45] *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 2308 ff.; K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart 1916, passim; and see Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17.), pp. 142 f.

[46] Ramsay, *Historical Geography...* (n. 18), pp. 197, 242 and *passim*; Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 53 f.; see pp. 100 ff.; and Gren, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 54 f.

is related to Diocletian choosing Nicomedia for the centre of power in the eastern part of the Roman Empire; then increased even more as Constantinople was made the capital of the East. However, Diocletian did not build it, although we have testimonies from the time of his rule for work conducted on that road[47]. Comparing the information from the itineraries with data from epigraphic and numismatic sources, one can easily see that the pilgrim road followed several important roads constructed in the 1st and 2nd centuries.

It has been noted above that the Roman conquest of areas to the north and east of Ancyra was a prerequisite for its central location coming fully into play, and the sources confirm this conclusion in full. None of the roads leading from Ancyra towards Polemoniac Pontus or Lesser Armenia was built before the year when those territories were annexed. The same testimonies reveal a close correlation between Ancyra's growing role as a junction where several roads met, vital first to Roman political designs, and later to consolidating the Roman rule in north-eastern Asia Minor on the one hand, and its development as an urban centre on the other.

Two other factors can clearly be seen at work: that of the large cult centre that was the temple of Augustus, and that of the administrative centre, that is, the seat of the imperial legate. Their presence makes itself known in a large proportion of the Ancyran inscriptions[48]. Based on the preserved sources, it may be difficult to determine the extent of direct influence each of them had on Ancyra's growth, but neither is this necessary. After all, a similar process can be observed in many other cities of Asia Minor with famous sanctuaries or the seat of a provincial governor, where the precise degree of influence of one factor or the other is more tangible.

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[47] *CIL* III 14184[51, 61, 62, 63, 64]; see also the previous note. Apart from those, a number of other milestones from Bithynia-Pontus and Lesser Armenia from the time of Diocletian and his co-rulers are known: *CIL* III 307, 6895, 12157 etc.; Dörner, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 42, no. 86.

[48] Expressed, among others, through the many inscriptions honouring the priests of the provincial temple (*IGRR* III 158, 173, 194 etc.), and official documents of the Galatian *koinon* (Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), pp. 35 f., no. 51 = L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Amsterdam 1971 (reprinted); pp. 35 ff., no. 86 (= *OGIS* 533); pp. 94 ff., no. 98 (= *SEG* VI 52); and see pp. 225 ff., no. 174). Cult celebrations in the temple were accompanied by athletic games organised by the provincial assembly; see e.g. L. Moretti, *Iscrizione agonistiche greche*, Roma 1953 (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica 12), p. 174, no. 65; or p. 191, no. 69 (= *SEG* XIII 540), as well as gladiatorial games (*OGIS* 533; *SEG* VI 10; Robert, *Les gladiateurs...*, pp. 135 ff., nos. 86–90; L. Robert, *Hellenica VIII*, pp. 40 ff., nos. 328–329; p. 64; Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 193, no. 152 (= *AE* 1969/1970, no. 604), financed by the priests of the imperial cult (Robert, *Les gladiateurs...*, pp. 270 ff.). A provincial administrative centre involves the presence not just of an imperial legate (*CIL* III 248, 249 (= 6753), and 252 (= 6754); *IGRR* III 171, 176–178, 184 and 186), but also of his team of specialised officers (*procurator*: *CIL* III 251; *SEG* VI 11 and 12; *IGRR* III 168–170 and 181; JÖAI XXX 1936/1937, Beibl., coll. 14 f., no. 7; *tabularius*: *CIL* III 251; *IGRR* 168) and a military unit at his disposal (*beneficiarii*: *CIL* III 252 (= 6754), 266, 6758; *SEG* VI 12; see the commentary in Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 245, n. 10).

Many criteria are customarily used to judge the importance of ancient cities, including their area; the size of the remains of public and private buildings, whether preserved or excavated; and preserved artifacts serving as evidence of living conditions or of the range, type and intensity of contact with other population centres. But there are other determining factors too. Under the Empire they include issuing money, and the titulature used in official documents, as well as on coins.

In soliciting various privileges and titles granted by emperors, Greek cities were not merely chasing after honours of little intrinsic value; the phenomenon had its justification, and was related to the still living and nurtured traditions of their old independence and splendour. After all, in the Hellenistic era many of them were important economic and political centres, often with their own policies towards not only neighbouring cities, but even kings. As soon as Roman presence in Asia Minor became permanent, the freedom of the Greek cities there began to be increasingly limited, and there was no room in the new order for any independence. Dreams of independence, however, lived on, fed by some emperors' policies towards the eastern provinces. Still, it was impossible to achieve them in their old shape, and so they took on new forms.

Titulature was one of those new forms of expression. In the epigraphic and numismatic sources from the cities of Asia Minor titles are often made of many words[49] which are to inform of the city's status, privileges and honours, its special relationship with Rome, and its place among the cities of the province. However, the titulature of Ancyra is quite modest and offers little in the way of new information. Of the many titles in use elsewhere, only two are attested for Ancyra: *neokoros* (νεωκόρος) and *metropolis* (μητρόπολις). The first epithet indicates that the city in question has a provincial temple of a Roman emperor[50]; the meaning of the second remains somewhat unclear, despite attempts to elucidate it[51].

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[49] See e.g.: *IGRR* IV 154 (Cyzicus): ...ἐφηβαρχοῦντος τῆς λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀδριανῆς νεωκόρου φιλοσεβαστοῦ Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως...; *IGRR* IV 451 (Pergamum): Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς πρώτης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τρὶς νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Περγαμηνῶν πόλεως... (cf. the inscription on a coin from Caracalla's time, Head, *HN* (n. 11), pp. 536 f.: Η ΠΡΩΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ); see also: *Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*, vol. VII 1: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Leyden 1932, pp. 74 f., no. 63 (= *IGRR* IV 1528); pp. 77 f., nos. 67–70; p. 82, no. 77. For a list of all those terms as used on coins, see Head, *HN* (n. 11), pp. LXXIX ff.; Broughton, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 706 ff. and 740 ff.; and Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 635 ff. and 1497 f., with nn. 20–22.

[50] *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 2424 ff.; B. Pick, *Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Münzen*, JÖAI VII 1904, pp. 1 ff.; and Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 226 ff. Ancyra gained another imperial cult temple during the reign of Valerian and Gallienus: *BMC Galatia* (n. 11), p. 15, no. 39; Bosch, *Quellen* (n. 3), p. 346, nos. 283–286; and Pick, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

[51] Head, *HN* (n. 11), p. LXXX; Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 221 ff.; Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 636 f.; and Broughton, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 741 ff.; see P.R. Franke, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit. Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Münzen*, München 1968, p. 21.

The right to issue its own coinage was an important privilege for a Greek city, because it was granted either by the emperor himself[52] or, with his consent, by his representative in the province[53]. At the same time, consent to minting one's own money was an official acknowledgement of the great political and economic importance[54], and of the urban character of a city, as well as granting it a certain degree of independence, since it meant the emperor relinquished some of his privileges in that regard[55]. When consenting to minting, Rome mostly had the economic aspect in mind. After all, urban coinage played an important role in the monetary circulation of the eastern part of the Empire as a perfunctory coin, since the imperial mints were unable to supply enough of it[56]. But for the Greek cities it was the political aspect of the decision that mattered the most, giving as it did the impression of some autonomy[57].

This autonomy was in fact quite illusory; minting the city coin cannot have expressed any real independence if the decision to do so was taken by the Roman authorities, and the coins were issued bearing the emperor's image or symbols[58]. The series of actual quasi-autonomous coins were too few to carry any real meaning beyond being a sign of prestige[59].

The first urban coin of Ancyra was issued under Vespasian. This is a fact of importance in the light of the above comments, as it is evidence that Ancyra was quite urban in character even in the 70's of the 1st century AD, a guess apparently borne out by Ancyran inscriptions too. That evidence becomes even more

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[52] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 5 f., and see p. 21; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, London 1967, pp. 191 f., and p. 191, n. 1; Callu, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 25 f.; E. Schönert, *Griechisches Münzwerk. Die Münzprägung von Perinthos*, Berlin 1965 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 45), pp. 15 f.; eadem, *Das Ende der Provinzialprägung in Thrakien und Mösien*, Klio L 1968, p. 251; also see A.R. Bellinger, *Greek Mints under the Roman Empire*, in: *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, eds. R.A.G. Carson, C.H.V. Sutherland, Oxford 1956, p. 148.

[53] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 9 and 172.

[54] Schönert, *Die Münzprägung*... (n. 52), pp. 15 and 28; eadem, *Das Ende*... (n. 52), pp. 251 f.; see Broughton, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 886 f.; cf. Bosch, AA 1931, coll. 430 f.

[55] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), p. 3, and p. 3, n. 5.

[56] Schönert, *Die Münzprägung*... (n. 52), p. 28; eadem, *Das Ende*... (n. 52), p. 251; Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 7 f.; Broughton, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 886 f.; and A. Kunisz, *Obieg monetarny w Cesarstwie Rzymskim w latach 214/215–238 n.e.*, Katowice 1971, pp. 65 f. ; see Bellinger, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 147 f.; cf. Bosch, AA 1931, coll. 437 f.

[57] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 3 ff.; see p. 296: "Vom Jahre 256 an gibt es also keine nikomedischen Stadtmünzen mehr. Damit war der Stadt auch dieser letzte Schein von Souveränität, die letzte Möglichkeit, eine eigene Meinung öffentlich auszusprechen, genommen. Die allgemeine Ende der Stadtprägungen ist der symbolische Ausdruck für das Ende der antiken Polis und ihrer Kultur".

[58] Bosch, *KM* (n. 26), pp. 8–9; Mattingly, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 196; and A.N. Zograf, *Antičnye monety*, Moskva–Leningrad 1951 (Materialy i issliedovanija po archieologii SSSR 16), p. 72.

[59] Zograf, *loc. cit.* (n. 58).

expressive when we recall that almost simultaneously, construction of strategic roads started in Galatia, and those roads crossed Ancyra. It appears, then, that the beginnings of Ancyra's development as a city and a major road junction date to the period of the Flavian dynasty, and are related to those emperors' eastern policy, also continued by their successors[60].

Under the later emperors, many Greek cities of Asia Minor flourished again, but many others only had their chance to develop then. In general, there were a number of causes behind this phenomenon, such as emperors' policies towards the provinces, or favourable conditions for economic growth. However, such generalisations ignore the specificity of the several regions of Asia Minor. While it is easy to list the factors which influenced the growth of cities on the Aegean, in the Troad, Lydia, Caria, or Lycia, difficulties are encountered in explaining the revival of the cities of central and eastern Anatolia. Ancyra's example provides an explanation: the decisive factor was Roman eastern policy. While it remained almost purely aggressive, little attention was paid to developing infrastructure[61]. When the failures of that policy forced the Flavians to partly give it up in favour of creating a system that would grant the Romans ultimate success, the problem of infrastructure gained enormous importance, and the existing urban centres needed to become important links in that new system[62].

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[60] Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian continued to develop the road network in Anatolia (see *CIL* III, p. 2316[10], as well as: Miltner, JÖAI XXX 1936/1937, Beibl., col. 21, no. 21; *AE* 1946, no. 178; Macpherson, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 114, no. 3; p. 115, nos. 6 and 8; p. 116 f., nos. 9–12; and pp. 118 ff., nos. 14–16, 17 (= *CIL* III 3645), 18 and 19).

[61] See Cumont, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 109 f.

[62] Numismatic evidence provides vital information here. When looking into urban minting in Bithynia-Pontus, it is possible to notice the moment after which it developed with particular intensity. In many cases the mints in question only started operating under the Flavians and Trajan (Bosch, *KM* [n. 26], p. 92; Head, *HN* [n. 11], listed under the respective cities; cf. also Bosch, AA 1931, col. 434).There is also a close correlation between the number of minting centres, their time of operation, and the nearby presence of a military route (cf. Schönert, *Das Ende...* [n. 52], p. 253).

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VISIGOTHIC SOCIETY OF THE 4TH CENTURY IN THE LIGHT OF THE PASSION OF SAINT SABA THE GOTH *

By

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I

Towards the end of the first half of the 3rd century AD ancient sources begin to offer more and more information about the Goths and other Germanic tribes in the vicinity of the Black Sea. Those Germans came under little known circumstances from the southern coast of the Baltic[1] and in the Black Sea region they found themselves in a completely foreign ethnical and cultural environment, dominated by Sarmatian and Thracian peoples, as well as by the Hellenised and Romanised population of the Pontic cities. That necessarily exerted a deep influence on the newcomers, which is however a problem in itself and cannot be investigated here in detail[2]. To the east of the Dniester lay the lands of the

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[1] The earliest history of the Goths, especially as regards their homelands and the circumstances of their migration from the Baltic to the Black Sea, has again been receiving much research in the last twenty years or so. Several contributions have played a special part in the discussion. Those are: C. Weibull, *Die Auswanderung der Goten aus Schweden*, Göteborg 1958; J. Kmieciński, *Zagadnienie tzw. kultury gocko-gepidzkiej na Pomorzu Wschodnim w okresie wczesnorzymskim*, Łódź 1962; J. Svennung, *Jordanes und Scandia*, Stockholm 1967 (Acta Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis XLIV 1967, fasc. 2A); G. Labuda, *O wędrówce Gotów i Gepidów ze Skandynawii nad Morze Czarne*, in: *Liber Iosepho Kostrzewski octogenario a veneratoribus dicatus*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 213–236; N. Wagner, *Getica*, Berlin 1967; R. Hachmann, *Die Goten und Skandinavien*, Berlin 1970. For more information on the whole controversy see the article I wrote in connection with Hachmann's monograph: J. Strzelczyk, *Nowa hipoteza o pochodzeniu Gotów*, Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica VII 1978, pp. 3–41. Cf. also idem, *O Gotach na ziemiach polskich*, Zapiski Historyczne XLIV 1979, fasc. 3, pp. 157–168 (in connection with J. Czarnecki, *The Goths in Ancient Poland. A Study of the Historical Geography of the Oder-Vistula Region during the First Two Centuries of Our Era*, Miami 1975).

[2] Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Der sarmatische Hintergrund der germanischen Völkerwanderung*, Saeculum II 1951, pp. 340–392, and various works by F. Altheim, in particular his *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. I, Berlin 1959.

Ostrogoths, who are called Greuthungs by some authors; to the west of that river and all the way to the lower Danube lived the Visigoths, or Thervings. When emperor Aurelian (270–275) took the decision to evacuate Dacia, which had then been a Roman province for approximately a century and a half, the area fell into the unlimited power of the Visigoths and their related Germanic tribes the Taifals and the Gepids. However, one must not forget that alongside the Germans there were still natives in Dacia, both Romanised Dacians and, in places Roman conquest had not reached, the so-called free Dacians and people of Sarmatian origin.

Under Ermanaric, later shrouded in legend, the Ostrogoths created a vast political organisation resembling oriental despotic states by its nature and encompassing, at least in a loose tributary form, a number of Sarmatian, Germanic and even Slavic (East Slavic), Finnish and Baltic (Aistian) peoples. Meanwhile, in the period preceding the Hunnic invasion the Visigoths did not achieve anything similar, and their political system congealed at the tribal level. During the whole Dacian period they had no monarchy comparable to that of Ermanaric. Their land, which they themselves called "Gutthiuda", meaning both the people of the (Visi-)Goths and the areas they inhabited, was divided into a number of small tribes (called *phylai* in Greek sources and maybe *kuni* by the Goths themselves), which only united sometimes depending on the changing political circumstances. The tribes were led by chieftains, variously referred to in Greek and Roman sources as *archontes*, *exarchoi* or *duces*. Besides the chieftain the sources mention "the mighty", or the tribal aristocracy: *koryphaioi*, *phylarchoi*, *hegoumenoi*, *optimatoi*, *megistanes*, or *phylon hegemones*. The greatest and most dignified of the aristocratic clans was the house of the Balti which would later give rise to the dynasty of Visigothic kings (beginning with Alaric I, 395–410). But the beginnings of that clan are quite obscure; considering the lack of any positive evidence, it is difficult to say whether the important Visigothic personalities of the 4th century were already its members[3].

In the 4th century the Visigothic political system had one peculiarity, the office of a "judge" (*iudex* in Latin sources, *dikastes* in Greek ones). We do not know the Gothic word for the office, but we do know it had precedence over the authority of the many chieftains and meant a leader of the confederated Gothic tribes.

Themistius, an author, rhetor, philosopher and politician of the Eastern Empire has in one of his *Orations* an interesting detail from the negotiations of the summer of 369 on the Danube (which was the border) between emperor Valens and the Gothic leader Athanaric. His account is reliable, because he was most likely an eye-witness to the negotiations. The Romans tried to address Athanaric as

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[3] R. Wenskus, *Balthen*, in: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. II 1, Berlin–New York [2]1980, pp. 13 f. The claim that a few Visigothic chieftains mentioned in 4th century sources were Balts was especially developed by H. Wolfram, *Gotische Studien. I. Das Richtertum Athanarichs*, MIÖG LXXXIII 1975, pp. 1–32.

basileus, but he supposedly replied that he would prefer the title of "judge" (*dikastes*), since it contains and assumes the concept of "wisdom" (*sophia*), whereas a king's title only reflects power (*dynamis*)[4].

The episode is not quite obvious and so it has invited many attempts at interpretation. Some scholars have been inclined to see in Athanaric's words an expression of the modesty (if only tactical) of a barbarian ruler feeling respect in the face of the sacred or magical title of the Christian emperor. However, that interpretation does not seem correct, especially as in 369 the situation would not encourage the Goth to be either overly docile or modest. Actually Valens, who, as is known from other sources, did not know Greek, may have addressed Athanaric with the Latin word *rex* (king), not realising that among the Visigoths *reges* were minor dukes or tribal chieftains, and Athanaric as the confederate leader was not going to consider himself their equal. He was above them, although he was also one of them, having come from their ranks. Also later, when most of the Visigoths left him and he lost his office of judge, with only a small group of his tribesmen on his side (they were probably his fellow clan members), he became equal in position to the other *reges*[5].

In either case both the Latin *rex* that Valens used and Themistius' Greek translation *basileus* (the emperor's own title) prove that in the eyes of the Romans Athanaric's "judgeship" did not differ significantly from kingship. And yet at a closer look one can clearly see the differences between Athanaric and the later Alaric, to say nothing of Ermanaric the Ostrogoth. Differences show both in the way they took and held their respective dignities, and in the extent of their power. One probably became a judge through being appointed by the aristocrats. Many researchers suspect that in the 4th century (and maybe even in the 5th) the Visigoths had a popular assembly of all the free tribesmen; still, one must note that the sources do not support that conjecture. Popular assemblies at the level of a village, on the other hand, are confirmed by sources, including the source we shall in a moment investigate. However, in the second half of the 4th century village assemblies no longer played a major part, being undoubtedly a relic of the past.

And so it was in the hands of tribal aristocracy, of those optimates, *megistanes* or hegemons, as the ancient sources term them, that real power lay. In those turbulent times, when strong and effective authority was needed, it was they who appointed a "judge" from among themselves. Even the very name of the office, so resembling of the position of Israelite judges in the Old Testament, indicates

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[4] *Oratio X. Themistii Orationes quae supersunt*, ed. G. Downey, vol. I, Leipzig 1965. For the problems of that author's ideology and political ethics, cf. L.J. Daly, *The Mandarin and the Barbarian: The Response of Themistius to the Gothic Challenge*, Historia XXI 1972, pp. 351–379.

[5] The most detailed account of Athanaric's political and legal situation is to be found in Wolfram, *op. cit.* (n. 3). Cf. idem, *Athanaric the Visigoth – Monarchy or Judgeship. A Study in Comparative History*, Journal of Medieval History I 1975, pp. 259–278. Cf. also the works of E.A. Thompson, D. Claude and A.R. Korsunskij cited below.

certain judicial functions; unfortunately that side of the Visigothic leadership did not interest the authors of our sources. It is less likely that the judge had any priestly or otherwise sacral duties. During the anti-Christian campaign, Athanaric had a wooden statue of a deity set on a cart and carried all around the country so that all could worship it[6]. This is, let us note, the only unquestionable evidence for pan-tribal cult among the Visigoths; however, Athanaric's role in this case is reduced to the organisational and repressive factor, and it is hard to see actual sacral functions here. The essence of "judgeship" had to be its military function: leading the troops in battle and co-ordinating the life of the tribe in times of peace. The authority behind the title was in no way despotic or dictatorial; in the decisive year 378, Athanaric's rival and opponent Fritigern could not even always get the Visigoths to accept his will.

There is much to suggest that the office of a judge was of limited duration. Athanaric's fate cannot in any way confirm that, since the reason why most of the tribe abandoned him was because he could not counter the Hunnic invasion, but no sources mention Fritigern in connection with war of 380, even though there is circumstantial evidence that he was still alive at that time. Apparently the Visigoths refrained from appointing judges after the victory at Adrianople.

Sources often, though as a rule incidentally, refer to Gothic "dukes", that is, chieftains of the smaller tribes. It seems that at least in some cases we can suspect that authority at this level was hereditary within families, houses or clans. One ancient author, Eunapius, stated clearly that Gothic chieftains were appointed "due to their dignity and descent"[7]. In *The Passion of Saint Saba* one such dukeling (given the Greek epithet *basiliskos*) by the name of Atharid travelled the country with his retinue, forcing Christians to forsake their faith or killing them. Information has been preserved of a Gothic "queen" called Gaatha, who collected the remains of twenty-six Christian martyrs burnt alive during the persecutions and transported them to Rome, leaving her son Arimir in power (perhaps only for the duration of her absence)[8].

II

Compared to other Germanic tribes of the Migration Period, the Visigoths are privileged in the sense that many sources referring to them remain. And no

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[6] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VI 37, 13.

[7] Eunapius fr. 60.

[8] The episode has been preserved in Greek menologia and correctly edited and published by H. Achelis, *Der älteste deutsche Kalender*, ZNTW I 1900, pp. 308–335, at pp. 318 f. It is discussed in more or less detail in various contributions on the Visigothic society and Christianity in the 4th century, and in particular in the works of H. Delehaye, J. Mansion, K.D. Schmidt, E.A. Thompson, and D. Claude cited below.

wonder, since they were the Empire's direct neighbours, separated from it only by the Danube, and they often crossed weapons with the Romans in imperial territory. The Ostrogoths, located much farther away from the Empire's border, left an incomparably weaker impression in ancient sources, even though there can be little doubt that their objective historical role during the period when they were an independent political entity, and before the Hunnic invasion, was considerably greater than that of the decentralised Visigoths. Compared to the other Germanic tribes, the Goths (meaning both branches of the tribe this time) were also lucky in that already in the first half of the 6th century they found their own historian in the person of great Cassiodorus himself, author of the tribe's history in twelve books[9]. Cassiodorus carefully "codified" their native tribal tradition for the greater glory of the Amali house ruling in Italy, combining it in the oddest ways with the "scholarly" tradition, and so to speak merging Gothic history with the history of the world. Neither the Vandals, nor the Burgundians, nor the Heruli, nor the Gepids produced a similar work, therefore obviously their history is only known from the accounts of "external" authors, and so much less thoroughly than the history of the Goths.

Of course that does not mean that the degree to which the latter is known satisfies a scholar's expectations. It was only of interest to ancient authors, not in itself, but inasmuch as it intertwined and dovetailed with that of the Roman state. Thus they were rather diligent in taking note of Gothic raids into Roman territory, and the names of barbarian chieftains and Roman emperors who defeated Gothic invaders or else were defeated by them; they also noted, with the exaggeration usual in such cases, how many fell dead or were captured. Owing to their accounts, supplemented with epigraphic information (especially from the provinces directly afflicted by the wars) and with coins, we are familiar with the "external" political history of the Goths, even if, as we suppose, there are in our knowledge some serious gaps. Still, what was their daily life like? What major occupations gave them sustenance? What were the material conditions in which they lived? What did they believe? How did they think? What were their relationships with the "natives", that is, the Dacian and Daco-Roman populations? "Traditional" historical sources offer no answers to those questions, or they only offer fragmentary and incidental ones, for the authors of our sources, including among them also Cassiodorus/Jordanes, were simply not interested in such matters. True, Rome had known authors such as Caesar and Tacitus, who inspected

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[9] Only preserved in the epitome written around 550 by the "Moesogoth" Jordanes (*De origine actibusque Getarum vel Getica*). Of recent literature on Jordanes, *Getica* and its relationship to Cassiodorus' lost work, I shall only cite: E. Zwolski's paper *Uwagi o Jordanesie historyku Gotów*, Studia Źródłoznawcze XIII 1968, pp. 137–145; the Russian edition of *Getica* by E.C. Skaržinskoj (*Iordan. O proischoždenii i dejanijach Getov*, Moskva 1960), with an extensive introduction and commentary; and the monographs by N. Wagner (ch. I) and R. Hachmann cited in n. 1 (ch. II, where among other things the author attempts to determine Jordanes' part in the preserved text).

the Germans in more depth and detail than their contemporaries; but when those two giants still lived and wrote, the Goths were as yet too insignificant and too distant from the Roman world to attract attention for longer than a moment. Later, when they came quite close, minds of Caesar's and Tacitus' calibre were no more, with the one exception of Ammianus Marcellinus...

At this point it would be fitting to offer the reader an extensive report on the research possibilities and achievements of related disciplines, which have considerably, and especially in recent times, broadened our knowledge of the "internal" history of the Goths and other tribes of the Migration Period. I mean particularly archaeology, which grants us insight into the material culture of the population of Dacia of those times, and among other boons lets us grasp the characteristics of cultural diversity of its several regions; combined with data obtained from literary sources, that helps us determine the tribes' territories and the dynamics of settlement. It also allows us, though so far to a rather modest extent, to learn of some symptoms of spiritual and social culture of the makers of the exquisite Sîntana de Mureş archaeological culture, the "Visigothic" equivalent and extension of the Chernyakhov culture of southern Ukraine. Actually, according to an increasingly widespread belief, both those archaeological cultures were multi-ethnic, meaning that they cannot be simply assigned to a single people, for example the Goths, but there is hardly any doubt that they reflect the "Gothic" period in the history of northern and western Black Sea region and are the product of peoples that were under the political and organisational hegemony of the Goths[10]. Another, and very promising way to the Gothic past is opened by linguistic research. And again it is the Visigoths who were lucky, as it is among them and for them that bishop Wulfila (Ulfilas) worked in the 4th century, making the first Germanic translation of the Bible, which is even partly preserved. Analysing the text of Wulfila's translation, researchers came to many conclusions as to the society the translation was for. Thus research of this type often sheds new light on the degree of Visigothic social development in the 4th century[11]. I am not going to offer a detailed presen-

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[10] Literature on the Chernyakhov-Sîntana de Mureş archaeological culture is rich. I will cite only a few more recent examples pertaining directly to the Visigothic area: B. Mitrea, *Die Goten an der unteren Donau – einige Probleme im III.–IV. Jahrhundert*, in: *Studia Gotica*, Stockholm 1972, pp. 81–94; I. Ioniţa, *Probleme der Sîntana de Mureş-Černjachovkultur auf dem Gebiete Rumäniens*, *ibid.*, pp. 95–104; G. Diaconu, *On the Socio-Economic Relations between Natives and Goths in Dacia*, in: *Relations between the Autochthonous Populations and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, ed. M. Constantinescu, Ş. Pascu, P. Diaconu, Bucureşti 1975, p. 67–75; I. Ioniţa, *The Social-Economic Structure of Society during the Goths' Migration in the Carpatho-Danubian Area*, *ibid.*, pp. 77–89; E.A. Rikman, *Etničeskaja istorija naselenija podnestrov'ja i prilegajuščego podunav'ja v pervych vekach našej ery*, Moskva 1975.

[11] One can learn something of the possibilities, but also of the dangers, of such research from the discussion surrounding the conclusions of P. Scardigli's book *Lingua e storia dei Goti*, Firenze 1964, especially after it was translated into German (*Die Goten. Sprache und Kultur*, München 1973). Cf. especially ch. VI, "Wulfila and the Spiritual Emancipation of the Gothic Language".

tation of the results of archaeological and linguistic research within the frames of our interest here, as that would require much more space than we have at our disposal. Instead, I would like to bring to the reader's attention a text almost unknown to Polish literature until now, which provides us with the most valuable information, relating as it does to the situation of common people, or free Gothic villagers and to an extent offering insight into their motivations, or in short: into the mentality of a common Visigoth of the 4th century.

III

By that I intend a short hagiographic text, anonymous as is usual with that genre, written in Greek in the eighth decade of the 4th century and entitled in manuscripts *The Passion of Saint Saba the Goth*. Its correct edition, based on two manuscripts (one Venetian from the 9th or 10th century, the other Roman from 912) was published in 1912 by Hippolyte Delehaye[12]. It is only then that the text was noticed and appreciated in scholarship; since then it has acquired

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From among the reviews especially critical of Scardigli's undertaking, let me cite those by N. Wagner, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur LXXXII 1974, fasc. 2, pp. 65–69; H. Birkhan, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur XCVI 1974, fasc. 3, pp. 339–350; and E. Stutz, Beiträge zur Namenforschung X 1975, pp. 184–191. Naturally criticising certain opinions is not the same as criticising the method itself; since texts of the Gothic language are extant, one finds semantic-linguistic arguments in many works on Gothic history.

[12] H. Delehaye, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, AB XXXI 1912, pp. 161–300, with edition of *Passio S. Sabae Gothi* on pp. 215–221; description of the manuscripts, Venetian *(Marcianus gr*. 359; menologium for March and April; ff. 190–193v*)* and Vatican *(Vat. gr*. 1660; menologium for April; ff. 205v–211v*)* on p. 224; on pp. 274–291 his dissertation *Martyrs de l'église de Gothie*. The text was first edited and published in *Acta Sanctorum*, April. II, pp. 966–968. A Latin translation based on the Venetian manuscript was published by Luigi Lipomano (*Vitae Sanctorum patrum*, vol. VII, Romae 1559, ff. 72–73v). The Greek text was also published in: R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, ed. G. Krüger, Tübingen 3 1929, pp. 119–124. Italian translation in: S. Colombo, *Atti dei Martiri. 1a serie: testi greci e latini tradotti con introduzione e note*, Torino 1928, pp. 292–300. Excerpts of value also in: K.D. Schmidt, *Die Bekehrung der Ostgermanen zum Christentum* (*Der ostgermanische Arianismus*), Göttingen 1939, in nn. on pp. 220–222. E. Follieri, *Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata*, AB LXXX 1962, pp. 249–307, investigated the mutual relationship and grounding in sources of the hagiographies of Saba the Goth and another Saba (or Sabbas), called Stratelates (= military commander), and demonstrated that the latter was fictional (the passion of Saba Stratelates, published on pp. 286–289 by Follieri on the basis of a unique manuscript 254 from the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, partly made use of the passion of Saba the Goth). The value of her work is increased by the rich source material used, including calendars, descriptions of martyrdom, synaxaria, and hymns. Printed by Follieri on pp. 280 ff., they greatly expand our knowledge of the extent of Saint Saba's cult. On p. 255, nn. 7 and 8, she lists the bibliographical data of the two above-mentioned manuscripts containing the passion of Saba the Goth. Especially noteworthy are the references to an Old Georgian version of *The Passion* (p. 252, n. 3), as well as an Old Church Slavonic one (p. 255, n. 8). The source in question is manuscript 198 of the Moscow Theological Academy, an early 16th century menologium for April. Petre Ş. Năsturel (cited in n. 13 below, p. 181, n. 17) refers to another Old Church Slavonic version of the text in a 15th century manuscript menologium of the Putna Monastery.

a considerable literature, either dedicated to it or investigating it in a broader context[13]. In the most general terms it could be said that its significance lies in offering additional valuable information regarding firstly the Christianisation of the Visigoths, and secondly, and that aspect will be particularly important for us here, the tribe's social history in the 4th century.

Saba (or Sabbas) was an indigenous Goth, and a zealous (today we would say, fanatical) Christian from a child. He was poor, but a free man. His faith was uncompromising. One day the Gothic aristocrats (*megistanes*) turned against the Christians and forced them to eat sacrificial meat offered to pagan gods. And this is the place in the text where we encounter the first detail immensely interesting from the sociological point of view. The village where Saba lived was inhabited by both pagans and Christians, the latter being a minority. As we can see, the bi-denominational community lived in peace, if the pagan villagers, apparently concerned for their Christian neighbours, decided to resort to this "pious deceit":

> it occurred to some of the pagans in the village in which Saba lived to make the Christians who belonged to them eat publicly before the persecutors meat that had not been sacrificed in place of that which had, hoping thereby to preserve the innocence of their own people and at the same time to deceive the persecutors (3, 1)[14].

The trick would have probably worked and we can suppose that most of the Christians would have opportunistically kept their beliefs secret in that way. However,

> learning this, the blessed Saba not only himself refused to touch the forbidden meat but advanced into the midst of the gathering and bore witness, saying to everyone, "If anyone eats of that meat, this man cannot be a Christian", and he prevented them all from falling into the Devil's snare (3, 2).

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[13] J. Mansion, *Les origines du christianisme chez les Gots*, AB XXXIII 1914, pp. 5–30; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain*, Paris 1918 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome CXII); H. Boehmer-Romundt, *Ein neues Werk der Wulfila*, Neue Jahrb. VI 1903, pp. 272–288; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 12); E.A. Thompson, *The Passio S. Sabae and Early Visigothic Society*, Historia IV 1955, pp. 331–338, reprinted as ch. III ("*The Passion of St. Saba* and Village Life") of Thompson's book *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila*, Oxford 1966 (pp. 64–77). Thompson's works are fundamental. A.R. Korsunskij, *O social'nom stroe vestgotov v IV v.*, VDI 1965, fasc. 3 (93), pp. 54–74; P.Ş. Năsturel, *Les Actes de Saint Sabas le Goth (BHG³, 1607). Histoire et archeologie*, RESE VII 1969, fasc. 1, pp. 175–185; Å. Fridh, *Die Bekehrung der Westgoten zum Christentum*, in: *Studia Gotica*, Stockholm 1972, pp. 130–143; the works of Romanian archaeologists listed in n. 10; H. Wolfram, *Gotische Studien, II. Die terwingische Stammesverfassung und das Bibelgotische*, MIÖG LXXXIII 1975, pp. 289–324, and LXXXIV 1976, pp. 239–261, especially pp. 322–324 and 239 ff.; D. Claude, *Adel, Kirche und Königtum im Westgotenreich*, Sigmaringen 1971, pp. 11 ff.

[14] [Quotes from *The Passion* in the translation by P. Heather and John Matthews (*The Goths in the Fourth Century*, Liverpool 1991).]

The pagan villagers who had initiated the trick saw only one solution: to banish Saba the "troublemaker" from the village. They apparently reasoned that otherwise the other Christians, encouraged or shamed by his example, would risk persecution. After a time, when the dangerous "interest" of the Gothic *megistanes* in Christian matters abated, Saba was allowed to return to the village.

But another trial of character awaited him. On that occasion the pagan villagers were even inclined to swear a false oath that there were no Christians in the village. "But Saba, again speaking out, came forward in the midst of their council and said, 'Let no man swear on my account, for I am a Christian' " (3, 4).

Since Saba said so in the presence of the authorities, his pagan fellow villagers, acting in good faith, could do nothing except swear that he was the only one. Thus the anger of "the leader of the outrage" was all directed at the saint. He called Saba before him, and then

> asked those who brought him forward whether he had anything among his possessions. When they replied, "Nothing except the clothes he wears", the lawless one set him at nought and said, "Such a man can neither help nor harm us", and with these words ordered him to be thrown outside (3, 5).

For the third time Christians were persecuted in Gothia shortly before Easter of 372. This time the extent and strength of the persecution were much greater. Saba went to another village to spend Easter Day with a priest called Gutthikas. We do not know his reasons. Maybe he would not celebrate in his village among his small-spirited co-religionists who had publicly repudiated their Christianity? While on his way, he had a vision: a mysterious stranger bid him turn back and seek presbyter Sansalas. In this way our source provides us with the names of two otherwise unknown Gothic priests and, perhaps even more importantly, reveals how dispersed the Christian minority in Gothia was. That Sansalas had fled persecution to the Roman Empire, but he wanted to spend Easter in his home country, so he returned. The two of them celebrated the holidays together. But

> then on the third night after the festival, there came at the behest of the impious ones Atharidus, the son of Rothesteus of royal rank, with a gang of lawless bandits. He fell on the village, where he found the presbyter asleep in his house and had him tied up. Saba also he seized naked from his couch and likewise threw into bonds (4, 5).

We shall omit here the long description of the tortures inflicted on Saba by his persecutors, reported in detail by his hagiographer. They got nowhere with him of course; the saint bravely, and even recklessly reproached them with their crimes. From our perspective there is more interest in the little, marginal details which shed light on the feelings of solidarity among the poorer population of the Visigothic society, regardless of differences of creed. Namely when the weary torturers fell asleep, "a woman came up and set him [*scil*. Saba] free; she was a woman working at night to prepare food for the people in the house" (5, 3). She probably took

a risk by doing so, but we do not hear of the duke's men trying to take revenge on her for aiding a prisoner. Let us add that it is not known whether she was pagan or Christian. "Set free, Saba remained in the same place without fear, and joined the woman at her work" (*ibid.*), so that on the next day the torture continued.

Since it failed to yield the expected results, Atharid ordered Saba drowned. And again we find a curious detail: it would appear that presbyter Sansalas, though also captured and presumably tortured, was not to be put to death, even though as clergyman he was more of a threat to the pagans than Saba, a private layman. Responsibility was probably divided between them in that and no other way, not because of Saba's uncompromising and arrogant attitude, but because Sansalas was most likely not a Goth by birth, if we are to judge from his name. Scholars believe he could have come from Asia Minor, the same as the Gothic bishop Wulfila's parents[15]. That would seem to mean that in the eyes of his judges Sansalas' "crime" was lesser than Saba's, although technically the only charge was in each case professing the Christian religion. It was therefore decided that as a Goth who accepted Christianity, Saba offended the Gothic deities, and by doing so he could bring a disaster on his people. In other words, he became a traitor deserving of death, one who had himself stepped outside the sacred circle of his clan.

Yet before Saba could accede to martyrdom, he would once again have the occasion to demonstrate how wholeheartedly he desired it. Now the soldiers leading him to the place of his execution hesitated for a while. They

> said to one another, "Come now, let us set free this fool. How will Atharidus ever find out?" But the blessed Saba said to them, "Why do you waste time talking nonsense and not do what you were told to? For I see what you cannot see: over there on the other side, standing in glory, the saints who have come to receive me" (7, 4).

Only then, on the 12th of April 372, at the age of 38, did the pure Saba die drowned in the Musaeus[16] without granting his executioners the chance to avoid committing a crime they were apparently disinclined to commit out of simple human feelings.

The last chapter of the brief work on the saint's martyrdom summarised above reports what befell Saba's earthly remains after his death. His killers left the body unburied, but for five days neither dogs nor wild animals touched it. Later his fellow believers took care of it and the governor of the Roman province Scythia Minor, Iunius Soranus, carried it off to the Empire. Eventually it was sent to Cappadocia, a land that had its own connection to the beginnings of Gothic

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[15] Cf. R. Loewe, *Gotische Namen in hagiographischen Texten*, *Beiträge* zur *Geschichte* der *deutschen Sprache* und *Literatur* XLVII 1923, pp. 407–433, at p. 431.

[16] That is the river Buzău, a right tributary of the Seret. Outside of *The Passion* the name is unattested in literature. Cf. M. Fluss, *Museus*, *RE* XVI 1 (1933), col. 822.

Christianity. In terms of form, *The Passion of Saint Saba*, that jewel of early Christian hagiography[17], is a letter, a message to the Cappadocian Christians, who were apparently keen on learning some details from the life of their new saint and martyr.

For us the importance of the text lies not so much in its hagiographical layer, but rather in it being the first source allowing any insight into the life of the Germanic countryside, depicting a rural community of simple commoners, still free but already practically unable to influence the fate of their tribe in any degree.

Possibly the characteristic of Saba's rural Gothic community that the reader finds most striking is its peacefulness, a sharp contrast to what we know of the Goths' undaunted bellicosity, mentioned in ancient sources dozens of times. Only a few years after Saba's death a decisive war with the Romans would break out again, but, like a modern reporter's snapshot, the anonymous hagiographer's account captures a state of peace and stillness. One is reminded of Jordanes' "little Goths" (*Getica* 267), a group of Gothic emigrants in Roman territory in Moesia, who for two hundred years and well into the 6th century lived peaceful, pastoral, thoroughly "un-Gothic" lives there in the vicinity of Nicopolis. Those were an emigrant group; but here the similarly "un-Gothic" and peaceful way of life of Saint Saba's rural community, in the very heart of independent Gothia, makes one pause and think. Here the peaceful quality does not follow from those particular villagers being any different, but from the text's different social perspective, very rare for its times and all the more valuable to the historian for it.

The whole work discussed above, and especially its third chapter, constitutes, to borrow a phrase from the English historian E.A. Thompson, "a vivid representation of a clan society in action"[18]. There is nothing in the source of the village being managed by any single person, any chief or elder. Affairs are managed by the assembly, most likely made up of all the adult men. Saba, who is poor and as a Christian certainly in the minority, can present his views to the assembly unhindered and it does not seem that that body had any power to make members of the community submit to the majority view.

Then suddenly anti-Christian orders reach the village. They have been issued by "the Gothic mighty", called *megistanes* by the source. The role of executors and overseers, but not lawgivers, falls to people such as Atharid, who can be identified with chieftains of Gothic "small tribes" or districts, while the *megistanes* are probably members of the supreme council of Gothia, or the Visigothic Confederacy. It is characteristic that our source does not mention the "judge", or leader of the Gothic confederacy; in 372 the office was held by Athanaric. We know from other sources that Athanaric was actually the major instigator of the persecutions – or at any rate part of the later tradition is of that

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[17] Delehaye, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 291.

[18] Thompson, *The Passio*... (n. 13), p. 332; idem, *The Visigoths*... (n. 13), p. 67.

opinion[19]. (The notion that Athanaric and Atharid were in fact the same person has been abandoned in more recent scholarship, and correctly, I am inclined to think.) However, distinguishing between levels of responsibility for the persecutions was not among the intentions of the author of *The Passion*, focused as he was on the circumstances directly relating to Saint Saba.

The countryside is tolerant. It seems that the fact that Saba and some other villagers professed Christianity did not trouble the others. E.A. Thompson believes that the saint was exiled from the village, because he refused to take part in the ritual feast, which offended pagan deities and excluded the refuser from the community. That does not seem right, for in that case, why would he be soon allowed to come back? Why were the elders of the village willing to perjure themselves for the sake of the Christians? Neither does the source, contrary to what Thompson claims, allow the conclusion that in the end the village abandoned Saba to his fate without trying to help him any further. Even if we ignore the fact that Atharid's retainers used brute force and were undoubtedly well armed, Saba's final capture and death occurred far away from his home village, so we do not know if his compatriots even knew what was happening to him. There is even the question of whether the persecutors did not make a point of waiting until the recalcitrant Christian was away from the friendly community to do away with him. No! The villagers' response betrays, on the one hand, the signs of rural solidarity among peaceful and probably in most cases indigent farmers, and on the other, resentment towards the aristocrats, perceived as armed strangers. And then there is one more thing it betrays: helplessness, the feeling of not being able to oppose the will of the tribe's leaders. That is the origin of cunctatory tactics, very common in rural areas and not devoid of pragmatic sense; the attitude of procrastinating and buying time or, to call a spade a spade, of sabotaging orders unpleasant to the community. "Democracy within the village but nothing that could be called democracy in the relations between the village and the central authority"; "a community in which fanaticism was confined to the powerful, and humanity to the humble"; such, as Thompson[20] aptly observes, were the fundamental characteristics of the Visigothic society that we can now investigate in somewhat more depth than is usually possible when studying that era, thanks to *The Passion of Saint Saba*.

IV

In order to understand the ideological and political background of the events of 372, one must briefly look into the early history of Christianity in the land of the Goths and into the events of previous years on the Danube front.

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[19] Among others, Socrates Scholasticus, Epiphanius and Isidore of Seville.

[20] Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), pp. 74 and 77.

In the 70's of the 3rd century, when the Goths were entering Dacia in the wake of the withdrawing legions of emperor Aurelian, it was a pagan country; both the so-called autochthonous Dacians, and the Daco-Roman population which remained there after the evacuation, especially in the south, were still mostly pagan. Various religious cults were represented in Roman Dacia, but our source material conspicuously lacks any confirmed information regarding Christian cult[21]. Only in the 4th century do we find any clearer symptoms of Christianity penetrating into Dacia, evidenced by artefacts such as tombstones, sepulchral terracotta lamps, gems engraved with Christian imagery (e.g. the motif of the Good Shepherd) and inscribed with the letters XP (= Christ); let us note, however, following Thompson[22], that all those findings come from areas of intensive Roman settlement. None such objects, on the other hand, have been discovered in Wallachia, Moldavia, Besarabia or the region between the Danube and the Tisa, which the Romans never reached. This means that Christian influence was limited to Romanised borderland and initially did not extend to the Visigoths themselves, or to other barbarian tribes. That territorial limitation of archaeologically perceptible traces of Christian penetration into 4th century Gothia is a good reason to be slightly more sceptical than has been the rule about the role played in that process by Christian captives from the Empire held by the Goths, although actual source material does exist confirming that captives were active in it. In particular, the early Gothic Christians (as well as the Armenian ones) had especially close connections to the Cappadocian Church, which was then one of the strongest intellectual and ecclesiastical centres. That was reflected in such facts, among others, as the Cappadocian Church trying to obtain Saint Saba's relics and desription of his martyrdom (*The Passion* and mentions in Saint Basil's letters), the Cappadocian descent of Wulfila's parents, or the names of certain early Christians in Gothia pointing to Asia Minor.

In his treatise *On the Incarnation of the Word*, written between 319 and 321, Saint Athanasius listed the Goths among those barbarian peoples that had been reached by the words of the Gospel[23]. Naturally we do not know whether the

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[21] A short summary of the results of archaeological research on the very beginnings of Christianity in Dacia may be found in Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), pp. 78 ff. (with references to earlier works of Romanian archaeologists). A new treatment of the question seems to be an urgent desideratum of scholarship. From among the more recent publications, cf. I.H. Cîmpeanu, *Das Grabfeld aus dem 4. Jh. u.Z. von Pălatca (Kr. Cluj)*, Dacia (n.s.) XX 1976, pp. 23–36 (a stamp with the sign of the cross); E. Lozovan, *Dacia Sacra*, History of Religions VII 1968, pp. 209–243. As for the question of the interpretation of burials within the Chernyakhov culture with a view to determine the beliefs of its inhabitants, cf. E.A. Symonovič, *O kultovych predstavlenijach naselenija jugozapadnych oblastej SSSR v pozdneantičnyj period*, Sovetskaja Archeologija 1978, fasc. 2, pp. 105–116, as well as Rikman's book cited in n. 10 above.

[22] Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), p. 79.

[23] *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*, I 51, *PG* XXV, Paris 1857, col. 188.

Alexandrian bishop meant the Visigoths, or perhaps the Crimean Goths. At the Council of Nicaea in 325 there was a certain Theophilus, a bishop from Gothia; in his case scholarship seems rather to come to the conclusion that he was active in the Gothia on the Danube, although the Crimean possibility cannot be wholly discounted either[24]. The Arian historian Philostorgius (368–433) did state that the first Visigothic bishop was Wulfila[25], but he could have meant the first bishop of the Arian church.

One characteristic feature of Gothic Christianity is its diversity. There were within the Christian diaspora in Gothia at least three currents: Catholic, Arian and Audian. The latter was never more than an episode, although its founder, Audius, a Syrian by birth, exiled by Constantius II to Scythia Minor, supposedly converted many Visigoths to his form of the creed, and even founded monasteries and congregations[26]. In 341 at the synod in Antioch Wulfila was appointed the bishop for the Visigoths; it is impossible to determine unambiguously whether his jurisdiction included Christians of non-Gothic origin living in Gothia. He remained at that post for seven years. In 348 the first persecutions of Christians took place among the Goths, supposedly inspired by an unnamed *inreligiosus et sacrilegus iudex*[27]. It seems doubtful if he could be already at that date Athanaric, who would become the "judge" later on[28]. During that wave of persecutions three other saints were martyred by drowning, Inna, Rimma and Pinna, but before they died, they managed to convert many barbarians. Seven years after their deaths a certain otherwise unknown bishop by name of Godda collected their earthly remains, personally transferred them to some (unnamed) place in Gothia, and buried there. Later he again carried them to the port of Haliscus (unidentified). Since the date of their passion was not known, the Church celebrated the date of the ultimate transfer of their bodies[29]. Thompson's argument, according to which the martyrdom of Saints Inna, Rimma and Pinna took place in the winter of

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[24] The issue was thoroughly analysed in A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, pp. 11 ff., but the author avoided expressing a final opinion of his own.

[25] His *Church History*, a continuation of the work of Eusebius of Caesarea, has only been preserved in epitome in Photius. Critical edition: J. Bidez, Berlin 1913. Book II, ch. 5.

[26] The most complete account of Audianism among the Goths is to be found in Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 228–230.

[27] So in the fundamental source for Wulfila's life and work, a treatise by Auxentius, an Arian bishop of Dorostorum (modern Silistra) and Wulfila's disciple, preserved in the form of an extensive gloss on the margin of a manuscript in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, *Cod. Lat.* 8907, ff. 304–308. Best edition in: *Die gotische Bibel*, ed. W. Streitberg, part I, Darmstadt [4]1960, pp. XIV–XIX.

[28] Cf. the arguments in the works of Wolfram and Thompson.

[29] The text of the relevant *Passion* has been preserved in fragments in a menologium for June, a manuscript of BN in Paris catalogued as *gr. 1488*, 11th century hand, ff. 157 f. Edition: Delehaye, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 215 f. Cf. E.A. Thompson, *Der gotische Bischof Goddas*, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur LXXXVI 1955–1956, fasc. 4, pp. 275–278, rerinted as appendix 3 in idem, *The Visigoths...*, pp. 161–165.

347/348, and the transfer of their remains in 354, seems probable. It is impossible to say for certain whether Godda was a Catholic or an Arian bishop, but the former seems more likely in that Wulfila, as noted above, was considered the first Arian bishop in the land of the Goths. If, however, a separate bishopric was created for Catholics in Gothia as early as that, we may consider that an indirect indication that even in the first half of the 4th century their numbers had to be quite high. The later fate of that presumed only Visigothic bishopric until the time Liuvigild reigned in Spain (568–586)[30] are completely unknown to us.

The role Wulfila himself had to play in Visigothic Christianisation has in recent scholarship a more realistic form than in most older literature, which uncritically saw him as the "apostle of the Goths"[31]. Actually Wulfila did not have any considerable influence on the Christianisation of the greater part of the tribe. Personally affected by persecutions in 348 (as implied by Auxentius' term *confessor*[32]) with a group of fellow Christians he left Gothia for the Empire. Given a warm welcome by emperor Constantius II, the refugees settled at the feet of Mount Haemus near Nicopolis in the province of Moesia Inferior, so giving rise to the *Goti minores* whose existence is still attested in Jordanes two centuries later[33]. It is probably there that Wulfila worked on his immortal translation and so lay the foundations for Gothic literature[34].

The problem of whether the "little Goths" and Wulfila in any way affected their compatriots in the independent Gothia proper, and what role they had to play in the growth of Christianity there, is among the more difficult in the early Gothic history and it does not seem that unambiguous conclusions are possible in this respect, as sources are few and extremely unreliable[35]. According to Socrates Scholasticus Wulfila undertook missionary work among the Goths to the north

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[30] Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), p. 165.

[31] Cf. the literature listed in n. 11, and P. Scardigli's work cited in n. 13. Also P. Scardigli, *La conversione dei Goti al cristianesimo*, in: *La conversione al cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1967 (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo XIV), pp. 47–86, where on pp. 49–57 there is an useful list of almost all sources pertaining to the Christianisation of the Goths. For Wulfila's personality cf. A. Lippold, *Ulfila*, *RE* IX A, 1 (1961), coll. 512–531. An interesting perspective can be found in K. Schäferdiek, *Der germanische Arianismus. Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen Verständnis*, in: *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae III, Colloque de Cambridge 1968*, Louvain 1970, pp. 71–83; M. Simonetti, *Arianesimo latino*, StudMed (s. III) VIII 1967, fasc. 2, pp. 663–744; H. Kuhn, *Die gotische Mission. Gedanken zur germanischen Bekehrungsgeschichte*, Saeculum XXVII 1976, pp. 50–65 (with no scholarly apparatus).

[32] Cf. n. 27.

[33] *Getica* 267.

[34] A.A. Leont'ev, *K probleme autorstva „vul'filianskogo" perevoda*, in: *Problemy sravnitel'noj filologii. Sbornik statej k 70-letiju... V.M. Žirmunskogo*, Moskva–Leningrad 1964, pp. 271–276, questioned Wulfila's part in the Gothic translation of the Bible, but his attempt has not been recognised by wider scholarship.

[35] Cf. Lippold, *op. cit.* (n. 31), col. 519.

of the Danube after the tribal chieftain Fritigern, out of gratitude for the aid he received from emperor Valens in the civil war against Athanaric, leaned towards the Arian faith, confessed by the emperor[36], and asked to have religious teachers sent to Gothia who could speak Gothic[37].

Either way, the penetration of Christianity into the Gothic realm went on, although, and it needs to be clearly stated, their Christianisation never acquired impressive proportions in the period before the Huns invaded, and most of the tribe moved into the territory of the Empire under Fritigern. A radical change only came in the eighth decade of the 4th century, when the civil war between Athanaric and Fritigern made the latter enter into an open alliance with the Romans, and actively support Christianity.

Athanaric, the leader (*iudex*) of the confederacy of Visigothic tribes (according to the tempting if somewhat risky claim put forward by Wolfram[38], himself a Balt and a descendant and heir of Ariaric and Aoric, both enemies of Constantine the Great), was without any doubt an outstanding personality. He was conservative in aiming for political and cultural independence from the Romans. If we discount incidents, peace with Rome lasted from 332 until 367, when emperor Valens started a preventive war in Gothic territory, which would continue for three years. Athanaric proved a seasoned tactician; the war went on with varying success until in 369 Valens and Athanaric met aboard a ship anchored in the middle of the Danube (as Athanaric had supposedly once sworn that he would never set foot in the Roman Empire[39]). The treatise they agreed to took off the Visigoths the status of *foederati* they had formally held until then. Soon after, Athanaric was opposed by Fritigern's faction, described by László Várady, with clear exaggeration, as "a democratic 'people's party', aiming in its foreign policy at even closer relations with the Romans, Romanisation and accordingly pro-Arian on the ideological plane"[40]. Várady would like to see Athanaric's policy as not so much anti-Christian in general as anti-Arian. That might indeed explain why Athanaric, after Fritigern's faction defeated him, was welcomed with honours in 381 in Constantinople by the *Catholic* Theodosius I[41], when earlier, in the face of the Hunnic onslaught, when the *Arian* Valens was emperor, Athanaric did not seek asylum in the Empire[42].

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36 *Hist. Eccl.* IV 33.

37 Orosius VII 33, 19; Jordanes, *Get*. 131.

38 Cf. n. 3.

39 Amm. XXVII 5, 9. Wolfram, *op. cit.* (n. 3), has a convincing interpretation of Athanaric's oath.

40 L. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens (376–476)*, Budapest 1969, p. 27.

41 That event, noted in several contemporary sources, has recently been discussed by H. Wolfram, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

42 Várady, *loc. cit.* (n. 40).

> All dies [*scil*. the honours offered Athanaric] tat Theodosius nicht allein, um die Sympathien der Gothen zu gewinnen, sonder auch, weil er Athanarichs Antiarianismus zu schätzen wusste. Aufgrund einer identischen gesellschaftlichen "Parteinahme" begegneten sich auf diese Art der glaubenseifrige orthodoxe Christ und der antiarianische Heide auf einer gemeinsamen Plattform.

Unfortunately, as is often the case, the Hungarian scholar's construct finds no confirmation in the facts, because Athanaric in his "state" acted with equal ruthlessness against Arians and Catholics, and additionally, seeing how the Arians' own tradition has largely been lost, we mostly have at our disposal testimonies of persecutions aimed at Catholics.

The Passion of Saint Saba discussed here is the primary source on the persecution of Christians in Gothia between the years 369 and 372, but there are a few others. In a preserved fragment of a Gothic Arian calendar[43] under the 29th of October the following commemoration is listed:

> gaminthi marytre thize bi Werekan papan jah Batwin bilaif.
> aikklesjons fullaizos ana Gutthiudai gabrannidai.

According to R. Loewe, the translation should run:

> Es blieb das Andenken an die Märtyrer, die sich um die Priester Wereka und Batwins geschart hatten. In einer vollen Kirche wurden sie im Gotenlande verbrannt[44].

Luckily the testimony of the Gothic calendar is confirmed and greatly expanded by a Greek synaxarium[45], where under the 26th of March there is, as is suspected, a fragment of an otherwise lost *Passion* of twenty-six martyrs listed by name, led by the presbyters Bathouses and Ouercas, burnt down by pagans under the emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian. The source even gives the name of the Gothic chieftain who burnt the church; he was called Winguric. The remains of the victims were then collected by a "queen (*basilissa*) of the Gothic people" by name of Gaatha, a Catholic Christian. She left her "kingdom" to her son Arimerius (or Arimir) and travelled to the Empire accompanied by her daughter Dulcilla (which is a Latin name) and a group of believers (of whom one, Vella,

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[43] Preserved together with fragments of a Gothic translation of the Bible in a Milan palimpsest (*Ambrosianus A*, Sign. S. 36 parte superiore). In Delehaye's opinion the hand of the calendar indicates the 6th century. Edited several times, including by Delehaye (cf. n. 12), p. 276 (with commentary).

[44] R. Loewe, *Der gotische Kalender*, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur LIX 1922, pp. 245–290, at pp. 248 f.

[45] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Edited and published by H. Achelis, *op. cit.* (n. 8), and by H. Delehaye, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 279. The text of the Gothic calendar and the Greek passion fragment also in Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 224 f., nn. 4 f. It is often emphasised that the calendar was certainly Arian, and the synaxarium, Catholic, and if two sources so different as to content and ideology complement each other about the martyrs, that implies their reliability.

is mentioned by name). Gaatha returned to her country, while Dulcilla took the relics to Cyzicus. Vella, who went back with Gaatha, was stoned by the Goths, whereas Dulcilla died later of natural causes[46]. It is probably around the same time that Saint Nicetas (Catholic and Goth) fell victim to persecution, even though the "description" of his martyrdom is exceptionally misleading and almost devoid of any historical content[47]. Isidore of Seville reports that at Adrianople in 378 the Goths encountered some fellow tribesmen "previously exiled from their homeland because of their faith" and tried to convince them to fight the Romans together. When they were refused, they killed some, while others ran off into the mountains and other inaccessible places, where they persevered not only in their Catholicism, but also in their loyalty towards the Romans[48].

Germain Morin was inclined to connect to the wave of persecutions during Athanaric's rule also the death of the three martyrs called Hildaevora (or Hilda and Evora), Uihila (or Iuhila), and Theogenes, only known from an anonymous homily dedicated to them and preserved in three manuscripts: from the Vatican Library (*Lat.* 3836, f. 172^{v}–174^{v}), from Monte Cassino and from Florence[49]. Unfortunately, the text gives us almost nothing on which to base the time and location of that event. The only possible clue is the sentence: "Gloriosa etenim devotio martyrum nec adversantium minacia pertimescit, nec avarica rabie perturbatur". The reading *avarica* is to be found in the Monte Cassino manuscript, while the Vatican simply reads *barbarica*. Even if, following Morin, we keep *avarica* as *lectio difficilior*, we will not be much closer to discovering the origins of the sermon. Even if the Theogenes from the text could be identified with the man of the same name, who according to menologia and synaxaria was burnt alive, just as those three martyrs were; and even if in a Neapolitan calendar under the 4th of October there was the celebration of *P(assio) s(ancti) Theogenis*, the chance that they were Goths contemporary with Athanaric does not seem any greater than that they were among the many Catholics persecuted in the Vandal state.

Still, even if we give up on that source as most unreliable, we must observe that the anti-Christian campaign launched and briskly conducted by Athanaric had an unusual range for its times. Let us hasten to add that the events rang an echo throughout contemporary Christian literature; they came up in Ambrosius

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[46] Cf. Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), appendix 2: *Gaatha*, pp. 159 f.

[47] *Passio S. Nicetae* was published by Delehaye, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 209–215. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 281 ff. His work received an appendix in the form of *Note de M.D. Serruys sur la chronologie de la Passion de S. Nicetas* (pp. 292–294).

[48] *Hist. Goth.* 10 (*PL* LXXXIII 1061).

[49] G. Morin, *Un groupe inconnu de martyrs goths dans un sermon anonyme d'origine barbare*, HJ LII 1932, pp. 178–184.

(*Exp. ev. Luc.* II 37)[50], Augustine (*De civ. Dei* XVIII 52)[51], and Jerome (*Chron.* ad a. 373)[52].

In the light of the above discussion Athanaric's intentions look clear enough. The number of followers and supporters of Christianity among the Goths was continually on the increase. It included, not only poor people such as St. Saba, but also, as demonstrated by "queen" Gaatha's example, members of the Visigothic higher classes. Just as it did somewhat earlier in the Roman Empire, and for instance a few centuries later in Slavic lands, the new religion stood in opposition to the existing Visigothic social order. Even without Christianity, that order was in the 4th century very shaky: the society was at about the same stage of development as that of the Franks towards the end of the 5th century, that is, clan structures were losing ever more importance, and monarchy and the "normal" process of the forming of a class society were looming in the distance. (That development was then arrested by the Hunnic invasion, the tribe crossing into Roman territory, permanent war with the Romans and further migrations to Gaul and Spain, reinforcing the clan factor to a degree, and later on resulting in a monarchy based on rules different from those that applied in Dacia, or in the *Heerkönigtum*.) Internal factors combined with the external threat that was Rome and with growing anti-Roman sentiments caused by the course of the war of the years 369 to 372. The ruling circles in Gothia began to see Christians, regardless of orientation, not merely as an "anti-social" element, standing so to speak outside the tribal and cultic community, but also as a Roman agency. While certainly not all Christians in Gothia were automatically agents or even sympathisers of Roman authority (after all, a mere few years later most of the tribe converted and that did not turn them into friends of Rome), in the case of many of them suspicions of Roman sympathies were hardly exaggerated. Finally it is possible that the aristocratic oligarchy represented by Athanaric, unconsciously following patterns of behaviour so well tested in another place and time, wanted to artificially lay the blame on the alienated Christians. We could also add that resentment and even hatred towards the Romans and the Roman emperor are also listed as reasons behind the persecutions in Gothia under Athanaric by contemporary authors (Epiphanius) as well as slightly later ones (Socrates). Saba and the other Gothic martyrs were scapegoats: "the *megistanes*, when they persecuted the Christians, were punishing others for bringing about a situation which they themselves had involuntarily created"[53].

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[50] *PL* XV 1565.

[51] Although the persecutor king remains nameless.

[52] Ed. R. Helm, Berlin ²1956 (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, vol. XLVII).

[53] Thompson, *The Visigoths...* (n. 13), pp. 101 f.

Regardless of who the author of *The Passion* was, and he was more likely Greek and not a Goth, the work seems very close to the events it recounts, not just in time or space[54], but also in its ideas. It represents the current, so difficult to capture for a historian, of ideological opposition to the pagan thought that was dominant in 4th century Dacia, as well as to the new social order which was then gradually getting the upper hand in the Visigothic society, pushing the masses of Gothic free population into insignificance (and presumably in part into economic degradation).

[54] In the debate over the authorship of *The Passion* special roles fall to presbyter Sansalas, Saba's companion in misery, who apparently lived through the persecution wave of 369–372 and remained closely connected to the Roman Church; and to the governor of Scythia Minor, Iunius Soranus. Letters 155, 164 and 165 of Saint Basil the Great are of particular use in attempts to find the answer. For the most comprehensive analysis of the question, see J. Mansion, *op. cit.* (n. 13), and especially pp. 12 ff. Cf. already Delehaye, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 288 ff.

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THE AFFAIR OF LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII IN 205/204 BC*

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The events that took place in the city of Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy in 205 BC occupy a prominent place in extant ancient tradition[1]. The reasons for which ancient writers devoted so much attention to a seemingly unimportant episode of the Second Punic War, i.e. the recapture of one city occupied by Hannibal's forces, were the events that occurred in Locri after the Carthaginians had left: the earliest Roman plundering of a temple treasury attested in the sources, the first fratricidal battle of Romans against Romans and finally, as a result, the last attempt to scuttle the African expedition of P. Cornelius Scipio. For all these reasons, this affair has often been examined by modern historiography, either in the wider context of the Second Punic War or as a separate research topic[2]. It seems, however, that all these works present the events in Locri in a false light due to the uncritical acceptance of a specific viewpoint imposed by the sources. In attempting my own assessment of these events in Locri, I will first present the course of events according to the evidence in the sources and their interpretation according to today's historians in order to underline the issues that, in my opinion, are not explained in a satisfactory way.

Livy[3] has transmitted the circumstances of the seizing of Locri. As the result of treachery on the part of several inhabitants, a Roman contingent forced their way into the city, commanded by the military tribunes M. Sergius and P. Matienus

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1 Liv. XXIX 6–9; 16, 4–22, 12; Diod. XXVII 4; Dio Cass. XVII fr. 62 (57); Zon. IX 11, 8 (Boiss. I, p. 258); App. *Han.* (55) 230 f.; Val. Max. I 1, 21; III 6, 1.

2 B. Krysiniel-Józefowiczowa, *De antiquissimo Romanorum sacrilegio*, Eos XLV 1951, fasc. 1, pp. 137–147; F. Grosso, *Il caso di Pleminio*, GIF V 1952, pp. 119–135, 234–253; A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, vol. II, Oxford 1965, pp. 613–621; H.H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician*, New York 1970, pp. 112–115. Cf. also U. Kahrstedt, *Geschichte der Kathager von 218–146*, vol. III, Berlin 1913, pp. 329–333, 541, and n. 2; G. De Sanctis, *Storia del Romani*, vol. III 2, Firenze ^{2}1968, pp. 498–501.

3 Liv. XXIX 6, 1–8, 5; cf. Zon. IX 11, 8; App. *Han.* (55) 230.

(detached by Scipio from the Sicilian army) and the propraetor Q. Pleminius, assigned as commander by the consul. In spite of Hannibal's efforts to come to the rescue of the city, the expedition was successful, primarily because the Locrians, at first passively witnessing the fighting, then joined in the battle on the side of the Romans.

The events that followed are transmitted by two sources, Diodorus and Livy. Diodorus writes[4] that Pleminius looted the treasury of the temple of Persephone, the richest sanctuary in Italy, which angered Sergius and Matienus. Their primary concern was not the sacrilege, but rather that their leader did not allow them a share of the plunder and they threatened to report him to the authorities. This quarrel became a fight, during which the tribunes' subordinates beat and mutilated Pleminius, who retaliated in his turn by seizing Sergius and Matienus, having them tortured and finally having them killed. At the news of these events, the Senate sent an aedile and two tribunes of the people to bring Scipio to Rome, provided that Pleminius had acted with his cognizance and agreement, as Scipio's enemies were alleging. Before the envoys could reach Sicily, however, Scipio arrested Pleminius on his own initiative and all that the envoys of the Senate had to do was to send him to Rome, where he shortly died in prison. The Senate restored the losses of the treasury of Persephone from public funds and then ordered the Roman soldiers under penalty of death to return the looted riches of the goddess; the Locrians, on the other hand, were given back their freedom.

According to the much more extensive account of Livy[5], the violence in Locri was the work of Pleminius, and not just the temple itself but the whole city fell victim to it, given over to the army as spoils. The battle between the Roman forces was evoked by the intervention of Sergius and Matienus in defence of one of the inhabitants who had been robbed by one of Pleminius' soldiers. Pleminius placed the responsibility for the brawl that resulted between the subordinates of the tribunes and those of the propraetor on the shoulders of Sergius and Matienus, and he ordered them flogged. This was stopped by their subordinates who assaulted the propraetor and his men and mutilated him. Command was returned to Pleminius only when Scipio, who had heard of these events, arrived from Sicily and ordered the tribunes to be imprisoned. After Scipio left, Pleminius had Sergius and Matienus tortured to death and then turned his anger against the Locrians, opressing them even more than previously. The distraught inhabitants finally turned to the Senate, which was used by Scipio's enemies, led by Q. Fabius Maximus, to launch a general attack against him. The Locrians were deemed allies (*socii et amici populi Romani*), all their plundered goods were to be returned, as were the treasures of the temple, and Pleminius and his associates were to be arrested. Only the demand for Scipio to be recalled to Rome and

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[4] Diod. XXVII 4, 1–2, 4–8.

[5] Liv. XXIX 8, 6–9, 12; 16, 4–22, 12.

even to be stripped of his *imperium* was refused. This was to be investigated by a commission led by the newly elected praetor of Sicily, M. Pomponius Matho (Scipio's cousin) and it was to decide if the crimes had been committed with the knowledge and consent of the consul. The findings of the commission were of course negative, all the more because the Locrians themselves did not dare accuse Scipio directly. Any associates of Pleminius were probably acquitted and he himself died in prison before the end of the hearing.

The main differences in the two accounts, leaving aside the fact that Livy's, being much more ample includes many more details, are the following: (1) the circumstances of the fratricidal brawl – according to Diodorus, it was caused by the envy of the tribunes who had been disappointed in their hopes of acquiring part of the spoils while according to Livy, it was their intervention in defence of the residents of Locri, (2) the second sojourn of Scipio in Locri (the first time, he had come to the city at the news of Hannibal's attempt to prevent the Romans from regaining the city; seeing that the situation was under control, Scipio returned to Sicily leaving Locri in Pleminius' hands)[6] – Diodorus does not mention it: Pleminius, beaten and mutilated in the fight, arrests the tribunes with his own men while in Livy's account, the mastery of the situation and the returning of power to Pleminius is done by Scipio during his second sojourn in the city, (3) the arrest of Pleminius – according to Diodorus this was accomplished by Scipio, while Livy reports that this was done by the commission of the Senate.

In addition to the basic version of events presented above, Livy's account includes traces of at least two different tradtions. The first is the same one as used by Diodorus: Livy, while relating the differences in the sources pertaining to the circumstances of Pleminius' arrest, includes the version in which this was done on Scipio's order[7]. The second tradition is contained in the speech of the Locrian envoys in the Senate: according to this tradition, the violence in the city and the looting of the temple were the work of both Pleminius and the tribunes, while the fight between the Romans (the outcome of the anger of Persephone) was the result and not the cause of the sacrilege[8].

Thus there must exist at least three versions of the events that happened in Locri. The account of Diodorus, favourable to Scipio, seems to indicate the Polybian tradition[9]; Livy or his source knows this version but almost completely ignores it[10]. The account in the *Ab urbe condita* is based on some type of annalistic

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[6] Liv. XXIX 7, 1–8, 5.

[7] Liv. XXIX 21, 2.

[8] Liv. XXIX 17 f.

[9] De Sanctis, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 647 f.; cf. T. Zieliński, *Die letzten Jahre des zweiten punischen Krieges*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 83–136.

[10] Zieliński, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 135; Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 332 f.

account; the version of the Locrian envoys, which is highly unfavourable to Scipio, also seems to belong to this same tradition[11].

The number of traditions does not rule out the thesis that, in his description of the events in Locri, Livy was using only one source, and that this was also the source for the account of Diodorus. The consideration of the Polybian tradition and the emphasis on the role of divine intervention in the Locrian version would point to Coelius Antipater, who is also considered by modern historiography as one of the primary sources of book XXIX of the *Ab urbe condita*. This opinion, expressed by Kahrstedt[12], is refuted by the majority of scholars who admit that Coelius was the basic source for Livy, but that both Livy and Diorodus drew the Polybian version from another source, Polybius himself or some intermediary account[13]. In all this, the discussion about the direct sources of Livy and Diodorus is of secondary importance; much more relevant is undoubtedly the determination of the basic differences in ancient tradition pertaining to the events in Locri. The question arises as to what could have caused these differences.

It seems that these differences should be connected with the attempt to strip Scipio of the African command. It is doubtful if, for ancient historiography, the fate of either Pleminius or the residents of Locri had much meaning in isolation; these matters gain importance only when linked with Scipio Africanus. What was important was not just presenting the events that happened in Locri in 205 BC, but rather answering the question whether and to what degree Scipio was responsible for them. It seems that modern historiography has fallen into the same trap: research into the affair at Locri investigates it primarily from the point of view of Scipio's involvement in it, and as a result, they condemn or absolve him. To the accusers belong B. Krysiniel-Józefowiczowa, F. Grosso, A. Toynbee and, to some extent, G. De Sanctis[14]. They assert that Pleminius was Scipio's instrument in obtaining the treasure that Scipio badly needed to equip the army that would accompany him to Africa, for which the Senate had refused adequate funding. The apologetic view is represented by H.H. Scullard[15], who rejects the above hypothesis and considers that Scipio's only fault lay in his excessive lenience towards Pleminius.

Apart from a basically Scipionic perspective, all versions of ancient tradition emphasize the anger of Persephone as the primary cause of the bloody

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[11] A. Klotz, *Livius und seine Vorgänger*, vol. II, Leipzig–Berlin 1941, pp. 191 f.

[12] Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 332 f.

[13] Zieliński, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 135; Klotz, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 190–194; De Sanctis (*op. cit.* [n. 2], pp. 627 f.) is inclined to see the influence of the Polybian tradition in the description of the taking of Locri in Livy (XXIX 6–9), but see Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 329 f.

[14] Krysiniel-Józefowiczowa, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 145; Grosso, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 129; Toynbee, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 619–621; De Sanctis, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 500.

[15] Scullard, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 114 f.

disturbances in Locri[16]. The distinctly non-Polybian explanation in the account of Diodorus is particularly worth noting. We know from Polybius' own words that he was in close contact with the residents of Locri[17], and in this way the tradition ascribing these tragic events to the anger of the goddess could have entered his work. Nor is it surprising to find the identical motif in the annalistic work, even if, as in the case of the basic version imparted by Livy, the description of events does not leave room for divine intervention. For there can be no doubt that the accusations of the Locrian envoys and the discussion in the Senate that followed focused above all on the sacrilege committed by the Romans and its eventual consequences, particularly for Scipio's army (cf. below). Modern historians also concentrate on the looting of the temple of Persephone, but focus primarily on the material aspect and try to reduce the entire affair to an attempt by Scipio to obtain the funds he needed for the African expedition.

It would seem, then, that two factors have negatively influenced the presentation of the events in Locri in ancient sources and their interpretation by modern historiography: the domination of the narrative by the character of Scipio and the influence of the local Locrian tradition emphasizing the theme of sacrilege. In this case, we should re-examine the mutual relationship between Pleminius and Scipio and the true role that the latter played in the events in Locri, as well as the true causes of the fighting between the Romans.

Livy and Diodorus and modern historians after them present Pleminius as Scipio's legate. This is a mistake, in my opinion. Pleminius bore the title of propraetor[18], which denotes that he wielded an independent command that could only have been the command of Rhegium. This can be inferred from Livy's account. He first writes that the contigent which forced its way into the city was composed of three thousand soldiers from the garrison in Rhegium, under the command of the tribunes appointed by Scipio, who in their turn were under the command of Pleminius ("tribuni militum [...] missi"; "iussique ab Regio tria milia militum Locros ducere; et Q. Pleminio propraetori scriptum, ut rei agendae esset")[19]. This account is wrong, and for several reasons. Later events irrefutably show that the force in Locri was not homogeneous, as would seem from the description given above. The soldiers from Rhegium were under the direct command of Pleminius, not the tribunes, which Livy himself asserts in a different place: "militum pars sub eo quam ipse [*scil.* Pleminius] ab Regio duxerat, pars sub tribunis erat"[20]. The man with the rank of propraetor who commanded the soldiers from Rhegium

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[16] Liv. XXIX 8, 9–11 (basic version), 18, 1–19 (Locrian version); Diod. XXVII 4, 2, 8.

[17] Polyb. XII 5; cf. De Sanctis, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 627.

[18] Liv. XXIX 6, 9 (cf. below).

[19] *Ibidem.*

[20] Liv. XXIX 9, 1.

could only be the commander of that town who held an independent command. Rhegium, which was cut off by the revolt of the Bruttii from the remaining Roman armies in Italy, was in fact a small, distinct province, all the more important because, as the only Roman stronghold on the southern edge of the peninsula, it allowed the Romans to keep the enemy in check from the rear[21]. This is the reason why Pleminius bore the title of propraetor even though he did not hold any higher office, similarly to Scipio in Spain in 209–206 BC. Since neither Rhegium nor, more importantly, Locri, were located in Scipio's province of Sicily[22], Pleminius could not have been Scipio's subordinate. Those three thousand soldiers under the command of the tribunes did not belong to the garrison of Rhegium, but rather to the Sicilian army, and were reinforcements granted by one commander (Scipio) to another (Pleminius). The role of the consul was at first to grant aid to the commander of Rhegium for the carrying out of the extremely risky action of seizing an enemy city under Hannibal's nose. Events transpired in such a way that Scipio's intervention proved unavoidable, but his stay in Locri was as brief as possible. To recapitulate: the force in Locri was composed of members of the garrison of Rhegium with Pleminius at their head as well as soldiers of the Sicilian army under the command of Sergius and Matienus, with the overall command belonging to Pleminius due to his rank and the command he held rather than to Scipio's favour.

In such a situation, the bloody events in Locri were simply a revolt of the tribunes against their commander. In order to save his own position, Scipio was obliged to stand behind Pleminius against his own officers. The exigencies of the hour justified aiding Locri and even leaving his own province in order to do so, but the revolt of his own subordinates threatened unforeseeable consequences for a leader who already had the reputation of being unable to keep his army under control[23] and who was at the time preparing for a venture as risky as landing in Africa. The second visit of Scipio to Locri had nothing to do with violence or looting in the city, as Livy asserts. Its aim was solely curbing his disaffected tribunes and soldiers of the Sicilian army in order to save his own political position. Livy is completely mistaken when he places Scipio in the position of judge, freeing one

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[21] The true significance of Rhegium was made clear in 209 BC, when a diversion by that garrison made it possible for Fabius to seize Tarentum (Liv. XXVII 12, 4–6; 15, 8; 16, 9; Plut. *Fab.* 22).

[22] In 210 BC consul M. Valerius Laevinus transferred 4000 men from his province of Sicily to Rhegium for the purpose of looting the territory of the Bruttii (Polyb. IX 27; Liv. XXVI 40, 15), who in the following year, however, were under the command of the commander in Italy, Q. Fabius Maximus (cf. n. 21).

[23] Cf. the mutiny of a part of the Spanish army at Sucro in 206 BC: Polyb. XI 25–30; Liv. XXVIII 24–29; App. *Iber.* (34–36) 137–147; Dio Cass. XVI fr. 47 (57) (ed. U.Ph. Boissevain, vol. I, Berolini 1895, p. 250).

side and assigning guilt to the other[24]. In reality, only the tribunes were guilty, but because they had been victorious in the fighting, Scipio had to intervene in Locri on the side of the legitimate leader, not as Pleminius' superior (since he did not have any power over him), but as the commander-in-chief responsible for his disaffected Sicilian troops.

Given these relations between the two leaders, the thesis that Pleminius was a 'tool' in Scipio's hand loses its credibility. If Scipio had actually been counting on the Locrian treasure, the agents of his plans would have been his own subordinates, Sergius and Matienus. Also mistaken is Scullard's view that Scipio took pity on the beaten and mutilated Pleminius and wanted to give him "a second chance"[25], but was mistaken in his assessment of the latter. Pleminius, not Scipio, was master in Locri.

The second problem that needs clarification is the reason for the fight between the Romans. This was certainly not a quarrel about the division of the treasure of Persephone, as is asserted by Diodorus and by the Locrian envoys in *Ab urbe condita*. This is shown by the course of events according to Livy: one of the soldiers of Pleminius stole a silver cup from an inhabitant of Locri and, in his flight from his victim, came upon the tribunes who confiscated the stolen article, doubtless in order to return it to its rightful owner. A quarrel ensued, which soon was transformed into fighting between the subordinates of Sergius and Matienus and those of Pleminius[26]. This version differs from the others all the more because in it, the situation in Locri is completely different from that which normally prevailed in a city given over as spoils to the enemy. The Roman soldier did not claim the cup as plunder but he stole it, and the Locrian felt he had the right to pursue him as a common thief. Thus the residents neither felt themselves to be at the mercy of the garrison nor were they considered as such by the Romans. This is also indicated by the conduct of the tribunes: similar interventions, which were probably common in the allied cities in which the Roman army was quartered[27], were unthinkable when dealing with a defeated enemy. Here we come to the heart of the matter, namely the status of Locri after the withdrawal of the Carthaginians. The incident which elicited the fighting among the Romans proves without a doubt that the active participation of the Locrians in the recapture of the town from Hannibal placed them above the status of ordinary *deditici*, not just in their own eyes, but, more importantly, in the eyes of the Romans. Except for condemning to death the leaders of the Carthaginian supporters, Scipio made

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[24] Liv. XXIX 9, 8: "...Scipio [...] cum causam Plemini et tribunorum audisset, Pleminio noxa liberato relictoque in eiusdem loci praesidio, tribunis sontibus iudicatis et in vincla coniectis...".

[25] Scullard, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 113.

[26] Liv. XXIX 9, 2 f.

[27] Cf. M. Porcius Cato, in: *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta*, ed. E. Malcovati, Torino ^{3}1967; cf. also Liv. XLIII 7, 5–11.

no other decisions about the fate of the inhabitants of the city; in any case he did not have the authority to do so. Livy asserts that he ordered them to appeal to the Senate[28], which seems like an anachronism, suggested perhaps by the later debate and decree of the Senate regulating the situation in the city and its legal status towards Rome (more properly they should have approached the second consul of 205, P. Licinius Crassus, whose province was Bruttium). In any case, we know nothing about the horrors which normally accompanied the taking of a city by the Romans: the violence, carnage and plundering, so vividly painted by Livy in the speech he places in the mouth of the Locrian envoys in the Senate[29], took place only after the outbreak of fighting between the Romans. As the looting of the temple of Persephone was only one (if the most grave) of the crimes of the garrison, the bloody settling of accounts between Pleminius and the tribunes took place even before the looting of the sacred treasure and therefore could not have followed it. The versions of Diodorus and the Locrian envoys in Livy's account are therefore false.

It seems that the sole reason for the disturbances in Locri was the lack of homogeneity in the Roman force and the peculiar character of its constituent parts. The garrison in Rhegium had for years conducted plundering raids into enemy territory[30] and rapine, an unescapable but collateral aspect of all acts of war, constituted the order of the day in the war fought by the soldiers under Pleminius' command. Keeping them disciplined must have been particularly difficult, if not impossible, when they found themselves for the first time as conquerors in a relatively large and wealthy city. The soldiers of the Sicilian army, however, were in a completely different position, and their obedience must have been augmented by the fact that they were fighting outside their own province. Scipio must have demanded that the tribunes ensure discipline in the detachments under their command. The relations between such mismatched partners must have been far from correct: we can imagine that Sergius and Matienus reacted all the more against the misdemeanours of Pleminius' unruly men because they were obliged to impose a stricter discipline among their own men. The behaviour of an army in any city, even an allied one, was rarely blameless; in the case of Locri, this specific character of the soldiers from Rhegium made the task of keeping them under control among the residents of the city even more difficult. There was no lack of opportunity for confrontation, which a trifling incident finally transformed into armed conflict.

If this is the case, then why did the looting of the treasure of Persephone play such a prominent role? Because, under the circumstances, it was the only

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[28] Liv. XXIX 8, 3.

[29] Liv. XXIX 17, 15: "omnes rapiunt, spoliant, verberant, vulnerant, occidunt, constuprant matronas, virgines, ingenuos raptos ex conplexu parentium; cotidie capitur urbs nostra, cotidie diripitur...".

[30] Cf. Liv. XXVII 12, 4–6; XXIX 6, 2 f.

grievance which the residents of Locri could register in Rome against Pleminius. Although their participation in the battle against the Carthaginians had in fact placed them above ordinary *deditici*[31], officially they remained rebels, returning under the rule of Rome without any prior agreement to guarantee them better treatment. In theory, Pleminius could do with them as he wished. The grievances against the behaviour of the propraetor's soldiers which the inhabitants of Locri brought to Scipio during his second sojourn in the city[32] were perfectly justified, given the incident which elicited the fighting between the Romans. But these grievances, pertaining only to wrongdoings of the same caliber, and the fact that the disturbances had caused the tribunes to act in defence of a Locrian, were the reasons why the dishonoured and horribly mutilated Pleminius (they cut off his nose and ears and slashed his cheeks[33]), once he had regained control of the city, expressed his anger not only on Sergius and Matienus but also on the city, which he gave over to his soldiers as spoils. Even the greatest atrocities, however, would not have allowed the Locrians to obtain the favour of the Senate if not for the looting of the temple of Persephone. The speech of the Locrian envoys presented by Livy is so skilful and at the same time so different from the previous narrative that it seems to reflect an actual address of the envoys. The dramatic description of the crimes of the garrison is only the introduction to the gist of the matter: the looting of the treasures of the goddess and the unforeseeable consequences threatening the republic if it does not make amends to Persephone[34]. For this reason the envoys recall the misfortunes of Pyrrhus (the only one who, in the past, had dared to rob this temple), all of them due to the anger of the goddess: the destruction of the fleet that was carrying the treasure away, the leaving of Italy, even the death of the king in Argos. For the same reason they present the fratricidal fighting of the Roman forces as a punishment for the sacrilege which they were furiously inflicting upon themselves. This is the reason why in the Locrian envoys' version it is both sides, Pleminius and the tribunes, that are responsible for all the crimes, although the better tradition lays the guilt only on Pleminius' shoulders. Having made the Senate aware of the ways that Persephone's power had manifested itself in the past, the envoys unambiguously make it clear that the sacrilege can bring defeat upon Scipio's

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[31] During the Second Punic War two other towns in Italy, Arpi and Salapia went over to the Roman side in similar circumstances (participation in a battle with the Carthaginians). Of them, Arpi was spared according to a pact (Liv. XXIV 45–47), while the fate of Salapia is not known, but since in the action against the Punic garrison Roman adherents and the one-time Carthaginian supporters fought side-by-side, it is almost certain that it, too, was spared; Liv. XXVI 38; App. *Han.* (45–47) 191–206.

[32] Liv. XXIX 9, 11; 19, 1.

[33] Liv. XXIX 9, 7; Diod. XXVII 4, 2.

[34] Liv. XXIX 17, 10–18, 20.

expedition unless this crime is publicly expiated[35]. To this end, the Locrians suggest that during his second sojourn in Locri, Scipio had been obliged to settle the same affair that they have presented to the Senate[36]. In this light, Scipio's intervention truly seemed to have been a granting of support to one criminal against other criminals, and thus as an assent to the violence, slaughter and, most of all, to the sacrilege committed. This is clear from the reply that, according to Livy, the envoys gave to Fabius' question of whether they had previously presented their grievances to Scipio:

> responderunt missos legatos esse sed eum [*scil*. Scipionem] belli apparatu occupatum esse et in Africam aut iam traiecisse aut intra paucos dies traiecturum; et legati [*scil*. Pleminii] gratia quanta esset apud imperatorem expertos esse cum inter eum et tribunos cognita causa tribunos in vincla coniecerit, legatum aeque sontem aut magis etiam in ea potestate reliquerit[37].

Without accusing Scipio directly, they are indirectly making him responsible, presenting his intervention as support for the perpetrator of the sacrilege and murderer, and by this associating the looting of the temple and the possible anger of Persephone with Scipio, and then to the expedition that he was shortly to lead to Africa, an expedition that all realized was to decide the fortunes of the war.

The looting of the temple of Persephone paradoxically proved to be a blessing to the Locrians. Sacrilege constituted only one of the crimes of the Roman garrison, and because of this, condemning it automatically meant condemning all the actions of Pleminius and his men. Thanks to this, the Locrians obtained a more than just compensation from the Senate for all the violent acts committed by the Romans in their city. None of the sources give the full amount of the Roman loot; there is some evidence that the "looting of the treasure of Persephone" was robbery on a very small scale[38]. For the Locrians, however, the very fact that sac-

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[35] Toynbee's speculations (*op. cit.* [n. 2], p. 617) as to whether the senators at the time of the Second Punic War actually believed in the feasibility of Persephone's revenge are completely out of place. Toynbee refers to Polybius' account of the extremely cynical attitude of the Roman ruling class towards religion (Polyb. VI 56, 6–9), but, in the first place, this account pertains to the grandsons of those who decided the fate of Locri and, in the second place, Polybius himself admits that he is presenting here his personal view of the 'religiosity' of the Romans.

[36] Liv. XXIX 19, 1 f.

[37] *Ibidem.*

[38] The temple of Persephone was not plundered completely, as attested by the decree of the Senate: "pecuniam, quanta ex thesauris Proserpinae sublata esset, conquiri" (Liv. XXIX 19, 7, cf. 21, 4). We know that some looting occurred, but not how much. Also characteristic is Livy's wording of the description of the looting of the sacred treasure: "iam avaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatione abstinuit, nec alia modo templa violata, sed Proserpinae etiam intacti omni aevo thesauri [...] spoliati dicebantur" (Liv. XXIX 8, 9). Thus it is certain that other temples were looted, but in the case of this temple, the looting is only alleged. We can consider this a stylistic turn of phrase, but the fact that the praetor Pomponius was ordered as expiation to bring into the treasury of the temple a sum equal to that which had been looted (Liv. XXIX 19, 7) seems to indicate that the Senate knew

rilege had been committed was enough to present the violence in the city as the result of the anger of the goddess, just as this was enough for Scipio's enemies to hatch a plot against him, which, although it came to nothing, led to the granting of full satisfaction to the Locrians. In this way, the Locrian version of events predominated in the tradition, although even in Livy's time accounts existed that presented the events in Locri in the proper sequence and proportion.

To summarize, it is possible, in my opinion, to formulate the following conclusions pertaining to the events in Locri in 205 BC: (1) Pleminius was not Scipio's subordinate, thus it is quite unlikely that he could serve as his instrument in the looting of the treasury of Persephone, (2) the fighting between the Romans broke out before the looting of the city and the temple, and was caused by clashes between the soldiers from Rhegium and those reinforcements which had been sent by Scipio from the Sicilian army, (3) the versions that change the order of events (the violence and sacrilege preceding the outbreak of fratricidal confrontations) stem from the Locrian tradition, which, sanctioned by the decree of the Senate, finally came to dominate ancient tradition.

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that only a small part of the treasure of the richest temple in Italy had been looted: the equivalent sum was paid by the praetor from his *ornatio provinciae*, so, even assuming that he had been granted some special funding for this purpose, the amount of treasure looted by Pleminius and his men could not have been very great.

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ON THE PROBLEM OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF CICERO'S *PARTITIONES ORATORIAE* *

By

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1. Cicero several times attempted to plan and present a course in rhetoric. The first time was in his youth in the planned extensive *libri rhetorici* which eventually were only partially realised in the two extant books of *De inventione* – although I 9 lists all the topics of the course: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*, there is no indication that the problem of invention will be the only one discussed.

The second time, Cicero undertook this task – after more than twenty years of practice as an orator – in a three-volume work *De oratore*, in which, in the form of a literary dialogue, he not only presented but thoroughly discussed the whole theory of the preparation of a student for the application of the rhetorical arts in living speech or in writing.

Cicero then kept returning to this subject in the *Partitiones oratoriae* and in the *Orator*; although it seemed that the *De oratore* was his 'last word' on the subject of rhetoric since he himself considered it to be entirely successful, both in form and in content. Nevertheless, even after this he still had more to say about the system and content of a course in rhetoric.

The focus of this brief article will be the question of the identification of the *Partitiones oratoriae* mentioned above, primarily pertaining to the chronology of this work.

2. This system of teaching rhetoric was preserved in two medieval manuscripts from the 10th and 12th centuries[1] as well as in some later ones from the 15th century[2] and in the incipits and explicits it was described unambiguously as *M. Tulli*

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[1] Parisinus 7231 (P) from the 10th century, Parisinus 7696 (p) from the 12th century.

[2] Representing two genetic groups, thus, as it were, two more manuscripts. Cf. *Cicéron, Divisions de l'art oratoire, Topiques*, ed. and transl. H. Bornecque, Paris 1924, pp. XV f.

Ciceronis partitiones oratoriae[3]. These manuscript *Partitiones oratoriae* are also identical with those which were known to Quintilian in the 1st century AD. This author made great use of the rhetorical writings and non-rhetorical writings of Cicero, among them drawing several times on the *Partitiones oratoriae*[4].

The evidence from Quintilian is, however, the earliest we possess, less than one hundred years after Cicero's death. It is also the only ancient evidence we are aware of for the existence of this work. For this reason, despite the evidence cited above, the determination of the author has proved difficult and even doubtful, particularly because Cicero never mentions this work in his own writings. Attention was drawn to the form of dialogue which is not usually found in Cicero: questions of the pupil and replies of the master, and also to the omission of practical examples to illustrate the teaching, so characteristic of Cicero. Difficulties were raised pertaining to the placing of the composition of the work within the chronology of the author's life and literary activity. And so there arose the question for the authenticity of the work as well as the question of its chronology which is still being discussed.

The question of authenticity, however, can today be regarded as no longer in focus[5]. The question of chronology, on the other hand, remains open to discussion.

3. Suggestions as to the date of the composition of the *Partitiones oratoriae* vary between 55 and 44 BC. Investigation was focused on identifying the period during which Cicero would have had the time and conditions to write such a 'textbook' or 'catechism' of rhetoric. For this work came to be known by these very terms. Thus there were various hypotheses by various people, as well as the gap in the proposed chronologies between 50 and 46 BC, explained by Cicero's situation during the time of conflict of Caesar with the Senate and Pompey.

Those who placed the work at an earlier time, circa 54 BC[6], were influenced by the fact that it does not contain any polemics with Atticists who were motivating Cicero in 46 BC in his writings *Brutus*, *Orator* and *De optimo genere oratorum*. With even more ease they acknowledged the words of Cicero himself

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[3] Some of the later manuscripts mentioned above change the title to *De partitione oratoria*.

[4] This title, alongside the first citations – in the third book of the *Institutio oratoria* which opens the discourse on rhetoric – he mentioned three times: III 3, 7; III 11, 10; III 11, 19. In the later books he cited without a title.

[5] Following the work of D. Romano, *La cronologia delle "Partitiones oratoriae" di Cicerone*, Palermo 1964. Cf. K. Kumaniecki, *Literatura rzymska. Okres cyceroński*, Warszawa 1977, p. 310.

[6] R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, vol. I, Leipzig 1895, p. 493, n. 4. Then W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, Teuffels *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. I, Leipzig–Berlin 1916, p. 398; W. Kroll also in *Ciceros rhetorische Schriften*, *RE* VII A, 1 (1939), col. 1102; also C. Hosius, M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. I, München 1927, p. 468; R. Hanslik, *M. Tullius Cicero* [the son], *RE* VII A, 2 (1943), col. 1281, 55 f.; A. Rostagni, *Letteratura latina*, vol. I, Torino 1949; K. Büchner, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1959, and others. In isolation, G. Ammon dated the *Part. orat.* earlier, to 55 BC, in Bursians Jahresb. CXVII 1903, p. 142. Also M. Hadas, *A History of Latin Literature*, New York 1960, p. 122, acknowledged this date as more probable than 46 BC.

in his letters to Quintus from October 54 BC as the opening and decisive motive or even the very moment of the composition of the work. In the first of these letters, dated the 24th of October, Cicero wrote to his brother about Quintus' son:

> Your and also our Cicero[7] is very eagerly following his instruction with his rhetor Paeonius, whom I consider a decent man and one with great professional experience. But our way of teaching is, as you well know, somewhat more erudite (*paulo eruditius*) and more systematic (θετικώτερον). I do not want to stand in the way of Cicero's learning. The boy himself seems to follow this declamatory teaching method with greater pleasure. We also had been schooled in it. Let us permit him, then, to follow the same road. We hope that the result will be the same in his case. If, however, we drag him with us to the country somewhere, we will induct him into our own method (*in nostram rationem consuetidinemque*).

The son of Quintus was therefore the student of Paeonius, perhaps at the desire of his uncle, Pomponius Atticus, a well-known friend of Cicero, for this Paeonius was not particularly pleasing to his other uncle, i.e. Cicero, He accepted Paeonius, probably because of Atticus. But Cicero considered that he would have to supplement the education of Quintus with his own system of looking at things, his own method. Did this ever occur? How or when after the date of the letter, i.e. October 24, 54 BC?

Two or three days later Cicero writes to Quintus that, to avoid the games (*ludi*) in Rome he is fleeing to Tusculanum and he is taking his son (*Ciceronem meum*) with him to a school of learning, not play (*in ludum discendi, non lusionis*). What is the meaning of this comment? And why only *his* son? We can think that the son of Quintus remained in Rome for the games and that in the statement *in ludum discendi, non lusionis* a reproach to Quintus is concealed. Unfortunately, after this all data pertaining to the sons is lacking. The letters to Quintus that have been preserved break off in 54 BC. Letters to Atticus also show a gap between 54 and 51 BC[8]. Several other letters from this interval in the collection *Ad familiares* give us no information.

4. We once again see both boys with Cicero only in 51 BC, in Asia, along with the teachers Dionysius and Chrysippus, while Cicero is governing Cilicia. In 50 BC, at the end of November, the boys returned with Cicero to Brundisium in Italy. There have been made efforts to date the composition of the *Partitiones oratoriae*

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[7] These words were sometimes misunderstood, as if there were reference to the sons of both Ciceros; this was the interpretation of e.g., Hanslik, *loc. cit.* (n. 6). But Cicero continues writing in the singular, and thus is speaking only about the son of Quintus. The words *tuus nosterque* (your and at the moment our son, because he is under our care during your [Quintus'] absence) were correctly understood by F. Münzer, *Q. Tullius Cicero* [the son], *RE* VII A, 2 (1943), col. 1306.

[8] G.A. Gilleband (CPh LXVI 1961, pp. 29 f.) proposed here 52 BC but without acceptance from other scholars.

to this time[9]. The boys were 16 and 15 years old and were therefore sufficiently mature for Cicero's course of rhetoric, while Cicero himself would also be able to take care of them. The son of Quintus had already received the *toga virilis* in March of 50 BC, but both boys remained under the care of Cicero and his wife Terentia in Formianum. Cicero, in fact, was ready to undertake their further education, but Dionysius once more took this in charge.

5. In March of 49 BC, Cicero's son Marcus also received the *toga virilis*. But this was already the beginning of the war between Caesar and Pompey. Shortly, therefore, both elder and both younger Ciceros travelled to Greece, to Pompey. War followed, and the brothers were separated until the end of 47 BC, when they returned to Italy. The son of Quintus accompanied Caesar on the expedition to Spain, while the son of Marcus prepared for study abroad. In March of 45 BC he left for Athens.

This very circumstance of a father getting his son ready for further studies in Greece seemed to some scholars to be a ready-made occasion for the writing of the *Partitiones oratoriae* for his son. Only now, at the end of 46 or else at the beginning of 45 BC[10], the then nineteen-year-old son was more sufficiently mature and could understand a discourse of a systematic course on rhetoric as learned as are the *Partitiones oratoriae*, a course that would have been too difficult for an eleven-year-old boy in 54 BC, despite the fact that the opening scene and introductory exchange of questions and answers in the dialogue between father and son seems misleadingly easy.

It was also noticed that in the *Partitiones oratoriae* Cicero devotes more attention to the problem of *genus dicendi laudativum* and treats this matter at more length than in his other discussions of the matter, in *De inventione* or in *De oratore*, which can perhaps be linked with the author's experiences during his recent composition of an eulogy for Cato the Younger[11].

6. Such are the observations and hypotheses proposed to date. If we are once more returning to them here, it is because it is possible to examine this matter from a different angle and to justify this by means of a new observation or two

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[9] A.D. Leeman, *Orationis ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians and Philosophers*, Amsterdam 1963; also without further acceptance.

[10] K.W. Piderit (*Ciceros Partitiones oratoriae*, Leipzig 1867, pp. 4 f.) proposed various arguments to date the composition of *Part. orat.* in 46 BC. This year is also accepted by, among others, Bornecque, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. XI f. (at the end of 46); Romano, *op. cit.* (n. 5); V. Palladini, E Castorina, *Storia della letteratura latina*, vol. II, Bologna 1970, p. 125; Kumaniecki, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 310. R. Philippson, in his discussion of Cicero's scholarly writings (*RE* VII A, 1, 1939, col. 1122), is not clear, inserting *Part. orat.* between *De legibus*, which is believed to have been written between 53–51 BC, and *Brutus* and *Orator* from 46 BC, but does not take any more precise position. R. Pichon, *Histoire de la littérature latine*, Paris [9]1924, p. 205, dates the *Part. orat.* to 45 BC (cf. Bornecque, *op.cit.* [n. 2], p. XII: "à la fin de 46 ou au début de 45").

[11] Cf. Kumaniecki, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 310.

which can have an impact, not so much on the date of the completion of the work, but rather on the chronology of its development. This development has already been discussed here by Piderit, who dated its final stage to 46 BC. It is possible, however, to move this date later.

7. As mentioned previously, the *Partitiones oratoriae* present the systematics of a course of rhetoric in the form of a dialogue between pupil and master. The pupil asks and the master, answering, lectures. Cicero was aware that he who is to ask must know what he is to ask. He needs to know he subject. The short introductory scene introducing the dialogue has as its goal not only the presentation of the circumstances of the dialogue (time available, the opportunity for a voyage out of Rome, initiative of the son); rather, it anticipates the surprise of the reader at the pupil's role and informs him that the boy has already followed the course in Greek and so has the wherewithal to now ask about familiar things in Latin. How much this information was necessary, we will see later.

The presentation of the matter itself is divided into three clearly marked sections. The first section consists of the speaker's assignments pertaining to the familiar five aspects of rhetorical doctrine: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio* (*pronuntiatio*), *memoria*. In this section, therefore, the discussion concerns *artifex* and *ars*. The second section deals with the composition of speeches and the functions of their components, such as *principium* (*initium*), *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *peroratio* and others. This section pertains therefore to *opus.* To this is joined the third section – *de quaestione*. It pertains to the detailed art of invention, but not on the basis of technical points of procedure (*status*) of Hermagoras, but on a philosophical (as Cicero would say) foundation.

Here it should be mentioned that the first two sections which comprises chapters 2, 7 to 7, 26 and 8, 27–17, 59, i.e. two-fifths of the contents, can be considered as material appropriate for a boy educated in rhetoric during his childhood and early youth; thus the conception of these sections and even their realization in some form or other could have taken place earlier, around 54 BC. For even the questions posed by the pupil are prepared in such a way by the answering or rather lecturing teacher (Cicero) that the pupil, following the example of his teacher, can easily formulate them.

8. The third section, however, *de quaestione*, which comprises about three-fifths of the whole, chapters 18, 61 to 39, 138, certainly demanded a significant advance in the understanding of the problems presented and could only appeal to a mind already mature, and thus to an older pupil. In fact, while the first two sections can give the impression of something simple or, as has often been described, something resembling a textbook, the same can in no way be said about the third section.

This is confirmed as well by the difference in the lecturing style: in the first two sections, the presentations are primarily short and more frequently interrupted by questions, while in the third section questions are less frequently interpo-

lated and the lecture continues unbroken for whole chapters and pages at a time. Here, we may harbour doubts about the pupil's ability to follow the exposition and his ability to formulate the proper questions by himself. This section, unlike the first two, is addressed to a pupil or a reader who is much more mature.

It is the third section that is the primary goal of the work. The first two sections are only a sketch of its construction and an indication of the place of the third section in it. This explains why the technical side of invention, popularly encompassed by the well-known hexameter "quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando", and also the discourse on *elocutio* in these first sections of the work were presented so tersely, when elsewhere Cicero devoted much time and attention to them. Here they were not his focus, which instead was the expansion of the philosophical foundations of invention in the third section of the work.

9. This also explains why, in the *Partitiones oratoriae*, there is no reference to the matter of Atticism or Neoatticism which was being discussed in Rome circa 46 BC. Simply put, this matter did not pertain to invention but rather the problems encompassed by the discourse on *elocutio* and partly also on *pronuntiatio*. This is also the reason that in the *Orator* from 46 BC, in which Cicero was primarily engaged in a dispute with the Atticists, the other points of a course in rhetoric were summarily dealt with and the main part of the work focused on the problems of *elocutio*, the problems of language and style and of form in general, including the rhythmics of rhetorical prose. It seems that, with respect to the division of tasks and roles, the *Partitiones oratoriae* maintain a strict correlation with the *Orator*, and this also prolongs the period of their development until circa 46 BC and the completion of the *Orator*.

10. But we can go further. For if the idea for the composition of the *Partitiones oratoriae*, even in the form of a school sketch, occurred earlier, after this Cicero doubtless kept working at completing this sketch and thus, in this work, his personal experiences as an orator could be manifested. One trace of this may be the broader discussion of the *genus dicendi laudativum* in the *Partitiones* than in his earlier rhetorical writings, which can, in fact, be connected with the eulogy for Cato the Younger which he wrote in 46 BC. For only then did Cicero have the opportunity to apply and the need to understand in more detail this type of oratorical compositions.

Another fruit may also be a more intensive and broader focus in the *Partitiones oratoriae* on the danger of confusing virtue-like faults with real virtues. Cicero mentioned these *vitia virtutibus propinqua et finitima* once before, in the *De inventione*, but only briefly, giving three examples of such deviations[12]. In the *Partitiones oratoriae*, however, warning against confusing vices that imitate

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[12] *De inv.* II 165: *fidentia*, a justified confidence in one's own abilities – *audacia*, temerity; *perseverantia*, perseverance, endurance – *pertinacia*, obstinacy; *religio*, religiosity – *superstitio*, superstition.

virtue with the virtues themselves, he gathered a whole series of such imitations[13]. Here, undoubtedly, Cicero's experience with Caesar's response to his eulogy of Cato can explain this very extensive discussion of the *vitia virtutibus similia* which cannot actually be explained by the didactic underpinnings of the discourse itself. For in his *Anticatones*, Caesar portrayed Cato's negative characteristics in such a way that the characteristics praised by Cicero as *virtutes* were undermined and presented as virtue-like *vitia*. Thus if Cicero praised Cato's moderation and self-control, then Caesar would expose the pretence by accusing Cato of a propensity for drinking wine and also by presenting Cato's care of his widowed niece as an opportunity for a love affair between them. Caesar similarly painted Cato's austere care for his family as an attitude of inhumanity, his frugal running of the household as stinginess, *avaritia*, and his consistent behaviour according to unwavering principles as arrogance and willfulness.

Possibly also, Cicero's list of virtues and the vices similar to them in the *Partitiones oratoriae* (as mentioned above) comprises principally those very pairs of virtues and the *vitia* which resemble them that Cicero noticed in Caesar's interpretation of Cato's portrait. This, if truly the case, would be a further contribution to the reconstruction of Cicero's eulogy of Cato and Caesar's *Anticatones*. For we can assume that Cicero's response to Caesar's accusations was not only his defence of Porcia and the apology of praise for Cato in the *laudatio Porciae* from 45 BC[14], but also his above-mentioned working out of the question of virtue-like *vitia*, (or, conversely, the question of *virtutes* similar to vices) in the *Partitiones oratoriae*.

In this way, we elicit the completing and refining of our *Partitiones oratoriae* at least as late as 45 BC, since the response of Hirtius to Cicero's *Cato* reached Cicero's hands in May, and the response of Caesar reached him in the summer of the same year, i.e. 45 BC.

11. But it seems that we can go even further. For this is linked with the reaction of Cicero, in the *Topica* of 44 BC, to the method of refutation employed by Caesar in the *Anticatones*. For in a refutation, with reference to the *laudatio*, one can either contradict the accomplishment cited in praise or maintain that the

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[13] *Part. orat.* 81; *prudentia*, sagacity – *malitia*, cunning; *temperantia*, moderation – *immanitas in voluptatibus aspernandis*, exaggerated self-denial of pleasure; *magnitudo animi*, magnanimity – *superbia in nimis extollendis et despicientia in contemnendis honoribus*, either pride in great honours or a scornful and disparaging attitude to them; *liberalitas*, generosity – *effusio*, extravagance; *fortitudo*, courage – *audacia*, excessive daring, foolhardiness; *patientia*, patience, endurance – *duritia immanis*, inhuman callousness; *iustitia*, justice, fairness – *acerbitas*, austerity, severity; *religio*, religiosity – *superstitio*, superstition; *lenitas*, lenience – *mollitia animi*, soft-heartedness; *verecundia*, modesty – *timiditas*, cowardice, fearfulness; *disputandi prudentia*, a matter-of-fact exchange of opinion – *concertatio captatioque verborum*, picky belligerence; *oratoria vis*, oratorial hardiness – *inanis profluentia loquendi*, prolixity. In noble desires, one must similarly distinguish an acceptable degree from an exaggerated passion.

[14] Cf. M. Brożek, *Cyceronowe pochwały Katona i Porcji*, Meander XXXVI 1981, pp. 359 f.

matter should be described by a term other than that used by the author of the praise, or else that such an accomplishment does not warrant praise since it is neither just nor right. Caesar, indeed, was about to exploit all of these techniques of refutation in his *Anticatones*[15]. We can be certain that he made the most use of the second possibility, indicating that Cato's actions should not be described as Cicero had described them, that they were not what Cicero was taking them to be, that from what Cicero had presented as Cato's virtues, more than one could be classified among virtue-like vices, precisely the same ones which appear in the detailed list in the *Partitiones oratoriae*.

The *Topica* were written in July, 44 BC, after the death of Caesar. This explains the criticial assessment of Caesar's refutation, only here and now, apparent in the words "nimis impudenter Caesar contra Catonem meum". This permits us to think that, even now, Cicero was still completing the *Partitiones oratoriae*[16].

12. The long labour over this work can perhaps also be explained by the fact that Cicero, when he did not complete a work at once, did not find it easy to come back to it, as he himself admits in *De legibus* I 9[17]. He found it easier to finish a philosophical work in progress in one go rather than return to works he had laid aside[18].

Despite this, the *Partitiones oratoriae*, even before the actual dialogue, had already acquired the introduction and character of the overall work, as well as a terse conclusion.

Yet they were never published. Why? Perhaps the author still wanted to somehow rework them, but, during the period of heated fighting with Antony about the restitution of the senatorial republic, never found time to do so until he was surprised by death in December, 43 BC. Perhaps the work, written as it had been for his son, was handed over to Cicero's son for his disposal?

Cicero died, his son remained. After his proscription, he fled to Sextus Pompeius, but afterwards he made his peace with Octavian and returned to Italy. Meanwhile, Cicero's legacy had most probably been handled by his friends, the

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[15] *Top.* 94: "aut negari potest id factum esse, quod laudetur, aut non eo nomine afficiendum, quo laudator affecerit, aut omnino non esse laudabile, quod non recte, non iure factum sit; quibus omnibus generibus usus est nimis impudenter Caesar contra Catonem meum".

[16] F.J. Merchant, *De Ciceronis Partitionibus oratoriis commentatio*, Berolini 1896, saw the composition of the *Part. orat.* in 44 BC.

[17] *De leg.* I 9: "animi pendere soleo, cum semel quid orsus sum, si traducor alio, neque tam facile interrupta contexo quam absolvo instituta".

[18] It would seem that this very work, i.e. *De legibus*, suffered a similar fate. Here, too, opinions as to its chronology are divided: some see the composition of this work in 53–51 BC, others in 44–43 BC. Similarly, Cicero does not mention it in his introduction to the second book of *De divinatione*, it did not see the light of day during its author's life and the difference of opinions as to the time of its composition and the different arguments presented in this matter should most probably be explained by discussing not the specific year of composition of the work, but rather the period of time during which it was being created.

faithful freedman Tiro and the faithful friend Atticus. And finally, by his son. Atticus, however, died in 32 BC, and all signs of life of Cicero's son are lost circa 23 BC. We do not know whether he had children. All these were survived by the long-lived Tiro, who died in 4 BC. It was he who wrote a biography of Cicero in several volumes, published Cicero's speeches posthumously and collected Cicero's letters. It is very likely, therefore, that Tiro also took care of the rest of the legacy of his master, including our *Partitiones oratoriae*.

13. Later, this work may have been of interest to teachers of rhetoric. Surely they were interested. If we do not see use of it being made before Quintilian, this is doubtless because his work on rhetoric was the first to survive from the post-Ciceronian period. Whatever had been written by Quintilian's teachers and others such as Domitius Afer, Verginius Flavus or Annaeus Cornutus was lost.

It may surprise us, however, that also after Quintilian, who names and cites the *Partitiones oratoriae* several times, there is no mention of this work in extant treatises on rhetorical subjects. This may partly be explained by the fact that Rutilius Lupus, Aquila Romanus or Iulius Rufinianus provide overviews of the so-called *figurae sententiarum* and *figurae elocutionis*, giving numerous practical examples from Cicero's speeches, but they do not need to refer to his theoretical writings on rhetoric.

We could look for traces of Cicero's works, including the *Partitiones oratoriae*, in the *Ars rhetorica* of Chirius Fortunatianus which was written according to the method *per interrogationem et responsionem*, and thus similarly to Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae*. But while in the books of this *ars* the name of Cicero or Tullius does appear, as do examples from Cicero's writings, we can see no evidence that this author knew of the existence of the *Partitiones oratoriae*. Neither do we know how they survived to the 10th or 12th century AD, when the manuscripts mentioned at the beginning of this paper appeared.

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GREEK POETRY COMPOSED BY POLISH AUTHORS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES*

By

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Research into the reception of Hellenic studies in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries has revealed an unusual phenomenon among the interests and studies of the time that have come to the attention of our philologists and historians of culture and ideas, namely poetry and prose composed by our countrymen in the language of the ancient Greeks.

Such literature was connected to the discipline of Hellenic studies, then still new, implanted in Poland with great enthusiasm from the early 16th century in an emulation of other European countries. The new discipline took on diverse forms, but primarily that of teaching the language, of lectures on ancient Greek literature held at the Cracow Academy and at schools, and of printing Greek texts in Poland: in the original, in Latin translation and eventually in Polish[1]. On that substrate grew original Polish literature in Greek; poetry first, and then prose. There was a substantial output of texts, short and not so short, most of them occasional in character, including ample poems whose authors wanted on the one hand to honour outstanding personages or celebrate extraordinary events, or to express their religious sentiments, and on the other to demonstrate their high-class education, humanistic refinement and command of a language unknown in Poland until then.

That phenomenon, not yet fully noticed and brought to light, absolutely deserves a place in the studies of culture in Poland at that time; thus it has been deemed right to publish that legacy wrested from the depths of oblivion. Prompted by Professor Marian Plezia, an edition of it has been planned by the Classical Philology Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow section, under the title *Corpusculum poesis Polono-Graecae* as a supplement to

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[1] Results from research into the reception of Hellenic studies in Poland have been published in a number of monographs and papers penned by the present author.

the *Corpus antiquissimorum poetarum Poloniae Latinorum*. Before it is possible to publish the *Corpusculum*, however, let it be preceded by at least this article reporting on the extent of material recovered.

The collection includes works by Poles and persons closely connected to Poland and its culture, among whom there are Greeks settled in Poland, the Italian humanist Pietro Illicino, and students at our academies and colleges bearing foreign names. There is a separate section for the works of Hellenists of Gdańsk (Danzig), who must not be ignored as that region belonged to Poland then (first to the Kingdom of Poland, then later on to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and had lively relationships with the main body of the country. The collection does, however, omit the works of Hellenists from Silesia and Western Pomerania, who had foreign names and were active in foreign circles.

The poetry collected so far, though not particularly abundant, does come to more than a hundred texts of varying length, from a few lines to really long works. It should be noted that not all the poems we have information about have been preserved; we have reports of at least some of the lost works, including, alas, some by such eminent Hellenists as Szymonowic, Burski, Żórawski and Niegoszewski.

Works of both prose and poetry would rarely be published as separate editions; usually they were appended to some other texts they related to, making them difficult to find in the sea of publications of the period. They were mostly printed in Cracow (Kraków), but also in Vilnius (Wilno), Zamość, Lviv (Lwów), Poznań and Gdańsk. A few came out abroad, in Venice, Rome, Frankfurt on the Oder, Wittenberg, Antwerp and Leiden. They were all published between 1531 and 1650; outside of Gdańsk, no more such works were created afterwards, which is actually not all that strange considering the disaster the people of Poland went through from 1648 and for many years on, and the cultural change that followed it.

The social circles which saw the composition of those poems were primarily academies, academic schools and Jesuit colleges, or their professors and students. It is only rarely that personages not connected with the educational system wrote in Greek; those were for instance Jakub Przyłuski, Andrzej Trzycieski (Junior), Stanisław Warszewicki, Piotr Wierzbięta Biskupski, Stanisław Niegoszewski, Sebastian Klonowic or Grzegorz Knapiusz.

Rarely, there is among those Greek poems one which was not composed for a particular occasion: Stanisław Mareniusz's biblical epic *Evangelium Nicodemi*, Klonowic's pieces appended to his (Polish) poem *Flis*, the religious poetry of Gdańsk Hellenists or Knapiusz's *Adagia* and *Hymns*. The rest, a large majority, are all occasional poems. They include elogies, *gratulationes*, epithalamia and dirges for kings, bishops and other eminent persons, as well as poems in honour of such institutions as the Cracow Academy, the Church or the Gdańsk Gymnasium; finally laudations of specific literary works and graduates of academies.

The prevailing metre was the elegiac couplet, with dactylic hexameter applied quite often, and lyrical metres occasionally, as in Stanisław Niegoszewski, Urban

Brillius, Aleksander Obuchowicz or Grzegorz Święcicki; finally in Knapiusz's *Adagia* one finds iambic trimeter.

In this paper I shall not analyse individual poems in detail, nor shall I quote each and every author. Rather, it is my intention to present especially the more talented poets and longer texts, but also some minor authors for a complete picture, with excerpts from their works serving as samples of their art.

Among the greatest is Stanisław Mareniusz, the author of the epic *Evangelium Nicodemi* in approximately 2500 hexameters, written in the language and style of Homer; another outstanding poet is the gifted improviser Stanisław Niegoszewski with his laudatory song in lyrical metres, composed in honour of Jan Zamoyski; other particularly talented authors include Urban Brillius and Aleksander Obuchowicz with their salutatory odes for Tomasz Zamoyski. From among the professors of the Cracow Academy we must not fail to mention Adam Draski; and the two Hellenists, Mikołaj Żórawski and the eminent philologist and lexicographer Grzegorz Knapiusz, were also wont to compose works of Greek poetry and also count among the outstanding authors.

To illustrate the evolution of that literature I am going to present samples of it in chronological order, selecting as promised above only some of the authors and quoting their works in excerpts.

Let two shy, brief essays into poetry demonstrate to the reader what the beginnings of those efforts were like. The first, an epigram addressed to the reader, is to be found in our famous physician and Hellenist Józef Struś (Struthius), accompanying his treatise and commentary on Lucian's *On Astrology*, published in Cracow in 1531. Signed with the initials *V T*, the elegiac couplet runs:

Πρὸς ἀναγιγνώσκοντα
Στρουτίου ἔργον τῷ δὲ φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο
ὃς περὶ τῶν ἀστρῶν κάλλε' ἰδεῖν ἔραται.

In the following year, Marcin Kromer, then still a young, enthusiastic Hellenist, published an epitaph for the death of Jan Mymer, brother of the lexicographer Franciszek Mymer. As was the ancient custom, he put it in the form of an elegiac couplet as well:

Τὸν τό γ' Ἰωάννην ἄρ' ἐδέξατο σῆμα Μύμηρον,
δεξιὰ ὃν ληστῶν κέκτανε αἱμοχαρῶν.

Skipping a few minor poems from 1533, 1539 and 1545 let me quote from a more mature poem, written by Jakub Przyłuski and placed by him in the introduction to his work, *Leges seu Statuta Regni Poloniae* (Cracow 1548 and 1551–1553), a collection of laws, to encourage the youth to study those laws and to observe them in times of peace and of war. That parenetic text in 20 hexameters begins (according to the 1551–1553 edition) thus:

Σαρματίης ἐφορᾶν τὸ συνέδριον ὅστις ἁπάντων
σκηπτροφόρων ἐθέλῃς καλάς τε θέμιστας ἀκούειν,
ἅ σοι προσφέρομεν πρόφρων λάβε βιβλία ταῦτα,
ἔνθ' οἷς νῦν ζῶντές θεν ἔτι μὴν ψηφοφοροῦσι,
πῶς δεῖ ἐν εἰρήνης ἀγορᾷ πολέμου θορύβῳ τε
σαυτὸν ἔχειν, τί δ' ἀεὶ μελετᾷν τὸν ποιμένα λαῶν
καὶ σκοπέειν τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα...

A religious poem worth noting was composed by Apollo Winkler of Wrocław (Breslau), who lived in Cracow for years and was active in the Cracow Academy. Published in Cracow, or possibly in Wrocław, around 1553 under the title *Carmen elegiacum graeco-latinum in Natalem Iesu Christi*, it was written in elegiac couplets; there, too, we find reflections of Homer's style in the form of phrases and epithets taken from him, which may seem peculiar, although it was motivated by the literary fashion of the time. That considerably long text had some 80 lines; these are its opening ones:

Ἐλεγεῖα χαριστήρια πρὸς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν...
Χαῖρε θεοῦ ὦ υἱέ, Θεὸς κ' ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦ,
ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξ Ἀΐδαο λύων,
βουλόμενος λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι,
σεῖο γὰρ ἐρχομένου εὔσοός ἐστι βροτός.
Ὤλεσεν ἀνθρώπους γαίας τὸν σῖτον ἔδοντας
ψευδομένου ὄφεως ἡδὺ λέγοντος ἔπος.
Ἦλυθας οὐρανόθεν ψυχῶν ἰατρὸς ἄριστος
ἰᾶσθαι νοσερῶν πήματα πάντα βροτῶν...

Let me also quote some examples of his Homeric epithets and phrases:

19: παγκρατές ἐσσι Θεοῦ ὑψιβρεμέταο τὸ τέκνον
62: μηνίδος οὐλομένης νῦν τέλος ἐστὶ Θεοῦ.
65: οὕτως καρτίστου τε Θεοῦ ἐτελείετο βουλή.

We know that such Homeric style was then considered attractive from the long epic poem of 2310 lines by Stanisław Mareniusz, a learned bachelor and later a professor at the Cracow Academy. The poem, *Evangelium Nicodemi*[2], has only been preserved in manuscript (Jagiellonian Library, no. 3206). It deserves our attention, all the more because it has so far lain forgotten, only rarely mentioned in bibliographies, even though it is a unique phenomenon and bears witness to its author's remarkable skill and poetic inspiration. Love for Homer's poetry already shows in Mareniusz's lectures of 1564 and 1565, when he read on books II, III and IV of the *Iliad*, and probably worked at his epic in the meantime, since its manuscript gives 1565 as the date of its completion. The full title

[2] For details regarding that work and its author, see my article *Evangelium Nicodemi a Stanislao Marennio carmine graeco scriptum*, Eos LXXI 1983, pp. 167–186.

is *Evangelium Nicodemi, Domini nostri Iesu Christi discipuli, carmine redditum*. The content is that of the then popular apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* circulating in Latin under an analogous title in both manuscript and print, translated into Polish[3] around the midpoint of the 16th century. Mareniusz's work is based on the Latin version, but it needs to be emphasised in advance that our Hellenist's story differs from its model not only in many details, but also as to whole episodes and narrative style, so that we are justified in considering it Mareniusz's own work. While the general structure and some aspects of composition were taken over from the Latin original, that was a dry report. It did contain dialogues and monologues next to narrative parts, but they were strictly plot-oriented and did not paint either the characters or the atmosphere in which events took place. In Mareniusz's epic, in contrast, his poetic and story-telling instinct resulted each time in vivid, dramatic scenes, full of tension and emotion, especially in the part containing Christ's trial. Modelling his work on Homer's epic, the author tried to adopt the formal aspects of his art, or his literary technique. That allowed him to express the pathos required by the gravity of the content, adapting to it various aspects of his language and style; he also followed his model's classical conventions. Other than expressions, phrases and whole lines borrowed straight from the *Iliad* and used when appropriate, Mareniusz generously applied Homeric epithets, taking some over exactly as they were and coining others in their semblance. On the level of vocabulary, his work maintained Ionic flavour, although he used Attic forms too, side by side with their Ionic counterparts. Just as the author of his model, the Polish poet took advantage of the possibilities of hexameter: prosodic lengthening and other devices.

Let me quote from the epic to illustrate its character. What follows is the opening passage (lines 1–7) of *Evangelium Nicodemi*, modelled strictly on that of the *Iliad*:

> Μῆνιν ἄειδε, πάτερ νεφεληγερέτη, φαρισαίων
> οὐλομένην. Οἱ θεσμοπόλοι εὔχονται ἂρ εἶναι
> δεξιτέρῃ μάλα χειρὶ νόμων Μωσῆος ἐχέσκειν,
> θέσφατον ἠδὲ λόγον θεοπνεύστων εἶτα προφήτων,
> σοῦ δ' ἔτι καὶ γένος ὑψόθεν καὶ στήριγμα δινωτόν.
> Ἀνέρας οἳ δὲ μάλιστα κύνεσσιν ἑλώρια χρηστοὺς
> οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσιν ἔτευξαν ἀϊδρίῃ σαυτῶν.

Let me quote two other samples of Mareniusz's text containing Homeric forms, lines 10–12:

> Χαῖρε πάτερ, μέγα χάρμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ.
> Αὐτὸς καὶ πρότερος γενεῇ θώκοις τε πόλοιο
> εἰ θέμις εὐχομένῳ, τέκμηρον πᾶσαν ἀοιδήν...

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[3] That translation was published by S. Vrtel-Wierczyński as *Sprawa chędoga o męce Pana Chrystusowej i Ewangelia Nikodema*, Poznań 1933.

and 171–173:

> ...καὶ Πιλάτῳ τ' ἄχος ἀρ' γένετ' ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ
> στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
> στάσκεν ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας.

Imitating the style and language of Homer, even borrowing from him outright here and there, do not detract from the worth of Mareniusz's work; that kind of mannerism was required by Renaissance poetics, so strictly connected to the classical models. Considering that the terse and unsophisticated prose of the Latin original took the form of a work of poetry, with artfully depicted characters, carefully modelled dialogue, precise choice of words and an epic metre, we can without hesitation regard Mareniusz as an author rather than a translator.

Besides that epic Mareniusz wrote four short occasional poems, likewise in hexameter, apparently his favourite form.

To skip a few decades and authors with a dozen short poems, mostly occasional epigrams, let me move on to that gifted, even brilliant young man, Stanisław Niegoszewski (I), who gained fame in Italy (in Venice and Rome) with his improvised poems in several languages. We only have one collection of his impromptu poems, comprising six dithyrambs in six different languages, including Greek. The collection was dedicated to Jan Zamoyski and probably published by Aldus Manutius the Younger in 1588 in Venice under the title *Ad* [...] *Ioannem Zamoyscium Regni Poloniae magnum cancellarium* [...] *ἐπινίκιον*. The Greek epinicium comes in two parts, the strophe, in hexameter, and antistrophe, in lyric metres resembling Pindar's. Let me quote the opening lines of both parts:

> *Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ*
> Ἄσατ' Ἰωάννην κύκνοι νῦν, ᾄσατε τῆνον
> ᾄσμασι καὶ γλυκεροῖς ὑψίστῳ αἴρετ' Ὀλύμπῳ
> αὐγὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν.
> Αἴρετ' Ἰωάννην Μουσάων ἄξιον ἄνδρα,
> ἀμβροσίαν πίνοντα Διὸς κοῦρον μεγάλοιο,
> καλὸν πὰρ θνητοῖς Ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων...
>
> *Ἀντιστροφή*
> Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα
> πόνων κεκριμένων
> ἰατρὸς αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ
> Μουσῶν θυγατέρες ἀοιδαὶ
> θέλξαν νιν ἁπτομέναι...

Niegoszewski also published in print (Rome 1587) a long salutatory panegyric, also in Greek, in honour of Sigismund III Vasa, entitled *Πρὸς θεῖον Σιγισμόνδον τρίτον* [...] *στεφανοφορία*, which however has not been preserved in Poland. Niegoszewski has left us few poems, having died young; the dates of his life are 1565–1599.

As Jesuit colleges prospered, the number of minor occasional poems written by their students grew. I shall here quote in excerpts one of them, longer than most others, published in print in 1583 as *Epicedia in obitum Catharinae Sigismundi Magni* [...] *filiae...* It was composed by Krzysztof Przyjemski, an alumnus of the college in Braniewo, later a courtier of Sigismund III, for the death of Catherine queen of Sweden, daughter of Sigismund I the Old. Here is a passage:

Ἀποστροφὴ πρὸς τὴν Σουηκίαν
Σκῆπτρον ἁλιστέφανον, Σουηκία μῆτερ ἀνάκτων,
τί κλαίεις ὅσσον δὲ γόοιο κορύσσεαι ἀκμῇ;
Ἅρπυαι τραγομάσχαλοι ἐξ Ἐρέβευσφιν ὄρουσαν;
ἔπλετο ἐσοράειν πάνυ ἀλλὰ γόοιο καὶ ᾄσσαι...

Ἐπιτάφιον
Πυραμίδες τοῖαι, ἀμέγαρτά τε ἄντρα Κυκλώπων,
τύμβος ὅθεν κ' αὐτὸς Δαίδαλον ἔργμα βροτῶν,
ἔνθα δέ τοι μεγάλην βασίλειαν γαῖα καλύπτει
ἡ ἀὼς ὅσσον κίδναται οὔνομ' ἔχει.
Κεῖται λάρνακι ἐν καθαρῇ Καθαρύνη,
κεῖται Σουήκων τὸ κλέος, εὔχος ἅπαν...

Other Jesuit colleges, where Greek had been introduced early on as a subject of study, had their achievements too, as demonstrated by Greek poems written by their students and published in occasional editions in the honour of eminent persons. We find one such publication in Poznań, printed in 1593 under the title *In primo felicissimo Adami Sendivoii a Czarnkow* [...] *in suam praefecturam adventu gratulationes a studiosa iuventute Collegii Posnaniensis SI factae*. Alongside Latin texts the collection contained nine Greek ones in elegiac couplets and one in hexameters. Similarly at the Academy of Vilnius, which had been formed of a Jesuit college, an occasional collection was published of Latin poetry interwoven with Greek epicedia; the title was *Parentalia in obitum Georgii Chodkiewicz* [...] *a sodalibus* [...] *mortem sodalis sui et moderatoris* [...] *deflentibus conscripta* (Vilnius 1595). All nine of the Greek epicedia were in elegiac couplets.

We find a very different subject matter, native, even folkloric, in our poet Sebastian Klonowic, who added two short Greek poems to the introduction to his Polish-language work *Flis* (*Rafting*; Cracow 1595–1598?). In those two texts he observed that while billowing waves are a beautiful sight, life on land is happier; even a pine tree warns boatbuilders that if the wind broke it on land, no ship built of it will be fortunate on sea. Let me quote that warning, reminiscent of classical literature:

Ἐς τί πίτυν πελάγει πιστεύετε γομφωτῆρες,
ἧς πολὺς ἐξ ὀρέων ῥίζαν ἔλυσε νότος;
αἴσιον οὐκ ἔσομαι πόντου σκάφος ἐχθρὸν ἀήταις
δένδρεον, ἐν χέρσῳ τὰς ἁλὸς οἶδα τύχας.

The reborn Protestant school system in the form of academic gymnasia, such as those in Toruń (Thorn) and Gdańsk, also taught Greek, as attested to, among other things, by a number of poems in Greek composed mostly by their teachers. Let me recommend to the reader's attention one longer and unusual text, a humorous epithalamium by Adam Freitag, a professor of the Toruń Gymnasium: the *Ἐπιδορπίσματα γαμικὰ αἰνιγματώδη*, published in the printed collection *Ἐπιθαλάμια in honorem nuptiarum Ch. Stroband* (Toruń 1598). The poem is made of 42 lines (21 elegiac couplets), comprising an introduction and 6 separate riddles. Of those, I shall quote the introduction and the first riddle:

Εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἕτεροι ξύμπαντες ἀοιδοὶ
πρὸς γάμον ἤδη ἔπη τόνδε μὲν ἠράρασι.
Δόρπῳ ἐμοὶ μέρος ὡς ἐπιβάλλειν παῦρα μέμηλε,
ὑμῖν τ' ἀντῆσαι κρυπταδίοισι λόγοις...

Αἴνιγμα α

Οὔθ' ὁ γάμος πόλεμος λέγεται πολέμῳ γάμος οὔτε
ἐστὶν ὅμοιος. Ὅ γὰρ κεδνός, ὅδ' ἐστι βαρύς.
Αὐτὰρ ὅμως γαμικῇ πολεμήιον οὔνομα κεῖται
προσθήκῃ· τί πέλει πράγμα τόδ'; εὐστόχεε.

Freitag has left two other poems besides, also in elegiac couplets, in connection with the person and works of Franciscus Tidicaeus, a physician and scholar of Toruń, published together with his works, printed in Toruń (1607) and Leipzig (1615)[4].

The Greek Muse flourished also in the far-off Vilnius, favoured by the developing Academy of Vilnius. Besides several short occasional epigrams originating at that school, there came out the short poem *Odarion* by a canon at the Vilnius Cathedral, Grzegorz Święcicki, a lover of Greek literature, as he himself said, from his early years. That love found its expression in poems in Sapphic stanzas in honour of Saint Casimir, the patron saint of Lithuania, enclosed in the printed work *Theatrum s. Casimiri* (Vilnius 1604). The *Odarion* comprises eleven strophes, nine of them spoken by the Muses, and the remaining two by their new "companion", Scientia linguarum. Święcicki was not content with the artistry of the Sapphic stanza; he tried to "improve" it with rhyme, generously applying homoeoteleuta in each strophe. Here is a sample of that oddity:

ODARION
Scientia linguarum
Κᾶζετ' ἀνθηρὸν Κασιμεῖρον ἱρόν,
Ζηνὸς ὦ φρουραὶ μεγάλοιο κοῦραι,
ἀνέρας Μοῦσαι ζαθέους ὑδοῦσαι,
ἀσμαφιλοῦσαι. ...

[4] They were *De theriaca et eius multiplici utilitate...* and *Microcosmus hoc est Descriptio hominis et mundi...*

Terpsichore
Εὐλαβής, σώφρων, θεότητι πρόφρων,
πολλάκ' εὐχωλῶν ὁ παρεῖχε μῶλον,
πολλάκ' ἀνῆκον νύχιός τε σηκόν,
πολλάκ' ἐφήκων.

Next, we owe a few words to another Hellenist, whose enthusiasm for Greek took on more serious forms. In his peregrinations of many years, Piotr Wierzbięta Biskupski studied in several German and Italian cities. While a student in Frankfurt on the Oder, he congratulated his professor of Greek, Pankraz Krüger, on his birthday, dedicating to him a poem entitled *Ἔπος in natalem* [...] *Pancratii Crugerii*... (Frankfurt on the Oder 1605). Of its twelve couplets, let me quote an invocation to the Muses (1–4):

Δεῦρο προσέλθετε Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
καί μοι Καλλιόπη δεῦρο προσέλθε θεά,
καὶ κατάβαινε ἐς ἦτορ ἐπεύχομαι εἵνεκ' ἀοιδῆς,
ἄξιον ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ καὶ καλὸν εἴπω ἔπος.

and a final praise of his master's teaching skills (17–24):

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων κρεῖττόν ποτε τοῦτο ποιήσει
λαμπρὸν στίλβη ἕως ἠελίοιο φάος,
Αὐτὸς μάρτυρ ἐγὼ παιδευθεὶς Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν
ἑπτὰ μόνον μῆνας ταῦτα δ' ὅμως γεγραφώς,
Μακρὰ μὲν οὖν τάδε σεμνὲ Διδάσκαλε πράξω ὅμοια
κἂν σε φθόνος σκύλλῃ, κἂν μέγα γλῶσσα δακῇ
ταῦτά σοι εὔχομαι, εὐδόξων μέγα κύδος ἀοιδῶν,
εὐχομένου δὲ θεὸς κλῦθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

Biskupski also wrote voluminous treatises in Greek, such as for instance *Oratiuncula de laude scriptorum Demosthenis* or *Caput* [...] *Isaiae Graeco et Latino idiomate* [...] *redditum*, both printed in Frankfurt on the Oder as well, in 1605.

Roughly at the same time, in 1607, in far-off Antwerp, Szymon Birkowski, a Hellenist and professor at the Cracow Academy, and Adam Fabian Birkowski, a preacher, published epitaphs for the outstanding philologist Justus Lipsius, both entitled *Iusti Lipsii* [...] *fama postuma*. For quotation I have picked Szymon's, which is much more classical in character:

Ἐπιτάφιον
ὦ ξένε, τύμβον ὅταν ἐφορᾶς τὸν ἀραῖον Ἰούστου
Λιψίου, ὃς σοφίας τῆς ἱερῆς φάος ἦν,
ἡδυεπεῖ τε νόῳ θνητοὺς νίκησεν ἅπαντας
ἔν τε λόγοις πεζοῖς, ἔν τε λόγοις μετρικοῖς.
Τὸν τ' ἄγε τύμβον ἅμα Ῥώμης ἐπίβλεψον ἀνάσσης,
μοῦνος ἑὴν ἀνέγειρ' ἐκ ῥυπαρῶν κονίων.

Αὐτίκα τὸν γ' ὅσιον σοφίας ἐπιδέρκεο τύμβον
σὺν γὰρ ἀποθνήσκει στήθεϊ Λιψιάδου.
Οὐκοῦν δακρυχέων τε καὶ ὄλβια εὔχεο πάντα
καὶ λέγε· φεῦ, ὁ μέγας Λίψιος ἐξέθανεν.

Let me now turn towards another part of the country. The Zamoyski Academy, growing briskly during the life of its founder, the Chancellor of the Crown Jan Zamoyski, from the beginning cared for its classical and in particular its Hellenic studies, and the printing house set up there from the start published Greek texts edited by professors at the Academy. The founder's death soon after turned the ambitious publishing plans into nothing after printing a mere few works in Greek, but the teaching of Greek continued, as proven by several poems, occasional as usual. They were inspired by Tomasz Zamoyski, the Chancellor's son, returning to Zamość after several years of educational travels. The welcome ceremony was enriched and embellished with presentations by professors and students, and a special impression was made by the recitation of a few works in Greek: by professor Urban Brillius and his two students, Aleksander Obuchowicz and Kazimierz Filip Obuchowicz. Brillius composed a lyric poem of considerable length, artfully modelled on Pindar's odes, made up of seven triads, each containing a strophe, antistrophe and epode (265 lines in total), published in Zamość in 1617 as *Περιφανεστάτῳ Θώμᾳ Ζαμῷσκι ἀπ' ἀλλοφύλων κατερχομένῳ ἀνασωθεῖ εἶδος*. Here are the opening lines with headline:

Εἶδος ἀσπαστικόν
Στροφὴ Α′
Ὦ Μοῦσα πότνια,
ὦ φιλτάτη μήτηρ ἐμή,
ἀγλαὸν αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος,
πᾶσιν παιδείης ἀρετὰν γεννῶσ' ἄμεμπτον,
θρέπτειρα ψυχῆς, ὀρθοδότειρα νόου,
Οὔρεα λείπουσα ζάθοιο,
καὶ θριγγὸν Παρνάσου
οὐράνιον, κρήνης τ' Ἑλικωνίδος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ,
ἀνεμώκεος νεφέλας δρόμον
ἐξανύθι γε ποσὶν
δι' αἰθέρος λίσσομαι·
πρόδραμ' εἰς Ζαμῳσκίδα, τῶν πολίων
ἀντ' ἄλλων πολλῶν περικλειτήν...

Aleksander Obuchowicz welcomed Tomasz with an ode of 14 stanzas in Asclepiadean verse, of which I shall quote the first two (lines 1–8):

Ὠδὴ προσαγορευτική
Θῶμ' ὦ Σαρματίας κῆδος ἀγήρατον,
Θῶμ' ὦ ὀμμάτιον σεῦ πατρίδος φίλης,
Θῶμ' ὦ δηροπεδῆ πολλὰ βαρύσταθμε
καὶ κειμήλιον ἓν λαῶν,

Θῶμ' ἀλκτὴρ πατρίδος πᾶσιν ὑπέρφιλε,
λαμπὰς τηλεφανής, δεινὸν ἔρισμα καί,
καὶ στήλη σθεναρή, κ' ἀλκὴ ἐρισθενὴς
κ' ἡμῶν θεσπέσιος πόθος. ...

and two found further into the poem (lines 17–24):

μήτηρ ὀρανὴ ὡς Μήδεα ἄφθιτα
καὶ δεινά, στονοεῖ θυμῷ ἀναῤῥοφεῖ
ἀχθοῦσ' ἀργαλέων τῶν ἀνέμων ἀπὸ
παῖδ' ἁρπασμένον ἔννιον.
Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀκλινὴς τῆς στυφελῆς ἀπὸ
ἀκτῆς τὰ φθονερὰ πνεύματα πόντια
δυσφήμοισιν ἀραῖς πόῤῥω ἀάστονος
δυσθεινοῦσ' ἀπομέμφεται.

Kazimierz Filip Obuchowicz also honoured the eminent guest in Greek, though differently, with an ample welcome speech, adorned at the end with two Sapphic stanzas. Those works by the two Obuchowiczs came out in Zamość in 1617 as well, under the title *Εἰς ἐπιπεποθεμένην ἀπονόστησιν* [...] *Θῶμα Ζαμῶσκι λόγος ἀσπαστικός*.

A few more lovers of the Greek Muse remain to be mentioned among the later authors, hailing from the Cracovian circle this time.

Mikołaj Żórawski, a professor at the Cracow Academy, an enthusiast of the Greek language, who reputedly[5] translated even Cicero's speeches into it, left us the poem *Μαίστορος Νικολάου Ζοραβίου εἰς τὴν τοῦ Μελετίου Σμοτρισκίου* [...] *παραίνεσιν ἔπος ἐγκωμιαστικόν*, appended to Smotrycki's *Paraenesis abo Napomnienie* [...] *do Bractwa Wileńskiego cerkwie s. Ducha* (Cracow 1629). In it he honoured the archbishop of Polotsk, Melecjusz Smotrycki in 15 elegiac couplets. Let me quote lines 1–4:

Οἱ μὲν δράξαντες πολέμους ἐπὶ πατρίδος αἴας
χαίρουσιν διὰ τοῦ αἷμα φόνοιο χέειν,
ἄλλος μαρμαρέῳ βριαρὰν χθόνα σχίζει ἀρότρῳ,
καρποὺς εὐτροφέους ὅστις ἰδεῖν γλίχεται...

and 7–14:

Εἰσὶν ὁμογερέες τινὲς ὑψηλοῖς ἐν ὄρεσσι
λίστροις ἀργαλέως χρυσὸν ὀρυττομένοι.
Εἰσὶν τοῖς δὲ μέλει κιθαρὶς μαλακὴ καὶ ἀοιδή,
τοῖς τέρπειν κῆρ καὶ δαῖτας ὀλέσσαι ἀεί.
Ἀλλ' οὐκ Σμοτρισκίου λίαν ταῦτ' ἥνδανε θυμῷ
μηδὲ λιλαιόμεν γήϊνα δὴ πέλεται.

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5 See K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska. Cz. 3, Stólecie XV–XVIII: w układzie abecadłowym*, vol. III (XIV) C, p. 255.

Ἔργον κεῖνος ἔχει τὸ ἄξιον ἔστε ἀμοιβῆς
Αἰδίου κᾀὐτὸν πάντοτε δόξα μένει. ...

A long panegyric has been preserved, alongside a number of short ones, by another professor of the Cracow Academy at the chair of Hellenic studies, Adam Draski. His work in honour of Andrzej Lipski, the bishop of Cracow, *Ἐπαρχίας πανσεβεστάτῳ* [...] *κυρίῳ* [...] *Ἀνδρέᾳ Λίπσκι* [...] *μνημόσυνον* (Cracow 1631) is 80 hexameters long and begins with the words of the *Odyssey*, thus:

Σύγχαρμα
Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα Ἰαγέλλονος, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
εἴδων ἀμβροσίας δόξης ὧν ἄξιος ἥρως,
τῆς πάσης τῆς μνημοσύνης συγχάρματός ἐστι.
Τῷδε μάλιστα γλυκὺ στόματος κατὰ νέκταρ ἔχευε
Φοῖβος τῶν Μουσῶν δὲ κράτος τε δέδωκε μέγιστον.
Ἄλλοι ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς ἐμπολέμους τε κραταιούς,
τοὺς δὲ προστάτους σώφρονας ἐκκλησία μήτηρ
Σαρματίῃ πρὸς ἐγείνατο πατρίδι δῶρα μέγιστα. ...

I shall end this fragmentary overview with Grzegorz Knapiusz, the eminent lexicographer and philologist, who in his *Adagia Polonica* [...] *Latine et Graece reddita*, volume three of his dictionary *Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus* (Cracow 1632) transmitted a wealth of Polish sayings with their Latin and Greek equivalents. The Greek part of that work ought to receive the reader's attention, since Knapiusz did not always find appropriate aphorisms in Greek literature, and in such cases he composed them himself, shaping them into iambic trimeters (and always marking them with the letter A). Such texts by him number a few hundred; in quoting samples, I shall also list the Polish equivalent used by the author:

Thes., p. 8: Gr. Κενῆς ἁμάξης ταχύτερον στρέφεται τροχός.
Pol. Baba z woza, kołom lżej
(≈ Good riddance;
lit. With the woman off the cart, it is lighter for the wheels).
Thes., p. 10: Gr. Ξίφος τιτρώσκει σῶμα τὸν δὲ νοῦν λόγος.
Pol. Bardziej boli od języka niż od miecza
(≈ The pen is mightier than the sword;
lit. The tongue hurts you more than the sword does).
Thes., p. 92: Gr. Ὁππόσσαι κεφαλαί τοσσαί δ' εἰσὶν διάνοιαι.
Pol. Co głowa, to rozum
(≈ Two heads ar better than one; lit. For every head, an intellect.)

Other than those trimeters, Knapiusz wrote two hexametrical panegyrics in honour of two saints, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier; both were attached to volume two of the *Thesaurus* in its 1644 edition. They are of unique composition, which tempts one to quote samples of them. The hymn in honour of Loyola is 24 hexameters long and made of nothing but epithets, which must have entertained the lexicographer a lot. The opening lines run:

Τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰγνατίῳ τῆς Ἑταιρείας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀρχηγῷ ὕμνος πάντῃ ἀλφαβητικός
Ἄνδρα αἰνῶ ἀρίδηλον, ἀσώμων ἄξιον αὐδῶν,
βώτορα βουλευτήν, βέβαιον, βαθυγνώμονα, βριμόν
γνωμονικόν, γεννάρχην, γρῃγορικόν, γλυκύθυμον,
δριμέα, δεινολογοῦντα, δαΐφρονα, δαιδαλόφωνον...

The other hymn, for Francis Xavier, also hexametrical, is in its first part a double acrostic: the initial letters of lines form the saint's given name, and the final ones, his surname. This is the beginning:

Τῷ ἁγίῳ Φραγκίσκῳ Ξαουερίῳ ὕμνος κατὰ ἀκροστιχίδα ὀνομαστικὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν
Φημί σε τοῦ Χριστοῖο πρὸς Ἰούδους εὔθροε κήρυΞ
Ῥωμαϊκῆς θεολατρίας γῇ καί τε θαλάσσαΙ
Ἀκάματ' ἐκφάντορ παναγοῦ τε νόμοιο ΘεοῖΟ
Γνήσι' ἀποστολικῆς διδαχῆς παιδευτ' ἐπὶ κόσμοΥ

The final part of that hymn, entitled *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποθέωσις*, was in elegiac couplets.

Towards the end of this paper at least, I must mention the Greek poems from Gdańsk; they are numerous and should be included, considering that the region was then part of Poland and had lively ties with the rest of it.

While such poetry only began to be written and published in Gdańsk in 1563, it began with a mature text, one by Michael Retellius, the greatest and at the same time the most prolific of Gdańsk Hellenists, who started publishing then. The whole period until the half of the 17th century was dotted with occasional poems by the professors of the Gdańsk Academic Gymnasium, its students, alumni and other persons connected to that circle. Other than religious texts, the Greek poetry of that time and place included secular works in the form of various epithalamia, epicedia and *gratulationes*, most often in elegiac couplets, but often in hexameter.

The material by Gdańsk poets collected so far has not yet been catalogued in full. It comprises poems of various length, including a number of voluminous texts, of which the first of their authors to write in Greek, Michael Retellius, seems also the greatest. As can be seen from his prolific legacy, among the Gdańsk Hellenists he was the keenest on writing both poetry and prose in that language. One example of his Greek prose is a variation on the New Testament tale of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem; others include translations (from Latin to Greek) of Cicero, Melanchthon and Erasmus, as well as treatises on grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, and diverse *moralia*. Retellius' poetry comprises many religious and occasional poems, the latter referring to various persons of his circle. They were published individually to finally appear in two collections together with his other Greek texts, entitled *Poematum libri...* (Gdańsk 1571) and *Epimythia...* (Gdańsk 1574). Some texts by him were published individually in Leipzig, Gdańsk and Königsberg in the years 1563–1574.

Retellius' first text that we know of comes from 1563. It is a poem in three parts published in Leipzig under the title *Carmen de die natali Iesu Christi, De eius resurrectione, De eius item ascensione*, roughly 600 hexameters in total. The opening lines (1–8) run:

Carmen de die natali [...] *Iesu Christi...*
Χριστὲ θεὸς φίτυμα θεοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχεγόνοιο,
Φοῖβος ἐμοί γ' ἐτεός, φῶς φωτὸς ἀγεννήτοιο
ἀέναον, λάμψαν πάρα, σεῖο γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄνευθε
λεχθείη καλὸν ἢ πραχθείη. Ἡμετέρη σε
Μοῦσα καλεῖ μοῦν σὺ δίδου δ' ὠδὴν θεάρεσκον
δισσῆς γὰρ φύσεως ἔπεσιν σέο κῦδος ἀείσω
ἠγάθεον, προλιπὼν πῶς οὐρανὸν ὧδε κατῆλθες,
νηδύος ἐκ προμολῶν κούρης ἐτύμως ἀμολύντου...

Another similarly extensive poem is a hexametrical rendering of three letters of Saint Paul, some 500 lines altogether, published in his collection *Poematum graecorum libri duo* (Gdańsk 1571), which contained also other religious and secular poems, such as epithalamia, *gratulationes* and epicedia, for which Retellius applied both hexameter and the elegiac couplet. That collection contained the aforementioned prose treatises as well. The other collection, *Epimythia in historias et fabulas...* (Gdańsk 1574), also had in it a number of secular occasional texts.

Of the secular poems in that collection, let me quote another of Retellius' many works, the *Epitaphium filioli M. Alexandri Glaseri*, classical in its content:

Τῇδε σορῷ κεῖται τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδροιο Γλασήρου
υἱὸς ὃς ἄρτι τέρην τέθναεν ὠκύμορος.
Γαῖα κάλυψε δέμας, ψυχὴ δὲ σὺν οὐρανίωσι
Ἀϊδίῳ χρᾶται παμμακάρων βιότῳ.

His fluent use of Greek arouses admiration and indicates his enthusiasm for that language, which he applied with such ease for such diverse purposes. His works are unique in the history of Polish, and perhaps of European culture.

Another, slightly younger Pomeranian, Andreas Welsius, professor of poetics at the Gdańsk Gymnasium from 1581, also served the Greek Muse. We only have two poems left by him, both religious and hexametrical. Their Latin titles are *De beneficiis Spiritus Sancti cui aliud additur De collatione Christi cum rosa* (Gdańsk 1582), and *Ἔκφρασις Christi pendentis in cruce* (Gdańsk 1589). The first numbers some 130 lines; the second is much shorter. As a sample let me quote the opening lines (1–10) of the Greek part of the *Ἔκφρασις...*, titled in Latin as *Querela ad Christum*, an expression of the author's personal feelings:

Οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγὼ αὐτὰρ σκωλήκιόν εἰμι,
οὕτω ἐνὶ σταυρῷ χλουνάζεις Χριστὲ σεβαστέ,
Ὅττε ἔης ῥυπαρὸς κ' αἰσχρὸς δι' ἁμαρτάδας ἡμῶν.

Οὖν τί ἐγὼ χλουνάζω, ὅς μ' αὐτὸς μεμίαγκα
πταίσμασι παμπόλλοις καὶ νῦν σκώληξ κατὰ αἰσχρὸς
πρόσθε θεοῦ κεῖμαι καὶ ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων;
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μεγάλῳ Χριστ' ἤπιε ἵλαθ' ἀλιτρῷ
καὶ σκώληξ σὺ ἐμὲ σκωλήκιον οὐ κατάβαλλε,
Σὺ βλέψον ποτὶ τραύματά σου χειρῶν τε ποδῶν τε
ἠδὲ κ' ἄφες χειρῶν μου ὑπερβασίην μοι ἅπασαν.

For decades, various occasional poems were composed in Gdańsk; out of the many authors I would like to pick the last one in the period in question, a mid-17th century enthusiast of the Greek verse, Johannes Zimmermann, whose works, not only Greek, but also Hebrew, were printed in his home city. He used Greek to celebrate in elegiac couplets now the hundredth anniversary of his gymnasium in 1658, now its professors and rectors[6]. The poem celebrating the anniversary of the gymnasium[7] was 40 lines long and entitled *Εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν τοῦ τῶν Γεδανέων Γυμνασίου τὴν κατ' αἰῶνα*. Let me quote two samples from it, lines 1–4:

Ὡς μετὰ πρωτόγονον χάος ἤρξατο παντὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ
τηλεφανοῦς λάμψαι ἠελίοιο φάος,
τέτταρας ὑψιμέδοντα βροτοῖς αἰῶνας ἀοιδοὶ
θῆκαι ἀείδουσιν πάντοθ' ἑλισσομένους.

and 19–28:

Εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῳ ἁμῶν ὁπποῖος δ' αἰὼν
ἕλκομεν ᾧ χαλεπῇς ἀμφ' ὀδύνη βίον.
Χρυσομανεῖς μὲν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ζῶντες, ὅδ' αἰὼν
χρύσεος οὐ βιοτὴν μηδ' ἔτι ἀργύρεος.
Ἀλλά γε χαλκείῳ αἰῶνι σιδήρεος αἰὼν
τήμερον ἀτρεκέως ξύν τ' ἐπέοικε πεσεῖν.
Αἴθε τελεσθέντος κ' αἰῶνος κυδιανείρου
Γυμνασίοιο ἅπαν πῆμα τελοῖτο Ἄτης
εὐχόμεθ' ἠμὲν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔολπε
καὶ δ' ἅμα Γυμνασίῳ συγχαρησόμεθα.

While on the subject, it ought to be mentioned that Christian Rosteutscher, the professor of Greek at Gdańsk Gymnasium honoured by Zimmermann with a separate Greek print, wrote speeches in Greek, as well as treatises on the grammar of that language.

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6 See *Ξένιον εὐκτικὸν τετράγλωττον quod Ioh. Botsacco* [...] *Ioh. Maukischio* [...] *efferebat* [...], Gdańsk 1658, and *Ὑμέναιος τετράφονος nuptiis* [...] *Chr. Rosteutscheri* [...] *consecratus a Ioh. Zimmermanno*, Gdańsk 1659.

7 See a collection of his works: the *Votum seculare metricum* [...] *additum orationi seculari hebraeae, qua Gymnasio Gedanensi* [...] *congratulabatur*, Gdańsk 1658.

The above cursory overview indicates that thanks to the development of its academic gymnasium, Gdańsk was a constant shrine to the Greek Muse. That was possible due to the high academic level of that school, its eminent professors and the general culture brought by their work into their home city, making it into a haven for people of skill worthy of interest and appreciation.

Towards the end of this report on Greek literature, let me for completeness mention in brief at least the essays into prose, collecting here various scattered and short remarks about them.

The aforementioned Piotr Wierzbięta Biskupski wrote an ample laudation of Demosthenes' speeches, the *Oratiuncula de laude scriptorum Demosthenis habita in illustri Academia Francofordana* [...] *a. 1605*, printed in Frankfurt on the Oder, comprising 12 pages in quarto, and the short *Caput Isaiae quinquagesimum tertium* [...] *graeco et latino idiomate pro virili παραφραστικῶς redditum*, published in the same city and year.

Another speech has been preserved from the early 17th century, written by Filip Obuchowicz, a student at the Zamoyski Academy and given to welcome Tomasz Zamoyski. The title on the title leaf lists the author as Filip Obuchowicz ("Philippi Obuchowicz, Academiae Zamoscensis studiosi, Zamosci 1617"), but his authorship has been questioned by Stanisław Łempicki in his biographical note on Brillius published in *Polski słownik biograficzny* (vol. II, pp. 436 f.), claiming the speech to be a work of Brillius, then a professor of the Academy. Still, no evidence was cited there in support of that claim. Since another Obuchowicz, Aleksander, presented at the ceremony a Greek poem, we may suppose that just as in the case of Biskupski, who wrote his speech on Demosthenes according to the "instruction" of his professor of Greek, Crugerius (as he indicated on the title leaf), here, too, a professor may have been responsible for the direction of the students' work.

The Greek speeches by Adam Burski, another professor at the Zamoyski Academy, which he gave there publically, were probably written towards the end of the 16th or at the beginning of the 17th century; unfortunately, all that we have of them is a mention in J.D. Janocki[8]. That same early bibliographer mentions that Szymonowic left behind a manuscript containing "poemata atque alia opuscula graece composita hactenus inedita"[9].

Of the lost and somewhat later Greek prose works (1620, 1632), let me add the piece of information found in Estreicher (cf. n. 5) that Mikołaj Żórawski, a lecturer of philosophy at the Cracow Academy, translated Cicero into Greek. The speeches he chose were *Pro Archia poeta* and *Pro lege Manilia*; other works were *Laelius sive De amicitia* and *De officiis*. Apart from the translations,

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[8] See *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Zaluscianae...*, Dresden 1752, p. 119.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Żórawski wrote his own speech in Greek, intended for the planned synod of the Eastern Rite Catholics with the Orthodox.

Let me also remind the reader that two citizens of Gdańsk, Michael Retellius and Christian Rosteutscher, wrote philological treatises and speeches in Greek.

In concluding this overview, in which I have refrained from analysing the poems or investigating their merits and aesthetic points, which would at any rate have been impossible within the modest scope of this article, I would like to remark that its purpose was to familiarise the broader philological circles with the extent and formal quality of those largely inaccessible texts, often scattered across printed works whose titles do not reveal the authors of any poetry contained in them. My goal was to bring that little known field of philological research to light.

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RESETTLEMENT INTO ROMAN TERRITORY ACROSS THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE (TO THE MARCOMANNIC WARS)*

By

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate the resettling of tribes from across the Rhine and the Danube onto their Roman side as part of the Roman limes policy, an important factor making the frontier easier to defend and one way of treating the population settled in the vicinity of the Empire's borders.

The temporal framework set in the title follows from both the state of preservation of sources attesting resettling operations as regards the first two hundred years of the Empire, the turn of the eras and the time of the Marcomannic Wars, and from the stark difference in the nature of those resettlements between the times of the Julio-Claudian emperors on the one hand, and of Marcus Aurelius on the other.

Such, too, is the thesis of the article: that the resettlements of the period of the Marcomannic Wars were a sign heralding the resettlements that would come in late antiquity[1], forced by peoples pressing against the river line, and eventually taking place completely out of Rome's control. Under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, on the other hand, the Romans were in total control of the situation and transferring whole tribes into the territory of the Empire was symptomatic of their active border policies.

There is one more reason to list, compare and analyse Roman resettlement operations: for the early Empire period, the literature on the subject is very much dominated by studies into individual tribe transfers, and works whose range en-

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[1] Literary sources listed in O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. I, Berlin 1895 (I have not had access to the widely cited 4th edition of 1921), pp. 532–533, n. 384. See also pp. 368–405: "Die Barbaren im Reich". Seeck only cites sources from Marcus Aurelius onwards, so naturally the resettlement operations analysed below are not included in his discussion. Of Polish literature, see M. Salamon, *Polityka osiedlania plemion barbarzyńskich w prowincjach rzymskich za cesarza Probusa (276–282)*, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego XVIII 1971, pp. 95–103.

compasses the full length of the Rhine-Danube line are a rarity[2]. Besides, not all analyses of Roman policy towards the frontier tribes notice resettlements, even though they undoubtedly make for an important component of that policy[3].

RESETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE RHINE[4]

Roman active demographic policy on the Rhine was begun by Julius Caesar; his actions towards the Helvetii trying to transfer their homes to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean are common knowledge[5], as are his wars in Gaul, which caused the depopulation of some areas, including the Rhineland (such as his extermination

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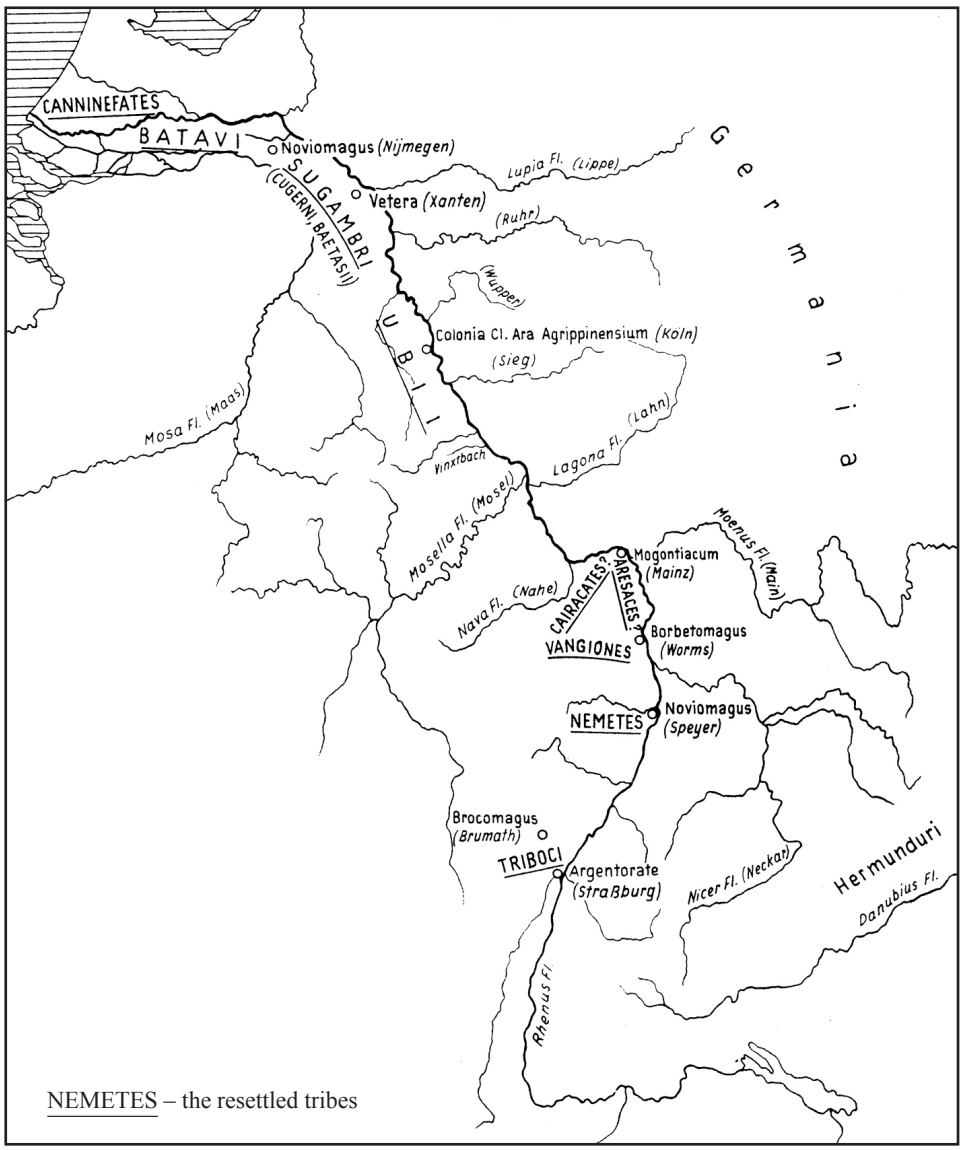
[2] A. Alföldi, *Rhein und Donau in der Römerzeit*, Pro Vindonissa XXII 1948–1949, pp. 5–21; idem, *Eine Übersiedlung von barbarischen Massen nach Pannonien unter Nero*, AErt LII 1939, pp. 263–265, where earlier literature is listed; K. Tymieniecki, *Limes Romanus*, Roczniki Historyczne XXVI 1960, pp. 241–245.

[3] See e.g. W. Zwikker, *Studien zur Markussäule*, Amsterdam 1941, pp. 25–34: "Das Verhältnis der Römer zu den Grenzgebieten und das Verteidigungssystem", where there is not a word about resettlements, although later in his work the author necessarily does discuss individual cases (from the times of the Marcomannic wars). In Polish literature: J. Wielowiejski, *Kontakty Noricum i Pannonii z ludami północnymi*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 184–188: "Główne elementy polityki Rzymian wobec ludów zadunajskich".

[4] Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 2), passim. For ethnic and political changes on the Rhine and Danube at the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the next, and under the principate, see especially K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, Heidelberg 1925 (reprinted without modifications from a 1837 edition); L. Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*, vol. I–II, München 1938–1940; J. Klose, *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau. Beiträge zur ihrer Geschichte und rechtlichen Stellung im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert nach Christus*, Breslau 1934; H. Nesselhauf, *Die Besiedlung der Oberrheinlande in römischer Zeit*, Badische Fundberichte XIX 1951, pp. 71–85; R. Hachmann, G. Kossack, H. Kuhn, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, Neumünster 1962; *Das Römische Reich und seine Nachbarn*, ed. F. Millar, Frankfurt am Main 1966 (Fischer Weltgeschichte, vol. VIII, Die Mittelmeerwelt im Altertum IV), esp. chapters 12 (F. Millar), 15 (D. Berciu) and 17 (G. Kossack); O. Roller, *Die Oberrheinlande in der Römerzeit*, Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins CXVII 1969, pp. 1–25; R. Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim. Studien zur Geschichte der Germanen am Oberrhein vom Gallischen Krieg bis zur alamannischen Landnahme*, Berlin 1966 (Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts zu Frankfurt am Main, vol. XXVIII), esp. pp. 182–234; *Die Römer am Rhein und Donau*, ed. R. Günther, H. Köpstein, Berlin 1978, pp. 32–59; K. Christ, *Zur augusteischen Germanienpolitik*, Chiron VII 1977, pp. 149–205 (reprinted in: idem, *Römische Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. I, Darmstadt 1982, pp. 183–239); J. Strzelczyk, *Słowianie i Germanie w Niemczech środkowych we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 1976, pp. 13–34; J. Dobiaš, *Dějiny československého území před vystoupením Slovanů*, Praha 1964; M. Fluss, *Moesia, Moesicae gentes*, *RE* XV 2 (1934), coll. 2348–2411; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia*, *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 515–575; idem, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959; idem, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam 1970; idem, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London–Boston 1974, pp. 1–111; F. Papazoglou, *Srednobalkanski plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo 1966; R. Vulpe, I. Barnea, *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. II, Bucureşti 1966, pp. 1–179 (R. Vulpe).

[5] Caes. *Gall.* I 2–29.



Resettlements accross the Rhine (drawing by L. Fijał).

of the Eburones[6]), which in turn enabled, or even provoked, some reshuffling of nearby peoples. It was also Caesar who stopped Germanic expansion into Gaul[7]

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[6] *Ibid.* VI 31–35.

[7] SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. I, pp. 132–144; G. WALSER, *Caesar und Germanen*, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 21–36; K. CHRIST, *Caesar und Ariovist*, in: IDEM, *Römische...* (n. 4), vol. I, pp. 92–133 (= Chiron IV 1974, pp. 251–292); E. KOESTERMANN, *Caesar und Ariovist*, Klio XXXIII 1940, pp.

by driving Ariovistus to the other side of the Rhine and preventing other Germanic tribes (e.g. the Usipetes and Tencteri) from settling on the West bank[8], actions of huge importance for the next several hundred years of West European history. From Caesar's time on, the Rhine was the border between two worlds[9]: the Gallo-Roman, and the Germanic (or "barbarian"). Gaul was conquered by Caesar, and his successors had to give it proper organisational form; naturally the problem of population inhabiting the two sides of the Rhine became extraordinarily important. No wonder then that the intense campaign of "locating" whole tribes on the Rhine fell during the beginning of the principate. Below is their list in chronological order:

1. The Ubii[10]

(Strabo IV 3, 4): πέραν δὲ ᾤκουν Οὔβιοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον [i.e. opposite the Treveri], οὓς μετήγαγεν Ἀγρίππας ἑκόντας εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥήνου.

(Tac. *Germ.* 28): Ubii [...] transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

(Tac. *Ann*. XII 27): ac forte acciderat, ut eam (= Ubiorum) gentem Rhenum transgressam [...] Agrippa in fidem acciperet.

In Caesar's time the Ubii lived on the Rhine, between the lower courses of the Lahn (Laugona) and (probably) the Sieg[11]. After the resettlement, their territory cen-

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308–334; D. Timpe, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze zwischen Caesar und Drusus*, in: *Monumentum Chiloniense*, Amsterdam 1975, pp. 124–147.

8 *Gall.* IV 1, 15; Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 88–90; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 189–194; Koestermann, *op. cit.* (n. 7); Christ, *Caesar*... (n. 7), passim.

9 Walser, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 52–77 and 86 ff.

10 More on the Ubii: Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 87 f.; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 209–217; R. Much, *RGA*[1] IV, pp. 371 f.; idem, *Die Germania des Tacitus*, ed. H. Jankuhn, W. Lange, Heidelberg [3]1967, pp. 360 and 362–364; J. Klinkenberg, *Die Stadtanlage des römischen Köln und die Limitation des Ubierlandes*, BJ CXL/CXLI 1936, pp. 259–298; H. Schmitz, *Die Übersiedlung der Ubier auf das linke Rheinufer*, Klio XXXIV 1942, pp. 239–263; idem, *Stadt und Imperium. Köln in römischer Zeit*, vol. I: *Die Anfange der Stadt Köln und die Ubier*, Köln 1948, esp. pp. 15–50; idem, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, Köln 1956, pp. 22–25; idem, *Ubii*, *RE* VIII A, 1 (1955), coll. 531–545, esp. 533 f.; idem, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft am Rhein*, in: *Das erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland am Rhein und Ruhr*, vol. I: *Textband*, Düsseldorf 1962, pp. 7–92, esp. 8–18; R. Nierhaus, *Zu den ethnographischen Angaben im Lukans Gallien-Exkurs*, BJ CLIII 1953, pp. 48 f.; Ch. Rüger, *Germania Inferior. Untersuchungen zur Territorial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte Niedergermaniens in der Prinzipatszeit*, Köln–Graz 1968, pp. 5–10; Timpe, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 132 f. and 137; H. von Petrikovits, *Rheinische Geschichte*, vol. I 1: *Altertum*, Düsseldorf 1980, p. 59; O. Doppelfeld, *Das römische Köln*, part I: *Ubier-Oppidum und Colonia Agrippinensium*, *ANRW* II 4 (1975), pp. 716 ff., esp. 718–720.

11 Earlier literature accepted a larger area of Ubian settlement on the right bank of the Rhine, placing it between the Rhine, the Main, the Taunus and the lower courses of the Lahn and the Sieg; see Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 87; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 209 f.; Much, *RGA*[1] IV, pp. 371 f.; idem, *Germania*... (n. 10), pp. 362 f.; Schmitz, *Übersiedlung*... (n. 10), p. 239; idem, *Stadt und Imperium*...

tred on *ara Ubiorum* (later Colonia Claudia Ara Agripinensium), in the south reaching the Vinxtbach river and in the north bordering on the lands of the Sugambri/Cugerni. Their western border might have been the same as that of the province[12]. Before, the area had been inhabited by the Eburones, exterminated by Caesar.

After some years of lively debate regarding the date of the resettlement of the Ubii (either 38 or 19 BC)[13], it now seems that if we are to trust archaeology, the event took place in 38, that is during Marcus Agrippa's first legateship in Gaul[14]. That is the date supported by dendrological analysis of the remains of the port of *oppidum Ubiorum*, which allows us to date the port's construction, and so also the founding of the *oppidum*, to 38 BC[15].

2. The Sugambri[16]

(Suet. *Aug*. 21): Sigambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit.

(Suet. *Tib*. 9): Germanico (*scil*. bello) quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis conlocavit.

(Tac. *Ann*. II 26): se (*scil.* Tiberium) novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. Sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos...

(n. 10), pp. 15 f.; IDEM, *Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 8. In more recent literature, that area is firmly narrowed down to the region between the lower courses of the Lahn and the Sieg: see NIERHAUS, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 224 f.; PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 49 (map).

[12] DOPPELFELD, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 732.

[13] For a list of opinions on that topic until 1968, see RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 6; see also TIMPE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 132–135, and 137 (arguments for 19 BC); PETRIKOVITS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 53 (arguing that 39/38 is more likely than 20/19 BC).

[14] E. STEIN, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper in römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, Wien 1932, p. 1; R. HANSLIK, *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, *RE* IX A, 1 (1961), col. 1234.

[15] This is based on DOPPELFELD's information (*op. cit.* [n. 10], pp. 718 f.), but cf. D. KIENAST, *Augustus. Princeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, p. 294. In his works cited above, SCHMITZ tried to demonstrate that the plan of the Ubii to cross the Rhine to its Roman side was already accepted by Caesar, and that their resettlement was a long process (*Wanderprozess*; cf. esp. *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* [n. 10], pp. 11 and 18; and *Ubii*, *RE* VIII A, 1, 1955, coll. 533 f.). In his opinion that process could have begun already in Caesar's time. As a result, Agrippa's operation would just be its crowning stage. His theory was strongly opposed, in particular by J. KLINKENBERG, Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins XXIV 1959, pp. 186 ff. (*non vidi*; cited after SCHMITZ, *Colonia...* [n. 10], p. 23). It received a positive response from U. KAHRSTEDT, *Methodisches zur Geschichte des Mittel- und Niederrheins zwischen Caesar und Vespasian*, BJ CL 1950, p. 69; DOPPELFELD, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 719; HANSLIK, *op. cit.* (n. 14), col. 1234; and others.

[16] On the Sugambri, see: ZEUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 83–85; SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 175–188; MUCH, *RGA*[1] IV, p. 299; IDEM, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 57 f. and 363 f.; K. CHRIST, *Nero Claudius Drusus*, Tübingen 1953 (unpublished dissertation), p. 44–48; SCHMITZ, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 18–21; D. TIMPE, *Drusus' Umkehr an der Elbe*, RhM CX 1967, pp. 289–306, esp. 301 ff.; IDEM, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), pp. 136 and 139–147.

(Eutr. 7, 9): XL captivorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Rheni in Gallia conlocavit (*scil*. Augustus).

The resettlement of forty thousand Sugambri was carried out by Tiberius in 8 BC, after he replaced Drusus in the Rhineland (Drusus died one year earlier). Before that, the tribe had lived on the right bank of the Rhine (cf. Caes. *Gall.* VI 35: "Sigambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno"). In the south, they bordered on the Ubii (the border could have been the Sieg river); in the north, their territories probably extended to the river Ruhr[17]. After the resettlement they occupied a territory between the Ubii and the Batavi with Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten). With time the name Sugambri disappeared; their descendants were probably the Cugerni[18].

3. The Batavi[19]

(Tac. *Germ.* 29, 1): Batavi [...] non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent.

(Tac. *Hist*. IV 12): Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam iuxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit (cf. Caes. *Gall.* IV 10)

Since the digression in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* (IV 10) treating of the Batavi appears to be a later interpolation, we must not accept that they had already settled in the Rhine delta by 50 BC[20]. Rather, they should be treated

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[17] Christ, *Nero...* (n. 16), p. 44; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 175 f.; Schmitz, *Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 21; the same works list sources.

[18] Much, *RGA*[1] IV, p. 299; idem, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 58 and 363 f.; Petrikovits, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 59; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 182.

[19] Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 100–102; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 147–172; Klose, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 17–19; Much, *Bataver*, *RGA*[1] I, pp. 178 f.; idem, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 365 f.; H. Callies, *Bataver*, *RGA*[2] II (1976), pp. 90 f. It is suspected that as the Batavi crossed to the Insula Batavorum, or soon after, they were joined by the Canninefates (see Petrikovits, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 114). According to our ancient sources they were related to the Batavi and inhabited the western, litoral part of the insula; cf. Tac. *Hist*. IV 15: "ea gens (= Canninefatium) partem insulae (= Batavorum) colit, origine lingua virtute par Batavis"; Plin. *HN* IV 101: "in Rheno autem ipso [...] nobilissima Batavorum insula et Canninefatium". As regards its location: J.E. Bogaers, *Forum Hadriani*, BJ CLXIV 1964, pp. 45–52; idem, *Civitates und Civitas-Hauptorte in der nördlichen Germania inferior*, BJ CLXXII 1972, pp. 312 and 318–326; Rüger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 92 f.; cf. also Much, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 366 f., where an earlier perspective is presented; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 147 ff.; Klose, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 26–28; B.H. Stolte, *Cananefaten*, *RGA*[2] IV (1981), pp. 329 f.

[20] Rüger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 34 f. lists literature dealing with philological analysis of that passage in Caesar (IV 10); see, however, the careful definition of the problem in Petrikovits, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 309; and in Callies, *loc. cit.* (n. 19). Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

as a "post-Caesarian immigration wave", connected to the waves of the Ubii, Cugerni etc.[21] Their resettlement cannot have taken place later than 12 BC, because at that date they are already mentioned in literature in connection with Drusus' campaign as living at the mouth of the Rhine[22].

Insula Batavorum is (partly) modern Betuwe; their borders reached the (Old) Rhine (Alter Rhein) in the north and the Maas (Meuse) in the south. In the south of their *insula* they probably also possessed a narrow strip of land (*non multum ex ripa*) along the bank of the Maas[23].

4. The Triboci, Nemetes and Vangiones

These tribes first come up in Caesar (*Gall.* I 51); later in Strabo (IV 3, 4, only the Triboci), Pliny the Elder (*HN* IV 106, all three) and Tacitus (*Ann*. XII 27, the Vangiones and Nemetes; *Germ.* 28, all three; and *Hist*. IV 70, the Vangiones and Triboci). That has given rise to suspicions[24] that after Ariovistus' defeat they remained, under a separate treaty with Caesar, on the left bank of the Rhine. However, the opinion prevailing in recent years is more convincing; according to it, they were driven to the eastern side of the river just like other tribes rallied around Ariovistus[25]; that is in accord with Caesar's very consistent policy of separating the Germans from the Celts[26], as emphatically illustrated by the case of the Usipetes and the Tencteri, whom he firmly denied the right to settle in the depopulated territory on the Rhine in northern Gaul (*Gall.* IV 1–15).

Because Strabo (IV 3, 4) lists the Triboci among the left bank tribes (in the land of the Mediomatrici), but knows nothing of the Nemetes or Vangiones, we can assume[27] that of the three peoples the Triboci resettled into the Empire first.

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[21] Rüger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 34.

[22] Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 146; precise investigation of the extent of the Batavi territory in Rüger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 34 f.

[24] Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 217–222; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, pp. 131 f. and 147 ff.; idem, *Zur Geschichte der Triboker, Nemeter und Vangionen*, Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins LI 1937–1938, pp. 259–265; Much, *Nemetes*, *RGA*[1] III, pp. 301 f.; *Triboci*, *ibid.* IV, p. 361; *Vangiones*, *ibid.*, pp. 387 f.; idem, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 362; R. Syme, *CAH* X (1934), p. 359; P. Huber, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Cäsars in seinem Bericht über den gallischen Krieg*, Bamberg 1913, p. 30; E. Linckenheld, *Triboci*, *RE* VI A, 2 (1937), coll. 2405–2413.

[25] Nesselhauf, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 78 f.; Roller, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 11 f.; and Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 219–224 (where the author claims that all the attacks against Nesselhauf's theory are groundless); more recently: H. Bannert, *Vangiones*, *RE* Suppl. XV (1978), coll. 654–662 (which also lists remaining literature).

[26] Walser, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 37 ff.; Timpe, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), pp. 125 ff.; Rüger, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 34.

[27] Nesselhauf, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 79; Bannert, *op. cit.* (n. 25), col. 658, which also reviews earlier literature (from before Nesselhauf's publication) questioning the possibility of a treaty between those three tribes and Caesar; see also Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 4–10 and 219; and Roller, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 11.

It could have happened simultaneously with the resettlement of the Sugambri, so as early as the waning years of the old era. Now under the year 50 AD Tacitus (*Ann*. XII 27) mentions regular auxiliary troops made of Nemetes and Vangiones, which means that by that time both tribes must have resettled to the left bank of the Rhine.

After the translocation, their respective lands were as follows[28]: Vangiones – to the south of the river Nahe, with a centre in Worms (Borbetomagus); Nemetes – opposite the place where the Neckar flows into the Rhine, with centres in Speyer (Noviomagus) and Altrip (Alta Ripa); and Triboci – in the vicinity of Brumath/Strassbourg (Brocomagus/Argentorate).

5. The Aresaces and Cairacates (?)

Little is known of these two tribes[29]. They were probably resettled to the left bank of the Rhine at the same time as the Vangiones and Nemetes, so before 50 AD, occupying the lands to the south of Mogontiacum (Mainz), but not far from it.

From Strabo's account (VII 1, 3) we can deduce that those are not all the peoples resettled to the left bank of the Rhine; there is much to indicate that the Roman operation of moving whole peoples to the west of that river was massive.

RESETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE DANUBE

Similar operations by the Romans undertaken according to their "border demographic policies" can be observed in the territories on the Danube[30], although they cannot be located as precisely as those on the Rhine. Below follows in chronological order the list of information regarding resettlements from the northern to the southern bank of the Danube:

1. The Getae

> (Strabo VII 3, 10): ἔτι γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Αἴλιος Κάτος μετῴκισεν ἐκ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἴστρου πέντε μυριάδας σωμάτων παρὰ τῶν Γετῶν, ὁμογλώττου τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ἔθνους, εἰς τὴν Θράκην· καὶ νῦν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτόθι Μοισοὶ καλούμενοι...

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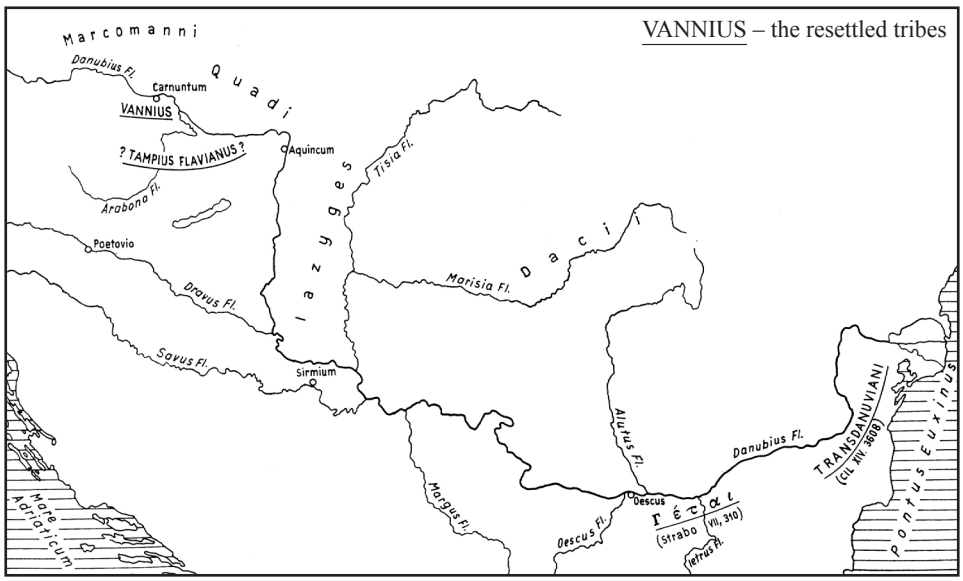
[28] Roller, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12; Linckenheld, *op. cit.* (n. 24); Bannert, *op. cit.* (n. 25), col. 654; K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande von der Urzeit bis in das Mittelalter*, vol. II: *Die römische Periode*, Mainz 1923, pp. 91–94 and 98 f.; Much, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 362.

[29] See L. Schumacher, *Das Gebiet der Verbandsgemeinde Nieder-Olm in römischer Zeit (1. Jh. v. Chr.–4. Jh. n. Chr.)*, in: *Nieder-Olm. Der Raum der Verbandsgemeinde in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. K.-H. Spiess, Alzey 1984, pp. 32 f.; H. Klumbach, *Aresaces*, in: *Limes-Studien*, Basel 1959, pp. 69–76; H.U. Instinsky, *Cives Cairacas*, Germania L 1972, pp. 133–136; Petrikovits, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 114 and cf. the map on p. 113; Zeuss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 221 f. Cf. A. Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, Groningen 1968, p. 237, nos. 2131 and 2131a.

[30] See the literature listed in n. 4.



Resettlements accross the Danube (drawing by L. Fijał).

We have no details regarding either that operation, or the actions of Aelius Catus in general. Since he held consulship in 4 AD[31], it is accepted[32] that his operations in Moesia fall after that year, so in 5 AD at the earliest, but with the possibility that the resettlement of the Getae ought to be dated after the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt was over, or in the years 9–11. Stating in general terms that the event took place some time at the beginning of the 1st century, which is altogether enough for the purposes of this paper, it is worth noting that it was for the Romans a time of intense fighting on the lower Danube. The fighting started in 29 BC and eventually resulted in the creation of the province of Moesia in 15 AD at the latest[33].

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[31] A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell' Impero Romano*, Roma 1952, p. 6.

[32] V. Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, Bucureşti 1926, pp. 94 f. and 733; A. von Premerstein, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts I 1898, pp. 157 f.; A. Alföldi, *CAH* IX (1936), p. 34; R. Syme, *Lentulus and the Origin of Moesia*, JRS XXIV 1934, pp. 113 ff.; R. Vulpe, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 40–42; Fluss, *op. cit.* (n. 4), coll. 2361 f.; T.D. Zlatkovskaja, *Mezija v I–II vekah našej ery*, Moskva 1951, pp. 41 f.; A. Mócsy, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, AArchHung XI 1959, pp. 304 f. sees their lands after the resettlement solely within the borders of the later Moesia Superior; M. Mirković, *Urbanisierung und Romanisierung Obermoesiens*, Živa Antika XIX 1969, pp. 258–262 justifiedly criticises Mócsy's view; R. Vulpe, *Les Gétes de la rive gauche du Danube*, in: idem, *Studia Thracologica*, Bucureşti 1976 (reprinted from Dacia IV 1960), pp. 132 f.; idem, *La Valachie et la Basse-Moldavie sous les Romains*, *ibid.* (reprinted from Dacia V 1961), p. 151.

[33] See especially Premerstein, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 153–178; Zlatkovskaja, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 30–46; Vulpe, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 31–46; F. Miltner, *Augustus' Kampf um die*

The fifty thousand Getae resettled εἰς τὴν Θράκην were probably transferred to the western part of the later province Moesia Inferior[34] and the eastern part of Moesia Superior, since to Strabo, writing after 18 AD, "they live there even now and are called Moesi". V. Pârvan believed[35] that they occupied the territories between the rivers Iskar (Oescus) and Yantra (Iatrus). Before crossing into the Empire's borders these Getae inhabited the parts of Wallachia and Muntenia right on the Danube; Strabo's information is corroborated by archaeological data, which confirms that at the beginning of the new era the region depopulated abruptly. The archaeological material available is at any rate not later than Augustus[36].

2. Vannius

(Tac. *Ann*. XII 30): secuti mox clientes (= Vannii) et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt.

After the fall of the Regnum Vannianum (in 50 AD), some followers of Vannius, whose numbers are unknown, crossed to the south of the Danube and received lands in Pannonia for settlement. It is impossible to locate them with precision. Any guesses that they were settled in the territory of the Boii must unfortunately remain hypothetical[37].

3. The resettlement operation of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus

(*CIL* XIV 3608 = *ILS* 921): Ti(berio) Plautio M(arci) f(ilio), Ani(ensi) Silvano Aeliano ... legat(o) pro praet(ore) Moesiae in qua (sic) plura quam centum mill(ia) ex numero Transdanuvianor(um) ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib(us) ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis transduxit...

Donaugrenzen, Klio XXX 1930, pp. 200 ff.; Mócsy, *Gesellschaft...* (n. 4), pp. 47–50; the above works list and analyse the relevant sources.

[34] Cf. Mócsy, *Untersuchungen...* (n. 32), pp. 304 f.; Mirković, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 259–262.

[35] Pârvan, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 94 f.

[36] Archaeological research has confirmed Pârvan's earlier guesses (*op. cit.* [n. 32], pp. 95 and 104 f.); see especially Vulpe, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), pp. 132–135; idem, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 42 and 57; D.M. Pippidi, *Tiberius Plautius Silvanus und die römische Politik in Moesien unter Neros Regierung*, in: idem, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1962 (the Romanian version was published in 1955), pp. 118–120; also Mirković, *op. cit.* (n. 32).

[37] Mócsy, *Pannonia* (n. 4), col. 550; idem, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), pp. 33 f.; idem, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), pp. 40 f. and 57; Dobiaš, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 149–155 and 364–368; Strzelczyk, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 15 ff.; cf. A. Betz, *Aus Österreichs römischer Vergangenheit*, Wien 1956, pp. 17 f.; A. Neumann, *Vindobona*, Wien 1972, pp. 13 f.; Tymieniecki, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 241.

Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus[38] was the governor of Moesia from 57 to 67. His resettlement of a hundred thousand "Transdanubians" to the Roman side of the Danube presumably took place between the years 62 and 67[39]. It is difficult to say with certainty where their lands were before the resettlement, but possibly they lay to the north of Dobruja[40]; it is suspected that Dobruja is where they were settled; if we are to believe recent scholarship, that part of Moesia was then (midway through the 1st century) severely depopulated[41].

4. The resettlement operation of L. Tampius Flavianus (?)

(*CIL* X 6225 = *ILS* 985 = A. Alföldi, *Eine Übersiedlung von barbarischen Massen unter Nero*, AErt LII 1939, pp. 103–107 and 263–265 = *AE* 1941, 11 = W. Reidinger, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien und Oberpannoniens von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Bonn 1956, pp. 43–46, no. 11): [L(ucio) Tampio L(ucii) f(ilio) Cam(ilia tribu) F]lavi[ano] ... [huic senatus triu]mphalia ornamen[ta decrevit multis] opsidibus a Tran[sdanuvianis acceptis, lim]itibus omnibus ex[ploratis hostibus (?) ad vectig]alia praestanda [traductis].

The inscription has been reconstructed by analogy to the text regarding Plautius Silvanus discussed above. It was A. Alföldi who read the last line as "[ad vectig]alia praestanda [traductis]", which made it possible to put forward the theory that in the year 68/69–69/70, that is the year when L. Tampius Flavianus was legate, a population group was resettled across the Danube into Pannonia, just as it had been with Plautius Silvanus and Moesia[42].

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[38] A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, Budapest 1940 (Dissertationes Pannonicae I 11), pp. 29–31; L. Halkin, *Tiberius Plautius Aelianus, légat de Mésie sous Néron*, Ant. Class. III 1934, pp. 121–161; Zlatkovskaja, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 58–61; Pippidi, *op. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 106–132; E. Condurachi, *Tib. Plautius Aelianus şi strămutarea transdanubienilor în Moesia*, Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche IX 1958, pp. 119–137; T. Zawadzki, *La légation de Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelius en Mésie et la politique frumentaire de Néron*, PP CLX 1975, pp. 59–73; P. Conole, R.D. Milns, *Neronian Frontier Policy in the Balkans: The Career of Ti. Plautius Silvanus*, Historia XXXII 1983, pp. 181–200; also Pârvan, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 102–105.

[39] Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 62.

[40] See primarily Vulpe, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), pp. 137 ff.; Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), pp. 69–73.

[41] Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), pp. 69–73; Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation...* (n. 4), p. 28, believes it is likely that they were settled throughout the province of Moesia. On the ethnic make-up of the resettled group, see Pârvan, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 104; Vulpe, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), p. 137; idem, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), p. 57. Pârvan and Vulpe's view seems to be closer to the truth when they see in those Transdanubians "elemente etnice diferite. In numărul acestor elemente puteau intra diferite triburi geto-dace, bastarne, roxolane, scite, din spațiul cotropit de expansiunea sermaților iazygi" (*Din istoria Dobrogei*, p. 57). Pippidi, followed by Condurachi, would like to see in them "reine Geten".

[42] A. Alföldi, *Rhein und Donau...* (n. 2), pp. 10 f.; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 550 and 711; idem, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), p. 34; Reidinger, *op. cit.* (ch. 4), pp. 43–46; A. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Budapest 1968, pp. 31–33, no. 19; cf. also Nesselhauf, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 79.

That theory lasted in scholarship for a quarter of a century without raising any objections until in 1966 A. Mócsy[43], based on the assumption that such an important undertaking would have to be mentioned by Tacitus in book III of his *Historiae*, which recounts the events that took place in that province in 69 in detail, proposed a very different completion of the inscription referring to Tampius Flavianus, and one which excludes the possibility of any resettlements from across the Danube[44]. In that Hungarian scholar's opinion, an astute observer such as Tacitus cannot have omitted[45] in his account an event in Pannonia which could have served as grounds for awarding Tampius *ornamenta triumphalia*; as we know, that distinction was only granted for conducting a military campaign, and at that time there were not any in Pannonia. Actually the Senate, and primarily the emperor, in awarding Tampius the *ornamenta*, intended to honour the former governor of Pannonia for maintaining peace in the province during the civil war, and of course for his part in that war, that is, for actively supporting Vespasian in his struggle for the throne, to which Pannonian legions certainly contributed a lot. Mócsy's reconstruction[46] (in the part of interest to this article, which in the previous version treated of a resettlement) runs:

> [L. Tampio L. f(ilio) F]lavi[ano] ... [huic senatus auctore imp(eratore) Caes(are) Vespasiano Aug(usto) triu]mphalia ornamen[ta ob res in Pannonia prospere gestas in qua] opsidibus a Tran[sdanuvianorum gentium principibus acceptis equitibus et ped]itibus omnibus ex [gente Iazugum remissis Sueborum regibus ad auxilia hospit] alia praestanda [compulsis pacem provinciae tempore civilis motus confirmavit]...

Naturally, Mócsy's impressive proposal has divided researchers; it has both its supporters and opponents[47]. Since both versions are likely, in this discussion

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[43] A. Mócsy, *Tampius Flavianus Pannóniában*, AErt XCIII 1966, pp. 203–207.

[44] Mócsy, *loc. cit.* (n. 43); idem, *Pannonia-Forschung 1964–1968*, AArchHung XXI 1969, p. 345; idem, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), p. 41.

[45] Of course the observation comes to mind that Tacitus did not have anything to say of Plautius Silvanus' work in Moesia either (he was only mentioned once, in *Hist*. IV 53, in the account of the consecration of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, as he was a *pontifex* then). Halkin, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 122, accepted without any reservations the theory of Ph. Fabia (*Sur une page perdue et sur les livres XVI, XVII, XVIII des Annales de Tacite*, REA XXXIV 1932, pp. 139–158), according to which Plautius Silvanus' propraetorship in Moesia was described in those lost parts of the *Annales*. Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 60 is undoubtedly correct in treating Fabia's theory with great care and emphasising its hypothetical status.

[46] Mócsy, *Tampius...* (n. 43), pp. 203–207 = *AE* 1966, 68 = A. Dobó, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Budapest [4]1974, no. 593.

[47] Cf. Dobó, *Inscriptiones...* (n. 46), no. 593 (supported); Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 73 (rejected): "on ne saura cependant accepter le procédé appliqué pour la restitution des lignes 6–9. Rien n'autorise à s'y servir, comme base, d'un seul texte de Tacite (*Hist*. III 5), dont la paraphrase, si habile qu'elle soit, ne s'avère pas convaincante". The authors of the latest work on Plautius Silvanus' career known to me, Conole and Milns (*op. cit.* [n. 38]) do not know Mócsy's proposal and quote the Tampius Flavianus inscription (for comparison with Plautius Silvanus) following Reidinger.

I just want to stress the *possibility* that people were resettled *en masse* across the Danube to its Pannonian bank under L. Tampius Flavianus' legateship.

THE REASONS FOR THE RESETTLEMENTS

a) Information to be found directly in the sources

Even if we were to ignore the pressure exerted by "barbarian" tribes on the Empire's borders, which the sources emphasise a lot, in a few cases they give the reasons behind the resettlements directly. Such is the case with the Ubii, who were resettled "ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur" (Tac. *Germ*. 28); they were granted the lands left uninhabited (after the extermination of the Eburones), undoubtedly attractive for settlers. Constant pressure exerted by the Germans on the line of the Rhine[48] meant that only settling that territory with a people accepting Rome's supremacy and friendly towards it could guarantee peace on the border and first of all form a dam against unwanted migrations from the eastern to the western bank of the river. (Let us remember that in 38 BC when the Ubii were resettled, there were as yet no legions garrisoned on the Rhine that could guarantee the obedience of the newly settled people in case they turned out hostile to the Romans, and that is why the Ubii were "admitted" in that region: because of their previously tested loyalty, *experimento fidei*[49].) It is here worth pointing out the motivation behind Caesar's decision to send the Helvetii back to their old homes (*Gall.* I 28, 4): "quod noluit eum locum unde Helvetii discesserant vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani qui trans Rhenum incolunt suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent".

It is for the same reasons that the Batavi were able to settle the territories at the mouth of the Rhine: they were *vacua cultoribus* (Tac. *Hist*. IV 12).

Plautius Silvanus' elogy (*CIL* XIV 3608) is very specific about reasons: *ad praestanda tributa*. So is Tampius Flavianus', if Alföldi's version is accepted: *ad vectigalia praestanda*. It is also not without grounds that Plautius Silvanus

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[48] Kossack, *Die Germanen*, in: *Das Römische Reich...* (n.. 4), pp. 297 ff.; Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vols. I–II, passim; Schmitz, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), p. 8.

[49] Which I take to be the ablative of cause. K. Müllenhoff's objections (*Die Germania des Tacitus*, Berlin 1900, p. 397: "aber *experimento fidei* ist wohl Dativ und die Phrase bedeutet vielmehr 'um ihre Treue zu erproben' oder [...] 'zur Probe ihrer Treue'", etc.) are logically inconsistent with the Ubii's attitude until then, as their loyalty had already been "tested" by Caesar. See also E. Wolff's edition with commentary, *Tacitus' Germania*, Leipzig 1907, p. 67: "*experimento fidei* = *propter expertam fidem*". However, cf. Much, *Germania...* (n. 10), p. 363: "*experimento fidei*: weder 'ihrer exprobter Treue wegen', noch 'um ihre Treue zu erproben', sondern 'unter Erprobung ihrer Treue' ", and Petrikovits, *Das römische Rheinland. Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945*, Köln–Opladen 1960 (Beihefte der BJ, vol. VIII), p. 84, n. 153: "In Tac. *Germ.* 28 ist der Ausdruck *experimento fidei* nämlich als Dativus finalis zu übersetzen. Der Zweck des 'collocare' ist zweimal angegeben, durch 'experimento fidei' und 'ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur' ".

boasts that he "primus ex ea provincia magno tritici modo annonam populi Romani adlevavit". Thus if we are to trust him, economic reasons were fundamental; at any rate it seems that the one hundred thousand Transdanubians were settled in Dobruja, known for its fertility, and the lands on the lower Danube, that *horreum Cereris*[50], played an important role in emperor Nero's economic (i.e., frumentary) policy, primarily as regards supplying grain to both Rome and the army garrisoned on the lower Danube and operating in the east[51].

b) Information entailed by Rome's general policy on the Rhine and Danube[52]

Resettling "barbarian" tribes to the left bank of the Rhine and the right bank of the Danube followed from Rome's policies in those regions in general, a conscious striving to form a state border, or limes. A glance at the map will be enough to see that the western bank of the Rhine became practically "filled" with peoples resettled there between 38 BC and 50 AD.

On the Danube, the situation was similar: the long wars with the tribes of Pannonia, Moesia and Thrace must have decimated their populations, which made it necessary to settle newcomers there. Rome could not yet really count on its own settlers; the relatively unstable situation did not encourage them to move there.

Other than the clear intention to use the resettled population to defend the Roman border (cf. "Ubii [...] ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur"), the Romans meant to create on the other side of the two rivers a strip of "no man's land", or more exactly of land not inhabited by "barbarians", but remaining under Rome's military control[53]. Among the evidence for that there are the peace treaties concluded by Marcus Aurelius during the Marcomannic Wars[54], archaeological findings from the Wallachian Plain and Muntenia[55], or even Tacitus' information (*Ann*. XIII 54) on the Frisii.

The Frisii appeared at the mouth of the Rhine, near the Batavi. When, pressed by other tribes, they entered the "no man's land", the Romans expelled them by force; even the special mission they sent to Nero did not help.

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[50] Solinus 21, 3.

[51] Zawadzki, *op. cit*. (n. 38); cf. J. Wolski, *Rola Tracji w okresie wczesnego Cesarstwa*, Balcanica Posnaniensia I 1984, pp. 103–108.

[52] Alföldi, *Rhein und Donau...* (n. 2), pp. 5–21.

[53] For the problems regarding the "no man's land" zone, see Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 63–80; Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 182–234.

[54] Cass. Dio LXXI 14–16; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 555–561; Dobiaš, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 194–221; J. Wielowiejski, *Tło historyczne wojen markomańskich*, Scripta Archaeologica II 1982, pp. 15 f.

[55] Vulpe, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), p. 133 f.; idem, in: *Din istoria Dobrogei* (n. 4), pp. 42 and 57; cf. Mirković, *loc. cit.* (n. 32).

The claim, quite widespread in scholarship, that the resettlements aimed, among other things, at alleviating the pressure of the tribes of the *Barbaricum* on Roman borders is, in the period of interest to us here, borne out insofar as that pressure coincided with there being on the Roman side of the two rivers areas *vacua cultoribus*. After those were settled, Rome firmly opposed not only the demands of tribes that they be allowed within the borders, but even any attempts to settle in their direct vicinity; that was the case with the Frisii, and with supporters of Rome in Maroboduus' kingdom after his fall. There cannot be any doubt that the Romans thoroughly controlled the populations in question in the military sense of the word, both during and after resettlement operations[56].

The sources quoted above let us also draw some conclusions as to the attitude of the tribes to the resettlement operations. Certainly the Ubii and the Batavi crossed to the Roman side of their own will: in the case of the Ubii, Strabo confirms it explicitly (IV 3, 4: ἑκόντας). H. Schmitz also argued that the voluntary character of their migration was captured by Tacitus with the participle *transgressus*, as opposed to the forms *traiecit*, *transduxit* and *transtulit*[57]. The Ubii already gave expression to their pro-Roman position in Caesar's time, consistently acting as champions of Roman interests. And so the Romans approved of their plans to transfer to the left bank of the Rhine. Meanwhile, the Ubii themselves were made to consider that option by the pressure of Germanic tribes (the Suebi) clearly hostile to them, and the fertile lands left empty by the exterminated Eburones were a temptation.

Now the Batavi demonstrated similar initiative ("populus [...] transgressus...") at the mouth of the Rhine. The Romans looked favourably on their aspirations both because the lands in question were *vacua cultoribus*, and with the intention of using them, as a friendly people, in their intended conquest of the lands between the Rhine and the Elbe. That intention was realised in 12 BC, when it was from the territory of the Batavi that Drusus launched his campaign against the Germans[58].

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[56] Numbers of people resettled in each tribe given in the sources are generally considered genuine; see e.g. Much, *Germania...* (n. 10), pp. 363 f. (the Sugambri); Alföldi, *CAH* XI (1936), p. 84 (Aelius Catus); Schmitz, *Die Übersiedlung der Ubier...* (n. 10), pp. 252 f., who considers the data regarding the numbers of the resettled Sugambri and Getae realistic, and on that basis estimates the number of the Ubii at 50 to 60 thousand; Vulpe, *Les Gétes...* (n. 32), pp. 134–138 (Aelius Catus and Plautius Silvanus); see especially Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 72, who has reservations, but considers a hundred thousand Transdanubians plausible; cf. also Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld...* (n. 4), pp. 216–218.

[57] Schmitz, *Colonia...* (n. 10), p. 23; idem, *Die Zeit der Römerherrschaft...* (n. 10), pp. 11 f.; idem, *Ubii* (n. 10), coll. 533; Nierhaus, *Zu den ethnographischen Angaben...* (n. 10), pp. 48 f. (Schmitz's theory accepted); Timpe, *Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze...* (n. 7), p. 133 (accepted with serious reservations, as "wenig durchschlagende philologische Gründung").

[58] Schmidt, *op. cit.* (n. 4), vol. II, p. 149.

As for other tribes, there is no clear data to base any such conclusions on. However, in the case of the Sugambri we can deduce from the sources that their resettlement was not so amicable and peaceful. Taking into account their decidedly hostile attitude towards Rome and the role they played in 16 BC (*clades Lolliana*) and 12 BC (the invasion of Gaul), resettling a portion of that tribe to the western side of the Rhine can be considered part of a campaign of repressions aimed at pacifying the enemy, regardless of taking advantage of that enemy's productive capabilities on lands which had until then lain fallow. We may suspect that Aelius Catus' resettlement of the Getae and that of the "Transdanubians" featuring in Plautius Silvanus' elogy were similar in character; that guess is supported primarily by the fact that the Romans were at the time involved in heavy fighting on the Danube, and that would justify repressions against those peoples[59]. The fall of Regnum Vannianum was an exceptional situation: resettling Vannius' followers was actually nothing else than granting political asylum to supporters of Rome.

Certainly the tendency to form a densely populated zone just within the borders, while it had its economical reasons, resulted from aiming at making those lands easier to defend. It was very important in the light of constant pressure of northern peoples on the Rhine-Danube line; in that context it stands out that resettlements took place along the full length of the Rhine (except for the so-called Hochrhein, the springs, a region occupied by the Helvetii and Raurici), on the middle Danube (Vannius, and possibly Tampius Flavianus) and mainly the lower Danube (Aelius Catus and Plautius Silvanus). That is in accordance with the direction of the thrust of "barbarian" tribes. It is also significant that by the Marcomanni migrating towards the end of the Old Era to the lands on the middle Danube, and by settling the Hermunduri on the Upper Rhine and Danube, the Romans achieved in that region a very stable situation advantageous to them[60]. No wonder then that no data can be found regarding any resettlements into Raetia or Noricum.

It is most characteristic that resettlements to the left bank of the Rhine end before the end of the first half of the 1st century AD. On the Danube, reports of resettlements all fall within Nero's reign. That is probably not coincidental, but rather indicates the closing of a stage of organising the northern border. After shaping tribal structure according to their mind, the Romans moved on to the next and equally important stage, which was founding cities very close to the border, or on the two rivers, as well as undertaking a programme of general urbanisation of the provinces on the Rhine and Danube. It so happens that the first Roman city on the Rhine (in legal terms), discounting Augusta Rauricorum, was

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[59] Condurachi, *op. cit.* (n. 38), sees in Plautius Silvanus' "Transdanubians", Getae who crossed the Danube willingly, thus excluding repressions in their case.

[60] Recently Strzelczyk, *op. cit.* (n. 4), which also see for sources and earlier literature.

founded in 50 AD, in the lands of the loyal Ubii (which was probably no accident either). That city was Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, previously *oppidum Ubiorum*[61]. That of course involved settling Roman colonists, veterans to begin with. Noricum underwent a broad urbanisation during Claudius' reign[62], whereas in Pannonia and Moesia similar programmes started under the Flavian dynasty[63]. On the Danube that process must have been slowed down by the Daco-Roman conflict, but it picked up speed again after 106 and by then systematically resettling population from the northern to the southern bank was out of the question.

THE RESETTLEMENTS DURING THE MARCOMANNIC WARS

(*HA Marc.* 14, 1): Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus.

(Cass. Dio LXXI 11 = Boissevain III, p. 253): οὗτοί τε (= Κούαδοι) οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ παραδώσοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν κατὰ γένη οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐστρατεύσαντο ἄλλοσέ ποι πεμφθέντες, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἁλισκομένων τῶν τε αὐτομολούντων <οἱ> δυνάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακίᾳ οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονίᾳ οἱ δὲ Μυσίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῇ ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ραβέννῃ τινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξῴκισεν.

(*HA Marc.* 22, 2): accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam traductis... (year: 169–173).

(Cass. Dio LXXI 12 = Boissevain III, p. 254): ὅτι Ἄστιγγοι [...] ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χῶραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν παρακατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ Κλήμεντι ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Κοστουβώκων χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι, νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν Δακίαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλύπουν. δείσαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Λάκριγγοι μὴ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης φοβηθείς σφᾶς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἣν αὐτοὶ ἐνῴκουν ἐσαγάγῃ, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον τοὺς Ἀστίγγους πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρᾶξαι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν Μᾶρκον ἱκετεύσαντας χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ χώραν γε ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἄν γέ τι κακὸν τοὺς τότε πολεμοῦντας οἱ δράσωσι (year: 170–172).

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[61] The whole issue is discussed in the works of Schmitz and Doppelfeld cited above; see also H. Nissen, *Zur Geschichte des römischen Köln*, BJ XCVIII 1895, pp. 145–171; Klinkenberg, *Die Stadtanlage...* (n. 10), pp. 259–298; F. Fremersdorf, *Cologne gallo-romaine et chrétienne*, in: *Mémorial d'un voyage d'études de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France en Rhénanie*, Paris 1953, pp. 91–103.

[62] G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London–Boston 1974, pp. 81–96; J. Zając, *Arystokracja municypialna rzymskiej prowincji Noricum w okresie Wczesnego Cesarstwa (I–III w.n.e.)*, in: *Prowincje rzymskie i ich znaczenie w ramach Imperium*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 147 f.

[63] Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (n. 4), pp. 112–119.

(Cass. Dio LXXI 12 = Boissevain III, p. 254): Κοτινοὶ δὲ [...] μετὰ ταῦτα (that is, after violating earlier treaties) ἀπώλοντο.

Cf. *CIL* VI 32542 (2833), 32544 and 32557 = Dobó, *Inscriptiones...* (n. 46), nos. 22, 23, 24 and 29c): "cives Cotini" of lower Pannonia, and scene LXIX on Marcus Aurelius' column, which may indicate that the Cotini[64] were resettled into Pannonia (year: 173).

(Cass. Dio LXXI 18, 21 = Boissevain III, p. 275): ὅτι καὶ Ναρισταὶ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ηὐτομόλησαν καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.

(*HA Marc.* 24, 3–4): infinitos ex gentibus in Romano solo collocavit...

(Cass. Dio LXXII 3, 3 = Boissevain III, p. 284): ὁ αὐτὸς Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Δακῶν τῶν προσόρων μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντας καὶ μέλλοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθήσειν ὑπηγάγετο γῆν τινα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δοθήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος (year: 180).

The characteristic feature of those resettlements, other than being indubitably abrupt and massive, is the fact that in practice, the initiative now lay with the "barbarians". The desperate countermeasures undertaken by the Romans were of little use (cf. Cass. Dio LXXI 3, 1a, fighting the Langobardi). For the Danubian tribes, *pulsae a superioribus barbaris*, had no other choice. Faced with that imperative of external forces, the Romans, too, had to bend, as proven by their accepting into the Empire tribes which were restless and difficult to manage (Ravenna's case!) and needed military control. In the resettlements of the Marcomannic times one can also see a foreshadowing of later events, when whole nations would settle within the Imperium Romanum without seeking Rome's permission, which would by then be a mere formality confirming the state of affairs already there.

CONCLUSIONS

We can conclude that in the resettlements of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD the initiative belonged to Rome, and transferring non-Roman peoples to the Roman side of the Rhine and the Danube was an important component in

[64] On the Cotini, see Mócsy, *Pannonia* (n. 4), coll. 710 f.; idem, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien...* (n. 4), pp. 79 f.; Zwikker, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 233 and passim; Dobiaš, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 206; T. Zawadzki, *Kotynowie*, Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich, vol. II 2, pp. 495 f. (with collected literature and sources). According to the prevailing view the Cotini were not, contrary to Cassius Dio's opinion, exterminated, just defeated and resettled to Pannonia; such is the interpretation of the words "cives Cotini ex Pannonia inferiore" occurring in inscriptions from Rome. An additional argument may be sought in scene LXIX on Marcus Aurelius' column, depicting deportation of barbarians into the Empire; some of the people being deported stand out by virtue of their attire and characteristic necklace (*torques*) worn by Celts. It is suspected they could be Cotini, who are considered a Celtic people.

forming the northern limes. Economic considerations were also significant (*ad praestanda tributa* etc.). Any attempts to alleviate the pressure of the northern tribes on the Empire by resettling them could only be listed in the third place. During that whole period the Romans were fully in control of the demographic situation on the Rhine and the Danube.

In that respect, the Marcomannic wars brought with them decisive change; then, the initiative passed into the hands of the tribes from across the Danube. Ultimately, Rome *had to accept* in its territory large numbers of displaced people. That was caused both by the strength of the peoples pressing, directly or indirectly, on the borders of the Roman state, and by that state gradually exhausting its military reserve. Any possible suggestions that Marcus Aurelius resettled foreign tribes in order to repopulate lands devastated by war and the plague should be taken as only partly correct. Accepting "barbarians" *in solo Romano* under their pressure ran against Roman policy dating from the beginnings of the principate.