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MÉLANGE OF MELANAEGIS AND LEUKASPIS:
ON THE AETIOLOGY OF THE APATOURIA FESTIVAL*

by

BARTŁOMIEJ BEDNAREK

ABSTRACT: The paper discusses the sources of the aetiological myth of the Apatouria festival. The story as we know it from late sources associates the festivity with Dionysus Melanaegis. The presence of the god in the story is probably not due to the character of the religious cult, but to various literary associations.

Forty-six years after its publication, VIDAL-NAQUET's *Black Hunter*¹ seems to belong to the history of scholarship rather than to scholarship itself. That influential and brilliant work has thus far been criticised from almost all possible perspectives. Not only have its methodological premises been contested², but also some of the "facts" on the basis of which VIDAL-NAQUET constructed his theory do not seem to be facts anymore. According to the French scholar, Athenian epheby and Apatouria as we know them from late classical and Hellenistic sources represented the survival of a much older tribal initiation rite undergone by Athenian ephebes under the aegis of (*nomen-omen*) Dionysus Melanaegis. Today we are not sure if the god played a role not only in the ritual of Apatouria, but also in its early aetiological myth³. We do not know whether the epheby existed in periods prior to Lycourgos' reforms⁴ or if it took the form of a rigidly conceived *rite de*

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¹ First published in 1968. I used the edition published in 1992.

² E.g., see GRAF 2003; DODD 2003; MA 1994. Some major controversies concerning *The Black Hunter* up until 1989 have been presented by VIDAL-NAQUET himself in *Retour au chasseur noir* (1992 b).

³ This has been pointed out already by HALLIDAY 1926 and subsequently for example by LAMBERT 1993: 134–189.

⁴ LAMBERT 1993: 134–189; WINKLER 1990: 23–37.

passage in any period⁵. Even if it did, Dionysus no longer seems to incorporate all of the dark ambiguities which in structuralists' eyes made him a perfect candidate for being an ephebe's patron and *alter ego* at the same time⁶.

Having said that, I would like to stress that in this paper I do not intend to polemise against VIDAL-NAQUET (which would seem in bad taste) nor to build anything on the foundation set out by him (which would certainly not be safe). Instead, I would like to show that VIDAL-NAQUET's idea can be considered a source of inspiration, as there is some evidence indicating that the aetiology of Apatouria really originates from an initiatory context.

1. THE MYTH OF BLACK VS. BLONDE

The story told by VIDAL-NAQUET, as a compilation of numerous versions attested to in various sources⁷, is as follows: Athens and Boeotia were struggling against each other for domination over one of the frontier villages (Eleutherai, Oenoe or Panacton). The conflict was to be decided by a duel between a Boeotian warrior named Xanthos (or Xanthias) and the Athenian Melanthos (different versions of his name are also known). When he came to the fight, the Athenian fighter deceived his opponent by saying "It is not fair, you are not alone!". Xanthos, quite obviously, turned round to see who was following him. Melanthos took the opportunity and struck him dead. We are told by ancient authors that the festival of *Apatouria* was established in order to commemorate that victory won by means of deception (*apate*).

According to some late sources, the event gave way to the foundation of the cult of Dionysus Melanaegis⁸. The connection between the god, the Apatouria festival⁹, and the story might have seemed completely casual if not for a piece of information which we find in some of these texts, namely that someone carrying a black goatskin (τραγῆν αἴγινδα ἐνημμένους μέλαιναν)¹⁰ actually appeared

⁵ The paradigm was created and developed in classical works of VAN GENNEP 1909; JEANMAIRE 1939; BRELICH 1969; TURNER 1967 and 1969. Quite recently it received severe criticism by authors in the volume edited by DODD and FARAONE 2003.

⁶ For a critical overview of the approaches to Dionysus see HENRICHs especially 1984, 1993; BERNABÉ 2013; BEDNAREK 2013 and more dated, but still interesting MCGINTY 1978; SMITH 1964.

⁷ The list of these sources is quite long (see: VIDAL-NAQUET 1992 a: 125, n. 20, cf. HALLIDAY 1926). It is important to emphasise that only two pre-Hellenistic authorities tell the story: Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 125) and Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 22). Other datable texts are much later (not earlier than the Augustan period).

⁸ Detailed survey of these sources: HALLIDAY 1926: 180.

⁹ On Apatouria see WINKLER 1990: 35–37; BURKERT 1985: 255 f.; PARKE 1977: 88–92; DEUBNER 1932: 232–234. The festival, apart from its aetiology, seems to have nothing to do with Dionysus.

¹⁰ Thus *Suda* s.v. ἀπατούρια; and Schol. ad Aristoph. *Acharn.* 146. The story was probably known also to Conon, a mythographer probably from the Augustan period. This can be deduced from the fact that the author (*FGrHist* 26 F 39) says that Melanthos saw "some sort of a phantom"

behind Xanthos. The existence and popularity of the version in which Dionysus takes an active part in this burlesque duel is also confirmed by Nonnus (*Dion.* XXVII 301–307), who alludes to the story as to one of the fights won by the god. This indicates that by Nonnus' time this version of the story must have been well known. Otherwise the poet would have dwelt on it a little longer. Nevertheless, the deity is mentioned only in late sources, which suggests that he played no role in earlier versions of the myth. This is confirmed by the fact that, as HALLIDAY (1926) observed, Dionysus' presence actually spoils the story, since there would have been no *apate* if Melanthes had really seen someone behind his enemy's back.

Turning back to Nonnus, it seems noteworthy that the brief passage of the *Dionysiaca* contains a piece of information concerning the nature of Melanaegis' attribute. The structure of this compound word indicates the meaning 'one with a black *aegis*', with *aegis* being something made from goatskin. The word refers either to a piece of leather garment, or, more frequently, to a shield carried by Zeus, Athena, and sometimes by other gods. In Dionysus' case, both possibilities are likely. All we know about the iconography of Melanaegis is that there was probably something bizarre about it¹¹. Although we will probably never know exactly what the god looked like and what sort of attribute he carried, Nonnus' passage indicates that the association between Dionysus' black goatskin and Athena's shield was not foreign to the Greeks, as we read there (XXVII 301 f: Zeus speaking to Athena):

αἰγίδα σεῖο τίνασσε προασπίζουσα Λυαίου,
σεῖο κασιγνήτου μελαναίγιδος

Shake your aegis and cover with it Lyaios [i.e., Dionysus],
your carrying-black-aegis brother.

The association between Dionysus' goatskin and a shield is further confirmed by a passage in Herodianus' *Prosodia catholica* (III 1, 85). The grammarian, while discussing some phenomena concerning the accentuation of adjectives, quotes two examples of barytona: μελάναιγίς and λεύκασπις. Seeing that these words were not common in Greek, the choice of precisely these two may suggest that when the ancient scholar was thinking of one of them, the other came to his mind as analogous, not only from a structural point of view, but also semantically. Thus, to Herodianus apparently μελάναιγίς meant 'with a black shield', seeing that he coupled it with λεύκασπις, an adjective meaning 'with a white shield'.

(φάσμα τι) behind his enemy. The same word appears in the story about Eleuthereus' daughters who saw a φάσμα of Dionysus Melanaegis (see the following footnote).

¹¹ In an alternative aetiological myth of the cult of Dionysus Melanaegis (*Suda* s.v. Μέλαν), the daughters of Eleuthereus were punished for having criticised or mocked the god whose apparition with a black aegis they had seen.

The grammarian's observations on the accentuation of compound adjectives have been used by a scholiast as a comment on *Iliad* II 175 (Schol. ad *Il.* II 175 b ERBSE). It is quite bewildering that the association between λεύκασπις and μελάναιγίς has thus far been overlooked by all modern scholars commenting on the *Iliad*. They have done so in spite of the fact that the former adjective was used by Homer (*Il.* XXII 294) in a context which clearly has something to do with the aetiology of Apatouria, namely in the description of the duel between Hector and Achilles. It is hard to believe that whoever invented, told, or retold the story of Xanthos and Melanthos did not have in mind the most famous one-on-one combat of all times in European literature. The similarities between the two stories are striking. Hector, as Homer tells us, did not originally intend to face Achilles. Only when Athena, who took the form of his brother Deiphobus (*Il.* XXII 226 ff.), offered him her support, did Hector decide to take the risk. He engaged the enemy by throwing his spear at him. As he missed, having no weapon, he asked Deiphobus to give him another one. Only then did he realise that there was no-one behind him (XXII 294 f.: Δηϊφοβον δ' ἐκάλει λευκάσπιδα μακρὸν ἄσπας/ ἦτέε μιν δόρυ μακρὸν· ὃ δ' οὐ τί οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦεν). Thus, Hector understood that he was doomed to die, as the gods were against him.

The following similarities exist between this story and the aetiology of Apatouria:

- 1) Both narratives describe a duel.
- 2) There is a third party involved, seemingly making the fight unequal.
- 3) However, this is a means of deception, as there is no warrior to help the one who eventually loses the fight.
- 4) It seems that in both cases it is a god who outwits or helps to outwit the losing party.
- 5) The helper, who is actually not there, is characterised by his white or black shield.

2. LEUKASPIS IN RITUAL

In *Iliad* XXII 294, Deiphobus is described by the epithet λεύκασπις. There would be nothing special about it, unless this adjective is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*¹². Thus, considering the importance of the duel between Hector and

¹² RICHARDSON 1993: *ad loc.* states that in the metrical context of *Il.* XXII 294 the poet might have used two other epithets: μεγάλητορα or θεοειδέα. Both fit the text very well, as the former one had been applied to Deiphobus in XII 94, whereas the latter would have stressed the possibility of taking a goddess for Deiphobus. Thus Homer's choice of a *hapax legomenon* was clearly meaningful. Unfortunately, the only explanation of this epithet that is to be found in scholia is that it indicates the extraordinary virtue of the warrior who carries the white shield (τὸ παράσημον δὲ τῶν ὄπλων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐμφαίνει τοῦ φοροῦντος). It is noteworthy that this rare adjective appears three times in tragedy (Aesch. *Septem* 91, Soph. *Antig.* 106, Eur. *Phoen.* 1099) and in each case it

Achilles, we may conclude that the use of this adjective must have brought the story to the mind of every educated ancient Greek of all periods, especially if used in a similar context.

What is noteworthy is that the homonymous word *Leukaspis* was also a name of a shadowy hero or heroes worshiped in at least two different places: at Syracuse and in Attic Deme Erchia¹³. In the latter location, he is mentioned in an inscriptional calendar from the second quarter of the 4th c. BC. (III 49–54)¹⁴:

[M]ονιχιῶνος δεκάτει [πρ]οτέραι, Λευκάσπιδι, Ἐρχιᾶ(σιν), οἷς, νηφάλιος, οὐ φορά.

Needless to say, there is no mythology mentioned in the calendar. All we learn from this part of the inscription is that the community of Erchia is due to sacrifice a ram (clearly male, as the price of 12 drachmae is specifically given) to Leukaspis in the 20th day of the month of Mounichion. The location of the sacrifice, which is quite unusual (although not without parallels) for this calendar, is given in a generic way. No specific altar or part of the settlement is mentioned. The rite was not to be accompanied by libation (νηφάλιος), and the sacrificial meat was not to be carried away (οὐ φορά¹⁵).

All this would have meant little to us, if not for a piece of evidence from another part of the same inscription (IV 42–47):

Μονιχιῶνος δεκάτει ὑστέραι, Τριτοπατρεῦσι, Ἐρχι(ᾶσιν), οἷς, νηφάλιος, οὐ φορά.

The next day (the 21st of Mounichion) the people of Erchia would sacrifice to other deities/superhuman beings called Tritopateres (or Tritopatores). The distinctive features (animal species and sex, location¹⁶, absence of wine, and prohibition of taking pieces of meat away) of this and the aforementioned ritual are exactly the same. Therefore, it is hard to believe that these two sacrifices do not belong to one larger ritual sequence¹⁷, perhaps to a two-day festival in honour of Leukaspis and Tritopatores.

describes the Argive army raised against Thebes. VIDAL-NAQUET would have probably concluded that it indicates the ephebic age of these warriors (see his comment on Parthenopaeus, 1992 a: 145). I prefer to be much more sceptical.

¹³ According to DUNST 1964, the Syracusean Leukaspis was known also on Samos not later than in the middle of the 6th c. BC. This theory is based on the reading of an inscription found at Heraion in which the three legible letters σπι have been supplemented by the scholar who reads the inscription as Λευκάσπι. However tempting, this conjecture is hardly convincing. Therefore, I do not take it into account here. Cf. DAUX 1963: 662; WHITEHEAD 1986: 203; KEARNS 1989: 181.

¹⁴ Published by DAUX 1963. See also the standard edition: SOKOLOWSKI 1969: 36–44 (*LSCG* 18).

¹⁵ On the probable meaning of this expression see DAUX 1963: 628; WHITEHEAD 1986: 201.

¹⁶ Or actually, the lack of a specifically given location.

¹⁷ So ROBERTSON 2009: 173.

The Tritopatores, despite the fact that their status is not very easy to grasp, are quite well known from various inscriptional sources from different parts of Greece. In later periods, they were probably associated with the fertilising powers of wind. In the classical period, however, they were worshiped as some sort of superhuman power closely connected to the ancestors of various groups, such as households, lineages, phratries, demes, and even *poleis*¹⁸. They often received sacrifices jointly with different deities of a kourotrophic nature or those connected with marriage¹⁹. In other words, their function was clearly connected with the perpetuation of human communities by means of reproduction. From the social point of view, their cult had a strong incorporative power and can be regarded as a means of articulation of the cohesion of a worshipping group. These features can be quite safely extrapolated onto the secondary deity or hero, whose cult was associated with Tritopatores. In this case – onto Leukaspis.

Thus, the hero, at least from a structural point of view, could have replaced or could have been replaced by Melanaegis as a patron of Apatouria, the festival during which new members were subscribed into their phratries. These archaic (in the post-Cleisthenic period) social units were united by common cults of who were believed to be common ancestors of their members²⁰. Although Apatouria, at least in the classical period, had little in common with typical tribal initiations, its function was very much the same. It concentrated on incorporating youths into community of adults.

Considering the warrior ideology of Greek societies, it is tempting to also include into our account the other Leukaspis, the hero of Syracuse. He is another shadowy figure about whom only one brief mention has been preserved in literary sources. According to Diodor of Sicily (IV 23, 5), Leukaspis was one of the Sicilian generals defeated by Heracles. During the life of the historian, he was worshipped as a hero. This piece of information is supported by numismatic evidence. On Syracusean coins probably minted shortly after 415 BC²¹, a naked male warrior is depicted carrying a shield, helmet, and spear. He can easily be identified because his name, Leukaspis, is inscribed on these coins. Behind the hero can be seen an altar and a corpse of a slain ram.

Since it was not common to show sacrifices to heroes on coins, EKROTH (2000: 279 and 2002: 260) suggested that in this case some specific ritual could have been depicted. It is certainly not a pre-battle sacrifice, as no altars were used in that sort of rite. If we assume that Leukaspis was a kourotrophic hero, a sacrifice to whom marked the passage of a youth into adulthood and his incorporation into

¹⁸ On Tritopatores see ROBERTSON 2009: 155–184; GAGNÉ 2007; CLINTON 1996: 170–172; COOK 1940: 112–140; KRETSCHMER 1920; ROHDE 1908: 247–249.

¹⁹ See ROBERTSON 2009: 172–174. The scholar interprets almost all deities as agrarian ones.

²⁰ On phratries see especially LAMBERT 1993.

²¹ See EKROTH 2000: 279; 2002: 162 f., 259–261 (both with superb reproductions of the coins).

a community of male warriors²², the meaning of the scene from the Syracusean coins will become clear. Having sacrificed a ram to Leukaspis, a young man (an epebe?) became a full-blown warrior, just like the hero depicted on the coin.

Seeing that the Syracusean Leukaspis and the Erchian Leukaspis seem to have a large number of characteristics in common, the question arises about the possible nature of their mutual connection. Both cults are attested to in sources from roughly the same period (from the end of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century), which followed a moment of extremely lively contact between Syracuse and Attica, so to speak. Thus, it would be tempting to think that one community's cults might have influenced the religion of the other²³. However, nothing more can be said about the character and direction of this possible interchange.

3. BRICOLAGE

I believe that VIDAL-NAQUET would have concluded that:

1. Homer, while using the epithet *λεύκασπις*, actually meant Deiphobus' epebic age and the initiatory aspect of the duel between Hector and Achilles.

2. A shadowy deity named Leukaspis that pre-dated Homer was subsequently inherited by some communities and worshipped as a kourotrophic hero.

Almost half a century after *The Black Hunter*, it is quite difficult to draw this type of conclusion. Instead, I would like to state that:

1. I do not know why Homer used the unusual epithet in *Iliad* XXII 294. However, I am sure that it had an impact on the imaginary of mythological duels in later times.

2. I do not know the origins of the cult of Leukaspis in either Erchia or Syracuse. What can be said is that in the classical period he was (or they were) probably a type of kourotrophic hero (or heroes) and sacrifices to them marked an incorporation of young men into the adult-male community.

It is even more difficult to determine what sort of relationship there was between Leukaspis and Melanaegis. However, there can be little doubt that there must have been some sort of connection:

1. Their names resemble one another, one being the opposite of the other ('with a white/black shield'); at least one author, Herodianus, shows that they were associated.

2. The myth of Melanaegis is but a burlesque version of the narration in which Deiphobus *leukaspis* appears. Their roles in both stories are parallel: they

²² Assuming also that the Erchian and Syracusean Leukaspis are the same or analogous figures.

²³ Such a possibility has been noted already by DAUX (1963: 662), who discarded it, and DUNST 1964 – to the opposite effect. See also SOKOLOWSKI 1969: 44; WHITEHEAD 1986: 203 KEARNS 1989: 181.

are the more or less non-existent helpers of the losing party, an effect of a god's trickery.

3. Melanaegis and Leukaspis (Erchian and probably Syracusean) are patrons of a young man's *rite de passage*.

On the other hand, there are two main obstacles that do not allow us to draw conclusions concerning any interrelation on a deeper, purely religious level: since no direct connection can be proved between the Homeric Deiphobus *leukaspis* and the hero who was actually worshipped, it is reasonable to assume that originally these two had nothing in common. What is more, Melanaegis and Leukaspis were patrons of two different, yet very similar, festivals: Apatouria celebrated in phratries and a festivity of a deme, whose date (given in the Erchian calendar) does not coincide with the former.

Therefore, although different scenarios are possible, the following seems to me to be the most plausible: the myth of Dionysus Melanaegis as an aetiology of Apatouria is the product of a literary bricolage of an unknown author, probably of the Hellenistic or early Roman period²⁴. The bricoleur associated some different sources in his work: the Homeric narration about the duel between Hector and Achilles and a similar story told by Hellanicus in which Melanthos defeats Xanthos. The fight, according to the historian, took place somewhere around the border between Attica and Boeotia and was subsequently commemorated by the establishment of Apatouria. Thus far, the story has nothing to do with Dionysus Melanaegis. Within my reconstruction, it was the Homeric diction which catalysed the introduction of this character into the tale. The author observed that Deiphobus *leukaspis* from the *Iliad* could easily be substituted with Leukaspis, a hero whose kourotrophic function favoured an association with the aetiology of Apatouria. This, however, was not enough. Leukaspis was subsequently substituted (by the same author or someone else) with a character who might have seemed his exact opposite: Melanaegis. This switch was also very easy, since the god's/hero's protégé's name was Melanthos, and since, at least in some versions of it, the story took place in a location closely connected with Dionysus (Oinoe) or Dionysus Melanaegis (Eleutherae).

Thus, we may conclude that although the aetiology of Apatouria is strongly connected to the initiation of young men into adulthood, it originally had nothing to do with Dionysus, as Melanaegis simply replaced Leukaspis.

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²⁴ Because Conon probably knew the final version of the story (see note 10 above), we may assume that it already existed in the Augustan period.

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IS ENDING A WRETCHED LIFE PARDONABLE?
ATTITUDES TOWARD SUICIDE IN GREEK FUNERARY
EPIGRAMS*

by

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to present various acts of taking one's own life voluntarily and intentionally as presented in Greek funerary epigrams. In Greek ethics as well as in religious and philosophical thought one can easily notice a clear difference between noble and ignoble suicide. The chasm between these two kinds of self-slaughter is immense and is based on the motivation for the act. Different types of motivation are presented in the epigrams preserved in the seventh book of the *Greek Anthology*. In this paper I briefly analyse the literary and socio-historical backgrounds of all these epigrams, proving that all of them were never intended to be carved on stone. Moreover, I argue that although a few inscriptions indicate suicide as a cause of death, there is in fact no actual Greek *epitombion* that really mentions it. By presenting some Roman examples of inscriptional epigrams praising suicides, I also show the essential difference between Greek and Roman perceptions of suicide. Assuming that a strong taboo existed in the Greek world in relation to mentioning suicide on the funerary stele, I try to trace this in the preserved literature.

In recent literature concerning classical antiquity much has been said about attitudes towards suicide in the Greek and Roman worlds. Scholars dealing with the problem usually present a wide range of ancient testimonia, which combined are expected to give answers about attitudes towards suicide in the pre-Christian world¹. All this documentary and literary evidence builds a picture of very complex phenomena concerning suicide and reveals the fact that it is almost

* The following article is a revised version of a paper I presented at the 2011 Classical Association Annual Conference hosted by Durham University. I am very grateful for the discussion and helpful suggestions.

¹ The fundamental studies on suicide in antiquity are: R. HIRZEL, *Der Selbstmord*, ARW XI 1908, pp. 75–104, 243–284, 417–476 (also reprinted in book form: Darmstadt 1966) and the works of A.J.L. VAN HOOFF, *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self Killing in Classical Antiquity*, London 1990; *Suicide and Parasuicide in Ancient Personal Testimonies*, Crisis XIV 1993, pp. 76–82; *Icons of Ancient Suicide: Self-Killing in Classical Art*, Crisis XV 1994, pp. 179–186; also E.P. GARRISON, *Attitudes Toward Suicide in Ancient Greece*, TAPhA CXXI 1991, pp. 1–33; Y. GRISÉ, *Le suicide dans la Rome antique*, Montreal 1982; R. GARLAND, *The Greek Way of Death*, London–Ithaca 1985, pp. 95–99; and recently H. BRANDT, *Am Ende des Lebens. Alter, Tod und Suizid in der Antike*, München 2010 (Zetemata 136).

impossible to determine the cultural and social perception of suicide in antiquity. One should remember that the Greek world was never culturally homogenous. Each region, island or *polis* represented slightly different traditions and customs and naturally also obeyed different legal regulations, and therefore the attitude towards suicide might have been and was different depending on the place and time. Most of our sources are, of course, of Athenian provenance and it is difficult to establish the extent to which general Greek beliefs were represented by these sources. To some extent, of course, tragedy, historiography or rhetorical and philosophical writings reflect popular attitudes towards suicide. We should however bear in mind that literature and especially philosophy always mirrors the ideas of the educated and cultivated part of society². Their outlook on life is usually less conservative or less traditional than the one represented by the less educated inhabitants of the *poleis*.

From the methodological point of view it is very dangerous to collate Roman and Greek evidence. The Roman outlook on suicide seems to be very different from the Greek one. Of course, Latin philosophical literature is full of Greek examples, direct or indirect quotations and parallel outlooks presented by the authors, but precisely this may be the source of our confusion and misinterpretations. However, since late Republican times both traditions had been mingled to some extent, but the obvious differences were visible even in the early Christian discussions on voluntary martyrdom and female suicide in the face of disgrace³. In Roman society, honourable suicide was not only acceptable, but also expected in some situations. In late Republican and Imperial literature we can find a plethora of examples of admiration for suicide⁴. In the Greek world, suicide as

² Much has been written especially on suicide in ancient Greek tragedy, see for example: A. KATSOURIS, *The Suicide Motif in Ancient Drama*, Dioniso XLVII 1976, pp. 5–26; B. SEIDENSTICKER, *Die Wahl des Todes bei Sophokles*, in: O. REVERDIN, B. GRANGE (eds.), *Sophocles*, Genève 1982 (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XXIX), pp. 105–154; N. LORAUX, *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme*, Paris 1985; P. WALCOT, *Suicide, a Question of Motivation*, in: J.H. BETTS, J.T. HOOKER, J.R. GREEN (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster*, vol. I, Bristol 1986, pp. 231–237.

³ It is enough to compare the attitude towards suicide in the face of rape in the writings of Eusebius of Cesarea, who calls it ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον καταφυγή (*HE* VIII 12, 47) and the approach of Augustine (*De civ. Dei* I 18): “Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione violenter oppressa et alieno compressa peccato; quanto minus antequam hoc fiat! ne admittatur homicidium certum, cum ipsum flagitium, quamvis alienum, adhuc pendet incertum”. Cf. also J. BELS, *La mort volontaire dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions CLXXXVII 1975, pp. 147–180; P.W. VAN DER HORST, *A Pagan Platonist and a Christian Platonist on Suicide*, VChr XXV 1971, pp. 282–288; A.J. DROGE, *Mori Lucrum: Paul and Ancient Theories of Suicide*, Novum Testamentum XXX 1988, pp. 263–286.

⁴ An especially Roman version of Stoicism praised suicide as an honourable exit from life. The death of Cato the Younger became for many authors an admirable paradigm and hence we find praise for it, for example in Cicero (*Tusc.* I 71–75; *Rep.* VI 15 f.; *Off.* I 112) and Seneca (*Dial.* III 15, 3 f.; cf. *Ep.* 12, 10; 26, 10; 66, 13; 75, 5. 12. 16. 23 f.; 77, 15). See especially M. GRIFFIN, *Philosophy, Cato and Roman Suicide*, G&R XXXIII 1986, pp. 64–77, 192–202.

such was never praised and only some sorts of suicide were excusable, while the common act of taking one's own life out of cowardice was deemed repulsive. The attitude towards suicide presented in the writings of Greek philosophers has already been exhaustively analysed by scholars⁵. It is however enough to say that except for the Pythagoreans (who utterly condemned it), all philosophical approaches to suicide seem to be ambiguous, i.e. they imply that it was permissible under special circumstances. Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* condemns suicide (1138 a 9–13) as an act against the state, but in the same work (1116 a 2–14) he also makes his point clearer, enumerating cases of cowardly suicide: out of poverty, passion and pain. At the same time, his silence on suicide to avoid dishonour may be revealing⁶. The most debatable is of course the outlook of Plato as presented in the *Phaedo* (60 C–63 C)⁷. The only reason in this dialogue for committing suicide is for Socrates necessity (ἀνάγκη), but he is not really precise in his speech and therefore the passage has become central to philosophical discussion on suicide in antiquity⁸. In other treatises, namely the *Laws* (873 B–C), Plato presents his own view on suicide. For him there are only three circumstances in which suicide is permissible: if it is forced by an order from the state or by excruciating and unavoidable misfortune or unbearable disgrace. We shall return later to this section of the *Laws*. The only system of Greek philosophy which presented quite a liberal outlook on suicide was Stoicism⁹. However, it is very difficult to determine a common outlook from the complicated and sophisticated opinions of sages and philosophers on suicide in the literature.

Funerary epigrams are a very peculiar genre, which transgresses the boundary between literature and life. Epigrams carved on stone as *epitymbia* are poetic creations which have to represent traditional approaches to death and to respect taboos. It seems that one of the very strong taboo subjects in ancient Greece was

⁵ Cf. J.M. COOPER, *Greek Philosophers on Euthanasia and Suicide*, in: B.A. BRODY (ed.), *Suicide and Euthanasia*, Dordrecht 1989, pp. 9–38; E. BENZ, *Das Todesproblem in der stoischen Philosophie*, Stuttgart 1929 (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 68); A. RONCONI, *Exitus illustrium virorum*, RCh VI 1966, coll. 1258–1268; W. ENGLERT, *Stoics and Epicureans on the Nature of Suicide*, Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy X 1994, pp. 67–96; R.G. FREY, *Did Socrates Commit Suicide?*, in: M. BATTIN, D.J. MAYO (eds.), *Suicide: The Philosophical Issues*, London 1980, pp. 35–38; see also the still interesting monograph: M.M. VON BAUMHAUER, *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΞΑΓΩΓΗΣ: Veterum philosophorum praecipue Stoicorum doctrina de morte voluntaria*, Traiecti ad Rhenum 1842.

⁶ Cf. discussion in HIRZEL, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 264, 271.

⁷ See especially M. MILES, *Plato on Suicide (Phaedo 60 C–63 C)*, Phoenix, LV 2001, pp. 244–258; J. WARREN, *Socratic Suicide*, JHS CXXI 2001, pp. 91–106.

⁸ This is discussed among others in Olympiodorus the Younger, *Commentary on Phaedo and Plotinus*. On Plotinus's attitude towards suicide see especially J. DILLON, *Singing Without an Instrument: Plotinus on Suicide*, ICS XIX 1994, pp. 231–238.

⁹ Even Epicureanism is generally against this act, mostly because it is not reasonable; see J. WARREN, *Facing Death: Epicurus and his Critics*, Oxford 2004, pp. 161–212.

in this case suicide. Among thousands of Greek funerary inscriptions we can only find three mentioning suicide. These inscriptions, as we shall see later, although written in Greek, are not representative of Hellenic culture. Therefore there is in fact no real Greek *epitymbion* which would indicate suicide. This fact can mirror one of the essential differences between Greek and Roman attitudes towards suicide, as we know at least several Latin epitaphs naming such a cause of death.

Only a few literary epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* break this taboo¹⁰. All of them show either the so-called noble suicide or a very peculiar – if not shocking – reason to commit this act. That is also the main reason why they have been written – to attract the attention of the reader by presenting the extremes – one of the main features of Hellenistic and Imperial literature. Before examining the epigrams in detail, we have to realise that most of them have been grouped by the compilers into special sets according to the cause of the suicide. This is very helpful in interpreting some vague motivations in several cases. It also shows the literary setting of the epigrams. It does not however mirror the original context.

None of these epigrams, and this must be very firmly emphasised, was ever intended to be inscribed on a stele.

A good starting point for our analysis are epigrams presenting the so-called “philosophical suicide”¹¹. This set of epigrams on suicide begins with *AP VII 470* by Meleager, a very elaborate poem in dialogue form.

Ἐἶπον ἀνειρομένω, τίς καὶ τίνος ἐσσί. – Φίλαυλος
 Εὐκρατίδεω. – Ποδαπὸς δ' εὔχε' <†έμεν; – Θριασεύς>. –
 Ἔζησας δὲ τίνα στέργων βίον; – Οὐ τὸν ἀρότρου,
 οὐδὲ τὸν ἐκ νηῶν, τὸν δὲ σοφοῖς ἔταρον. –
 Γήραϊ δ' ἢ νούσῳ βίον ἔλλιπες; – Ἥλυθον Ἄιδαν
 αὐτοθελεῖ, Κείων γευσάμενος κυλίκων. –
 Ἥ πρέσβυς; – Καὶ κάρτα. – Λάβοι νύ σε βῶλος ἐλαφρῆ
 σύμφωνον πινυτῶ σχόντα λόγῳ βίοτον.

A. Tell the one who asks, who are you and who was your father?
 B. Philaulus, son of Eucratides. A. From what land? B. <†...>
 A. What kind of way of life did you enjoy? B. Not the one from the plough,
 not that from ships, but being a companion to wise men.
 A. Because of old age or sickness did you depart from your life?
 B. Voluntarily I came to Hades, having tasted the Cean cup.
 A. Were you old? B. Very. A. So, may the earth rest lightly on you,
 because your life was in harmony with prudent wisdom.¹²

¹⁰ The issue was discussed by B. HAFEN, *Griechische Epigramme auf Selbstmörder*, München 1979 (Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Zahnmedizin an der Fakultät für Medizin der Technischen Universität München). However the lack of proper analysis and conclusions makes this dissertation not very helpful.

¹¹ On philosophers of advanced years to whom suicide is attributed see VAN HOOFF, *From Autothanasia...* (n. 1), p. 36.

¹² All translations in this paper, unless stated otherwise, are mine.

Philaulus, who seems to be a real person, committed suicide in his old age by drinking poison¹³. This is not only accepted but also praised by the interlocutor, because Philaulus' life was "wise and prudent". Because the hemlock is metaphorically described as a "Cean cup", the epigram also attests a well-known law which was supposed to be practised on the island of Ceos. Strabo (X 5, 6) says that people over sixty years of age on the island were provided with poison¹⁴. The Cean suicide emerges as a kind of self-sacrifice for the community, because of the insufficient amount of food on the island. It is maybe worth mentioning that the epigram *AP VII 731* by Leonidas of Tarentum is very similar in character. The epigram comes from another *Anthology* sequence (*VII 731–734*) on people who died in old age. It is the advice of one old man to another that clinging to life for another few years is senseless. In the last two verses the adviser sets a good example to follow – he descends to Hades. It does not seem to be a typical active suicide, but rather a conscious resignation from life¹⁵.

The second epigram from the set on self-inflicted death is Callimachus' *AP VII 471* – on Cleombrotos who committed suicide after reading a book by Plato¹⁶. The book is specified as the volume on the soul, which means of course the *Phaedo*. The epigram may praise the convincing treatise on the immortality of the soul and the power of Plato's persuasion. It might also be slightly ironic and therefore ridicule the gullibility of Cleombrotos.

Another two epigrams from this group are corrupted to an extent that makes proper analysis impossible. *AP VII 472* and *472 b* by Leonidas of Tarentum might even be a compilation of several poems. The central theme is the philosophical approach to life and death, vanity and the brevity of life. The last couplet (*472 b*) suggests that the best solution to a troublesome life is suicide: "Χειμέριον ζώην ὑπαλεύεο, νεῖο δ' ἐς ὄρμον, / ὡς κήγῶ Φεῖδων ὁ Κρίτου,

¹³ On the whole sequence see K. GUTZWILLER, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*, Berkeley 1998, pp. 311 f.

¹⁴ The law or custom is also attested by Aelianus (*VH III 37*) and Valerius Maximus II 6, 8 (from personal observation in Iulis; he also attests a similar custom in Massilia, modern Marseille). Valerius describes in detail the suicide of a 90-year-old Cean woman which she committed after receiving permission from the state and in the presence of a Roman governor.

¹⁵ Technically, according to various modern definitions of suicide (beginning with the research by D.J. DURKHEIM), resignation from life is in fact suicide, but it was not considered as such in the ancient times. Cf. the interpretation of parallel situations in the modern world: S.M. MARSON, R.M. POWELL, *Suicide among Elders: A Durkheimian Proposal*, *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life VI* 2011, pp. 59–79, with further bibliography.

¹⁶ On the different interpretations of the epigram cf. T. SINKO, *De Callimachi epigr. XXIII.*, *Eos XI* 1905, pp. 1–10; L. SPINA, *Cleombroto, la fortuna di un suicidio (Callimaco, ep. 23)*, *Vichiana XVIII* 1989, pp. 12–39; S.A. WHITE, *Callimachus on Plato and Cleombrotos*, *TAPhA CXXIV* 1994, pp. 135–161; G.D. WILLIAMS, *Cleombrotos of Ambracia: Interpretations of a Suicide from Callimachus to Agathias*, *CQ XLV* 1995, pp. 154–169. For an interesting recent interpretation presenting the epigram as a literary polemic see B. ACOSTA-HUGHES, S.A. STEPHENS, *Callimachus in Context. From Plato to the Augustan Poets*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 23–30.

εἰς Ἄϊδην” (“Escape the stormy life, return to haven,/ to Hades, as I, Pheidon, son of Kritos, returned”). In these two highly elaborate verses a human being is metaphorically presented as a ship which, to avoid the storms of life, should find shelter in the harbour of Hades. The last epigram of the set is the below-mentioned *AP* VII 473 by Aristodicus on the suicide of Damo and Mathymna. The cause of their suicide is not really clear, but the circumstances point rather to grief than any other reasons.

All of these epigrams are philosophical in nature and the suicides they present are a consequence of a particular outlook on life. They are all strictly literary, even if written in relation to specific individuals. The ostensible praise of suicide in these epigrams is very misleading. It is rather the consequent and courageous adherence to the rules of a particular philosophy which is admired, and not the suicide itself. All of them are of rather high literary quality and do not have the typical features of inscriptional epigrams, so none of them was intended to be carved as an actual *epitymbion*.

A positive attitude towards noble suicide can also be observed in other literary epigrams from the seventh book of the *Greek Anthology*. Most worthy of commemoration is death to escape disgrace. The most popular, both in literature and in the visual arts, was the death of Ajax. In the *Greek Anthology* we can find no less than five epigrams on the hero's suicide. The first two are stylistically connected by showing Virtue mourning over the tomb of the Trojan warrior. *AP* VII 145 by Asclepiades seems to have been an inspiration for the more elaborate *AP* VII 146 by Antipater of Sidon and both must already have been included in the *Garland of Philip*¹⁷.

Ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἄ τλάμων Ἄρετὰ παρὰ τῷδε κάθημαι
 Αἴαντος τύμβῳ κειρομένα πλοκάμους,
 θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένα, εἰ παρ' Ἀχαιοῖς
 ἄ δολόφρων Ἀπάτα κρέσσον ἐμεῦ δύναται.

I, miserable Virtue, sit here by the tomb of Ajax, with shorn locks, stricken with a great sorrow, because the wily-minded Fraud counts for more among the Achaeans than I do.

(*AP* VII 145)

Σῆμα παρ' Αἰάντειον ἐπὶ Ῥοιτησίῳ ἀκταῖς
 θυμοβαρῆς Ἄρετὰ μύρομαι ἐζομένα,
 ἀπλόκαμος, πινόεσσα, διὰ κρίσιν ὅττι Πελασγῶν
 οὐκ ἄρετὰ νικᾶν ἔλλαχεν, ἀλλὰ δόλος.
 τεύχεα δ' ἂν λέξειεν Ἀχιλλέος Ἄρσενος ἀκμᾶς,
 οὐ σκολιῶν μύθων ἄμμες ἐφίμεθα.

¹⁷ A.S.F. GOW, D.L. PAGE, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, vol. II, p. 40. They belong to the series of fictitious epitaphs on Homeric heroes (*AP* VII 136–150).

By the Ajax tombstone on the shore of Rhoiteion I, Virtue, sit, dirty, hair shorn, and shed tears, heavy at heart, because the verdict of the Pelasgai caused treachery to triumph over virtue. The armour of Achilles would say: We demand manly strength, not twisted words.

(AP VII 146)

The stress is put not on the act of suicide but rather on the circumstances of the death. Ajax's sad end is clearly the final triumph of Fraud over Virtue, who is presented as a kins-woman of the hero, with shorn hair as a visible sign of her grief. What is even more important for our analysis is the fact that there is no explicit reference to his suicide in these two epigrams. The deed seems to be irrelevant. In the next three of this series of epigrams, his suicide is brought into focus by showing the paradox of Ajax's bravery. His valour was invincible, so only he himself was able to defeat it. In the epigrams AP VII 147–149, the main cause of suicide was the decree of Fate (Moirai, Cloto) or Time, and so Ajax's guilt is diminished if not completely shifted onto his unavoidable lot.

Only the late epigrams by Leontius Scholasticus (AP VII 149 and 150) place emphasis directly on the act of suicide. In AP VII 149 Ajax kills himself by his own hand (παλάμη αὐτοφόνῳ) and VII 150 shows him blaming friends, not enemies, for his death. These epigrams are literary *par excellence*; they undertake not only the popular mythical and epic subject of a hero's suicide, but elaborate it in the typical manner¹⁸. The early epigrams seek a deeper sense to the Ajax episode and reinterpret it, while the later one by Leontius focus more on the psychological aspect of suicide (pinning the blame on the friends). The fictitiousness of the epigrams' subject allows such detailed presentations of the suicide.

Another case which is supposed to inspire interest or even admiration in a reader of the *Anthology* is the death of Aelius, a Roman soldier of higher rank (πρόμος). His suicide is described by Apollonides (AP VII 233) and in a later emulation of his epigram by Philip of Thessalonica (AP VII 234)¹⁹. A terminally ill soldier dies by his own sword because, as Philip puts it: Ἄνδρας Ἄρης κτείνει, δειλοτέρους δὲ νόσος ("Ares kills men, cowards perish by disease"). It is impossible to establish if the epigrams are based on real events, but it seems almost to be the expected behaviour of a Roman officer²⁰. Both Apollonides and Philip are late Hellenistic poets who flourished in the time of Roman domination and such uncompromising bravery on the part of the Romans was for them clearly impressive. Still, suicide under such circumstances must have been unusual and

¹⁸ The suicide of Ajax is the most popular self-inflicted death represented in literature and the visual arts, cf. A. CORSO, Η αυτοκτονία στις αρχαίες εικαστικές τέχνες, *Archaiologia & Technes* XCVIII 2006, pp. 21–26.

¹⁹ Probably the placing of the epigrams one after another was done by Phillip himself in his *Garland*, so the reader could compare and appreciate the emulation.

²⁰ On the honourable death of Roman soldiers see VAN HOOFF, *From Autothanasia...* (n. 1), p. 51.

worthy of an epigram in the eyes of the Greeks. It should be emphasised that the suicide of Aelius is by no means an act of euthanasia; the epigrams do not stress his pain or suffering. The soldier kills himself not in an act of despair but rather so as not to be conquered by an enemy – disease. It is an issue of a soldier's death-with-dignity. It is also a glorification of *virtus Romana*.

The next group of three epigrams concerns women committing suicide out of fear of dishonour. This small set seems to already be present in the *Anthology* of Meleager. Epigram *AP* VII 492 by Anyte²¹ provides the best starting point for a short study of suicide motivated by the danger of captivity and rape.

Οἰχόμεθ', ὦ Μίλητε, φίλη πατρί, τῶν ἀθεμίστων
 τὰν ἄνομον Γαλατᾶν ὕβριν ἀναινόμεναι,
 παρθενικαὶ τρισσαὶ πολιήτιδες, ἅς ὁ βιατᾶς
 Κελτῶν εἰς ταύτην μοῖραν ἔτρεψεν Ἄρης.
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμείναμεν αἶμα τὸ δυσσεβές οὐδ' Ὑμέναιον,
 νυμφίον ἀλλ' Αἴδην κηδεμόν' εὐρόμεθα.

We leave thee, Miletus, dear fatherland, refusing the lawless love of the impious
 Gauls, three maidens, thy citizens, whom the sword of the Celts forced to this fate.
 We brooked not the unholy union nor such a wedding, but we put ourselves in the
 wardship of Hades.

(*AP* VII 492; transl. by W.R. PATON²²)

Three Milesian girls kill themselves in the face of rape by the Celtic conquerors. From the first verse we can assume that they expect appreciation from their homeland for the deed, as Miletus is the recipient of the epigram. The maidens also call themselves *πολιήτιδες* to stress their connection to the city. It is clear that their suicide has something to do with the social position of the citizen-women; their death is in a way an act of patriotism. The violation of the women would also be a violation of Miletus' dignity²³. The epigram stresses the fact that they have been forced into this suicide, but also indirectly suggests that the act was morally approvable because they avoid something which is called τὸ δυσσεβές. The epigram on the Milesian maidens was obviously never intended to be inscribed on a funerary stele. It is a strictly literary composition, as its most striking feature (for an *epitymbion*) is the lack of the girls' names.

²¹ The ascription is spurious. It is not confirmed in the Planudes' version. See GOW, PAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p.103.

²² W.R. PATON, *The Greek Anthology with an English Translation*, vol. II, London–New York 1919, p. 267.

²³ In this case there is in fact no difference between rape by the Gauls or kidnapping and marriage; such a union was not recognised by the Greeks and both situations were equally shameful. Cf. the discussion in GOW, PAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 104.

The epigram *AP* VII 493 by Antipater of Sidon²⁴ presents a very similar situation. It is in fact not a funerary epigram on a suicide. The lyrical subject is Rhodope, a young girl killed by her mother, Boisca, after the sack of Corinth. It is the mother who commits suicide. Their courageous (ἄλκιμον) death to avoid slavery and the consequences of female enslavement is praised in the epigram. The first poem from this small group of epigrams, *AP* VII 491 by Mnasalca, is slightly different.

Αἰαῖ παρθενίας ὀλοόφρονος, ἅς ἄπο φαιδρᾶν
 ἔκλασας ἀλικίαν, ἡμερόεσσα Κλεοῖ·
 κὰδ δέ σ' ἀμυξάμεναι περὶ δάκρυσιν αἴδ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
 λᾶες Σειρήνων ἔσταμες εἰδάλιμοι.

Aiai, for baleful virginity, sweet Cleo, you mourned the joyful prime of your life.
 We, stoned in the shape of Sirens, stand with torn cheeks crying by your grave.

It seems to have been written about a girl who died to preserve her virginity. The epigram does not mention the suspected motive i.e. rape, therefore some scholars think that the suicide might have been caused by fear of marriage²⁵. This is not very probable. Firstly, we have to note that the epigram opens a short set of poems on women avoiding captivity; and secondly, fear of marriage is hardly expected to be praised in a funerary epigram, even a fictitious one. An epigram concerning such a subject is *AP* IX 245 by Antiphanes. It reports an accident which took place on a wedding night. The girl ran away from the marriage chamber and was eaten by her newly-wedded husband's dogs. The epigram can be seen as a cautionary tale for other girls, as avoiding marriage by suicide was not welcomed in Greek society. The legend about the Milesian maidens²⁶ told by Plutarch may be a good example of this negative attitude. It happened once in Miletus that, driven by a unnatural compulsion, virgins started to hang themselves. To stop these dreadful occurrences the citizens decided to profane the bodies of the already dead girls by showing them naked in front of the community. The sight of such humiliation was enough to compel the rest of the young women to act rationally. Plutarch's attitude to the lunatic suicides of the virgins

²⁴ The authorship is not certain; the codices of the *Palantine Anthology* ascribe the epigram to Antipater of Thessalonica, but on the basis of the formal and stylistic features of the text scholars have assigned it to Antipater of Sidon; cf. GOW, PAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 34 and 88 f.

²⁵ Cf. GOW, PAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 406.

²⁶ Plut. *De mul. virt.* 11 (*Mor.* 249 B–C), the story is also repeated in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (XV 10) and by Polyaeus (*Strateg.* VIII 63). On the subject see also H. KING, *Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece*, London–New York 1998, pp. 81 f.; S.I. JOHNSTON, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1999, pp. 233–237. The problem whether the story reflects real events or rather some sort of ritual custom (such as the one described by S.I. JOHNSTON and S. GUETTEL COLE in *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*, Berkeley 2004, pp. 223 f.) is irrelevant here.

reflects the fears of Greek society. It is abnormal and harmful for the community not to obey the rules of nature, in this case to avoid marriage and motherhood by committing suicide. The negative attitude toward such suicides is also expressed in the *Hippocratic Corpus*²⁷. Therefore I am of the opinion that Mnascalas' Cleo committed suicide for a more noble cause and indeed did it to avoid rape.

The set of epigrams for women dying to preserve their chastity is quite late; it is not dated until the first half of the second century BC. Although the topos of death in the face of violation and captivity is quite popular, these epigrams are unique in Greek literature. What is more surprising is that the inscriptional epigrams do not praise women for such a deed. There is only one Greek epitaph praising a woman for escaping rape by choosing suicide. The inscription was found in Kerzene in Paphlagonia and dates to the second half of the third century AD as it probably refers to the Gothic invasion in the year 262/263²⁸. It is an *epitymbion* for a girl who killed herself to escape disgrace.

Τὴν δ' ἀρετῆς ἐπίσημον
 ὄρα στήλην, παροδεῖτα.
 Κεῖται γὰρ Δομιτίλλα κόρη
 τῶδ' ἔνδοθι τύμβῳ
 Τὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης
 ἀραμένη στέφανον
 Μοῦνη γὰρ κουρῶν, ὄσσας ἄγον,
 εἰς ὕβριν ἄνδρες,
 Οὐς ἀγαγ' ἐκ Πόντοιο θεῶν
 χόλος ἠδέ τε μοῖρα,
 Τῶν τότε βαρβαρικαῖς
 χερσὶν ἀπολλυμένων
 Οὐκ ἔτρεσεν τὸ θανεῖν
 ἀνθ' ὕβρεως στυγεραῖς
 ἐπτὰ μόνων μηνῶν δὲ
 φίλον πόσιν εὐφράνασα
 παρθενικὸν λίπε φῶς
 τετράς καὶ δεκέτης
 χαῖρε

Look at this stele, passerby, the monument of virtue. In this grave lies maiden Domitilla, who has won the crown of chastity. For of all the girls abused by men whom the anger of gods and fate sent from Pontus and (of all the girls) who were

²⁷ Hippocrates, *De virginum morbis*. For an excellent study of the passage on the suicidal inclination of virgins see KING, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 77–79.

²⁸ The epigram was first published by I. KAYGUSUZ in: *Funerary Epigram of Kerzene (Paphlagonia): A Girl Raped by the Goths?*, *Epigraphica Anatolica* IV 1984, pp. 61 f.; and later by W.D. LEBEK, *Das Grabepigramm auf Domitilla (Epigraphica Anatolica 4, 1984, 61f.)*, *ZPE* LIX 1985, pp. 7 f. On the epigram see also: A.J. VAN HOOFF, *Female Suicide between Ancient Fiction and Fact*, *Laverna* III 1992, pp. 148 f.; R. MERKELBACH, J. STAUBER, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, vol. II: *Die Nordküste Kleinasien (Marmarameer und Pontos)*, Leipzig 2001, no. 10/02/12.

killed by barbarian hands she was the only one who did not flee from death (choosing it) instead of the horror of disgrace. Only seven months she gladdened her beloved husband and left the light of her virgin life at the age of fourteen. Farewell.

The circumstances of the death are obscure. Some scholars are even of the opinion that she survived the abduction intact²⁹. F. GRAF, on the other hand, thinks she was killed by the invaders³⁰. The phraseology of the epigram though suggests suicide in the face of disgrace as the most probable course of events. The epigram lacks poetic perfection, but nevertheless indicates that the family was prosperous enough to erect the monument. The inscription is relatively late. The Roman influences are obvious; even the name of the girl, Domitilla, is Latin. We should remember that in the third century AD, death in the face of disgrace was seen as the most honourable exit from the situation. Both literary and historical examples of women who committed *pudor*-suicide were praised. Books such as the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus immortalised the glorious reputation of such suicides and made them serve as examples worth following. Among the most noble cases are the suicides of Hippo³¹, Mallonia³² and of course the greatest paradigm of female virtue – the Roman Lucretia. Even the early Christian writers, who condemned suicide, hesitated to do so in the case of martyrdom and the preservation of chastity. This literary attitude also brought about a tremendous change in the common view on *pudor*-suicide. Domitilla's epitaph, although written in Greek, reflects the strong Romanisation of her family and should be treated as a *de facto* Roman, not a Greek, example.

In the *Greek Anthology* there are two more epigrams on female suicide. Both deaths are caused by grief. AP VII 473 by Aristodicus tells a story of Damo and Methymna, two women who killed themselves on the news of the death of Euphron:

Δαμῶ καὶ Μάθυμνα τὸν ἐν τριετηρίσιν ὥραις
 Εὐφρονα λυσσατὰν ὡς ἐπύθοντο νέκυν,
 ζῶαν ἀρνήσαντο, ταυπλέκτων δ' ἀπὸ μιτῶν
 χερσὶ δεραιούχους ἐκρεμάσαντο βρόχους.

Damo and Methymna when they heard that Euphron, the frenzied devotee at the triennial festivals of Hera, was dead, refused to live longer, and made of their long knitted girdles nooses for their necks to hang themselves.

(AP VII 473; transl. by W.R. PATON³³)

²⁹ KAYGUSUZ, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 62, writes that she was considered by the Goths to be a child and therefore spared. One should then ask the obvious question: if she was not in danger, why did she kill herself?

³⁰ F. GRAF, *Untimely Death, Witchcraft, and Divine Vengeance. A Reasoned Epigraphical Catalog*, ZPE CLXII 2007, p. 142.

³¹ Val. Max. VI 1, ext. 1.

³² Suet. *Tib.* 45.

³³ PATON, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 259.

It is interesting that the story behind the suicides and the relationships between the three persons remain unrevealed. It seems that it might have been a widely known local story and that the epigram was based on real events. The obscurity of the epigram and the lack of the women's *patronimika* indicate that this epigram was also not intended to be an inscription, but was written as a literary curiosity for the local audience.

The epigram *AP VII 517* by Callimachus also seems to be based on a real family tragedy. Basilo, a daughter of Aristippus, commits suicide because of the unbearable grief after her brother's death. As has been suggested by scholars, the epigram concerns an influential family from Cyrene, the homeland of Callimachus³⁴. A. AMBÜHL, however, convincingly analysed all the literary elements in the epigram, proving its deliberately fictional character³⁵. It was never intended to be inscribed on a funerary stele. The obvious references to tragedy and literature of the Hellenistic period as well as its hidden Ptolemaic context may indicate that the epigram was a form of tribute and condolences for the family.

The second Greek exception which we must note here is a late inscription from Mylasa (SEG XXXIX 1132)³⁶:

[ὦ]δε ΜΙΜ[-----]μον ἀνέρα γαῖα κ[α]λύπτει
 ὄξυπόδην ὀλίγη τόσσον ἀποφθίμενον · ν
 οὐ || μὲν ἐμῆ κακότητι τόδ' οὔνεκα νήματα Μοιρῶν
 ἄτροπα, μηδὲ πωδῶν ἦν τι βροτοῖς ὄφελος, ν
 οὓς κεν ἀμειδήτοιο πρὸς Ἄιδος οἶκον ἄγησιν, ν
 τοῦδ' ἔλαχ' ἀθανάτων ὅστις ἐπιτροπίνην·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μέγα κῦδος ἐμὸν λίπον, οὔνεκεν ἔτλην
 αὐτοφόνῳ δευρὴν μοῖραν ἐλεῖν παλάμη.

Here me, Mim[...], a small piece of earth covers, so swift-footed man, who passed away not because of cowardice, but because the threads of Moirai are unchangeable, and legs are no help to mortals, when the god whose part it is, leads them to the house of never-smiling Hades. But I am leaving behind a great glory of my own, because I have dared to seize wretched fate with my self-killing hand.

There is no doubt that the deceased took his own life (αὐτοφόνῳ παλάμη)³⁷. What is interesting, however, is that again the deceased does not entirely represent

³⁴ GOW, PAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 190.

³⁵ A. AMBÜHL, *Zwischen Tragödie und Roman. Kallimachos' Epigramm auf den Selbstmord der Basilio* (20 Pf. = 32 Gow–Page = *AP 7.517*), in: M.A. HARDER, R.F. REGTUIT, G.C. WAKKER (eds.), *Hellenistic Epigrams*, Leuven 2002 (*Hellenistica Groningana* 6), pp. 1–26.

³⁶ MERKELBACH, STAUBER, *op. cit.* (n. 28), vol. I: *Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*, 1998, no. 01/15/04. On the epigram see also: W. BLÜMEL, *Neue Inschriften aus der Region von Mylasa (1988) mit Nachtragen zu I.K. 34–35*, *FA XIII* 1989, pp. 3–5 (no. 496); BRANDT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 102, n. 474.

³⁷ The same phrase used in the epigram *AP VII 149* by Leontius Scholasticus.

conventional Greek culture. The epigram's contents and the iconography of the stele indicate that he came from an arena environment; perhaps he was a type of gladiator called *venator*, who took part in the famous *kynegesia* in Mylasa³⁸. The lack of a patronymic³⁹, as well as of the deceased's place of birth, indicates that he did not have the status of a fully-fledged citizen of the Greek polis. An important part is played in the epigram by the juxtaposition of *κακότης* – *κῦδος* (cowardice – battle glory, valour), which points to his suicide as an honourable deed. The concept of gladiatorial battles is thoroughly Roman, and although with the passage of time these battles became the main form of entertainment in all the towns of the Empire, they were always a determinant of Romanisation. The environment of professional gladiators⁴⁰, albeit that they were people who were infames, was governed by a specific code of honour. The phraseology of the epigram indicates that this suicide was a kind of self-inflicted coup de grace. At the turn of the second and third centuries AD, the gladiatorial milieu – not only in Caria but throughout the Empire's territory – presented Roman values rather than respecting Classical Greek taboos. For this reason this epigram also, similarly to the epitaph from Kerzena, albeit written in Greek, rather presents Roman culture⁴¹.

³⁸ This is indicated by both the term *ὄξυπόδης* and the dog which is engraved beneath the epigram. On the gladiators in Mylasa see: J. RUMSCHEID, F. RUMSCHEID, *Gladiatoren in Mylasa*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2001, pp. 115–136, on *kynegesia* see esp. pp. 118–120.

³⁹ Only three letters of the name have been preserved, but the lacuna does not leave space for the patronymic. Of course, the deceased could have been a Greek from Caria, but of a low social status, perhaps even of servile origins.

⁴⁰ The deceased must have belonged to such a group, since nothing indicates that he was a convict or a prisoner of war.

⁴¹ The same case might be the death of Beronike from the inscription PEEK 482 (= MERKELBACH, STAUBER, *op. cit.* [n. 28], vol. III: *Der 'Ferne Osten' und das Landesinnere bis zum Taurus*, 2001, no. 16/34/023 = *MAMA V*, no. 63). The inscription is again late (according to the editors, late second or early third century AD):

ἐνθάδε δεῖα τέθαπται ἀγακλιτῆ Βερονείκη·
 κουριδίσις θαλάμοις Κορνήλιον ἄνδρα λαχοῦσα
 ὄν ῥ' ὅτε δὴ νοῦσσοσ πιμάτη κρατερῶσ ἐπέδησε
 ἔφθασε Μοιράων μίτον ἄφθιτον ἤμασι πέντε·
 ὅππως κέν πόσιος θάνατον θανάτω ἀκέσαιτο.

(Here is buried the very famous Beronike, who was chosen to be the lawful wedded wife of Cornelius. When the last disease shackled him strongly, after five days she anticipated the immortal thread of the *Moirai* to heal in this way the death of her husband with her own death.) – It is not possible that the inscription indicates the suicide of the wife, as suggested by BRANDT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 102, n. 472. She might have died because of great distress or because of the same disease. However, even if she had committed suicide, the very fact that it was veiled by metaphors to the extent that the cause of death is not clear to us (and it was not obvious for her contemporaries; see also the hesitation of MERKELBACH and STAUBER) and therefore respects the inscriptional suicide-taboo. We should also note that the inscription is not only late but again the epigram concerns, in fact, a Roman or strongly Romanised Phrygian family.

A.J.L. VAN HOOFF directs our attention to the epigrams in which women are presented as a “new Alcestis”⁴². He argues that the comparison indicates the suicide of the deceased. This seems to be a misinterpretation. First of all, the death of Alcestis was not considered as a suicidal act in antiquity, although, according to the modern standpoint, resignation from life is suicide. Secondly, there is nothing that could indicate that the women commemorated in the epigrams really committed suicide. Indeed it is hard to imagine what could have led to a woman being named an “Alcestis”. The women could have rescued their husbands from some kind of accident and died as a result of it or died of a contagious disease, which the husbands survived, and the deaths of the women was interpreted as a sacrifice for the spouses’ health. It is really impossible to determine the cause of death of the “new-Alcestises” but suicide is the less probable option as it does not indicate the salvation of the husbands⁴³.

It is striking that in the Roman world we can find an inscriptional epitaph on suicide motivated by grief (*CIL IX 2229*)⁴⁴. In this inscription Publius Lalius Modestus forgives his late wife for her suicide as it was caused by the death of their son. It should again be emphasised that the presence of information about suicide in Latin epitaphs marks a crucial difference between Greek and Roman funerary norms. Of course, such a cause of death is not always mentioned, but it occurs in at least several known epitaphs. At least two of them contain very strong references to Greek literary epigrams. The verse epigram on a certain Oppia recalls two paradigms of the deceased: the Roman Arria and the Greek Laodamia (*CIL X 5920*)⁴⁵.

L(ucio) Cominio L(ucii) f(ilio) L(ucii) n(epoti) Pa[l(atina)] vel Pa[p(iria)] Firmo
 prae(tori) q(uastori) aer(arii) et alim(entorum) Oppiae Sex(tii) et (Gaiae) I(ibertae)
 Eunoae.

Exemplum periit castae lugete puellae:
 Oppia iam non est, erepta est Oppia Firmo.
 Accipite hanc animam numeroque augete sacr[ato]
 Arria Romano et tu Graio Laodamia.
 Hunc titulum meritis servat tibi fama superstes.

⁴² A comparison to Alcestis is made in the following epigrams: *AP VII 691*; the epitaph from Odessos in Thrace (*GV 1392 = IGBR I² 222*); and from Amorgos (*IG XII 7, 494*). Counting the ‘Alcestic-type’ inscriptions VAN HOOFF (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 152) states that there are six authentic epitaphs which mention suicide as the cause of death. On the epitaph from Thrace see W.M. CALDER III, *The Alkestis Inscription from Odessos: IGBR F 222, AJA LXXIX 1975*, pp. 80–83 (with the list of Alcestis-type steles).

⁴³ Especially in the above-mentioned epitaph from Amorgos the comparison to Alcestis may only indicate the virtues of the deceased (the woman is also praised in the inscription as a new Penelope).

⁴⁴ J.-L. VOISIN, *Apicata, Antinoüs et quelques autres*, *MEFR XCIX 1987*, Annexe no. 19.

⁴⁵ VOISIN, *op. cit.* (n. 44), Annexe no. 21.

Sibi suis posteris eorum⁴⁶.

Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* III 16) tells the story of Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus. When he was ordered to kill himself, she preceded him, stabbing herself with a dagger and exclaiming, “It doesn’t hurt, Paetus”. Laodamia was the wife of Protesilaos, and after he was killed in the Trojan War the gods allowed him to return to his wife for a short time. According to Ovid⁴⁷, Laodamia committed suicide by stabbing herself after realizing her husband was dead. Hyginus, in the *Fabulae*⁴⁸, presents a more elaborate story, according to which Laodamia made a bronze sculpture of her husband and devoted herself to it. Acastus, the father of the girl, burned the statue on an offering pyre to stop the tortures of Laodamia. The heroine is said to have followed the statue into the flames. It is more probable that the Latin author of the epitaph was familiar with Ovid’s version and, if so, for him both Arria and Laodamia stabbed themselves because of their husbands. This may be also both the reason and the means of Oppia’s death.

The epitaph for Marcus Pomponius Bassulus takes the form of a longer poem (*CIL IX 1164*). The opening lines stress the poetic activity of Bassulus (he was a translator of Menander’s plays and a comedy writer himself). He committed suicide in his old age, “vexatus animi curis non nullis etiam corporis doloribus”. It is very possible that he himself was the author of the epitaph and therefore did not hesitate to write directly that he appropriated death (“optatam mortem sum potitus”). Another example of a Latin epitaph recording suicide may be *CIL V 5278*⁴⁹.

Both the above-mentioned epitaphs are dated to the second century AD and are very strongly influenced by the Greek literary epigram. It seems that in these Latin cases the emulation of the Greek poetic form crossed a boundary which would have been unthinkable in the Hellenic world. The Romans did not see anything improper in inscribing such a cause of death on the funerary monument, especially if it was expressed in such an elaborate piece of poetry.

The silence of Greek epitaphs on the suicide of the deceased must be of crucial importance. To understand its nature we have to find the reason for this omission. Even during Hellenistic and Imperial times, when suicide was in some cases praised, it was never mentioned on an epitaph. Why, if the noble-suicide paradigms were praised in literature, even as we have seen in the literary epigram, was it never inscribed on stone?

⁴⁶ Text after VOISIN, *op. cit.* (n. 44).

⁴⁷ Ov. *Heroid.* 13 and Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* IV 3, 30.

⁴⁸ Hyg. *Fab.* 104.

⁴⁹ See also VOISIN, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 277 f.; VAN HOOFF, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 154; BRANDT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 119 f.

The key issue is whether it was because suicide was perceived as dishonourable for the family or because it might have caused a *miasma* or it made the soul fail to rest. It is obvious that shameful suicides were concealed by the family⁵⁰. On the other hand, as we learn from literature, there have been suicides worth commemorating and despite this fact the act was not mentioned on the funerary steles. It has been proved beyond any doubt that suicides were not treated like murders; there was in general no punishment for the corpse and the soul was not deemed excluded from the community of the dead⁵¹. Nevertheless, the unnatural death, which was obviously against the gods' laws, could stigmatise the deceased as an ἄωρος. That would cause both troubles for the deceased in the afterlife and serious danger for the community⁵². The silence of epitaphs in this case is understandable, as naming the suicide on the funerary monument would cause fear.

An interesting testimony attesting the taboo attached to naming suicide as the cause of death may be the already-mentioned passage of Plato's *Laws*. After enumerating the three reasons which make suicide permissible, Plato determines the punishment for inexcusable self-slaughter:

τάφους δ' εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρεῖσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόνους μηδὲ μεθ' ἑνὸς συντάφου, εἴτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὀρίοισι μερῶν τῶν ὅσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνώσυμα θάπτειν ἀκλεεῖς αὐτούς, μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους.

They who destroyed themselves in this way shall in the first place have their graves alone, and no one shall be buried by their side, and secondly they shall be ingloriously buried in the barren and nameless places of the twelve districts, without a stele or a name to mark the tomb. (*Leg.* IX 873 D)

The precepts of the philosopher may be an indirect echo of some type of ancient ban on naming suicide in funerary rites. The prohibition of a regular funeral and of a stele and inscription is very important in this context. We do not know if Plato either extends some already existing and ritually prescribed cautions which exclude ignoble suicides from society, or if on the contrary he restricts the ban only to the ignoble ones, whereas ancient customs forbade the commemoration of all self-inflicted deaths. In both cases the lack of a tombstone or a name inscribed on it is significant. If this passage of Plato is an echo of an ancient ban on naming suicide on grave markers, then it would attest to a primeval fear of self-inflicted

⁵⁰ GARRISON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 19, n. 70.

⁵¹ On the assumption of the punitive measures against the corpses of those who have committed suicide, cf. the discussion in GARRISON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 5–12. Although there are two pieces of evidence (*Lys. In Erat.* 12, 96 and *Aeschin. In Ctes.* 244) suggesting the mistreatment of the corpses, but they are very inconclusive.

⁵² GARLAND, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 95–99; R. PARKER, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford–New York 1983, pp. 32–73.

death⁵³. People who commit suicide die in a violent way; this is at least how the Greeks saw it, as one of the terms for suicide was βιαιοθάνατος, and thus they belong to the unquiet dead. Information about a suicide on the stele would not only be unpleasant for the family, but would also inform a passer-by about the circumstances of the death. In addition, naming suicide as the cause of death might have resulted in some loss of civic status or dignity, as it is attested that at least for Attica the act was actually in a sense illegal (this is at least what we know from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* V 1138 a 5–14)⁵⁴.

This might then be an explanation of why, even if some suicides were morally approvable and the act itself admirable, the very fact of suicide was never commemorated on funerary monuments in the Greek world. There is always a certain gap between literature and life, especially in the sphere of religious and cultural taboos. The ancient Greeks respected this to a greater extent than we are able to explore. Therefore we should remember to be very careful in drawing conclusions from literature on everyday life in antiquity.

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⁵³ Another distant echo or trace of this ban may be one of “the three laws of queen Demonassa”, which forbids the burial of the corpses of people who committed suicide (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 64, 2–4 = Favorinus, *De fortuna* 2–4). Although the whole story seems to be a fictitious rhetorical *exemplum* (see A. KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA, *Demonassa – The True Story of an Ill-Fated Queen of Cyprus*, *Eos* XCVIII 2011, pp. 193–204), some elements of it are based on real customs, local folklore and religious prohibitions.

⁵⁴ Esp. διὸ καὶ ἡ πόλις ζημιοῖ, καὶ τις ἀτιμία πρόσεστι τῷ ἑαυτὸν διαφθείραντι ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἀδικοῦντι (V 1138 a 15). J. BURNET (*The Ethics of Aristotle*, London 1900, p. 245) understands it as bringing *miasma* on the state; GARRISON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 19 is of the opinion that it is more about the loss of civic rights.

BEYOND INFLUENCE:
A REFLECTION ON THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH
ON THE *MILINDAPAÑHA* WITH A COMPARISON OF THE TEXT
TO THE *KITAB AL KHAZARI**

by

OLGA KUBICA

Things are not what they appear to be: nor are they otherwise.
(Buddhist proverb from *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*)

ABSTRACT: This paper presents a reflection on the history of research on the *Milindapañha* with a comparison of the text to the medieval dialogue *Kitab al Khazari*. The comparison of these two independent texts is intended to demonstrate the problem of searching for a cross-cultural influence on the basis of similarity of phenomena.

THE *MILINDAPAÑHA* AS IT IS

The *Milindapañha* (*The Questions of King Milinda*) is a Buddhist text. The preserved Pāli version of the text comes from Sri Lanka¹. It is not canonical, because it is not included in the Sinhalese Pāli Theravāda canon². But still it is very popular in Sri Lanka. The oldest manuscript of this Pāli text is dated to AD 1495³. But the text was also known in India in ancient times, as may be inferred from four mentions of *The Questions of King Milinda* made by a Buddhist scholar, Buddhaghōṣa, around the beginning of the 5th century AD.

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¹ Edited by TRENCKNER 1880.

² But some scholars define it as paracanonical, because it is included in the Burmese edition of the Pāli Theravāda canon as a part of the *Khuddaka Nikaya*.

³ VON HINÜBER 1987.

The original has not been preserved. As RHYS DAVIDS wrote in the introduction to the first part of his translation of the *Milindapañha*⁴, it might have been written in Sanskrit or a Prākṛit language. According to VON HINÜBER⁵, it was written in Gāndhārī – one of the Prākṛits. SALOMON, who agrees with this opinion, further claims that the *Milindapañha* is “the earliest explicit testimony of the encounter of Buddhism with the cosmopolitan cultures of Gandhāra”⁶. We also know about Thai, Burmese, Chinese⁷, and possibly also Tibetan⁸ versions of the text.

This text contains a dialogue between King Milinda and the elder (*Thera*) Nāgasena. The first book begins with a description of the capital of Milinda’s kingdom, Sāgala. It is followed by the story of the previous births (Pāli *Pubba-yoga*) of the future disputants. Then King Milinda looks for an appropriate person with whom to continue the dialogue, who would be able to satisfactorily answer his questions concerning the teachings of the Buddha. However, several interviewees disappoint him with their discussions. Only Nāgasena, sent by Assagutta, is able to meet his expectations. In the following books Milinda discusses various issues relating to Buddhist teachings with Nāgasena. As a result of the conversation with the sage, which dispels the King’s doubts, Milinda converts to Buddhism.

The title character, Milinda, can be identified without any doubt with Menander I Soter. Thus, this is the only preserved Indian text devoted entirely to a Greek ruler, or more precisely, to an Indo-Greek ruler; what is more, he was in no sense an inferior ruler, but one about whom Apollodorus of Artemita (quoted in Strabo⁹) wrote, stating that he subdued more peoples than Alexander. Interestingly, this comparison made by the historian points to the Greek agonistic tendencies. This type of interest in distant and extensive conquests may be traced to the same human attitude which can be described by the Latin formula “*citius, altius, fortius*”¹⁰, namely, the cultural ideology of competition. This natural predisposition of human nature, which had already manifested itself in the Greek ἀγών, also applies from the earliest times to narratives associated with war and conquest. It is no surprise, therefore, that some modern historians (under the influence of Greek descriptions of conquests of distant exotic countries)

⁴ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890 (Part I). Other translations include: T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1894 (Part II); SCHRADER 1905 (a German translation); FINOT 1923 (a French translation of Part I); HORNER 1963 (Vol. I) and 1964 (Vol. II); PESALA 1998 (an abridgement; first edition 1991).

⁵ VON HINÜBER 1996: 83.

⁶ SALOMON, BARNARD, ALLCHIN 1999: 5.

⁷ SPECHT, LÉVI 1893; TAKAKUSU 1896; DEMIÉVILLE 1924.

⁸ WADDELL 1897.

⁹ Strab. XI 11, 1: ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀρταμιτηνός, καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος.

¹⁰ The Olympic motto introduced in 1924 at the Olympic Games in Paris.

also propose far-reaching conclusions indicating Greek cultural domination of the territories they have conquered, e.g. in relation to the eastern conquests of Alexander¹¹. Also, in the case of the *Milindapañha*, certain scholars focused excessively on the presence of the Greek ruler in the text, and therefore tried to fit the dialogue within the Greek/Hellenistic milieu. Such an approach often led to over-interpretation.

Therefore, this article presents a reflection on the history of research on the *Milindapañha*, and a broader context of the history of the search for Greek influences in India. A comparison of two independent texts, namely the *Milindapañha* and the *Kitab al Khazari*, is used to demonstrate that one should be cautious with regard to drawing conclusions concerning cross-cultural influences on the basis of similarities between phenomena. But before we move to the main point of this article, it is worth looking at the character of Menander and his kingdom as it emerges from other sources.

MENANDER AND HIS REALM

It is not a well-known fact that the territory of today's northern Pakistan (mainly the provinces of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and eastern Afghanistan used to be the heart of a powerful Indo-Greek kingdom with its centres in such cities as Takṣaśilā (for the Greeks, Taxila; the modern site is also called Taxila), Puṣkalāvati (for the Greeks, Peukelaotis; modern-day Charsadda), or Sāgala (modern Sialkot). Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā were, together with Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar), the main cities of the kingdom of Gandhāra in the Swat and Kabul river valleys, which became a centre of Buddhist culture from the 1st century AD onwards.

Alexander dreamed of conquering India. However, he failed to make any permanent conquests beyond the Indus. Subsequently Seleucus I and Antiochus III attempted to achieve spectacular success in the East, but as far as can be inferred from the extant sources, to no avail. Probably the Mauryas were too powerful as rivals, the conditions too difficult for outsiders, and such a distant country too hard to govern. However, for those Greeks who had already in the time of Alexander settled in Bactria in the vicinity of the Indians, these obstacles were perhaps a smaller challenge. Probably the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was on good terms with the Mauryan Empire, as evidenced by the preserved edicts of the Mauryan ruler Piyadasi Aśoka from Kandahar (ancient Arachosia), which were translated into the Greek language. However, the decline of the Mauryan Empire facilitated the expansion of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. It is quite likely that the Greeks were not on such good terms with the Brahmin successors

¹¹ Cf. TARN 1938, who presented the spread of Hellenism as what he calls a "march state".

of the Mauryas, the Śuṅga dynasty. Around 180 BC¹², Demetrius I of Bactria, son of Euthydemus, initiated an invasion of India and probably conquered Paropamisadae and Arachosia. In Justin XLI 6, we find a reference to a certain *Demetrius rex Indorum*, which has led some researchers to regard Demetrius as the founder of the Indo-Greek kingdom. However, it is doubtful whether Demetrius ever crossed the Indus River, which probably represented the political border of the country of the Indians, at least for Strabo and Arrian¹³. First Apollodotus I and later Menander continued the invasion, so it would be more accurate to say that one of them was the real founder of the Indo-Greek kingdom, which lasted from c. 175 BC to c. 10 AD. According to the hypothesis of TARN¹⁴ they were Demetrius' commanders. KALITA¹⁵ concludes that this hypothesis may be correct in view of the fact that in the Greek sources Apollodotus is mentioned together with Menander.

Menander did not come from the lineage of Demetrius, but in accordance with the hypothesis put forward by NARAIN¹⁶ he might have been married to Agathocleia, the daughter of Agathocles, or of Demetrius, or of Apollodotus I. According to the *Milindapañha*, he was born in Kalasi in the district (Pāli *dīpa* meaning an island) of Alasanda (the town of Kāpisa, in Alexandria on the Caucasus). Hence he was probably the descendant of a Greek father and a Greek or native mother. He began his rule around 165 or 155 BC¹⁷. He gave himself the title Soter (saviour), as is attested by the legends on his coins, both in Kharoṣṭhī and in the Greek alphabet. According to LAMOTTE this epithet is one of the pieces of evidence of Menander's inclination towards Buddhism, because "[o]f whom could he have called himself saviour, if not of all those whom his enemy Puṣyamitra had fought, the supporters of the old Mauryan power, who had brought about the greatness of Buddhism, the bhikṣus and upāsakas who had been so cruelly persecuted by the Śuṅga usurper?"¹⁸. However, he may simply have claimed to be the saviour for less religious reasons. Soter was a conventional title of many Hellenistic kings, such as Ptolemy I Soter, Antiochus I Soter, Seleucus III Ceraunus (or Soter), or even Diodotus I Soter of Bactria.

Interestingly enough, several references to that Indo-Greek ruler have been preserved in Greek sources. These passages are few, but they indicate the great prominence of Menander. As RHYS DAVIDS has pointed out, "[v]ery little is told

¹² Cf. e.g. MCEVILLEY 2002: 371.

¹³ Cf. KALITA 2005: 96–105.

¹⁴ TARN 1938: 140–142.

¹⁵ KALITA 2005: 142–144.

¹⁶ NARAIN 1989: 406.

¹⁷ For the dispute cf. BOPEARACHCHI 1991: 76 ff.; BOPEARACHCHI, PIEPER 1998: 177 ff.

¹⁸ LAMOTTE 1988: 421.

us, in the Greek or Roman writers, about any of the Greek kings of Bactria. It is a significant fact that it is precisely of Menander-Milinda that they tell us most, though this most is unfortunately not much¹⁹. As has already been mentioned, according to Apollodorus of Artemita²⁰, Menander crossed the Hypanis (Beas) River towards the east and reached Imaus (the Himalayas). Together with Demetrius or just like Demetrius (depending on the interpretation of the passage: “τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς, τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος”) he is said to have taken possession of Patalene and the rest of the coast, which is called the kingdom of Saraostus (Surastrene, modern Saurashtra) and Sigerdis (probably the delta of the Indus River, modern Sindh) and their empire extended as far as the Seres (silk merchants, probably Chinese or Tocharian tribes) and the Phryni (probably located in the eastern part of the Tarim Basin). According to Strabo²¹, the Greeks went as far east as the Ganges River and Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra, modern-day Patna), but the author of the *Geography* does not speak explicitly of a conquest, and even if we assume that the tone of the text indicates a military expedition, still it may be doubted whether the alleged expedition ended in permanent conquest, and consequently whether this part of India has ever belonged to the Indo-Greeks. But on the other hand, the Indian text *Yuga Purāna* of *Gārgī Samhitā*, also describes Greek (*Yavana*) attacks on Pañcāla, Mathurā, Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra²².

Menander's coins are mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*²³ as having been found in Barygaza (Bharukachcha, modern Broach in Gujarat). Barygaza was known in ancient times as a port of great importance for overseas trade, a part of the so-called Southern Route (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*), connecting the Ganges-Yamuna valley with the west coast via the Deccan plateau²⁴. So even if we treat these words as true, they still do not prove the expansion of the Indo-Greek

¹⁹ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: XIX.

²⁰ Strab. XI 11, 1: Τῆς δὲ Βακτρίας μέρη μὲν τινα τῇ Ἀρίᾳ παραβέβληται πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ὑπέρκειται πρὸς ἔω· πολλὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμφορος πλὴν ἐλαίου. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσχυσαν οἱ ἀποστήσαντες Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας, ὥστε τῆς τε Ἀριανῆς ἐπεκράτουν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἀπολλόδομος ὁ Ἀρταμιτηνός, καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος (εἶ γε καὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν διέβη πρὸς ἔω καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμάου προῆλθε) τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς, τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Εὐθυδήμου υἱός, τοῦ Βακτρίων βασιλέως· οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν Παταληνὴν κατέσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας τὴν τε Σαραόστου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Σιγέρδιδος βασιλείαν. καθ' ὅλου δὲ φησὶν ἐκεῖνος τῆς συμπάσης Ἀριανῆς πρόσχημα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανὴν· καὶ δὴ καὶ μέχρι Σηρῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐξέτεινον τὴν ἀρχὴν.

²¹ Strab. XV 1, 27: ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγένετο γνώριμα ἡμῖν τῶν ἐωθινῶν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μερῶν, ὅσα ἐντὸς τοῦ Ὑπάνιος, καὶ εἴ τινα προσιστόρησαν οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον περαιτέρω τοῦ Ὑπάνιος προελθόντες μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου καὶ Παλιβόθρων.

²² Cf. SIRCAR 1963.

²³ *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 47: ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Βαρυγάζοις παλαιαὶ προχωροῦσι δραχμαὶ, γράμμασις Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμέναι ἐπίσημα τῶν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βεβασιλευκότων Ἀπολλοδότου καὶ Μενάνδρου.

²⁴ Cf. NEELIS 2011: 205 ff.

kingdom in the area of today's Gujarat. This reference may indicate at most that Menander's coins were good coins, minted in large quantities, and that they were used even 200 years later. Regardless of the exact scope of Menander's kingdom, it is certain that he ruled over a vast multicultural area for a long period of time (165/155 to 130 BC).

Menander died around 130 BC. Plutarch, in his *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*²⁵, included an anecdote about Menander, who as a just ruler enjoyed such popularity that upon his death in a camp diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes and, having distributed them evenly, built μνημεῖα (probably *Stūpas*) commemorating the Indo-Greek King. It is noteworthy that similar stories are told about Buddha²⁶ or about Piyadassi (Aśoka). It seems that this was a typical Buddhist legend of a Holy Man. However, it is quite significant that such a story is contained in a Greek discourse from the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. The legend of the Indo-Greek ruler therefore probably survived long after his death.

The capital of Menander's kingdom was Śākala (Pāli Sāgala), Sialkot in northern Punjab. In Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII 1, 46) it is called Euthydemia after its founder, Euthydemus II. The version of the name written as Euthymedia is probably a mistake. However, according to LAMOTTE²⁷, it is a reference to one of the limbs of the Buddhist eightfold Path, namely the *right thought* (Greek εὐθυμηδία, Skt. *samyaksamkalpa*). But then again, this is likely to be an over-interpretation by LAMOTTE, who wanted to prove Menander's *Buddhophilia*. Ironically, Śākala was later also a capital of the ruler Mihirakula, who had a reputation as a cruel persecutor of the Buddhist faith in Gandhāra and who in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* was depicted as *Vetāla*, or a vampire²⁸. The city is beautifully described in the second chapter of the first book of *The Questions of King Milinda*.

As one can see from the above summary, from the European point of view Menander may be perceived as a conqueror of distant lands and a great leader, comparable to Alexander. And thus, certain scholars trying to reconcile this image of Menander with his presence in the Buddhist dialogue came to startling conclusions.

But is there any evidence that Menander could have been a Buddhist? On the basis of archaeological sources one cannot in fact prove unequivocally the

²⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 821 D–E: Μενάνδρου δέ τινος ἐν Βάκτροις ἐπιεικῶς βασιλεύσαντος εἴτ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐποίησαντο κηδεῖαν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν αἱ πόλεις, περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες εἰς ἀγῶνα μόλις συνέβησαν, ὥστε νειμάμενοι μέρος ἴσον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μνημεῖα παρὰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἀνδρός.

²⁶ Cf. *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta* (*The Book of the Great Decease*) VI 58–62 (ending), translated by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS in the *Buddhist Suttas*, Vol. XI of *The Sacred Books of the East*.

²⁷ LAMOTTE 1988: 422.

²⁸ Cf. STEIN 1900: I 291.

affiliation of the Indo-Greek King to Buddhism. His coins depict mostly Greek symbols, such as Athena Alkidemos or the Winged Nike. According to JENKINS, “[a]s portrayed, Menander seems to be purely Greek, and this is emphasized by the reverse showing Athena, copied from the archaistic statue of Athena Alkidemos which stood at Pella in Macedonia, as if to hint at the connection, however remote, with the homeland of Alexander the Great”²⁹. Some bronze Indian-standard coins bear more Indian symbols, such as an elephant head or bull head, but coins with Buddhist symbols, such as the eight-spoked wheel (*dharmacakra*), are extremely rare. As RHYS DAVIDS has concluded, “[i]t may be said, therefore, that the bulk of the coins are clearly pagan, and not Buddhist; and that though two or three are doubtful, even they are probably not Buddhist”³⁰. However, the use by Menander of the epithet *Dharmikasa* on his coin may indicate his reference to the Buddhist *dhamma* (Skt. *dharma*). According to RHYS DAVIDS, “[t]he use of this epithet is very probably the foundation of the tradition preserved by Plutarch, that Menander was, as a ruler, noted for justice; and it is certainly evidence of the Buddhist influences by which he was surrounded”³¹. Interestingly, this conclusion points to the existence of a “tradition”, according to which Menander was associated with Buddhism, which does not necessarily mean that he was a Buddhist. And if the above-mentioned passage of Plutarch’s *Moralia* referring to the death and the division of the ashes of Menander is linked to the same tradition, the conclusions on the image of Menander in historical memory can be much more interesting and tangible than the historicity of his conversion. Also in 11th century Kashmir, in Kṣemendra’s *Avadānakalpalatā* (LVII 15), Menander (Milindra) is presented in the transformed Buddhist legend instead of Kaniṣka. This example shows how deeply rooted was the memory of Menander as a Buddhist ruler.

Moreover, in chapter 29 of the *Mahāvamśa*, there is a story of a Greek (*Yona*) elder (*Thera*) Mahadhammarakkhita, who came from Alasanda, the city of the Yonas (probably Alexandria on the Caucasus), with thirty thousand sages (*Bhikkhus*). They dedicated the Great *Stūpa* in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. This story in the Sinhalese chronicle shows that Greek sages were active proselytizers of Buddhism during the time of Menander and so it may also indicate that the ruler promoted Buddhism.

Another piece of evidence for the favourable attitude of Menander towards that philosophy may be the so-called Bajaur casket, a soapstone casket from the *Stūpa* at Shinkoṭ consecrated twice: by Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra “[in the reign/year?] of the Mahārāja Menedra”, as is indicated by the inscription on the casket³². According to LAMOTTE, that casket, as well as other Indian sources

²⁹ JENKINS 1968: 109.

³⁰ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: XXI.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² See *EI* XXIV (1937), 1–7; XXVI (1942), 318–322; XXVII (1947), 52–58.

“prove that, from the time of Menander, the governors and officers on Indo-Greek land did not hesitate to profess the Buddhist religion publicly, a profession which would have been dangerous if their leader had not approved of it to a certain extent”³³. But it does not follow that the ruler was actually a convert. He could have supported Buddhism for various reasons. One of them could have been the positive influence of that religion on the development of trade. This is emphasized by NEELIS in his book *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks*, where he wrote that Menander “probably supported a wide array of religious groups seeking his support, just like any other South Asian ruler”³⁴. In his book NEELIS shows the importance of patronage for the development and expansion of Buddhism. The possible existence of Buddhist religious orders was dependent on the generous support of wealthy rulers and merchants. Buddhism, therefore, had to live in symbiosis with these groups and constantly seek their support. Also the text of the *Milindapañha* and its editions should be analysed in the context of an active search for patronage by the Buddhist order. This is manifested *inter alia* in challenging sectarian teaching, dispelling doubts about the teaching of the Buddha, and the presentation of the conversion of a ruler, about whom Assagutta said: “As a disputant he is hard to equal, harder still to overcome, he is the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. He is in the habit of visiting the members of the Order and harassing them by questions of speculative import”³⁵. Thus, showing that such a stubborn Indo-Greek ruler had converted to Buddhism may have served in a certain sense to lure other rulers (potential sponsors) to sympathize with the teaching of the Buddha.

Hence it can be concluded that Menander did not have to be a Buddhist to be the protagonist of a Buddhist dialogue, and that we should not be surprised by his presence in a Buddhist text. However, many scholars lacked this perspective, as will be shown in due course.

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO THE *MILINDAPAÑHA*³⁶

The history of research on the Pāli *Milindapañha* began with the edition of this text by TRENCKNER in 1880³⁷. It is not surprising that the Danish researcher was the first to publish this Pāli text, because the tradition of Pāli studies in Denmark

³³ LAMOTTE 1988: 421.

³⁴ NEELIS 2011: 106.

³⁵ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: 12.

³⁶ The following overview of the state of research does not contain all bibliographical records. Bibliography may be supplemented on the basis of BEHRING 1934; HORNER 1963–1964; and VON HINÜBER 1996.

³⁷ TRENCKNER 1880.

was already firmly established, as may be inferred from FAUSBÖLL's edition of the *Dhammapada* from 1855, the first scholarly edition of a Pāli text in Europe.

The first part of the text was translated into English ten years later by RHYS DAVIDS, who sensibly stated that the text is really a historical romance³⁸. Although the state of knowledge has changed significantly since the publication of the translation by this Pāli specialist and the founder of the Pāli Text Society, still, his conclusions remain largely valid, because they were drawn from a comparison of the text with Buddhist literature, and not on the basis of far-reaching hypotheses.

In the same year that RHYS DAVIDS published his translation of the first part of the text, WEBER, in his booklet *Die Griechen in Indien*³⁹, suggested that the *Milindapañha* may be connected with the Platonic dialogues, and that it may represent deliberate Indian *double stakes*⁴⁰ against them⁴¹. However, it should be noted that this was merely a suggestion by WEBER, who stated at the outset that his work was intended to give only a cursory survey of what is present, partly in secure data and partly in more or less plausible suppositions from Indian sources about the position and influence of the Greeks in India.

However, this suggestion remained unnoticed in the study of the text, which got back on the right track in 1893 with the publication by SPECHT and LÉVI of their article *Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho*⁴², announcing the existence in NANJIO'S *Catalogue*⁴³ of two Chinese translations of the text which had already been translated into Russian by IVANOVSKY and partially from Russian into English by OLDENBOURG. The existence of Chinese translations raised the question about the relationship between the Pāli and the Chinese versions on the one hand and the original text on the other.

In 1894 RHYS DAVIDS published his translation of the second part of the *Milindapañha*⁴⁴, with an introduction incorporating the information about the Chinese translations of the text. RHYS DAVIDS was of the opinion that the original version was longer than the Chinese version and thus it also included the second part of his translation. However, this view is no longer accepted by most scholars. It should not come as a surprise that when RHYS DAVIDS expressed his opinions concerning Pāli literature, his conclusions were very reasonable, but when

³⁸ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: XVII.

³⁹ WEBER 1890.

⁴⁰ AS V.S. SARMA (cf. WINTERNITZ 1983: 170, n. 4) translates WEBER'S *Paroli*.

⁴¹ "Sollten nämlich die in dem Milindapañha enthaltenen Dialoge des Yavana-Königs Milinda (Menander) mit dem buddhistischen Priester Nāgasena, nicht irgend wie mit den platonischen Dialogen in Connex stehen? nicht so zu sagen ein absichtliches indisches Paroli ihnen gegenüber darstellen?" (WEBER 1890: 927).

⁴² SPECHT, LÉVI 1893.

⁴³ NANJIO 1883: 304, no. 1358 *Nā-sien-pi-khiu-kiñ* (*Nāgasena-bhikṣu-sūtra*).

⁴⁴ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1894.

Chinese literature entered the discussion, it seems that the desire to emphasize the superiority of Pāli literature over Chinese prevailed. But on the other hand, it is truly regrettable that due to unexpected external circumstances RHYS DAVIDS was not able to carry out his plan of comparing the *Milindapañha* with other Buddhist texts, apart from the *Kathāvatthu*⁴⁵.

TAKAKUSU, in his article of 1896⁴⁶, compared the information on the various Chinese translations scattered across different sources and concluded that it is certain that there are two distinct translations of the *Milindapañha* among Chinese Buddhist books about King Mi-lān and Bhikṣu Nā-sien⁴⁷ and also one tale (*avadāna*) about King Nanda and Bhikṣu Nā-ka-ssū-na⁴⁸. He also noticed, very sensibly, that “the variety of the representation of the name (Menander/Milinda/Mi-lān/Nanda) shows that the original was not a native name”⁴⁹.

In his article of the next year, WADDELL⁵⁰ compared the Chinese *avadāna* about King Nanda with a manuscript allegedly containing the Tibetan version of the text describing the conversation between Nāgasena and King Ananta, and concluded that the *Milindapañha* “was probably founded upon a simpler story or traditional tale of dialogues held between the quasi-historic sage Nāgasēna and a king of Bengal or of South-Eastern India”⁵¹. This eccentric theory did not, however, meet with a positive response from other researchers, because the Tibetan dates relied upon by WADDELL are doubtful and moreover the name Nanda in the Chinese *avadāna* is only a Sanskrit version of the Greek Μέγανδρος⁵².

In 1903, GARBE wrote an article on the *Milindapañha*⁵³, specifying the text in the title as *ein kulturhistorischer Roman*, but he wrote that it could also be well described as a didactic novel. He rightly pointed out that since the work features a fantastic character (*scil.* Nāgasena), like most Buddhist books, and since it also contains some imitation of illustrations from older works, one cannot expect a considerable increase of our historical knowledge from such a source⁵⁴. GARBE also raised the question of whether Greek ideas can be recognized in the

⁴⁵ “I have to express my regret that a long and serious illness, culminating in a serious accident that was very nearly a fatal one, has deprived me altogether of the power of work, and not only prevented me from carrying out this perhaps too ambitious design, but has so long delayed the writing of this Introduction” (T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1894: XX).

⁴⁶ TAKAKUSU 1896.

⁴⁷ Cf. n. 42 above.

⁴⁸ NANJIO 1883: 296, no. 1329 *Tsā-pāo-tsān-kiñ* (*Saṃyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra*).

⁴⁹ TAKAKUSU 1896: 16.

⁵⁰ WADDELL 1897.

⁵¹ WADDELL 1897: 237.

⁵² Cf. WINTERNITZ 1983: 171, n. 1.

⁵³ GARBE 1903.

⁵⁴ GARBE 1903: 107.

speeches of King Milinda. And after a careful reading of the *Milindapañha*, he answered in the negative. In his opinion, the Greek world of ideas is apparently completely unknown to the author. The king's speeches are quite Indian in character⁵⁵. Again, this conclusion should not be surprising, considering the fact that GARBE was an Indologist.

Subsequently⁵⁶, in 1920 WINTERNITZ published the second volume of his *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur* dedicated to the Buddhist literature and the holy books of the Jains⁵⁷. He denied the possibility of a Greek model as a basis for the *Milindapañha*, claiming that this text has enough models in the *Upaniṣadic* and *Itihāsa* dialogues, in the ascetic poetry of the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Tipiṭaka*. He also concluded that only a small part of the first book, the second book and most of the third book are original, the rest being later additions. Books IV–VII are absent from the Chinese translation, which according to NANJIO's *Catalogue* originated between 317 and 420 AD⁵⁸. According to WINTERNITZ, this is proof of their spuriousness⁵⁹.

In 1924, one year after the publication of the French and Italian translations of the text⁶⁰, DEMIÉVILLE published by far the most reliable study devoted to the *Milindapañha*⁶¹. His work comprises the state of the preserved editions of the text, a history of the Chinese versions, a comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions, an analysis of the Pāli and the Chinese text, chapters on Menander and on Nāgasena, a summary of the doctrinal value of the work, and translation of the *Nā-sien-pi-khiu-kin* (*Nāgasena-bhikṣu-sūtra*).

In 1930 Mrs RHYS DAVIDS (not to be confused with Mr. RHYS DAVIDS) published her article on the *Milindapañha*⁶², in which she tried to establish its place in the history of Buddhism and presented a theory as to its author⁶³.

Despite all these works showing the relationship between the text of the *Milindapañha* and Buddhist literature, in 1938 TARN⁶⁴, in his book *The Greeks*

⁵⁵ GARBE 1903: 114.

⁵⁶ The preceding years saw the publication of the German translation of the text by SCHRADER (1905), an article on the proper names in the Chinese versions by PELLIOT (1914) and an article on the *Milinda* by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1916).

⁵⁷ I use here the English translation: WINTERNITZ 1983.

⁵⁸ NANJIO 1883: 304.

⁵⁹ WINTERNITZ 1983: 171.

⁶⁰ FINOT 1923; CAGNOLA 1923.

⁶¹ DEMIÉVILLE 1924.

⁶² C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS 1930.

⁶³ Later, in 1933 LAW in his *History of Pāli Literature* dedicated a dozen pages to the problem of the *Milindapañha*. However, his summary is very selective, sometimes too flattering (without due justification) to the style of the work, and generally does not contribute to research on the topic.

⁶⁴ TARN 1938.

in *Bactria and India*, published an excursus about the *Milindapañha*, in which he claimed that the original text was Greek. In his opinion, there are certain Hellenistic Greek elements in the dialogue which cannot be justified on the basis of any other existing theory. He postulated the existence of a short Greek text in which the King questioned an invented figure, the Buddhist sage Nāgasena. TARN used that theory of the Greek original to explain certain resemblances between the *Milindapañha* and the Letter of Pseudo-Aristeas, which tells the story of 72 Jewish elders invited by Ptolemy II to Alexandria to translate their Scriptures into Greek. He tried to show that both texts referred to the tradition of the well-known Alexander-questions. He also suggested that there may have been a broader corpus of Menander literature, giving as evidence the presence of two sentences about King Nanda in the *avādana* which resemble the Greek ἀπορία. TARN was an unquestionable master at building complex theories based on imaginary missing links in history! Interestingly, TARN knew about the conclusions reached by GARBE and WINTERNITZ, but according to him, they had insufficient knowledge from the Greek perspective. Perhaps he was right, but on the other hand, he lacked sufficient knowledge from the Indian perspective. However, he announced that he was not concerned with Buddhist doctrine and that his aim was rather to examine the relationship of Part I of the *Milindapañha* to Greek rule in India⁶⁵. He rejected the theory of the common origin of the Pāli and the Chinese versions without any justification. As he stated: “This supposition does not commend itself to me”⁶⁶.

In 1949 GONDA⁶⁷ refuted TARN’s hypothesis by contradicting his arguments about the Greek elements in the text of the *Milindapañha*. As he rightly concluded, “Buddhism was inclined to internationalism, intent on missionary propaganda, and eager to win the favour and the support of mighty men”⁶⁸. However, D.H. SICK, in his article *When Socrates Met the Buddha: Greek and Indian Dialectic in Hellenistic Bactria and India*⁶⁹, stated that “Gonda and Tarn do not or cannot, because of their distinct training, speak to the claims of one another, and, moreover, their ideas are not mutually exclusive. Any element of a cultural product can be multiply motivated, and we would expect multiple influences in a multi-cultural environment”⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ TARN 1938: 415.

⁶⁶ TARN 1938: 416.

⁶⁷ GONDA 1949.

⁶⁸ GONDA 1949: 58.

⁶⁹ SICK 2007.

⁷⁰ SICK 2007: 256.

In 1958, LAMOTTE, in his *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*⁷¹, gathered the sources which, in his opinion, bear witness to Menander's *Buddhophilia*⁷². In some cases, LAMOTTE clearly misrepresented the sources to prove the veracity of his statement about the Buddhist inclinations of the Indo-Greek King, as in the previously cited cases: the reading of the name Śākala as Euthymedia, or interpreting the title Soter on Menander's coins as referring to the protection of Buddhist monks from persecution by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. In addition, in LAMOTTE's *Histoire* there are sentences which are more appropriate rather to a historical novel, such as: "Even though the Indian world may still have held some secrets for him (*scil.* Menander), he did not feel in the least exiled; he never knew the nostalgia for the Greek homeland, which earlier had tormented Alexander's officers and the first Seleucids"⁷³. It is indeed puzzling from where this Belgian priest and Indologist living in the 20th century got information about the feelings of an Indo-Greek ruler living in the 2nd century BC.

In 1963 and 1964 Mrs HORNER, president of the Pāli Text Society, published her new English translation of the *Milindapañha* in two volumes, accompanied by a bibliography⁷⁴.

Finally, in 1993, FUSSMAN published an article *L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité*⁷⁵, about which one can say that in most respects it represents the current state of research on Menander and the text of the *Milindapañha*. FUSSMAN repeats the findings of DEMIÉVILLE's *minutieux travail*⁷⁶ together with other sources regarding Menander such as Greek literary evidence and Indian epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidence. FUSSMAN devotes considerable attention to such evidence as Menander's coins, the Bajaur reliquary inscription, and an inscription on a *linga* rock in Mathurā. On the whole, the article by FUSSMAN represents a sound interpretation of the available sources and the results of previous research on the topic⁷⁷.

In 1996 VON HINÜBER, in his *Handbook of Pāli Literature*, concluded about the *Milindapañha* that "although Milinda is Greek, there is no traceable Greek influence on form or content of the purely Indic dialogue, derived from Upaniṣadic

⁷¹ I use here the English translation: LAMOTTE 1988.

⁷² LAMOTTE 1988: 421.

⁷³ LAMOTTE 1988: 420.

⁷⁴ HORNER 1963–1964.

⁷⁵ FUSSMAN 1993.

⁷⁶ FUSSMAN 1993: 67.

⁷⁷ Although in one conclusion I disagree with FUSSMAN, who considered MUKHERJEE's suggestion, that the term *Yavana* in the Bajaur inscription designates the *Śaka-Pahlava*, as acceptable. In my opinion, the *Śaka-Pahlava* are not identical with the *Yavana*, because the *Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava* are many times mentioned jointly in the Indian sources (e.g. in the Nāsik cave inscription).

traditions”⁷⁸. He also noticed that the text which we have today is in fact a collection of five texts kept together only by the characters of the interlocutors.

Despite earlier studies showing the strictly Indian-Buddhist character of the text, D.H. SICK in 2007 in the article that has already been mentioned, compared the *Milindapañha* to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* and concluded that Milinda as presented in the dialogue is ethnically Greek because in his outspokenness he behaves in a stereotypically Greek manner, while Ajātasattu is Indian because in his reticence he demonstrates one of the principles of the policy of *dhamma* propagated by Aśoka in his edicts, namely the *vacaguti*⁷⁹. According to D.H. SICK, “[t]here is therefore at least one bit of Greece” in the *Milinda* [...]”⁸⁰. Although he has rejected the possibility of proving or disapproving any cross-cultural influence because “[i]n order to prove a cross-cultural influence, one is also asked to prove the absence of the quality in the indigenous cultural background”⁸¹, which is obviously impossible, still, immediately afterwards he shows a Greek influence on the *Milindapañha* in the “Greek” behaviour of Milinda, which is different from Ajātasattu’s behaviour, but not necessarily different from the behaviour of other Indians of that time.

Summarizing these discourses, it seems that the snake has bitten its own tail. This example shows once again that we need to move beyond the study of the Hellenistic Far East with a magnifying glass for any evidence of Greek influence⁸². Therefore, I propose a comparison of the *Milindapañha* with a completely independent text which nevertheless bears a striking resemblance to our dialogue, namely the text of the *Kitab al Khazari* (or *The Kuzari*) by Judah Hallevi. This comparison is not intended to demonstrate that there is some relationship between these texts; on the contrary, it will enable us to trace the mechanism of independent development as opposed to influence and to see that this type of dialogue is associated with a convention, which one might term *the convention of a persuasive dialogue*.

MILINDAPAÑHA VS. KITAB AL KHAZARI

The *Kitab al Khazari*, translated by HIRSCHFELD⁸³, is a mediaeval work in the form of a dialogue between the King of Khazaria, a Turkic kingdom in Eastern Europe (late 7th to 10th century AD), and a Rabbi. It was written around AD 1120–1140 by Judah Hallevi, a Spanish Jewish physician, poet, and philosopher.

⁷⁸ VON HINÜBER 1996: 83.

⁷⁹ *Vacaguti* is interpreted as a restraint of speech or a control of tongue.

⁸⁰ SICK 2007: 275.

⁸¹ SICK 2007: 256.

⁸² Cf. the discussion in SHERWIN-WHITE, KUHRIT 1993: 141.

⁸³ HIRSCHFELD 1905.

It is significant that we know the author and the particular circumstances of *The Kuzari*, while we do not know the author of the *Milindapañha*. In the case of the Jewish dialogue we have a personal introduction by the author explaining the aim of the dialogue and the source of it (“something I had once heard”, “historical records”, “as is related”, etc.). Both dialogues have some historical background. We have already discussed the historicity of the *Milindapañha*, whereas *The Kuzari* is based on a legend according to which the King held a symposium to decide whether he should convert to Judaism, Christianity or Islam. Finally he decided also to speak to a Rabbi and Hallevi’s dialogue is a fictional account of this debate, albeit with a factual basis. Some kind of conversion to Judaism did occur in the Khaganate of Khazaria around 8th or 9th century AD⁸⁴, the extent and scope of which are far beyond our current discussion.

In the case of *The Kuzari*, the aim of the dialogue is explicitly stated by the author as being “against the attacks of philosophers and followers of other religions, and also against [Jewish] sectarians who attacked the rest of Israel”⁸⁵. Unfortunately the author of the *Milindapañha* was not so generous in presenting its purpose, so we have to read between the lines. The persuasive purpose of this dialogue is indicated by the initial presentation of the King as undefeated in the discussion, but later convinced by Nāgasena. The reader is to be convinced of the rightness of one instruction in relation to the teaching of other religions as well as sectarian views. Particularly in Book IV (*The Solving of Dilemmas*) we can see the polemics with the sectarians, especially in such statements as for example: “Then that saying of the sectarians that ‘an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain’ turns out to be false”⁸⁶.

In both dialogues the element of divine intervention occurs to set the scene for the debate. In the *Milindapañha* the god Mahasena has to be reborn on earth as Nāgasena to face Milinda. In *The Kuzari* the King has a dream in which an angel addresses him, saying: “Thy way of thinking is indeed pleasing to the Creator, but not thy way of acting”⁸⁷. In consequence of that event he started pondering the different beliefs and afterwards decided to invite the representatives of the various religions in order to discuss with them the basis of their teachings. That is how we get to know the reason why the King began the debates, which is not so obvious in the case of the *Milindapañha*. D.H. SICK in his article⁸⁸ has pointed to the agonistic purpose of Milinda’s discussions, but the possibility of a sincere search for the truth as the King’s motivation should also be considered.

⁸⁴ Cf. OLSSON 2013.

⁸⁵ HIRSCHFELD 1905: 35.

⁸⁶ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: 148.

⁸⁷ HIRSCHFELD 1905: 35.

⁸⁸ SICK 2007: 271.

For does he not seem sincere when he thinks within himself in disappointment: “All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either recluse or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me, and dispelling my doubts”⁸⁹?

In both works, the dialogue proper is preceded by other debates. In *The Kuzari* the King discusses first with a Philosopher, a Christian scholastic and one of the Doctors of Islam. They did not convince him, but the argument presented by the Moslem prompted him to invite a Jewish Rabbi – although initially he had no such intention, as expressed in the following contemptuous words: “I had not intended to ask any Jew, because I am aware of their reduced condition and narrow-minded views, as their misery left them nothing commendable”⁹⁰. Similarly, in the *Milindapañha* the discussions with the sages Purāna Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, and Āyupāla did not convince the King and thus set the scene for the dialogue proper. Later Milinda searched for a learned man for twelve years. In this way, the author of the dialogue introduces the effect of anticipation, which is absent in *The Kuzari*. This effect is reinforced by describing the previous birth (in the Pāli *Pubba-yoga*) of Milinda and the story about the birth of Nāgasena.

The authors of the two works then go on to engage in a proper dialogue. But the attitude of the King towards his interlocutor differs in the two texts. The initial attitude of Milinda towards Nāgasena is definitely positive and it continues so throughout the dialogue. The King is greatly impressed by the sage from the first meeting with him, as it can be seen in the following description:

At the sight of Nagasena, wise and pure,
Subdued in all that is the best subjection,
Milinda uttered this foreboding word –
“Many the talkers I have visited,
Many the conversations I have had,
But never yet, till now, to-day, has fear,
So strange, so terrible, o’erpowered my heart.
Verily now defeat must be my lot.
And victory his, so troubled is my mind”⁹¹.

In *The Kuzari*, by contrast, the initial attitude of the King towards the Rabbi is negative and it remains largely unchanged throughout the dialogue. Some reserve can be seen in the behaviour of the King, which is reflected in the following fragment of a conversation:

14. Al Khazari: That which thou sayest now, O Jew, seems to be more to the point than the beginning, and I should like to hear more.
15. The Rabbi: Surely the beginning of my speech was just the proof, and so evident that it requires no other argument.

⁸⁹ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: 10.

⁹⁰ HIRSCHFELD 1905: 44.

⁹¹ T.W. RHYS DAVIDS 1890: 39.

16. Al Khazari: How so?

17. The Rabbi: Allow me to make a few preliminary remarks, for I see thee disregarding and depreciating my words⁹².

The main part of these two works is the discussion between the King and the sage. And here different methods of persuasion are used in various proportions. Among the main methods employed by Nāgasena are the maieutic method, namely asking questions connected to the life and duties of the king; reasoning based on philosophy; and providing illustrations connected to every-day Indian life (e.g. changing of milk into curd, butter, ghee; buying a woman into marriage, etc.). The Rabbi, in turn, very rarely asks questions. His main method of persuasion is reasoning, based not on philosophy, but on history. For example, common descent from Adam is proven by the fact that people have similar traditions (the decimal system, speech etc.). He also provides illustrations, which are, however, distant from the realities of everyday Khazar life (e.g. about an Indian king).

The result of the two dialogues is the conversion of the King. In the *Milindapañha* the King of the Yonakas became a convert to Buddhism, which is expressed in his studying the nine-fold Scriptures, the observance of the eight-fold vow for seven days and a secret consultation with Nāgasena about the 40 dilemmas. In the Jewish dialogue the King of the Khazars became a convert to Judaism. His conversion took place during the Sabbath in a cave in the mountains and was associated with the King's circumcision, his studying the Torah, and his subsequent questioning of the Rabbi about Hebrew matters. A common pattern of conversion can be observed here: from doubt, through discussion, to conversion, which involves completing a ritual, exploring the scriptures, and requesting explanations of further questions on the intricacies of faith.

In *The Kuzari* there is a conclusion about the Rabbi's intention to go to Palestine, whereas in the *Milindapañha* the conclusion is missing, which may lead us to suppose that the original dialogue ended differently. Also the style of the two dialogues differs. The style of the *Milindapañha* is rather formulaic, unnatural, and decorative, but its transparency helps one to follow the line of thinking, while the style of *The Kuzari* is more natural, resembling a real conversation. Each of these works induces conversion by different means: the Buddhist text by refuting Milinda's allegations (implicitly readers' allegations) and by solving internal dilemmas connected to following Buddhist religion, whereas the Jewish text does so by demonstrating the superiority of the Jewish religion on the basis of inference based on history presented from the point of view of that religion. These differences between the two dialogues can be explained by various factors, such as historical circumstances, the nature of the particular religion and philosophy, the impact of other works of art and literature, cultural and

⁹² HIRSCHFELD 1905: 45.

ethnic influences, and the individual skills of the author. They therefore do not change the fact that both texts show a unique similarity.

The list of similarities and differences between the two texts as presented here is in no way complete and that was not the aim of this overview. Its task was rather to demonstrate that two completely independent texts can have many points in common. It shows that independent development is possible and does not rule out even a very close similarity between phenomena belonging to different cultures. The resemblance between the *Milindapañha* and the *Kitab al Khazari* can be explained by what I call *the convention of a persuasive dialogue*. The historicity of the dialogue serves to persuade everyone about the superiority of some doctrine over the others. It does not really matter if the King was actually a convert. His role in the dialogue is a typical role of a main character. The historicity of the dialogue (or anchoring the dialogue in historical memory) serves to strengthen the convincing effect of the story.

TOWARDS NEW RESEARCH

This article has demonstrated the problem of searching for influences on the basis of similarities between phenomena belonging to two different cultures. But it does not completely exclude the possibility of a Greek influence on Buddhism, and also on the text of the *Milindapañha*. The article by BLAIR entitled *Answers for Milinda: Hellenistic Influence on the Development of Gandharan Buddhism*⁹³ is definitely worth consideration as it provides evidence of a Hellenistic influence on Gandhāran Buddhism. BLAIR's main argument concerns the influence of the Greeks on the perception of the Buddha as a god, and the presentation of him in that form. The author of that article also highlighted one of the major problems and at the same time one of the greatest mysteries relating to the art of Gandhāra, namely the difficulty in explaining the gap between the last Indo-Greek rulers, such as Menander, and the first images of Buddha.

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⁹³ BLAIR 2009.

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CIRCE IN PETRONIUS *SAT.* 126, 1–139, 4

by

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ABSTRACT: Circe, named after Homer's sorceress and pictured in the *Satyricon*, is one of the most famous, intriguing and ambiguous characters in ancient Roman literature. Her vain intercourse with Encolpius in Petronius' romance has been investigated in various ways. The author dares to add some remarks, arguing that this sexual unfulfillment may also have been caused by a social and artistic gap created *ad hoc* between the two lovers.

Among the literary works of the Neronian period, only some fragments from Books XV and XVI of Petronius' *Satyricon* have survived, although the whole work was probably quite extensive¹. Nevertheless it is generally assumed that Petronius' novel was a brilliant work of real genius, showing unrestrained sexuality without any respect as to age or gender².

The created world of the *Satyricon* was too masculine to admit a female. This aspect can be treated as a sample of Petronius' parody of epos with its masculine and maybe homoerotic ethos, as we recall e.g. the special feeling between Achilles and Patroclus in Homer³. And yet female characters do appear in the *Satyricon* several times and in various disguises. If we were to count

¹ Cf. HARRISON 1999: XII, especially, if we assume that the author had in mind to create a comic rewriting of Homer's epos, cf. MORGAN 2009: 34.

² One should have in mind here a controversial scene of intercourse between the boy Giton and a very fresh girl (26), and also the erotic scene with an old man and a teenager (140, 1–11). References by numbers alone are to Petronius' *Satyricon* (cited throughout the paper in the edition by F. BÜCHELER, Berolini 1904).

³ Cf. Book XXIII of the *Iliad* with Achilles' exceptionally great grief after his friend's death. The question concerning possible homoeroticism in Homer has long been discussed, see the interpretation in Plato *Symp.* 180 A; cf. CONSTAN 1997: 37–42; LAGUNA-MARISCAL, SANZ-MORALES 2005; FANTUZZI 2012. So we should not go too far in interpreting the scene of imperfect embracing a shadow of Patroclus by his younger friend as an element of a possible erotic connection between them (Hom. *Il.* XXIII 99 ff.). We may find some examples of vain embracing a ghost by a living human being without any sexual context, e.g. Hom. *Od.* XI 204 ff. (Odysseus and his mother), Verg. *Aen.* VI 700 ff. (Aeneas and his father), and it is worth noticing the triple attempt at hugging in almost

every woman in Petronius, we would obtain the rather poor number of twelve characters, who belong mostly to the background. Petronius' women are depicted with all the cruelty of their times and they mostly play sexual roles⁴. They are young girls as well as old women⁵. Women were prominent in idealized Greek novels, and may have been among the intended readers. In Petronius (and also in Apuleius⁶) they are depicted much more negatively as unscrupulous seducers⁷. They tend to come from the lowest class of society, and their roles are strictly connected with sexuality; they provide sexual services, or they act as go-betweens for others who provide such services, or they are simply filled with lust. The debauched widow from Ephesus⁸ completes this select company well (*Sat.* 110–112)⁹. Thus it is easy to accuse Petronius of misogyny¹⁰. Of course we cannot support this attitude, but it is interesting to mention here that the tradition was already old in Petronius' times, originating as it does from comedies of the archaic period, especially from Plautus¹¹, and more recently from the Roman fabulist Phaedrus¹². They both depicted women as generally horrible, lustful, easily seduced, jealous, and always quarrelsome human beings¹³.

every case. See also an interesting interpretation of the number three in regard to Encolpius' failed attempts to amputate his penis in PANAYOTAKIS 2009: 58.

⁴ There is not a single character among them that the reader could like, even a little. And the same can be said of his men. It is evident that the *Satyricon* is full of dangerous and deceptive women who control and trick men (cf. RIMELL 2004:135).

⁵ As compared to Plautus', Petronius' attitude is even more hostile, because his women are generally negative and worthless. In Plautus in turn there are some delicate and positive female characters, although the *virgines* are as a rule absent from the stage, while the female figures in Petronius are depicted in action, so their image is more vivid and meaningful.

⁶ The most eminent example seems to be the story contained in Book X of Apuleius' novel about the stepmother's sexual desire for her stepson. We may notice here an interesting hint referring to the famous motive of the lecherous love affair between Phaedra and Hippolytus presented e.g. by Euripides and Seneca, whereas the main heroine of Books IV–VI, Psyche, is completely different, being a character who is naïve and deeply loves her mysterious husband.

⁷ That may be the influence of the Milesian tale, as pointed out by MAY (2005: 124–157).

⁸ A story of a seduced widow seems to be reworked and evokes elements of Lucretia's tale in order to obtain comic effect, as LANGLANDS (2006) believes. A specific continuation of such a story can be found in Achilleus Tatios' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, cf. CIEŚLUK 2013.

⁹ Of course, she belongs to another level, being only a literary creation in the story narrated by Eumolpus.

¹⁰ However his attitude was rather moderate as compared with the complaints of Juvenal and the jests of Martial, cf. KIEFER 1976: 47. We should also have in mind that such farcical situations were probably popular in mime (CONNORS 2000: 218).

¹¹ Cf. SKWARA 2002.

¹² Phaedrus is better known for his animal fables, but he was also the author of graceful and comical tales, cf. KIEFER 1976: 247 ff.

¹³ In Petronius' times even calm and dispassionate Seneca in his philosophical works treated women rather strictly, advising that they be educated in order to minimize their wildly emotional

Also in Petronius' novel, female characters are depicted negatively, namely as courtesans, suspected priestesses of the god Priapus¹⁴, procuresses and simple thieves. They are very lustful and therefore they give their young children's bodies up for prostitution. In fact they are quite similar to their male counterparts. Circe is undoubtedly different when compared with other women. Her name is the first sign of the author's special allusion to epic literature. There is yet another example of a Greek female name in Petronius, i.e. Philomela – formerly a sweet young girl, and now an unprincipled fortune-hunter, who forced her daughter to have intercourse with the seemingly disabled Eumolpus. There is a considerable contrast between her image here and her mythological counterpart as a victim of rape transformed into a swallow or a nightingale. In each case the mythological feminine name determining the fictional situation of women suggests the final point of an episode, but it can be only a charade as in the case of Petronius' Philomela, having been "in reality" brutally raped by her own sister's husband Tereus¹⁵. Thus her name became a symbol of corrupted virginity just like Lucretia's in the Roman legendary tradition.

In the case of Circe we can see quite an eminent mythical genealogy, though not a very rich one. Circe was generally known either as a daughter of Helios or of Oceanus¹⁶, being a goddess although not belonging to the Olympian elite. But she was endowed with the ability to practice sorcery and to foresee the future to some extent. She was also the aunt of Medea, the most famous practitioner of the art of magic in her family. We are familiar with the adventure of Circe and Odysseus (in Book X of the *Odyssey*), where she transformed Odysseus' companions into pigs. However she grew mellow after that, gave them their human form back and was Odysseus' tender lover for a year. She was undoubtedly beautiful, yet what attracts our attention the most is the beauty of her palace and her attire, which the Greek author informs us about with great pleasure¹⁷. For attire was an element of a character's charm on more than one occasion¹⁸.

nature: "Aeque imprudens animal est et, nisi scientia accessit ac multa eruditio, ferum, cupiditatum incontinens" (*Dial.* II 14, 1).

¹⁴ Did Priapus ever have any priestesses? We have no opinion on that point, despite the unclear statement of St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei* VI 7). Perhaps all of this is the author's fabrication, so that Encolpius would fall victim to his divine adversary all the more?

¹⁵ We have many examples of such a literary tradition, e.g. in Seneca's *Agamemnon* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Sometimes the reader can notice a random or cogent reversal of the names Philomela and Procne, although Philomela as a victim of rape is originally Greek.

¹⁶ There was a different, less known tradition, according to which Circe was Hecate's daughter (cf. Diodorus IV 45).

¹⁷ Hom. *Od.* X 133 ff.

¹⁸ In ancient times the term *charis* was not tantamount to beauty, but rather to a strong impression on the onlooker.

Petronius' Circe is certainly beautiful as well. There are even details of her appearance, which is not a frequent phenomenon in ancient romances¹⁹:

Crines ingenio suo flexi per totos se umeros effuderant, frons minima et quae radices capillorum retro flexerat, supercilia usque ad malarum scripturam currentia et rursus confinio luminum paene permixta, oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus, nares paululum inflexae et osculum quale Praxiteles habere Dianam credidit. Iam mentum, iam cervix, iam manus, iam pedum candor intra auri gracile vinculum positus: Parium marmor extinxerat. Itaque tunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsit...²⁰

Her hair grew in natural waves, and flowed all over her shoulders, her forehead was small, and the roots of her hair curved back from it, her brows ran to the outline of her cheekbones and almost met again near her eyes, and those eyes were brighter than stars when there is no moon, and her nose had a little curve, and her little mouth was the kind that Praxiteles dreamed Diana had. And her chin and her neck, and her hands, and the gleam of her foot under a light band of gold! She had the marble of Paros dull. So then at last I put my old passion for Doris to despite...

(126, 15–18; transl. by M. HESELTINE)

But the words at the very beginning of such a detailed description are too elevated and therefore humorous (126, 14): “Nulla vox est quae formam eius possit comprehendere, nam quicquid dixerō, minus erit”²¹ (“There are no words that can include all her beauty, and whatever I write must fall of her”).

On the whole in ancient literature there is only a general reference, especially to long and beautiful hair or to a tall, slim figure. However a girl's or boy's beauty may be so captivating that it seems to be of divine provenance²² (e.g. Psyche in Apuleius or Antia in Xenophon of Ephesus). Thus we have to trust the authors' word, as those things are beautiful which enrapture, as Sappho wrote²³. In the *Satyricon* however, the young woman who is in love with Encolpius has beautiful long hair, beautiful expressive eyebrows and a harmonious forehead; and her lips are as if they were sculpted by Praxiteles. Perhaps it would even be possible to hypothesize that the way in which Circe is portrayed is modelled

¹⁹ Although some detailed descriptions of personal appearance can be found in Plutarch, cf. WARDMAN 1967. Quite a thorough description of the characters' beauty is presented in Heliodorus' *Ephesian Tales*, but the admiration for the protagonist Antia's beauty is rather vague in order to avoid trivialization or the effect of kitsch.

²⁰ We meet this Doris only once appearing here in the text. She belongs to Encolpius' past, being a verbal sign of his bisexuality.

²¹ This sentence can be regarded as an example of a rhetorical device being aimed at the audience's benevolence by emphasizing the weakness of the author's effort.

²² After all, Circe is similar to Athene as she appears to Odysseus in Homer. Cf. also the comments in STEINER 1969: 124.

²³ Cf. Sappho 31 *Voigt*, so eminently imitated by Catullus in his *Carm.* 51.

after contemporary, e.g. Pompeian painting. But not only that. It can be observed that the description is of a hybrid nature, namely the details of Circe's face are of a pictorial nature, whereas the rest of her figure is depicted like a sculpture (*Praxiteles, Parium marmor*). Encolpius' attempt to depict a beautiful woman has much in common with *ekphrasis* and its typical features, such as an interest towards the person of the *artifex* (Praxiteles only, the painter is omitted) and an emphasis placed on the perfection of the work which excites our admiration because of the similarity between the artistic object and the real one. However, it can work in both directions, e.g. either a vivid girl first looks like a sculpture (cf. Andromeda in Ov. *Met.* IV 673–675) or an artificial object resembles a vivid one (cf. numerous Greek epigrams on Myro's cow)²⁴. In my opinion, Petronius' position is indirect, because Encolpius when seeing the real Circe is nearly sure that he is looking at a sculpture, too.

Yet in a sense that is again a paradox. On the one hand, further clarification of Circe's beauty undoubtedly serves her humanization; on the other, Encolpius is not able to seize the opportunity of their closeness, treating her with distance as an artificial masterpiece. We may recall here his engaged approach to the pictures in the Picture Gallery (83–90), mostly of the pederastic subject and which “are understood by him to echo his own situation”²⁵. This permanent ironist suddenly presents himself as a subtle viewer aimed at a sophisticated and deeply emotional interpretation of the art²⁶.

In a romance, the place of amorous acts is of great importance; it often has features of the bucolic *locus amoenus*²⁷. Also in Petronius, the beauty of the surroundings and the landscape where sexual intercourse is to take place catches our attention. It is a place which is exceptionally strongly juxtaposed with the places where amorous acts actually took place. It is light, full of flowers, breeze and fragrance. How different it is from the seedy and poor apartments in Petronius' novel where the characters generally spend their time. This is the first element of Circe's juxtaposed character in this story. The solar beauty of this bucolic place arose naturally due to this young woman's genealogy, who after all, was the daughter of the Sun. At the very beginning of their conversation her father is referred to as a natural measure of time who would sometimes withhold his

²⁴ I owe this remark to Prof. Jakub PIGOŃ.

²⁵ COURTNEY 2001: 134.

²⁶ SLATER 1987: 168 ff.

²⁷ One should have in mind especially the adventures of Daphnis and Chloe in Longos. For more about the significance of the flowers and birds evoked here, cf. CONNORS 1998: 71–80. We should also recall here an interesting remark by SKINNER (2005: 38) that Circe in Homer was a sexually autonomous female living on an island akin to paradise.

movement on the heavenly vault so as to extend or shorten the day²⁸. Circe's words reveal her insatiable and excessive desire to experience pleasure with someone who is substantially inferior to her, like a goddess with a mortal, as in the case of Venus and Anchises. It is perhaps possible to infer from these words:

Haec vera est Danae. Tempta modo tangere corpus,
iam tua flammifero membra calore fluent...

This is the true Danae! Dare only to touch her body,
and all thy limbs shall be loosened with fiery heat...

(126, 18; transl. by M. HESELTINE)

that she has a longing for a particularly successful descendant, and thus this is a desire to procreate²⁹.

The second aspect of their meeting is strongly juxtaposed with Encolpius' failure to perform sexually. And so, poor Encolpius, who was almost regarded as a slave, did not face up to his task. He did not impregnate this half-virgin³⁰ and he did not even satisfy her sexually.

After all, Circe was young, attractive, beautiful and fresh, as she was hardly "touched". The narrator forces us to admire her charm, which he himself succumbs to. Therefore, he is no longer an objective narrator, and becomes subjective and emotional instead. He behaves differently at Trimalchio's dinner, where he ironically distances himself, yet plays the part of the commentator. Nevertheless in Circe's presence he is not only sexually, but also linguistically helpless. That is why his description of the woman's beauty, instead of being as charming as the attractiveness of the object, is awkward and quite far from the canon of contemporary beauty, which is shown in the over-detailed description of the girl. And so, this is yet another contrast as far as the meeting with Circe is concerned. Encolpius is associated with Odysseus/Polyaenus, but the quite distinctive reference to Odysseus and his nickname does not do him much good³¹. Just as in the case of a Homeric hero, he is beset with the wrath of an offended god. But in

²⁸ That was apparently the case as far as Helios' wedding is concerned. We have also heard of Alcmena and Zeus' extended sexual act of conceiving Heracles. Sometimes, the frightened Sun would move backwards when it saw a particularly cruel crime. One example of this is the infamous feast of Thyestes, unaware that he was consuming the bodies of his own children (cf. Sen. *Thyest.* 920 ff.).

²⁹ 127, 6. We should add here that, in ancient literary tradition, intercourse between a woman and a man almost inevitably resulted in a descendant as an integral concomitant of the act, cf. Plautus' comedy (cf. LEISNER-JENSEN 2002: 194–196 and SKWARA 2005).

³⁰ We learn from her own words that she has recently lost her virginity.

³¹ Which it does not take great academic insight to notice. The identity of names is hard to miss and only confirmed by the nickname Polyaenus borne briefly by Encolpius, related to the epithet of Odysseus given to him by the Sirens. Petronius' work is of course unusually saturated with allusions and references to literary tradition (cf. COURTNEY 1965: 38).

Petronius the enraged Priapus punishes others with the affliction from which he is possibly free, namely the inability to fully experience sexual intercourse³².

Let us now try to find the causes of our character's great and unexpected indisposition. There appear to be at least a few. In the passage below, I shall attempt to specify a few of these reasons, assuming that they are of an alternative rather than a complementary nature.

Up until now, Encolpius had been sleeping with Giton, which probably strengthened his predilection for homoerotic behaviour, so Circe's words about his lover's absence could not make him calm down...

Despite the fact that the young man's beauty has made a great impression on Circe, the proposal to have sexual intercourse is tantamount to Encolpius playing the role of a male prostitute. How drastically different all this appears to be when compared to the purity of characters in ancient Greek romances, even those written after Petronius, such as in Heliodorus' *Aethiopian Tales*³³.

Circe was so different from other known women with whom Encolpius may have had sexual intercourse that lust killed the feeling of distance. Respect towards a being of nearly divine features contributed to this as well. The question which arises here is, how did mortals chosen by goddesses cope with such a situation, e.g. Anchises, Venus' lover and the father of the heroic Aeneas? Here, in an erotic situation between Encolpius and Circe, the man's sexual inability is paradoxically justified: the gap between them is too great: socially (as between a matron and an alleged slave³⁴), sexually (as between a woman and a man³⁵) and also ontologically (as between a quasi-goddess and a mortal³⁶).

As has been mentioned before, the concept of Circe's beauty is relatively strongly specified in comparison with other representations of beautiful women,

³² Priapus' sexual aggressiveness (although known to us only in verbal form from the *Priapea*, where the god is unable to use his "weapon", cf. HOLZBERG 2005: 368) in defence of a fenced area, can have a contrasted counterpart in Encolpius' difficulties with Giton's faithfulness.

³³ Of course there are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g. the sexual affair between the hyperactive Melite and the modest Clitophon, cf. CIEŚLUK 2013.

³⁴ Circe's slave reveals that her *domina* belongs to such women who "flagellorum vestigia osculantur" (126, 10). Such an erotisation of the social gap instead of annihilating it, paradoxically does not allow Encolpius to forget it.

³⁵ Encolpius was rather used to intercourse with the boy Giton. But in this novel we see the obliteration of all sexual boundaries, so the situation described resembles "gender dissonance" (on which see HALLETT, SKINNER 1997). About bisexuality see also CANTARELLA 2002, although Petronius is omitted there.

³⁶ We should repeat here that although Circe is only an attractive nymphomaniac her stressing the connection with her namesake in the *Odyssey* may have an influence on Encolpius' sexual behaviour, since they both behave as actors on the stage, seeing the other person as an artistic creation (cf. RIMELL 2004: 142, who suggests that as an actor Encolpius risks becoming unvirile). And also Encolpius attempts to pretend his Odyssean identity by observing e.g. that Circe's voice is similar to that of the Sirens (127, 5), cf. CONNORS 1998: 40. Nevertheless such a statement could be terrifying, as the cruel nature of these creatures in Homer is recalled.

both in romance and lyric poetry, where descriptions of their beautiful hair, charm, even divine-like grace, slenderness, etc. are presented, whereas in Petronius the narrator resorts to almost sculptural representations of the human form, which provides it with human-like but at the same time unrealistic features, if the author refers to Praxiteles who, as we know, creates beautifully perfect statues.

The Sun, in whose blaze the love scene was to take place, and the extraordinary yet beautiful surroundings, could also have had an impact on the fact that Encolpius was feeling overawed, since his trysts had not taken place in such scenery before. And no wonder, the characters of this Roman romance are townspeople, and night or darkness is the element which spurs them into activity, and not only sexual activity.

Encolpius' sexual disability is reflected in his verbal ineptitude towards women. On the other hand, he regains his energy and vital forces in the letters which he writes to Circe³⁷. However, a letter is merely a *sermo absentis*, it is not difficult to be a passionate writer then. When words are to be accompanied by action, our character loses his poise once again.

Encolpius' temporary impotence is connected with the *Odyssey* in terms of allusion³⁸. It is there that Hermes warns the hero not to allow a goddess to deprive him of his male power; the author uses a word which means both muscularity and potency (*Od. X 301*)³⁹. Unfortunately, Encolpius lacks the company of a friendly god...

Circe, on the other hand, is juxtaposed with herself. She reveals her cruel nature in terms of *hysteron proteron* in the latter part of the meeting, as opposed to what happens in Homer. That is, from being a tender lover, she turns into a furious witch as a result of her disappointment and humiliation.

The behaviour of the poor and failed lover, after his attempt to "recover", resembles to a great extent, but of course *à rebours*, the scene from Ovid's *Fasti* IV 223 ff. Encolpius in trying to punish himself for his genitals is like Attis⁴⁰,

³⁷ Thus taking part in the elegiac epistolary convention, being so enriched especially by Ovid. But we should remember here that Ovid made mainly women the authors of the epistles in the *Heroides*.

³⁸ We can also find a relatively close connection to Ovid's *Amores* III 7 with its similar vivid motive.

³⁹ It is hard to substantiate this opinion. However, a proof can be found in one of the *Priapea* (68), where the strictly sexual sense of the plant *moly* is evident. In Petronius we can notice the adjective *mollis* 14 times in the text, but the majority of them are connected with the episode with Circe. Especially this can be an element of a sophisticated game between the author and his readers with regard to a detailed knowledge of the *Odyssey*. We are invited to join such a game also in looking for the intertextual connection with Roman elegy, especially with Ovid (cf. HALLETT 2003 and 2013). But it is worth adding that this adjective (although absent in ADAMS 1982), was attributed to the passive sexual partner, so Encolpius suddenly plays such a role with Circe as Giton plays with him (97).

⁴⁰ See also n. 3 above with PANAYOTAKIS' remark. Attis was a beautiful and innocent young man, a priest of Cybele. He promised her that he would retain eternal sexual purity. However, he did

yet with the difference that Attis mutilated himself permanently for excessive sexual activity. Unhappy Encolpius punishes himself for lacking such activity and because of this he also bears being humiliated and receiving very painful treatment from the self-appointed “women doctors” (134, 3–135, 3). This behaviour is more similar to him being tortured by the Furies rather than any form of positive therapy, since he is often scourged and burned and acrid substances are spilt on him.

Encolpius’ sexual adventures and mishaps also resemble, to a certain degree, the failed attempts of Faunus and Priapus to win a woman, once again described in the *Fasti*⁴¹. All these attempts resulted in the suitors’ embarrassment and the witnesses of the event would try to punish or at least to rib them.

The love scene between the two has its own diverse connotations and is derided and thwarted in every aspect. The woman is active, perhaps too active. Does she thus constrain her lover’s desire? Her words have no persuasive force, which is why she is not able to encourage Encolpius enough when stating that she has only met one man. We may even call her “sexually aggressive” borrowing such an epithet from HAYNES⁴² characterizing the courtesan Rhodopis in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopian Tales*. Circe’s alleged *pudicitia*⁴³ also stands in contradiction to such great sexual activity in a woman which is only appropriate for goddesses – or harlots. We witness an overall interchange of gender roles!⁴⁴

We should add here that Encolpius is in fact bisexual, but in the world of the surviving text he is rather homosexual, and his attempts to convince us about the second side of his identity are only verbal or simply vain⁴⁵. Maybe his misfortune can be treated as a voice in ancient discussion whether it is better for a man to love a man or a woman⁴⁶. And Giton plays his role here in the sense that he is used by Circe as a terror to scare Encolpius-Ulixess, reminding him of his near

not keep his promise and the goddess punished him with her rage. Not knowing what he was doing, he cut off his male parts and died from blood loss.

⁴¹ In the *Fasti* Faunus tried to seduce the nymph Lotis in Book II, whereas Priapus’ attempts to the goddess Vesta and to Hercules’ lover Omphale are depicted, respectively, in Books I and VI. We should admit the special frame position of Priapus’ scenes. Both gods after their imperfect efforts were laughed at mercilessly; about Priapus’ role in satire and obscene humour, cf. RICHLIN 1992 and about Ovid un particular, cf. WINNICZUK 1974.

⁴² HAYNES 2003: 68.

⁴³ In Seneca we have some connotations concerning *pudor* as sexual chastity, cf. *Agam.* 112; see also *Ov. Her.* 5, 103: “nulla reparabilis arte/ laesa pudicitia est; desperit illa semel” and *Val. Max.* VI 1. It is worth noticing how great the antinomy is between Circe’s revealed virginity and her simultaneous active sexual desire, which is too much even for Polyaeus...

⁴⁴ On the ideal of perfect Roman woman, see MIKOCKI 1997.

⁴⁵ Of course he was a lover of Tryphaena, but throughout the novel (as extant) he was consistently remaining in homosexual relations. Cf. also n. 20 above about Doris.

⁴⁶ Cf. GOLDHILL 1995: 46 ff.

unfaithfulness, rather than to encourage him⁴⁷. Simultaneously she provokes his potential sexual weakness with the words:

Quid factum est, quod tu proiectis, Iuppiter, armis
inter caelicolas fabula muta taces?

What is come to pass, Jupiter? That thou hast cast away thine armour,
and now liest silent in heaven and become an idle tale.

(126, 17; transl. by M. HESELTINE)

In some other places in the novel Encolpius pretends to compare himself with Achilles, especially with regard to his “weapon”⁴⁸, but in vain. Achilles may have been simultaneously bisexual unlike Encolpius⁴⁹. In the failed love scene, both Circe and Encolpius preserved their innocence, just as in a romance, where only marriage would make it possible to experience Aphrodite’s true sexual pleasure. This also refers to the tradition of romance; and once again ironically.

When summing up these brief deliberations about the love episode of those fragments of the *Satyricon*⁵⁰ which have been preserved, it is possible to state that this scene is, in many ways, juxtaposed with the remaining parts of this novel. What unavoidably comes to mind is also Apuleius’ late work, telling a sad story about Lucius, but with many obscene episodes⁵¹. However, Petronius is an ironist the whole time and he destroys the bucolic and lyrical order in his story in favour of the grotesque and obscene. Circe plays a special role among the women of the *Satyricon*. She is beautiful, something we do not know about the other ladies, as well as being subtle and tender, which certainly cannot be said of them. She is an epic character, almost divine⁵², thus not only formally was she to be linked with her namesake in the *Odyssey*. However, the distance between the protagonist and her is built in many ways, also by Encolpius’ ironic attitude towards himself⁵³.

⁴⁷ Circe recalling Giton’s absence tries to calm his lover, but in result she probably makes him impotent by recalling the true object of his erotic passion.

⁴⁸ Cf. 129, 2. It is worth mentioning the fact of an earlier parallel between Encolpius and Odysseus in Petronius (105, 9): while the homecoming hero of the *Odyssey* is recognized by a scar on his leg, Encolpius is identified by his *inguina*. Thanks once more to Prof. PIŁGOŃ for his valuable remark.

⁴⁹ If not the Homeric Achilles (see n. 3 above), then the Achilles of the subsequent literary tradition (cf. FANTUZZI 2012; HESLIN 2005). Encolpius dreams about Endymion even during his intercourse with Circe (132, 1)!

⁵⁰ We are aware that in lost parts of this perverse romance similar scenes could have appeared.

⁵¹ E.g. the scene between Lucius and Photis in Apul. *Met.* II 17, but simultaneously with the tender love story of Amor and Psyche (Books IV–VI) as a contrastive background.

⁵² However, she is in a perverse way fascinated with men from the lower classes. This is presumably Petronius’ parody of love stories involving goddesses and mortal men.

⁵³ Cf. KORPANTY 2005: 30–38.

However, when compared to Homer's Circe, Encolpius' lover is that sorceress only in terms of *hysteron proteron*, since she only resembles the Homeric pattern after the Greek sorceress has been "tamed" by Odysseus. In our Roman text, Circe's dangerous nature will be revealed only after Encolpius' sexual failure. On the other hand, the author has chosen the *locus amoenus* as the place of love: subtle eroticism, aesthetic beauty, innocence (but treated ironically as impotence⁵⁴), and the art of letter writing. Looking at the Circe episode as a whole, we can see, however, that it lacks one important element of a plot of a typical novel, namely a happy ending. Instead, there is cruel punishment and a woman humiliating her incapable lover. To put it simply, Encolpius looks like an incapable victim in the mythological web of schizophrenia.

The whole scene, its mood in the bucolic part resembling young people's love and the teaching of the experienced Lycaenum which was passed on to Daphnis in Longus' novel, is, however, an element of the dirty world of the *Satyricon* as a contrasted beautiful dream, even more painful to emerge from since it ends before achieving fulfilment, and the real world turns out to be particularly ruthless. But, as usual in Petronius, it is all upside down.

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⁵⁴ Impotence is a theme vividly underlined in Petronius, and no wonder since it is the effect of Priapus' punishment. About this problem with the connection between Petronius and Ovid's *Amores* III 7 see HALLETT 2013; also CONTE 1996; McMAHON 1998. Priapus was treated as a symbol of fertility, but in fact he should have had difficulties in consuming sexual intercourses, and the god himself (so richly bestowed) was sometimes suspected to be unable to copulate, cf. HOLZBERG 2005.

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POMPEY AS *LUDIBRIUM PELAGI* IN LUCAN: A HORATIAN
REMINISCENCE

by

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ABSTRACT: The literary representation of Pompey in Lucan's epic is strongly connected to the idea of the crumbling *res publica*. The poet reinforces this connection by using the phrase *ludibrium pelagi* (VIII 710) to describe the Roman general's decapitated body, thus pointing to a similar phrase in Horace's ode I 14, where the image of a ship rolling in rough seas symbolizes the dangers threatening the *res publica* as a result of civil war.

Following the trend prevalent in his day, in the composition of his epic *De Bello Civili* Lucan does not restrict himself to the adoption of models strictly associated with the epic, but incorporates elements in his work that are drawn from a number of other literary genres. The influence of Horace on Lucan has received ever increasing attention in recent years¹. In this article I shall be investigating a case which has not yet been closely examined by scholars. More specifically, I shall attempt to demonstrate that Lucan, by referring to Pompey's headless body after it was thrown into the sea as *ludibrium pelagi* (VIII 710), aims to allude to Horace's famous ode I 14, thus facilitating his broader poetic purposes.

The murder and beheading of Pompey on the coast of Egypt, where he had fled following his defeat at Pharsalus, was a subject which understandably moved the Romans. It is worth noting that Vergil's description in the *Aeneid* of Pyrrhus beheading Priam recalled Pompey's fate to the minds of the readers, as already observed by Servius², and undoubtedly this had been exploited by Lucan in his

¹ See recently D. GROSS, *Plenus litteris Lucanus: Zur Rezeption der horazischen Oden und Epoden in Lucans Bellum Civile*, Rahden/Westf. 2013 (Litora Classica 3); cf. also, among others, I. BORZSÁK, *Lucan und Horaz*, ACD XIV 1978, pp. 43–49; M. PASCHALIS, *Two Horatian Reminiscences in the Proem of Lucan*, *Mnemosyne* XXXV 1982, pp. 342–346.

² Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* II 557: "iacet ingens litore truncus: **Pompei tangit historiam**, cum 'ingens' dicit, non 'magnus'".

own description of Pompey's death³. It is only natural that Lucan should show great application in his description of the particular subject in his epic⁴, a subject which is in keeping with the emphasis placed on *exitus illustrium virorum*⁵ at the time and is approached in an intensely rhetorical manner that elicits *pathos*.

In his description Lucan refers to the Roman general's headless body which has been thrown into the sea as *ludibrium pelagi*:

pulsatur harenis,
carpitur in scopulis hausto per vulnera fluctu,
ludibrium pelagi, nullaque manente figura
una nota est Magno capitis iactura revulsi⁶.

(VIII 708–711)

A similar expression is to be found in the poet's mention of Pompey's catasterism, where the general's spirit is seen to be mocking the *sui ludibria*⁷ *trunci*:

³ See e.g. E. NARDUCCI, *Il tronco di Pompeo (Troia e Roma nella Pharsalia)*, Maia XXV 1973, pp. 317–325; IDEM, *La provvidenza crudele: Lucano e la distruzione dei miti augustei*, Pisa 1979 (Bibliotheca di Studi Antichi 17), pp. 43–54; IDEM, *Ideologia e tecnica allusiva nella Pharsalia*, ANRW II 32, 3 (1985), pp. 1545–1547; IDEM, *Lucano: Un'epica contro l'impero: Interpretazione della Pharsalia*, Roma–Bari 2002 (Percorsi 34), pp. 111 ff.; A. ROSSI, *The Aeneid Revisited: the Journey of Pompey in Lucan's Pharsalia*, AJPh CXXI 2000, pp. 586 f.; F.R. BERNO, *Un truncus, molti re. Priamo, Agamennone, Pompeo (Virgilio, Seneca, Lucano)*, Maia LVI 2004, pp. 79–84; G. CHIESA, *La rappresentazione del corpo nel Bellum Civile di Lucano*, Acme LVIII 2005, pp. 17 f.; M. ERASMO, *Mourning Pompey: Lucan and the Poetics of Death Ritual*, in: C. DEROUX (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XII*, Bruxelles 2005 (Collection Latomus 287), p. 345; G. PETRONE, *La 'fragile fortuna' di Priamo e Pompeo. Uno schema tragico d'interpretazione*, Maia LX 2008, pp. 51–63.

⁴ On Lucan's literary treatment of Pompey's death, see e.g. E. PARATORE, *Lucano*, Roma 1992 (Filologia e critica 68), pp. 73–84; P. ESPOSITO, *La morte di Pompeo in Lucano*, in: G. BRUGNOLI, F. STOK (eds.), *Pompei exitus. Variazioni sul tema dall'Antichità alla Controriforma*, Pisa 1996 (Testi e studi di cultura classica 15), pp. 75–123; J.-Ch. DE NADAI, *Rhétorique et poétique dans la Pharsale de Lucain. La crise de la représentation dans la poésie antique*, Louvain–Paris 2000 (Bibliothèque d'Études Classiques 19), pp. 262–271; NARDUCCI, *Lucano: Un'epica...* (n. 3), pp. 331–335; M. MALAMUD, *Pompey's Head and Cato's Snakes*, CPh XCVIII 2003, esp. pp. 32–39; ERASMO, *Mourning...* (n. 3), pp. 344–360.

⁵ On *exitus illustrium virorum* and their popularity in the Imperial period, see, for instance, F.A. MARX, *Tacitus und die Literatur der exitus illustrium virorum*, Philologus XCII 1937, pp. 83–103; A. RONCONI, *Exitus illustrium virorum*, SIFC XVII 1940, pp. 3–32; cf. M. SEEWALD, *Studien zum 9. Buch von Lucans Bellum Civile, Mit einem Kommentar zu den Versen 1–733*, Berlin–New York 2008 (Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, N.F. 2), pp. 135 f.

⁶ All citations from Lucan's epic follow the edition of D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili libri X*, Stuttgartiae–Lipsiae² 1997.

⁷ For a possible allusion to spectacles through the word *ludibria* here, cf. M. ERASMO, *Reading Death in Ancient Rome*, Columbus 2008, p. 121: "From a semiotic perspective, Pompey was an audience to his own audience of events on earth, watching himself watching events of his murder unfold, watching his corpse being decapitated and abused (now referred to as a spectacle: *ludibria*), watching Cordus' hasty funeral and the cremation of his remains from which his soul arose".

illic postquam se lumine vero
implevit, stellasque vagas miratus et astra
fixa polis, vidit quanta sub nocte iaceret
nostra dies risitque sui **ludibria** trunci.

(IX 11–14)

It is also worth noting that the same noun was used by Pompey to refer to his own person in the speech he gave addressing his soldiers prior to the crucial battle at Pharsalus, in which he asked them to fight so that he should not be made *ludibrium soceri* in case of defeat:

Magnus, nisi vincitis, exul,
ludibrium soceri, vester pudor, ultima fata
deprecor ac turpes extremi cardinis annos,
ne discam servire senex.

(VII 379–382)

The irony of these lines is evident. The word *exul* refers the readers to the end of Book II, where Pompey abandons Italy (cf. II 725–730: “pelagus iam, Magne, tenebas/ non ea fata ferens quae cum super aequora toto/ praedonem sequerere mari: lassata triumphis/ descivit Fortuna tuis. cum coniuge pulsus/ et natis totosque trahens in bella penates/ vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus **exul**”)⁸, and, at the same time, to Aeneas⁹; cf. also VII 377: “cum prole et coniuge supplex”. Thus, Pompey as *exul* – forced by Caesar, the storm, to escape his homeland – really has become *ludibrium soceri* and, by implication, *ludibrium pelagi / venti*.

Lastly, the noun *ludibrium* is also found one more time in Lucan’s epic, in lines X 25–28, where, however, it is not directly connected to Pompey, but to the fate of Alexander the Great’s body should *Libertas* restore the world to itself:

nam sibi Libertas umquam si redderet orbem,
ludibrio servatus erat, non utile mundo
editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
esse viro.

Generally, the ‘spectacular’ elements of Lucan’s epic are elucidated by M. LEIGH, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement*, Oxford 1997 (Oxford Classical Monographs).

⁸ Cf. also the occurrence of the word *exul* some lines earlier, in the simile that likens Pompey to a bull: “pulsus ut armentis primo certamine taurus/ silvarum secreta petit vacuosque per agros/ **exul** in adversis explorat cornua truncis/ nec redit in pastus nisi cum cervice recepta/ excussi placuere tori, mox reddita victor/ quoslibet in saltus comitantibus agmina tauris/ invito pastore trahit, sic viribus impar/ tradidit Hesperiam profugusque per Apula rura/ Brundisii tutas concessit Magnus in arces” (II 601–609).

⁹ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III 11 f.: “feror **exsul** in altum/ cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis”. On the Vergilian model and the contrasts and affinities between Pompey and Aeneas in Lucan’s lines II 728 ff., see e.g. E. FANTHAM, *Lucan, De Bello Civili, Liber II*, Cambridge 1992 (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics), p. 220.

Even in this case, however, there is an indirect connection: Lucan likes to compare the absence of a significant grave for Pompey with the grand tomb of another Magnus, Alexander the Great¹⁰. The presence of the word *ludibrium* in these two instances makes the contrast all the clearer: the poet claims that if there was *Libertas* in the world, then the posthumous fate of the two men would have been reversed, with Alexander the Great's body suffering the fate of that of Pompey's, since the former is portrayed as an *exemplum* of the despotic monarchy which is strongly denounced by the poet.

The fact that Lucan refers to Pompey's sea-tossed body with the phrase *ludibrium pelagi* easily recalls to the reader's mind Horace's use of the word *ludibrium* in *Carm.* I 14:

tu nisi ventis
debes **ludibrium**, cave.

(Hor. *Carm.* I 14, 15 f.)

Horace's famous ode describes a ship which has already suffered considerable damage in earlier storms and is now attempting, yet again, to set sail in dangerous seas. Riddled with disappointment and disgust, the lyric poet warns it of the great dangers that lie ahead and calls on it to be careful and seek shelter in a calm harbour, so to avoid being mocked (*ludibrium*) by the winds. Even in ancient times, this ode was interpreted according to the well-established symbolism of the state as a ship¹¹ and Quintilian presented it as a typical example of allegory, with the ship symbolizing the *res publica*, the storms and tempests civil war and the harbour peace and concord¹²:

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. ERASMO, *Mourning...* (n. 3), p. 344; F. GALTIER, *Un tombeau pour un grand nom: le traitement de la dépouille de Pompée chez Lucain*, in: O. DEVILLERS, S. FRANCHET D'ESPÉREY (eds.), *Lucain en débat. Rhétorique, poétique et histoire. Actes du Colloque international, Institut Ausonius (Pessac, 12–14 juin 2008)*, Bordeaux 2010 (Études 29), pp. 198 f.; S. TZOUNAKAS, *The Dialogue between the Mytileneans and Pompey in Lucan's De Bello Civili (8,109–158)*, *Minerva* XXV 2012, p. 160.

¹¹ On the long-established allegory of the ship of state, see e.g. J.M. MAY, *The Image of the Ship of State in Cicero's Pro Sestio*, *Maia* XXXII 1980, pp. 259–264; F. MAIER, *Die Metapher des ‚Staatsschiffes‘. Elemente der Tradition in der Sprache des Alltags. Zu Alkaios 46a D, Horaz c. I 14 u.a.*, in: J. GRUBER, F. MAIER (eds.), *Humanismus und Bildung. Zukunftschancen der Tradition. Beiträge zu Bildungstheorie und Didaktik der Alten Sprachen II: Interpretationen*, Bamberg 1991 (Auxilia 28), pp. 78–94; R. MAYER, *Horace, Odes, Book I*, Cambridge 2012 (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics), p. 136 with relevant bibliography.

¹² On this ode and its various interpretations, some of which, however, are critical of the political interpretation espoused by Quintilian, see e.g. W.S. ANDERSON, *Horace Carm. I.14: What Kind of Ship?*, *CPh* LXI 1966, pp. 84–98; R.G.M. NISBET, M. HUBBARD, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes, Book I*, Oxford 1970, pp. 178–188; G. DAVIS, *Ingenii cumba? Literary Aporia and the Rhetoric of Horace's O navis referent (C.I.14)*, *RhM* CXXXII 1989, pp. 331–345; D.A. WEST, *Horace Odes I. Carpe Diem. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 1995, pp. 64–71; G. CALBOLI, *O navis*,

Allegoria, quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit, aut etiam interim contrarium. Prius fit genus plerumque continuatis tralationibus, ut “O navis, referent in mare te novi/ fluctus: o quid agis? fortiter occupa/ portum”, totusque ille Horati locus, quo navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit (Quint. *Inst.* VIII 6, 44).

It is a well-known fact that in Lucan’s epic Pompey’s image is depicted in such a way as to represent and echo the crumbling Roman *res publica*¹³. The poet liked to imply that the two fates were indissolubly connected, thus presenting the Roman general’s elimination in a way that signalled the arrival of a monarchy in Rome. A characteristic example is Cato’s eulogy of Pompey (IX 190–214), which evolves into a funerary speech for the *res publica*¹⁴. As one of the better known poems in earlier Latin literature that could be interpreted as allegorical of the dangers threatening the *res publica* in the form of civil war, this particular ode by Horace offers valuable material in this direction. It seems that Lucan interprets Horace’s ode in the same way as Quintilian does; he appears fully aware of the possible strong symbolism of Horace’s poem and by his apposite allusion

referent in mare te novi / fluctus (zu Horazens *carm. I 14*), Maia L 1998, pp. 37–70; P. PAOLUCCI, *Tre vettori per l’interpretazione politica di Hor. Carm. I, 14*, GIF LI 1999, pp. 23–40; R.W. CARRUBBA, *The Structure of Horace’s Ship of State: Odes 1, 14*, Latomus LXII 2003, pp. 606–615; O. KNORR, *Horace’s Ship Ode (Odes 1.14) in Context: A Metaphorical Love-Triangle*, TAPhA CXXXVI 2006, pp. 149–169; P. KRUSCHWITZ, *Fluctuat nec mergitur: Überlegungen zu Horaz’ Ode I, 14*, Hyperboreus XIII 2007, pp. 151–174; MAYER, *Horace...* (n. 11), pp. 133–137.

¹³ See e.g. O.S. DUE, *An Essay on Lucan*, C&M XXIII 1962, esp. p. 112; J. BRISSET, *Les idées politiques de Lucain*, Paris 1964 (Collection d’Études Anciennes), pp. 125 f.; F.M. AHL, *The Pivot of the Pharsalia*, Hermes CII 1974, pp. 307 ff.; IDEM, *Lucan: An Introduction*, Ithaca–London 1976 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 39), pp. 157 ff.; J. MASTERS, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan’s Bellum Civile*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 103–106; C. WICK, *M. Annaeus Lucanus, Bellum Civile, Liber IX, Kommentar*, München–Leipzig 2004 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 202), pp. 69 f.; S. TZOUNAKAS, *Echoes of Lucan in Tacitus: The Cohortationes of Pompey and Calgacus*, in: C. DEROUX (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XII*, Bruxelles 2005 (Collection Latomus 287), p. 412. More generally, for the representation of Pompey in Lucan’s epic, see mainly W. RUTZ, *Lucan 1964–1983*, Lustrum XXVI 1984, pp. 164–169, where the relevant bibliography of the years 1964–1983 is given; W.R. JOHNSON, *Momentary Monsters: Lucan and his Heroes*, Ithaca–London 1987 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 47), pp. 67–100; V. RUDICH, *Dissidence and Literature under Nero: The Price of Rhetoricization*, London–New York 1997, esp. pp. 156–169, 171 f.; LEIGH, *Lucan...* (n. 7), esp. pp. 110–157; S. BARTSCH, *Ideology in Cold Blood: A Reading of Lucan’s Civil War*, Cambridge MA–London 1997, pp. 73–100; NARDUCCI, *Lucano: Un’epica...* (n. 3), pp. 279–367; F. D’ALESSANDRO BEHR, *Feeling History: Lucan, Stoicism, and the Poetics of Passion*, Columbus 2007, esp. pp. 76–112, 135–138; C. VESTER, *(Mis)Remembering Magnus in Lucan’s De Bello Ciuili*, in: C. DEROUX (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIV*, Bruxelles 2008 (Collection Latomus 315), pp. 324–338; R. UTARD, *Pompée sous le regard de Cornélie: pour quelle image du héros?*, in: DEVILLERS, FRANCHET D’ESPÈREY (eds.), *Lucain...* (n. 10), pp. 179–191; B. MINEO, *Le Pompée de Lucain et le modèle livien*, in: DEVILLERS, FRANCHET D’ESPÈREY (eds.), *Lucain...* (n. 10), pp. 255–266.

¹⁴ On this passage, see S. TZOUNAKAS, *Cato’s Laudatio Pompei in Lucan’s De Bello Civili*, in: S. TZOUNAKAS (ed.), *Praises of Roman Leaders in Latin Literature*, Nicosia 2014, pp. 191–221.

to this work by way of the phrase *ludibrium pelagi*, which connects Pompey with the *res publica* ship threatened by civil war, he facilitates his poetic and political aims within his literary portrayal of the defeated general. Thus, Lucan's broader attempt in his epic to connect Pompey with the *res publica* is efficiently constructed here and in a manner which can easily be identified by his readers.

This possibility could be further reinforced with additional indications. It is worth mentioning that Lucan has already introduced the *topos* of the ship of state into his poem from lines I 498–504, where he compares Rome, terrified by the rumour of Caesar's arrival, to a shipwreck:

qualis, cum turbidus Auster
reppulit a Libycis immensum Syrtibus aequor
fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali,
desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister
navitaque et nondum sparsa compage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit, sic urbe relicta
in bellum fugitur.

This passage is important for the interpretation of lines VIII 708–711 discussed above. In his commentary on Book I, ROCHE notes that Lucan's line I 500: "fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali" may amplify details at Hor. *Carm.* I 14, 3–6: "nonne vides, ut/ nudum remigio latus/ et **malus** celeri **saucius** Africo/ antemnaeque **gemant**"¹⁵, a similarity which further supports the view that Lucan has taken this particular ode into consideration and exploited its possible political allegory.

In this simile from Book I, by underlining the abandonment of the ship by its *magister*, Lucan inverts the usual emphasis upon the helmsman in the traditional allegory of the ship of state¹⁶. Thus he artfully prepares the ground for the depiction of Pompey as *ludibrium pelagi / venti / soceri*, since Pompey, who is implicitly identified with the *magister* in question, appears to put himself at the mercy of sea and wind, and by extension, of the storm that is Caesar¹⁷. He becomes *naufragus* (cf. VIII 311–313: "quod si nos Eoa fides et barbara fallent/ foedera, vulgati supra commercia mundi/ **naufragium** Fortuna ferat") and thus he contributes to the shipwreck of the state¹⁸.

¹⁵ P. ROCHE, *Lucan, De Bello Ciuili, Book I, Edited with a Commentary*, Oxford 2009, pp. 310 f.

¹⁶ See ROCHE, *Lucan...* (n. 15), p. 310.

¹⁷ On Caesar's frequent association with storm imagery in Lucan's epic, see e.g. T.P. TORGERSON, *Refractions of Rome: The Destruction of Rome in Lucan's Pharsalia*, Diss. Cornell University 2011, pp. 267 f.: "Lucan strongly associates Caesar with stormy weather, most notably in the lightning simile (I 151–157) and in the famous passage in Book 5 where Caesar attempts to cross the Adriatic during a nocturnal storm (V 504–677)".

¹⁸ It's worth mentioning that both Pompey and Caesar are presented as *naufragi* (and also as capable of contributing to the shipwreck of the state), but while Pompey is *ludibrium pelagi*, Caesar

This is not the only time in Lucan's epic that Pompey is portrayed as a ship's captain in an extraordinary use of that particular *topos*. The poet's words are highly indicative in lines VII 123–127, where, just as in the passages mentioned above, the poet again effectively echoes the atmosphere of Horace's ode I 14. Here a reluctant Pompey, urged by his supporters to hasten his confrontation with Caesar at Pharsalus, is explicitly likened to a sailor who lets go off the helm and abandons his ship to the mercy of the elements¹⁹:

Sic fatur et arma
permittit populis frenosque furentibus ira
laxat et ut victus violento navita Coro
dat regimen ventis ignavumque arte relicta
puppis onus trahitur.

Horace's ode is also an unusual realization of the particular *topos*, since one of the key elements of the allegory of the ship of state – a helmsman – is missing. Thus, the reference to Horace's ode is indeed an indirect way of linking Pompey to the ship itself, i.e. to *res publica*.

Let us now turn to another point that makes the comparison with Horace's ode all the clearer. Referring to the ship he is describing, Horace notes that though it boasts about its lineage and name, these can be of no use to it: "quamvis Pontica pinus,/ silvae filia nobilis,/ iactes et genus et nomen inutile" (Hor. *Carm.* I 14, 11–13). The ship's *nomen inutile* is in perfect accordance with Lucan's emphasis on Pompey's *nomen* (Magnus) as well as with his programmatic thesis that at the start of the civil war the general was but a shadow of a great name, as is characteristically stated in line I 135: "stat magni nominis umbra"²⁰.

To conclude, Lucan makes skilful use of the allegory found in Horace's ode and implies that the distress and fear felt on the part of the lyric poet for the fate of the *res publica* ship had already been confirmed by Pompey's vanquishment.

remains *felix naufragus* (cf. V 698 f.: "hinc usus placere deum, non rector ut orbis/ nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses?").

¹⁹ For Pompey as *gubernator rei publicae*, cf. also VII 85 f.: "ingemuit rector sensitque deorum/ esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti" and VII 110: "res mihi Romanas dederas, Fortuna, regendas"; on this depiction, see e.g. M. RAMBAUD, *L'apologie de Pompée par Lucain au livre VII de la Pharsale*, REL XXXIII 1955, pp. 264–266; G. PETRONE, *I prospera fata di Pompeo in Lucano*, in: T. BAIER (ed.), *Götter und menschliche Willensfreiheit: Von Lucan bis Silius Italicus*, München 2012 (Zetemata 142), p. 84.

²⁰ On the programmatic role of this particular phrase of Lucan, see especially D.C. FEENEY, *Stat magni nominis umbra: Lucan on the Greatness of Pompeius Magnus*, CQ XXXVI 1986, pp. 239–243. Since *Libertas* is presented in a similar way at II 301–303: "non ante revellar/ exanimem quam te complectar, Roma; tuumque/ **nomen**, Libertas, et inanem persequar **umbram**", this verbal similarity allows Lucan to implicitly connect Pompey with Rome and *Libertas*; cf. e.g. AHL, *The Pivot...* (n. 13), p. 307; IDEM, *Lucan...* (n. 13), p. 158; D.B. GEORGE, *Lucan's Cato and Stoic Attitudes to the Republic*, ClAnt X 1991, p. 253; A. ERSKINE, *Cato, Caesar and the Name of the Republic in Lucan, Pharsalia 2.297–303, Scholia VII 1998*, pp. 118–120.

The latter is thus presented as the pivotal point of transition from Republic to Principate and, consequently, sufficiently justifies the epic dimension of Lucan's chosen subject²¹.

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GREEK WINES FOR THE ROMAN ELITE:
IN SEARCH OF EASTERN LUXURIES ON WESTERN TABLES*

by

PAULINA KOMAR

ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the status of Greek wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos in Roman Italy. The analysis of both literary and archaeological evidence shows that these wines were luxurious drinks for the Romans. They were consumed in limited quantities and usually only on special occasions by the elites of the Eternal City.

There is no doubt that wine was one of the main consumption goods in the ancient Mediterranean. It formed a part of the so-called Mediterranean triad together with bread and olives. Similarly to what we can observe nowadays, in antiquity there were various kinds of wines, from those of the lowest quality to the most sophisticated beverages. The Romans produced wines in Italy as well as imported from all over the Mediterranean. However, it seems that the Aegean region provided the most unique beverages.

Many types of wines were produced in ancient Greece, but only a few of them were drunk and appreciated by the Romans. Since Chian, Lesbian, Thasian, Rhodian, Coan and Cretan wines are frequently mentioned in Latin texts, it seems that these wines had a privileged position. Besides these, Roman authors mention: Leucadian¹, Ephesian, Cnidian, Mysian, Myconian, Mesogitic², Tmolian³ (from the area of Mount Mesogis and Mount Tmolus in Lydia), Catacecaumenite (from Maenoia)⁴, Maroneian⁵

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¹ Pl. *Poen.* 699; Plin. *HN* XIV 76.

² Plin. *HN* XIV 74–76.

³ Plin. *HN* XIV 74; Vitruv. VIII 3, 12, Ov. *Fasti* II 313.

⁴ Vitruv. VIII 3, 12.

⁵ Plin. *HN* XIV 53; Tib. IV 1, 57.

and Ismarian⁶ from Thrace, Pramnian from the area of Smyrna⁷, as well as those from Sicyon, Cyprus, Mystus, Peparethos (today Skopelus)⁸, Arcadia and Achaia⁹. However, they provide little evidence regarding these beverages – in most cases the evidence is too vague to claim that they were indeed imported to Rome¹⁰.

The analysis of literary as well as archaeological evidence regarding wines from Crete, Cos, Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos and Thasos suggests that the first three were rather mass beverages, whereas the others might have been aristocratic luxuries. Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines were often praised by poets because of their delightful taste and recommended by physicians due to their medicinal values. However, is this enough to claim that they were luxury goods? Certainly not. Luxury is a complicated concept, especially in terms of food. Any consumption goods need to have certain characteristics to be called a luxury.

In this paper I will try to prove that wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were indeed luxuries for the Romans, especially in the times of the Republic, as they fulfil all the criteria that luxury foods should satisfy. The first part of the paper will present the geographical and chronological framework of this study as well as a short outline of the most important sources. The second part will be devoted to the concept of luxury and the characteristics of luxury foods. On the following pages I will describe wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos according to the criteria of luxuries that they are supposed to meet.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

There are three categories of sources that provide information about the consumption of Greek wines in Roman Italy, which include Latin literary texts, wine amphoras and amphora inscriptions (in the form of stamps or *tituli picti*). The first category comprises the works of the prominent Romans, citizens of the “Eternal City”, who spent their lives mostly in the Urbs, but also in villas in Latium and Campania. Therefore, they give testimonies of life mostly in this region. Moreover, most of the archaeological material regarding Roman Italy comes from Latium and Campania, or to be more precise, from Rome, Ostia and from the Vesuvian cities. This is the reason of why this study is focused above all on this area.

⁶ Prop. II 33, 31 f.; Verg. *Georg.* II 37 f.

⁷ Plin. *HN* XIV 54.

⁸ Plin. *HN* XIV 74–76.

⁹ Plin. *HN* XIV 116 f.

¹⁰ It should be noted that the archaeological evidence is amphoras that were discovered in Italy which confirm the import of wines from Cnidus, Asia Minor (Ephesian, Tmolian or Clazomenian) and Sicyon.

The earliest irrefutable evidence for the drinking of Greek wines comes from the middle republican period. However, it should be noted that these beverages probably reached Rome as early as the archaic age. This is indicated by a few fragments of Greek amphoras (including one Chian and Corinthian A¹¹) as well as Greek vessels associated with drinking of wine that were discovered, mostly in funerary contexts, in Latium¹². Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue that the consumption of Greek wines existed on a larger scale due to the scarcity of evidence. In addition, it is mostly literature that allows us to learn about the qualities of wines, which in the case of Latin texts starts at the end of the 3rd c. BC. This is, thus, the *terminus post quem* for this study.

The comedies by Plautus dated to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd c. BC are the earliest literary evidence for the consumption of wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos. In the *Poenulus* Lycus, a pimp, praises his lodging and services to Collybiscus, who is looking for a place where he would be “treated more delicately than the eyes of King Antiochus”. Lycus says:

Ubi tu Leucadio, Lesbio, Thasio, Chio,
vetustate vino edentulo aetatem inriges.

(Pl. *Poen.* 699 f.)

According to W.G. ARNOTT, *edentulo* should be interpreted as ‘mellowed by age’¹³. Therefore, in this passage Lycus praises old Greek wines from Chios, Lesbos, Thasos and Leucas. In the *Curculio* there is a conversation between Palinurus and Phaedromus, who laughs at an old drunk woman called Leaena, saying “Quasi tu lagoenam dicas, ubi vinum Chium solet esse” (78 f.). Since, as SKWARA notes, Plautus willingly used Greek terms provided that his audience was familiar with them¹⁴, we may suppose that these wines were known in Rome in the middle republican period. Their consumption is also confirmed later. For example Varro mentions that in the 1st c. BC the Romans imported wines from Chios and Cos¹⁵. Moreover, in the *De Lingua Latina* he uses the words “alii generis enim vinum quod Chio, aliud quod Lesbo”¹⁶, while explaining the intricacies of the Latin plural. This means that his readers must have been familiar with these wines, otherwise the example would be pointless. In addition, Ariusian wine, which is produced in the north-western part of Chios, appears in

¹¹ It should be noted that the content of the Corinthian A amphora is still an object of scholarly discussion, since wine as well as olive oil are possible.

¹² SACCHETTI 2013: 76; ZEVİ 1985: 119; LA ROCCA 1977: 375–389.

¹³ ARNOTT 1970: 47.

¹⁴ SKWARA 2005: 25.

¹⁵ *Rust.* II *praef.*

¹⁶ *Ling.* IX 40.

the *Eclogues* by Virgil¹⁷. Wine from this island is also very often mentioned by Horace¹⁸, once in the company of wine from Lesbos¹⁹.

Finally, there is Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, the 14th book of which is a mine of information about ancient wines. He mentions Chian, Lesbian and Thasian in the chapter devoted to the classification of foreign wines, as well as in the part that presents Italian and foreign wines²⁰. According to this author, Erasistratus, a physician, added Lesbian wines to the same group as those from Thasos and Chios about four hundred and fifty years after the foundation of Rome, which means around the 3rd c. BC. If we consider that at the end of that century these wines appear in Plautus' comedies, it seems possible that the Romans started to drink them not long after the establishment of the hierarchy of *crus* in the Greek world. Furthermore, we learn from Pliny that *vina transmarina* were still consumed when the Romans started their own wine production and made the so-called Opimian wine, the name being taken from Lucius Opimius, consul in 121 BC. Greek wines were certainly in use in 89 BC, when the sumptuary law regulating their price was established²¹. This is confirmed by Diodorus, who says that young men after the civil wars drank Chian and that a jar of this wine cost 100 drachmas. The use of Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines lasted, according to Pliny, "ad avos usque nostros"²². Although it is impossible to give the exact date here, it should be mentioned that Pliny based his hierarchy of wines upon Sextius Niger, a Roman writer on pharmacology during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Moreover, it seems that Asclepiades of Bithynia, a physician who lived between 124 (or 129) and 40 BC, might have been the inspiration for the list²³. Therefore, the period between the mid-1st c. BC and the beginning of the 1st c. AD could be the time of the grandfathers that Pliny is talking about.

It is worth noting that wine from Lesbos was mentioned in the 2nd c. AD by Aulus Gellius. However, the story concerns Aristotle's choice of his successor – either Theophrastus from Lesbos or Eudemus from Rhodes. Therefore, it is probably meant to represent the reality of 4th c. BC Greece. Furthermore, Chios appeared around 460 AD in a poem by Sidonius Apollinaris, who apologised to a friend that he would not be able to serve him certain wines, Chian among them. This could suggest that wine from Chios was known in the western Mediterranean in this period. Nonetheless, the names of wines mentioned by

¹⁷ *Buc.* 5, 71.

¹⁸ *Carm.* III 19, 5; *Serm.* I 10; II 3; II 8.

¹⁹ *Epod.* 9.

²⁰ *HN* XIV 73–76; XIV 94–97.

²¹ *HN* XIV 95–96.

²² *HN* XIV 95.

²³ TCHERNIA 1997: 1247 f.

Sidonius may be merely seen as examples of his erudition and knowledge of ancient literature. Therefore, this evidence is not entirely reliable.

Summarising, Latin texts mentioning the consumption of wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos are dated mostly to the middle and the late republican period. Pliny is the last Latin writer that mentions the drinking of these wines in Rome and the only one that lived in the imperial age. However, it seems that in his times the wines from these islands were no longer imported to the Eternal City. Let us now consider the archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

One of the earliest assemblages of Greek containers, Chian among them, was attested in the east *Suburbium* (Viale della Serenissima, Quarto del Cappello da Prete) and should be dated to the Late Republic²⁴. The dating (the late 2nd or the early 1st c. BC) of a Chian amphora stamp that was discovered in Cosa is similar²⁵. Moreover, at the House of the Porch in Ostia an amphora of possible Chian origin was discovered in a context dated to the third quarter of the 1st c. BC²⁶. Regarding the imperial period, one Chian amphora was found in Rome, in the stores of Trajan's Markets, two fragments were attested in Ostia (Terme del Nuotatore), whilst one fragment was discovered in Necropoli di Porto in Isola Sacra²⁷. Moreover, a fragment of a container from Chios was found in Vigna Barberini in a context dated to the Flavian period²⁸. Finally, in Herculaneum an amphora with a *titulus pictus* 'Chium' was discovered. Summing up, there is archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the consumption of wine from Chios in the late republican and the early imperial period. Therefore, it seems that upon the basis of literary texts and amphora findings it is possible to argue that wines from Lesbos and Thasos were drunk in Rome in the middle and the late republican period, while the consumption of Chian wines lasted probably until the early imperial age. However, were they luxury goods for the Romans?

WHEN IS FOOD A LUXURY?

According to *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, "luxury" is "a state of great comfort and extravagant living" or "an inessential, desirable item which is expensive or difficult to obtain", such as "chocolate, scent and fizzy wine"²⁹.

²⁴ CASPIO 2009: 487, fig. 35.

²⁵ American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives in the Blegen Library, Virginia R. Grace Papers.

²⁶ BOERSMA, YNTEMA, VAN DER WERFF 1986: 108 f.

²⁷ PALMA, PANELLA 1967–1968: 100.

²⁸ RIZZO 2003: 146 f., tab. 26 b; 163 f., tab. 27 b and c. There were also 6 other fragments which could have been of Chian origin, but due to their small size this attribution was not certain. This amphora might be residual.

²⁹ J. PEARSAL (ed.), *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, New York 1998, p. 1103.

The definition in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* seems similar – “luxury” is explained as: “1. Choice or costly surroundings, possessions, food, etc.; luxuriousness. 2. Something desirable for comfort or enjoyment, but not indispensable. 3. Providing great comfort, expensive”³⁰.

From these definitions we may deduce that a luxury good is something that gives pleasure, which is desired, but is not essential for living. Furthermore, access to it is difficult or limited by its high price or other factors. For example, it may be very difficult to procure and/or very labour-intensive to produce.

Ch. BERRY develops and explains the concept of the desire of luxuries as well as their inessentiality for survival, giving interesting examples. According to him, a luxury is not simply desired, but widely desired. It must be something that a lot of people want; however, only few can possess. For example, a special edition of a book designed for collectors, though rare, would not be a luxury, because it would not be widely demanded³¹. On the other hand, the inessentiality of a luxury does not mean its uselessness. According to BERRY, a luxury good is something related to basic needs (such as the need for food, clothes, shelter and leisure) but it is something sophisticated and refined. It must bring enjoyment apart from the simple satisfaction of basic needs. For example, bread is necessary for survival, but *fresh* bread could be seen as an indulgence³². The commodity that satisfies basic needs is something that people will buy regardless of changes in prices and incomes. A luxury, however, is an item that may be easily abandoned if its cost increases dramatically³³.

While talking about luxury foods, the comfort and enjoyment that they bring are usually associated with their taste. It is true that luxury food should be palatable; however, it is not the only factor that can cause pleasure. It should also be noted that “all goods carry meaning”³⁴ and in the case of food this meaning, e.g. the prestige their consumption suggests, may be even more important than the taste. We can find the best example to illustrate this in the anecdote about the precious pearl that Cleopatra dissolved in a cup of wine. She drank it not because of its taste, but to prove to Mark Antony that she could afford a more spectacular and expensive feast than the banquet that he had prepared³⁵.

According to M. VAN DER VEEN, “in terms of food, luxury usually denotes foods that are desirable or hard to obtain but not essential to human nutrition. This frequently, though not necessarily, includes exotic products, that is foods

³⁰ H.W. FOWLER, F.G. FOWLER (eds.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford 1995, p. 814.

³¹ BERRY 1994: 5.

³² BERRY 1994: 11–17.

³³ DOUGLAS, ISHERWOOD 1979: 97.

³⁴ DOUGLAS, ISHERWOOD 1979: 72.

³⁵ Plin. *HN* IX 119–121; DE GARINE 1976: 150 f.

that are unusual or desirable because of their foreign origin"³⁶. This definition indicates that foreign, imported goods may be often seen as luxuries. However, not every sustenance that is brought from abroad achieves this status. For example, in ancient Rome grain imported from Egypt was definitely not a luxury. It was a basic good, essential and demanded by the common people. A lack of it provoked rebellions among the plebs and instability in the Eternal City. Certain foreign wines, such as those from Crete, Saguntum and Tarraconensis, were a similar case. According to TCHERNIA, between the 1st and the 2nd c. AD they were among the most common and the cheapest beverages³⁷.

Furthermore, VAN DER VEEN claims that "luxury foods are consumed on special occasions and are often directly associated with the elites, who use it to show their social status and difference between them and the masses"³⁸. Therefore, luxury foods are not everyday consumption goods. In antiquity they were eaten probably during public feasts that accompanied religious festivals or important political events. Moreover, they used to be consumed almost exclusively by the upper social classes.

At this point a question may be asked: how is it possible to ensure that a certain food is available only for the high social classes? One answer may be its high price, but BERRY also emphasizes another factor. He says that "in most societies there were attempts to limit the tendency of luxuries to become widely available, like sumptuary laws, monopolizing certain goods only for elite's consumption"³⁹. Consequently, to treat a certain type of food as a luxury, its consumption should be banned or limited by a sumptuary law or other legal restrictions.

Finally, M. DOUGLAS and B. ISHERWOOD pointed out that one of the characteristics of luxuries is their low frequency of use⁴⁰. This is obviously a consequence of the features mentioned above. When access to a certain commodity is limited, only few people can consume it. If we add that this consumption should be associated with special events, it is clear that it will not be used very often.

In summary, it is possible to create a list of at least five criteria that a certain food should fulfil to be called a luxury. These are as follows:

1. Providing pleasure or enjoyment.
2. Inessentiality for survival.
3. Limited access (by foreign origin, high price, sumptuary laws etc.).
4. Consumption among upper social classes and/or during special occasions.
5. Low frequency of use.

³⁶ VAN DER VEEN 2003: 405 f.

³⁷ TCHERNIA 2011: 257 f.

³⁸ VAN DER VEEN 2003: 406.

³⁹ BERRY 1994: 27.

⁴⁰ DOUGLAS, ISHERWOOD 1979: 136.

In the following pages I would like to use these criteria to prove that Greek wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were luxury goods in Roman Italy. I would like to show, with the use of both literary and archaeological evidence, that these wines had all the characteristics which made them luxuries for the Romans.

PROVIDING PLEASURE OR ENJOYMENT

It has already been mentioned that luxury foods should give pleasure because of their palatable taste and/or the social meaning of their consumption. However, it is difficult to find direct evidence regarding drinking Greek wines as, for example, a sign of prestige. Therefore, in this part of my paper I will show that wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were high-quality beverages and that they were appreciated and desired by the Greeks and the Romans because of their delicious taste.

As a matter of fact, Greek authors very often praise the good taste and pleasant aroma of the wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos. For example, Callimachus calls Lesbian wine “nectar of the flower of wine” (πολὺς δὲ Λεσβίης ἄωτον νέκταρ οἰνάνθης ἄγων)⁴¹, while Longus describes it as “the best of wines, redolent of flowers” (ἀνθοσμίας οἶνος Λέσβιος, ποθῆναι κάλλιστος οἶνος)⁴². Also, Clearchus says that there is no “wine sweeter/nicer than Lesbian” (οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος οἶνος ἡδίων πιεῖν)⁴³. According to Aristophanes, the fragrance of Thasian wine was nicer than the smell of perfumes⁴⁴. Moreover, Hermippus of Athens says that its aroma resembled the smell of apples and that this wine, together with Chian, was the best of all:

...καὶ Θάσιον, τῷ δὴ μήλων ἐπιδέδρομεν ὀσμῇ,
τοῦτον ἐγὼ κρίνω πολὺ πάντων εἶναι ἄριστον
τῶν ἄλλων οἴνων μετ' ἀμύμονα Χίον ἄλυπον.

...and Thasian, over which drifts a scent of apples,
I rank this far and away the best of all
wines except for faultless, painless Chian.

(Hermippus fr. 77 K.–A. = Athen. I 29 E; transl. by S.D. OLSON)

It seems that the Romans had similar opinion of these wines; however, they were not so generous in praising them. Pliny says:

Nunc simili modo transmarina dicemus. in summa gloria post Homericam illa, de

⁴¹ *AP* XIII 9.

⁴² Longus IV 10, 3, 5.

⁴³ Clearchus fr. 5 K.–A. (= Athen. I 28 E).

⁴⁴ Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1118 f.

quibus supra diximus, fuere Thasium Chiumque, ex Chio quod Ariusium vocant. His addidit Lesbium Erasistrati maximi medici auctoritas, circiter CCCCL anno urbis Romae. Nunc gratia ante omnia est Clazomenio, postquam parcius mari condiunt (*HN XIV 73*).

This means that Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines were among the best foreign wines in Rome, starting from the 3rd c. BC. Moreover, it seems that they were still held in high esteem in the times when Falernian, one of the best Italian *crus*, was already known:

...sic quoque postea diu transmarina in auctoritate fuerunt et ad avos usque nostros, quin et Falerno iam reperto, sicut apparet ex illo comico versu: "Quinque Thasi vini depromam, bina Falerni" (*HN XIV 95*).

In this passage Pliny quotes a poet who mentions Thasian wine; however, Chian and Lesbian wines were probably also appreciated, since from the context we may assume that other transmarine wines were also approved. They were mentioned in a positive context by Horace, who set them with Caecuban wine, another Roman *grand cru*⁴⁵. Moreover, the same author claims that a five-year-old boiled Chian wine is the best drink to accompany a lamprey dish⁴⁶, a real delicacy on Roman tables. It would be highly improbable to drink an unsavoury or common wine with such a sophisticated dish; thus, Chian must have indeed been a tasty and fancy drink. Summarising, it seems that wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were high-quality beverages and that their taste was appreciated by both the Greeks and the Romans. Therefore, they satisfy the first of the five criteria of luxury foods that have been listed in the first part of this paper.

INESSENTIALITY FOR SURVIVAL

Although in the ancient Mediterranean wine was one of the main consumption goods, drinking Greek wines was not the only option for the Romans. Water would be the most obvious choice to satisfy the thirst. It is true that fresh, unpolluted water might have been difficult to obtain and only the consumption of light or diluted alcoholic beverages guaranteed protection from bacteria. However, the assortment of wines available for the Romans was very broad. Starting from the 7th/6th c. BC the Etruscans produced and exported their wines⁴⁷, whereas in the 2nd or as early as in the 4th c. BC Roman wine production started⁴⁸. Therefore, local beverages were present at Roman markets. Moreover, in the imperial period beverages were imported from other parts of the Mediterranean. Massive wine

⁴⁵ Hor. *Epod.* 9, 1 with 34.

⁴⁶ Hor. *Serm.* II 8, 48 f.

⁴⁷ BATS 2012: 377.

⁴⁸ TCHERNIA 1986: 57 (2nd c. BC); VAN DER MERSCH 2001: 156.

amphora findings from Gaul, Hispania Tarraconensis and Baetica, the Levant and even Africa indicate that there was a great variety of alcoholic beverages accessible to the inhabitants of Italy⁴⁹.

It should be also noted that the ancients consumed secondary, low quality wine-based beverages such as *lora* (or *deuteria*) and *posca*. The first one was made by the fermentation of water and the remnants of squeezed grapes. The latter was wine that was turning into vinegar, diluted with water. They both were alcoholic beverages consumed by the poorest (peasants and slaves)⁵⁰.

Summarizing, the Romans had many other beverages that they could drink instead of Greek wines. Aegean imports were not essential for them; thus, it seems that Greek wines display the second characteristic of luxury foods.

LIMITED ACCESS

Greek wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were obviously foreign goods for the Romans; therefore, their accessibility was limited in Italy by the fact that they were not locally produced. However, as it has already been said, not all exotic goods can be called luxuries. Nevertheless, there were two more factors that restricted the availability of these wines, namely their high price and the sumptuary laws that were related to their cost.

It seems that wine from Chios was extremely expensive in Greece. Plutarch sets drinking Chian together with having the company of *Lais* (a very expensive courtesan) and mentions that in Athens at the time of Socrates this wine was sold for one *mina*⁵¹. Considering the fact that local wine was sold in Athens at four drachmas per *metretes* (around 39 l.)⁵², we may suppose that Chian was 25 times more expensive. On the other hand, SALVIAT mentions an inscription indicating that in the mid-3rd c. BC in Egypt an amphora (around 22 l.) of Chian wine cost 18 drachmas, whereas the same amount of wine from Thasos was sold at 20 drachmas, which was a fifth of the price of a good slave⁵³.

In 89 BC P. Licinius Crassus and L. Julius Caesar issued a sumptuary law establishing the maximum price for Greek wines as 8 *asses* per *quadrantal* (ca. 26.2 l.)⁵⁴. First of all, the fact that these wines were the subject of a sumptuary law means that certain attempts were made to limit their accessibility. However, what was the relative cost of these wines in comparison with other beverages?

⁴⁹ RIZZO 2003: 203–206.

⁵⁰ AMOURETTI 1990: 80; DALBY 2003: 352; TCHERNIA 1986: 13, 19.

⁵¹ *Non posse* 17 (= *Mor.* 1099 A–B); *De tranq. anim.* 10 (= *Mor.* 470 F).

⁵² RIDGEWAY, WILKINS, 1901: 968. The volume of the *metretes* was estimated as 39.4 l. by HULTSCH and 38.9 l. by NISSEN.

⁵³ SALVIAT 1986: 180; SALVIAT, TCHERNIA 2013: 219.

⁵⁴ Plin. *HN* XIV 95.

According to Varro, during the First Punic War wine was generally sold at 8 *asses* per *quadrantal*⁵⁵; thus, the cost of imported beverages does not seem exaggerated according to the sumptuary law of P. Licinius Crassus and L. Julius Caesar. However, T. FRANK proved that the amount of wine that Pliny was talking about was not a *quadrantal* but a *quartarius* (0.25 *sextarii*)⁵⁶, and this seems now to be commonly accepted⁵⁷. In such a case, a *sextarius*, which is 546 ml, would cost 32 *asses*, which gives us 1536 *asses* (384 *sestertii*, 96 *denarii*) for one amphora of Greek wine (48 *sextaria*). This agrees with the testimony of Diodorus of Sicily, according to which an amphora of luxury wine was sold at a hundred drachmas⁵⁸. Columella says that in the Roman hinterlands in the 1st c. AD, the lowest price of the most ordinary wine was 300 *sestertii* per *culleus*⁵⁹. According to R. DUNCAN-JONES it equals 15 *sestertii* per amphora⁶⁰. Therefore, Greek wine in Rome would be more than 25 times more expensive than ordinary wines.

Because it is difficult to obtain accurate estimations comparing the prices from different time periods, we could use a different example here. According to first century AD inscriptions from Pompeii⁶¹ and Herculaneum⁶² that were analysed by R. DUNCAN-JONES, the prices of wine sold in an inn were 1, 2 and 4 *asses* per *sextarius* in Pompeii and 2, 3, 4 or 4.5 *asses* in Herculaneum. According to these estimates, the difference between the cheapest and the most expensive wine was 1:4.5. However, it is unlikely that a high-quality wine would be sold in a tavern, since it was a place designed for common people rather than for higher class citizens⁶³. Our estimates would then refer to the prices of common beverages that were, moreover, sold in provincial towns, not in the capital. In this context it seems possible that good foreign wines in Rome were dozens of times more expensive than the most ordinary beverages. Therefore, the price of 8 *asses* per *quartarius* would make them highly expensive and hence available only for the few richest people.

CONSUMPTION AMONG UPPER SOCIAL CLASSES AND/OR DURING SPECIAL OCCASIONS

The high price of the wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos was probably the reason why they were consumed mostly by the upper social classes. It seems that

⁵⁵ Varro *ap.* Plin. *HN* XVIII 17.

⁵⁶ FRANK 1931: 278.

⁵⁷ See DARI-MATTIACCI, PLISECKA 2010.

⁵⁸ Diod. XXXVII 3, 5.

⁵⁹ *Rust.* III 3, 10.

⁶⁰ DUNCAN-JONES 1974: 46.

⁶¹ *CIL* IV 1679.

⁶² *AE* 1989, 182a (only a part of this inscription is published). DUNCAN-JONES 1974: 46, n. 3.

⁶³ WILKINS, HILL 2006: 178.

in Greece they were drunk by Hellenistic kings, who were famous for their sophisticated tastes and extremely sumptuous way of living. This is illustrated by the anecdote about the life of Demetrius Poliorcetes that was mentioned by Plutarch:

πάλιν δέ ποτε πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν πότοις γενομένου, καὶ πρόφασιν λέγοντος ὡς ρεῦμα διοχλήσειεν αὐτόν, ‘ἐπυθόμην’, φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ‘ἀλλὰ πότερον Θάσιον ἢ Χίον ἦν τὸ ρεῦμα.

Again, on another occasion, when Demetrius had been at his revels for several days, and excused his absence by saying that he was troubled with a flux, “So I learned”, said Antigonus, “but was it Thasian or Chian wine that flowed?”

(Plut. *Dem.* 19, 4, transl. by B. PERRIN)

This passage suggests that Demetrius, son of Antigonus, was a connoisseur when it came to wines from Chios and Thasos. He drank them during his revels, but we do not know whether they were special occasions or not. However, there is evidence that Thasian and Lesbian wines were consumed at the marriage feast of Caranus, the king of Macedonia, which was definitely an unusual event. Atheaneus describes it as follows:

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἐκλαμβάνει πάλιν ἡμᾶς θερμὸς τις καὶ ζωρότερος πότος, οἴνων ὄντων ἡμῖν Θασίων καὶ Μενδαίων καὶ Λεσβίων, χρυσίδων πάνυ μεγάλων ἐκάστῳ προσενεχθεισῶν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ὑελοῦς πίναξ δίπηχῦς που τὴν διάμετρον ἐν θήκῃ κατακείμενος ἀργυρᾷ πλήρης ἰχθύων ὀπτῶν πάντα γένη συνηθροισμένων, ἅπασί τε προσεδόθη καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἀρτοφόρον ἄρτων Καππαδοκίων, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐφάγομεν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐπέδωκαμεν. καὶ νιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐστεφανούμεθα καὶ πάλιν στλεγγίδας ἐλάβομεν χρυσᾶς, διπλασίους τῶν πρότερον, καὶ ἄλλο διλήκθον μύρου. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς κλίνης ὁ Πρωτεύας αἰτεῖ σκύφον χοαῖον καὶ πληρώσας οἴνου Θασίου ὀλίγον τι ἐπιρράνας ὕδατος ἐξέπιεν ἐπειπῶν: ὁ πλεῖστα πίνων πλεῖστα κεύφρανηθήσεται.

After we had finished with them, our attention was next engrossed in a warm and almost neat drink, the wines at our disposal being Thasian, Mendaeian and Lesbian; and very large gold cups were handed to each guest. After this draught we were all presented with a crystal platter about two cubits in diameter, lying on a silver receptacle and full of a collection of all kinds of baked fish; also a silver bread-rack containing Cappadocian loaves of which we ate some and gave the rest to the slaves. Then we washed our hands and put on crowns, again receiving gold tiaras twice the size of those we had before, and another double-jar of perfume. When all was quiet, Proteas jumped up from his couch and demanded a six-pint bowl, and filling it with Thasian wine with just a dash of water he drank it all saying “He that drinks most shall have least sorrow”.

(Athen. IV 129 D–F, transl. by C.B. GULICK)

As befits the king’s wedding party, which is not a common occasion, the environment was highly refined and fancy dishes were served on precious golden,

silver and glass vessels. Some of these vessels, as well as perfumes, were donated to the revellers. The beverages served on such an occasion, namely wines from Thasos and Lesbos, must have also been far from ordinary.

It has already been proved that wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were consumed by the Greek elite and often on special occasions. Their rank and prestige in Roman Italy was similar. Varro called wine from Chios the wine of the rich people⁶⁴, which clearly indicates that this beverage was consumed by the upper social classes. The same author, quoted in Pliny's *Natural History* (XIV 96) says:

L. Lucullus puer apud patrem numquam lautum convivium vidit, in quo plus semel Graecum vinum daretur: ipse cum rediit ex Asia, milia cadum congiarium divisit amplius centum. C. Sentius, quem praetorem vidimus, Chium vinum suam domum inlatum dicebat tum primum, cum sibi cardiaco medicus dedisset: Hortensius super X cadum heredi reliquit.

This passage proves that Greek wines were drunk by noble people from the Roman aristocracy. The best example is Lucullus, the arbiter of a good taste, famous for the organization of very sumptuous feasts, who distributed Greek wines to celebrate his return from Asia. Also Caesar served Chian and Lesbian wine at the banquets with which he celebrated his triumphs:

Quid? Non est Caesar dictator triumphi sui cena vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia distribuit? Idem Hispaniensi triumpho Chium et Falernum dedit, epulo vero in tertio consulatu suo Falernum, Chium, Lesbium, Mamertinum, quo tempore primum quattuor genera vini adposita constat.

(Plin. *HN* XIV 97)

This clearly shows that Greek wines were drunk by outstanding Romans from the upper social classes during important public ceremonies. Moreover, this passage indicates that Aegean beverages were consumed in limited quantities – only once during the feast, even in the sumptuous house of the father of Lucullus. The fact that Greek wines were not for everyday consumption may be also deduced from a passage by Pliny in which he says that “tanto vero Graeco vino gratia erat, ut singulae potiones in convictu darentur” (*HN* XIV 95). Considering the fact that Greek wines were drunk mostly by the Roman aristocracy and that their consumption was limited, it seems logical that their frequency of use was rather low. This is another characteristic of luxury goods.

LOW FREQUENCY OF USE

It is possible to check the frequency of use of the wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos by analysing how many of their amphoras have been attested in Italy.

⁶⁴ *Sat. Men.* 104 BÜCHELER.

However, it should be noted that there is very little amphora evidence from the times before the reign of Augustus. According to R. VOLPE, this may indicate that all imported wines were luxuries in the republican period⁶⁵. Since there are almost no statistics for amphoras from this period, investigation of the frequency of use of the wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos seems very difficult, because there is no comparative material.

Nevertheless, it is possible to say that neither Lesbian nor Thasian amphoras were attested in the four amphora assemblages dated to the late republican age: namely in the Forum of Caesar in Rome⁶⁶, in the Suburbium⁶⁷, at the House of the Porch in Ostia⁶⁸ and in the Casa di Ariadna in Pompeii⁶⁹, even though the number of all Greek wine amphoras in these contexts totals 214. Regarding Chian containers, there is an uncertain number from the Suburbium and an uncertain fragment from the House of the Porch.

In imperial times, foreign commodities were imported in mass quantities, as is suggested by mass amphora discoveries dated to that period. G. RIZZO has analysed approximately 21,112 amphora fragments that were found in various contexts in Rome, such as Via Nova (343 amphoras, dated to after 64 and 70–96 AD), Meta Sudans (6420 fragments dated to 64–68, 70–80/90, 138–161 AD), the north part of the Palatine Hill (342 fragments, 64–68, 70–90 AD and Trajan's age), Crypta Balbi (154 fragments, 80–96 AD and Trajan's age), Forum Transitorium (1327 fragments, 81/96–98 AD) and Vigna Barberini (12,526 fragments, 81–96 AD)⁷⁰.

Among the containers that have been studied, there were certain types that came from the Aegean world – four types of Cretan amphoras as well as jars from Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus and Asia Minor. For example, there were in total 304 Rhodian and 462 Cretan amphoras that were found in these contexts. Moreover, during the archaeological excavations in Nuovo Mercato di Testaccio, 39,896 fragments of Cretan amphoras have already been discovered. The analysis of 8731 fragments has proven that these belonged to at least 832 containers⁷¹. These numbers clearly indicate that Cretan and Rhodian wine had numerous consumers, and thus that they were drunk very often. Regarding Chian amphoras that were found in contexts dated to the imperial period only 5 have so far been attested. Added to this could be an amphora from Herculaneum with the inscription

⁶⁵ SANTANGELI VALENZIANI, VOLPE 2012: 66 f.; VOLPE 2009: 379–381.

⁶⁶ ZAMPINI 2010: 329 f., tab. 10.

⁶⁷ CASPIO 2009: 487, fig. 35.

⁶⁸ BOERSMA, YNTEMA, VAN DER WERFF 1986: 108 f.

⁶⁹ ALBIACH 2008: 260 f.

⁷⁰ RIZZO 2003: 7–17, 216–218.

⁷¹ CASARAMONA 2010: 113.

*CHIUM*⁷². This evidence is scarce, which suggests that wine from Chios was drunk in small quantities. Moreover, neither Lesbian nor Thasian containers have so far been attested in the Eternal City.

This may indicate either the lack of the consumption of wines from these islands or that they were drunk in very small quantities and not very often. However, considering the fact that the consumption of Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines is confirmed by literary evidence, the second hypothesis seems to be more accurate. Therefore, wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos fulfil the last criterion of luxury food – the low frequency of use.

It is worth noting that discoveries in Pompeii show that certain Greek wines (Cretan and Coan) were sold in *tabernae*⁷³. However, there were no Chian, Lesbian nor Thasian amphoras attested in this context. Considering the fact that taverns were places designed for common people rather than for the members of the higher class⁷⁴, the lack of Chian, Lesbian or Thasian containers may be again an *argumentum ex silentio* confirming their status as luxury goods.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize, it should be emphasized that Greek wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos have all the five characteristics of luxury foods, hereby they fulfil the criteria that have been enumerated in the second part of this article. First of all, the ancient poets, both Greek and Roman, agree that these wines were palatable, thus, we may say that drinking them provided pleasure because they tasted good. Since the Romans had many other beverages that could satisfy their thirst, imported Greek wines were definitely not essential for them. Furthermore, high prices as well as sumptuary laws limited the consumption of Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines. Therefore, they were drunk only by the Greek and Roman elite, who served them during special occasions. Finally, archaeological material indicates that the consumption of these wines was extremely rare. In consequence, the luxuriousness of the beverages from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos seems to be confirmed.

Nonetheless, we should keep in mind that luxury is never firm and stable. On the contrary, it seems rather elastic and fluid. Certain goods that were a luxury yesterday, tomorrow may turn into a common item or may even be completely forgotten⁷⁵. If the number of people who have access to luxury goods increases, their status changes and they become basic commodities. From being desired by many and available to few, they become widely available and ultimately

⁷² See the first part of this paper.

⁷³ TIMBY 2004: 385–387.

⁷⁴ WILKINS, HILL 2006: 178.

⁷⁵ DOUGLAS, ISHERWOOD 1979: 99.

degraded. Of course, this process may also happen in reverse (e.g. oysters in Europe)⁷⁶. Therefore, it is impossible to say that Chian, Lesbian and Thasian wines were always luxuries, whereas other Greek wines were not. The three of them might have easily lost their position with time. It should be noted that most of the literary evidence confirming the high status of Greek wines is dated to the late republican period. There is no sign of Chian, Lesbian or Thasian wine at Trimalchio's feast, where Falernian was an unquestionable king of wines⁷⁷. What is even more surprising, when Lucian in the 2nd c. AD describes an aristocratic dinner in Athens, he mentions Italian not Greek wines⁷⁸. This may indicate that Aegean beverages were no longer in fashion in the imperial period. What was the reason behind this?

First of all, it seems that in Augustan times, when massive imports of Aegean beverages from Cos, Rhodes and Crete began, drinking Greek wines might have lost its significance as a sign of prestige. In consequence, Roman aristocrats presumably stopped serving them during their banquets.

Another explanation of the loss of the luxury status of wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos may be a change in the Roman attitude towards foreign and Italian products, wines in particular. According to TCHERNIA, Italy produced wines from at least the 2nd c. BC, although in this period they had neither a particular name nor fame. It was probably a time when the consumption of Greek luxury wines by the Roman aristocracy flourished. In the subsequent century Italian wines started to acquire a higher position – Falernian, Caecuban and Albanian wines reached the rank of the best beverages that became present on the tables of the most prominent Romans, such as L. Licinius Crassus and Sergius Orata⁷⁹. These best Italian *crus* were served together with Greek wines, since luxury meant diversity and the possibility of choice⁸⁰. The situation seems to have changed in the imperial period. First of all, Italy already had quite a long tradition of making high-quality wines. Moreover, the Romans were no longer as delighted by Greek culture as they had been in the previous two centuries. Augustan propaganda postulated the return to ancient Roman virtues, and created an image of Rome as superior to other civilizations. According to Pliny, Octavian Augustus preferred Setinum, a wine that was made in Latium⁸¹, and it was the imperial court that settled trends in Rome and probably also in the provinces. Therefore, it seems that celebrating foreign products as better than Roman ones

⁷⁶ VAN DER VEEN 2003: 408 f.

⁷⁷ Petr. 21, 28, 34, 55.

⁷⁸ Lucian, *Navigium* 23.

⁷⁹ TCHERNIA 1986: 34; 1997: 1249–1253.

⁸⁰ TCHERNIA 1986: 103 f.

⁸¹ Plin. *HN* XIV 61.

became *démodé*. The new Roman elite of the 1st c. AD that lived in the period of Roman domination in the Mediterranean saw no point in admiring wines from the conquered civilization since their own land had long produced high-quality beverages that were approved of even by the emperors. This is why in the early imperial age Greek luxurious wines were in the twilight of their career, whilst Italian wines became *en vogue* not only in the Apennine Peninsula, but also in other parts of the Mediterranean.

Concluding, we may say that in imperial times the status of Greek wines in Italy changed utterly. This was due to the improvement of Roman winemaking, a decrease in the cost of foreign goods and a change in the Roman concept of luxury beverages which was influenced by a change in the perception of their own and Greek culture. Nonetheless, it seems unquestionable that in the late republican period wines from Chios, Lesbos and Thasos were among the Eastern luxuries that were served on Western tables.

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HISTORICAL THINKING IN THE *LIFE OF SAINT THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS**

by

CEZARY DOBAK

ABSTRACT: In this paper I investigate the strategy which has been employed by the author of the *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*, a 10th century hagiographical text, to make his work historically credible, by using an analytical model based on Krzysztof POMIAN's theory of medieval historiography.

Roman hagiography after the Dark Age of the Eastern Roman Empire¹ (650–800) experienced a new period of prosperity². Among many exceptional

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¹ In Byzantine studies, as the very name suggests, the tendency (introduced by Hieronymus WOLF in the 16th century) has been to name the inhabitants of the medieval superpower with its capital city in Constantinople *Byzantines* and their culture *Byzantine*. Even though Byzantinists are generally aware that the custom is wholly artificial (the adjective “Byzantine” in the medieval period related to the inhabitants of the capital only, nor was there anything like the “Byzantine Empire”), there are only a few scholars who decided to swim upstream against that comfortable tradition which lets us distinguish the medieval Roman Empire from the “true one” that existed throughout antiquity. I find that not only without foundation, but also pernicious. If we talk about the Romans and the Roman state in the Royal, Republican, Principate and Dominate periods – and it cannot be forgotten that the periods differ in many ways from one another – there is no reason to forge alternative terminology just to highlight something that is only another phase of Roman history. Such a concept only blurs the image through suggesting an alleged lack of continuity and bringing a great number of negative consequences (one of them being the marginalisation of so-called *Byzantium* in the mainstream history of Europe). For the very same reason I will not discuss in this article the *Greeks* nor the *Greek state*, for, as A. KALDELLIS has convincingly proved, Hellenism for the major part of “Byzantine” existence did not have any state, ethnic or national meaning (see KALDELLIS 2011). Therefore, I can only call the Romans by their name – *Romans*, and their state can be named *Eastern Roman* only to be distinguished from the state organisms created in Latin Europe that usurped the law to be the legal continuation of the Roman Empire (like the so-called *Sanctum Imperium Romanum*).

² For a detailed discussion of the hagiographical writing of the ninth and tenth centuries see EFTHYMIADIS 2011. According to this scholar, there were three new considerations which gave the

hagiographical writings of the ninth and tenth centuries, one of the most interesting is the *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*. It was written by Niketas, a high-level official of the Constantinopolitan imperial court³, and its first-person narration presents his coincidental visit to the island of Paros, where he was told by Symeon the anchorite a story which he in turn had heard from a certain hunter (hereafter: the Hunter) about Theoktiste, a nun from Lesbos. The saint-to-be was abducted by Arabian corsairs during one of their numerous Aegean raids, but she managed to escape when her oppressors' fleet anchored in Paros. Subsequently, she spent thirty-five years there as an anchoress. The *Life* has been long considered to be historically unreliable, and its heroine is believed to be a fictitious person⁴.

hagiography of the period its new characteristics: a narrowing of geographical horizons, the use of elaborate means of expression and a remarkable concern for historicity and theological discourse (p. 96).

³ We can gather information about Niketas primarily from his letters and the *Life* itself. He was born ca. 870 and died no earlier than 945. He started his career under the reign of Leo VI: he performed the function of imperial ambassador to the Arabs of Crete whilst being part of a military expedition under the command of Himerios, then *logothetes tou dromou*. After the emperor's death he supported the regent, Zoe Karbonopsina, who was Himerios' kinswoman and protégé – during this period he was conducting negotiations with the Bulgarians concerning the recuperation of Adrianople from their hands. After the Roman defeat in the war against the Bulgarians, Niketas withdrew from politics for a couple of years. However, in 919 he supported Romanos Lekapenos' *coup d'État*. Thenceforth he experienced a short period of glory. Promoted to the high rank of *magistros* (a title previously carried by Romanos himself), he married off his daughter Sophie to Christopher, the emperor's son (their daughter became wife of the Bulgarian tsar, Peter, in 927). Yet, in the period that cannot be precisely dated, somehow between November 927 and July 928, he was disgraced and expelled to Asia Minor, where he spent the rest of his life ineffectively attempting to get back to the world of politics. The author of the *Life* is distinguished not only for his special social position and stormy life, but also thanks to his excellent education. Among the authors whose works he knew well were Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Euripides, Plato, Lycophron, Nicander and Arrian, as well as later ones like Procopius of Gaza and Theophylact Simocatta. His erudition and rhetorical skill is clearly visible in the *Life*. (The text of this note is a short résumé of L.G. WESTERINK's inquiries on our *magistros*, see WESTERINK 1973: 23–38; it is also him who discovered that Niketas the author of the *Life* and Niketas *magistros* were one and the same person, see *ibid.*, pp. 41–46).

⁴ The *Life* has enjoyed sporadic and irregular attention for more than a century. The first to struggle with it was P. ZERLENTES (1901). This scholar stressed the historical elements that play a role in this writing: factual events, like Himerios' expedition, factually or potentially real personas, like the previously mentioned Himerios, and the Arabian commander Nisiris, placing the *Life's* plot in a authentic historical environment, topographic position etc. Thus, he concluded, Theoktiste must have been a real historical person. Of a different opinion was H. DELEHAYE (1924), who called Niketas' work outright plagiarism: "Toute son histoire n'est qu'un plagiat et les détails de couleur locale sont les seuls éléments originaux du récit" (p. 196) and stated that the *Life* is but a simple, exact and modernised reproduction ("la simple et exacte reproduction dans un cadre rejeuni", p. 195) of the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*. Later scholars considered the incredibility of the story to be obvious and put their interest in the question of form: what actually is the *Life*? O. KARSAY recognised the *Life* as a romance, while A. KAZHDAN thought the story to be a modernising adaptation of an older one, the above mentioned *Life of St. Mary*. He referred to the DELEHAYE's thesis claiming that it is indeed a reproduction – however, an emulative one. The juicy and attractive person of a repentant harlot was replaced by a pious nun, closer to the ideals and morality of the 10th century (see *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*; KARSAY 1975; KAZHDAN 1985; 1990: 136). He also used the *Life* as an example

Even though the story seems to be typical and lacks originality⁵, it was invested with enormous literary momentum. The pretty decent Attic Greek was “soaked” with intertextual references and rhetorical figures, which prove Niketas’ skill and erudition⁶. It is, however, the historiographical structure of the work that deserves special attention. Its narration is gradually conducted by four carefully devised narrators, being part of a multidimensional network of historical data of different qualities. The main purpose of this article is (1) to prove that the author of the *Life* has employed in his work, consciously or semi-consciously, a strategy of investing the content with historical credibility. I am also going (2) to present that strategy (to the elements of which all together I ascribe the term *historical thinking*) within the frames of an analytical model proposed below. It is my timid hope that the model, perhaps with some modifications, can also be used effectively when analysing other Eastern Roman hagiographical sources. Yet it is necessary to look first at the theoretical background of my investigations: Krzysztof POMIAN’s revolutionary theory on medieval historiography.

HISTORY AS A MATTER OF FAITH

In his book *Historia jako przedmiot wiary* (“History as a Matter of Faith”) POMIAN has tried to answer a question whether the Middle Ages created a concept of history that was unique compared both to the ancient and the modern concepts. He has found such a concept and discussed it in an extensive and

for his thesis about tenth century Eastern Roman authors not having dealt with female heroism: “When Niketas the Magistros reworked the story of Mary of Egypt, he transformed the courageous prostitute into a modest nun Theoktiste who went into the ‘desert’ not in pursuit of her insuperable inner drive but to escape a casual event, an assault of Arab pirates” (KAZHDAN, ANGELIDI 2006: 329). Subsequently, K. JAZDZEWSKA (2009) found a path between KAZHDAN’s thesis (Niketas’ work is the life of a saint, though historically unreliable), and the assumption made by B. FLUSIN (1993) that the *Life* might be a parody. Niketas surely did not write for religious purposes, but for entertainment; yet, this does not mean that the *Life* is a parody *stricto sensu*. She noticed in the writing a forerunner of the next centuries’ literary flourishing of the Eastern Roman realm. The last scholar to write about the *Life* was, to the best of my knowledge, I. NILSSON (2010), whose primary concern, however, was to discuss Eastern Roman μύησις; she used the *Life* only to demonstrate Gérard GENETTE’S theory of transtextuality in practice.

⁵ Despite the many differences in their opinions, scholars agree that the story of Theoktiste was vastly influenced by the already mentioned *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*. The latter narrates the story of Zosimas, a monk who outstripped anyone known to him in asceticism. After having been admonished by a divine voice that no human being can achieve excellence, he was ordered to travel. After some adventures, which are irrelevant here, he meets Mary, a former harlot, now a perfect anchoress who had lived for decades in a desert, in close communion with God. The part describing the reunion between Zosimas and Mary was the matrix for a scene with the Hunter and Theoktiste in the *Life*.

⁶ One of the most extensive parts of this article is devoted to his literary skill.

elaborated treatise, but due to limited space I have only laid stress on that part of his theory which is absolutely crucial to the subject in question⁷.

To start with, POMIAN noticed that people of the early Middle Ages knew and practically used the distinction between knowledge gained *ex visione* and that *ex auditu*. Basing his remarks on the Augustinian epistemology of direct cognition, he argues that *knowledge* was identified with *vision*, i.e. direct contact between cognitive power and the object. Moreover, according to Augustine, the man who is deprived of the faculty of abstraction can only know the object presented directly before his eyes and cannot reason about other objects of the same category. The group of things which enable us to gain *ex visione* knowledge contains eternal truths, directly seen objects, and images and forms preserved in memory. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the past unremembered, as presently inaccessible, is uncognisable. Even though it can be approached through historical writing, the writing itself does not, however, guarantee its credibility – man understands a word only thanks to previous familiarity with its referent. The object unseen cannot then be cognised. As a result, when intellectual powers prove powerless, the only thing that remains is to believe. Not just anybody can be trusted, of course – and that is why authority is needed, i.e. a person who is, for some reason, recognised as veracious, usually venerable, often saintly. A medieval historian was supposed to be to such a degree under the influence of authority that he played his role as merely a copyist, capable of passive registration only, and he could even literally take the authority's own point of view. Medieval historiography abounds in assertions that this or that writing was written from dictation; copying of whole passages from older authors was also a common practice. (In the latter case the past itself performs a crucial function, because of its special ontological rank. The past is ambiguous: on one hand, it is epistemically inaccessible, on the other, as a set of unsensually accessible paradigms, it is what has once appeared and is still up-to-date. Consequently, if products of the present are to preserve their topicality in the future, they need to be created after the standards of the past)⁸.

⁷ POMIAN 2009. Even though POMIAN devoted his work to the Latin Middle Ages, I consider his conclusions to be generally adaptable also to the Eastern Roman area; albeit this is not the proper place to discuss the similarities and dissimilarities of both cultural spheres, it must be noted that they have arisen from the same root, which was simultaneously Greek, Roman and Christian. Furthermore, Latin culture is actually the younger sister to her more conservative relative, and only over time has she gained more specific and original characteristics.

⁸ Though I consider POMIAN's observations correct and revolutionary, I also doubt to some degree the explanatory part of his theory. In my opinion, the Polish scholar made a common mistake among high-level intellectuals, who are prone to heavily overestimate the influence of thinkers (philosophers et al.) on the way the world progresses. It is hard to imagine that historians, many of them not belonging to the intellectual elite of the Middle Ages, understood and used Augustine's epistemology and ontology in practice. It is also rather naive to believe in a strong indirect Augustinian influence on their historical writing, at least to such a degree as POMIAN did. Moreover, I strongly

Historical knowledge, gained and presented thanks to direct vision (*ex visione*) as well as heard from an authority endowed with faith (*ex auditu* – the term should be understood also as being related to the authority of the person “speaking” in writings), can be conceptualised either under the categories of historicity or ahistoricity. For the current usage, as *historical* I propose to understand statements in the historical narration that can be verified and analysed, and as *ahistorical* that which escapes such an attempt. Between these two tendencies is placed a certain way of understanding the past and encoding it in historiography: historical thinking⁹.

HISTORICAL LAYERS IN THE *LIFE OF SAINT THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS*

Data contained within the *Life* can be distributed, with regard to its historical quality and POMIAN’S theses in mind, across three *historical layers*:

I. The common-historical layer, which is composed of data verifiable for Niketas’ potential readers, e.g. the names of important historical figures or commonly recognised events. These historical generalities are not the true object of the story – one *refers to* them, rather than *narrates* them. Their sole function is to anchor the *Life* in a specified historical dimension.

II. The *ex visione* layer contains information based on eyewitness account¹⁰, characterised by various levels of precision. Its function is to sketch the scenery of the story. The majority of the data included is verifiable.

III. The *ex auditu* layer contains information delivered in a multi-level chain of personal evidence. The data included cannot be verified, but can only be believed. Furthermore, its high level of conventionalisation enables us to make it part of many other stories.

THE COMMON-HISTORICAL LAYER

The most important person amongst those mentioned in the *Life* is Himerios, *logothetes tou dromou* and commander-in-chief of the Roman navy¹¹. It is his activity that made possible the creation of the *Life*, if one acknowledges its historical

oppose the idea according to which the medieval mind was incapable of abstract thinking: if it was so, how can one explain the creation of so many stereotypes that came into being throughout the Middle Ages? Still, it is not the proper place to offer a profound critique of POMIAN’S theses. Firstly, such a task would demand considerable investigation on my own part. Secondly, a critique of the theses without having presented them thoroughly first, would be but intellectual dishonesty. *Hic et nunc* suffice it to note that I have not taken POMIAN’S theses entirely at face value.

⁹ The very concept of contrasting the historical world (with historical thinking) to the ahistorical world (with ahistorical thinking) I owe to TOPOLSKI (1998), but I use the terms with no regard to the complex theory with which the scholar has invested them.

¹⁰ At least supposedly. Even if Niketas never visited Paros, he must have had excellent informants, because a great part of his narration can be easily verified even today.

¹¹ For more information about Himerios see EFTHYMIADIS, KALDELLIS 2010: 86 f.

veracity, or was at least the pretext under which the plot was organised, if one declares it utterly fictional. As Niketas tells us: “I was being sent on a campaign with the renowned Himerios, the most excellent general and commander of the *dromos* and of the entire fleet” (4)¹². The commander and his military achievements are beyond question, since not only this, but also his other naval campaigns can be easily confirmed¹³ (what cannot be acknowledged beyond doubt is only the date of the campaign mentioned in the *Life*¹⁴). That first historical person lets us identify the second one, who occupies the very pinnacle of Roman society: “I happened to land there while sailing to Crete, dispatched by the pious emperor of blessed memory, the truly fortunate <emperor> who took with him to the grave the good fortune of the Romans” (4). However one dates Himerios’ expedition, it is certain that the *basileus* mentioned here is Leo VI the Philosopher (886–912). Niketas suggests some kind of close relationship between himself, the emperor and the *logothetes*. Some intimacy between Niketas and the commander can be deduced from the former’s declaration of an intention to compose a work devoted exclusively to Himerios and his achievements¹⁵, as well as from a nice metaphor which presents Niketas as a colt by his mother’s – i.e. Himerios’ – side. This metaphor describes their relationship as one between a student and his master. However, “the colt” was by no means incomparably inferior to “the mother”, since Niketas also occupied a very prominent position in the Roman establishment and conducted an important diplomatic mission (“and partly to serve as an ambassador to the Arab conquerors of Crete”). His task was probably to ransom or exchange captives with the Arabs, for that kind of negotiation was quite frequent¹⁶. Anonymous persons were not entrusted with missions of this calibre – quite the contrary, the ones who used to carry them out were the most prominent people¹⁷.

To conclude, it is hard to imagine that the author lied about his taking part in a military expedition as big as the above-mentioned one, under a renowned

¹² References consisting of a number alone are to an appropriate chapter in the English translation of the *Life of Saint Theoktiste* by A.C. HERO (1996). References consisting of a number followed by “D.” are to an appropriate chapter in the Greek edition of the *Life* by H. DELEHAYE (1925). Throughout this paper the Greek text of the *Life* is that of DELEHAYE’s edition and translations from the *Life* are, unless stated otherwise, those by HERO.

¹³ OSTROGORSKY 1952: 207 f.; SETTON 1954.

¹⁴ CHRISTIDES (1981: 95) argues that the campaign took place in 905, while JENKINS (1966: 210) claims it was in 910. For our current inquiries, this question is of secondary importance.

¹⁵ “But lest I dishonor the man by making the account of his campaign, which deserves many praises, secondary to this <story>, after this brief reference to him here, I will pass over in silence his achievements, which are beyond words” (4).

¹⁶ “In the ebb and flow of warfare between the Byzantines and the Moslems many captives were taken on both sides” (SETTON 1954: 319).

¹⁷ E.g. Leo Choerosphaktes, another person related to Leo VI, who performed such a duty multiple times, as an ambassador to the Bulgarians and the Arabs (just like Niketas). See JENKINS 1963: 170 f.

commander, by the emperor's order entrusted with a diplomatic mission, while simultaneously claiming a close relationship to both dignitaries – all of which was quite easy to be verified. If he was not telling truth, he risked, at best, subjecting himself to ridicule. In this way the impression of historicity is secured on the Roman side by three personages from the top of the imperial hierarchy. Furthermore, both the military campaign and the diplomatic mission introduce another common-historical pillar of the *Life's* narration: Arabs, subjects of the Emirate of Crete, a dynamic power of the Aegean that existed between ca. 828 and 961¹⁸. Among those named is ἐκεῖνος Νίσιρις (*that Nisiris*)¹⁹, who performs the role of antagonist on two occasions:

(1) Nisiris is the central persona in Symeon's narration, which starts with a question: "Have you heard of the notorious Nisiris [τὸν Νίσιριν ἐκεῖνον]²⁰, the commander of the Cretan navy?" The Arab commander is trying to steal a ciborium from the Church of the Mother of God, but fails: the masterpiece enlarges itself and becomes too big to be taken out through the gate or openings made by the robbers. Nisiris gives up his original plan and destroys the ciborium (12).

(2) Nisiris was also a commander of certain Arab corsairs, to whom the inhabitants of Crete, including Theoktiste, fell prey. According to her story: "one night, Arabs from Crete under their leader, the notorious Nisiris, raided <the village> and took everyone prisoner. At dawn, after chanting the song of victory, they set sail and came to anchor at this island <of Paros>. They brought out the prisoners, and started to assess and settle the price <of each prisoner>" (18).

As ZERLENTES noticed, the demonstrative pronoun ἐκεῖνος which accompanies Nisiris wherever he appears, suggests that he was a person known in his times²¹. Unfortunately, his identity cannot be confirmed due to a lack of evidence in other historical sources. Who knows, maybe during the period under consideration his fame was not inferior to the great Roman or Arab commanders, like the already mentioned Himerios or the Roman renegade, Leo of Tripoli?

The *Life* informs us, through Symeon's words, about the death that he met as a penalty for sacrilege: "<His ship> was dashed to pieces against the cape of Euboea called Xylophagos and he perished beneath the sea" (12). It is impossible

¹⁸ According to CHRISTIDES, the Arab state on Crete was not an ephemeral pirates' den, but a well-organised and expansive political organism. Its economy was not based on the corsairs' raids, and their fleet was gradually and systematically conquering the Aegean Isles, establishing numerous military outposts on them. The Greek scholar warns us not to give ear to the apocalyptic tone of contemporary Roman hagiography: "Actually, if we were to believe the hagiographical works, many of the islands would have been leveled several times to the point of annihilation" (CHRISTIDES 1981: 81).

¹⁹ *Nisiris* is perhaps a Hellenised form of the Arabic *Nasr* (CHRISTIDES 1981: 81).

²⁰ All the remarks in square brackets and/or underlined are mine.

²¹ Τὸ δ' ὄνομα τοῦ Νισίρεως, ἐξαιρόμενον διὰ τῆς ἀντωνυμίας ἐκεῖνος δηλοῖ ὅτι ὁ Νίσιρις ἦν γνωστότατος διὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ λεηλασίας καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας, ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ λοιπὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ZERLENTES 1901: 161).

to confirm his tragic end around Cape Xylophagos²², but it is the place itself that now really matters. Xylophagos, known in antiquity as Kaphereus²³, earned a bad name among sailors; its notoriety is mentioned i.a. in Dio Chrysostom's writing²⁴. A naval catastrophe in such a place must have been imaginable for any reader of the *Life* who was even a bit familiar with sailing.

In summary, the common-historical layer reflects the contemporary: (1) court reality (Himerios the *basileus* and *logothetes tou dromou*, Niketas the *magistros*), (2) military events (Himerios' expedition), (3) sociopolitical climate (the important "supporting role" of the Emirate of Crete and its subjects: commander Nisiris, the corsairs' activity against the Romans, Niketas' embassy to their court), and (4) the geographical and topographical environment (Cape Xylophagos). The last is even more clearly revealed in the *ex visione* layer.

THE *EX VISIONE* LAYER

The second of the historical layers contains more detailed pieces of information, concerning the isle of Paros. They will be discussed below.

Environmental digressions

There are two distinctive passages about Parian flora and fauna in the story. They both belong to the third narration level (the Hunter's level), so they are not directly legitimised by Niketas' authority. Still, they should be assigned to the *ex visione* layer, for they include verifiable environmental data, and come, most likely, from the author's own experience.

²² It is worth noting that Euboea was not in the Arabs' possession and lies close to the territories controlled then by Constantinople. That being the case, it is possible that Nisiris died during one of his raids on Roman territories, though the *Life*, as TSOUGARAKIS (1988: 45, n. 89) noticed, "seems to imply that he was killed by a storm and not by the Byzantines".

²³ ZERLENTES (1901: 163) noticed that the *Life* informs us about a name change from *Kaphereus* to *Xylophagos* already in the 10th century (other sources confirm the use of the later name for the subsequent centuries). *Xylophagos* is a meaningful name and can be literally translated, as HERO (1996: 107, n. 51) noticed, 'wood [i.e. ship] eater'.

²⁴ See *The Euboean Discourse* (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7). Dio's work narrates a supposedly autobiographical story. The hero-author fell victim to a naval catastrophe in the Hollows of Euboea (Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας). He meets a hunter there who tells him about his simple, poor, but also happy life. His story is then used as a pretext for deliberations on poverty, wealth, happiness etc. The substance of this work is significant in the next parts of my dissertation. Here it is important to note that the hunter lives at cape Kaphereus (= Xylophagos). Once, as he told Dio during their conversation, he had to defend himself against various charges, one of them being the looting of ships that were wrecked at the cape. The hunter says that he would not even think about gaining profits from others' misfortune and also that he has several times helped shipwrecked people. Luckily for him, one of them appears during the trial and confirms his words. The charge and suggestion that one can profit a lot from shipwrecks at Cape Kaphereus reveals how notorious the place must have been for sailors. Moreover, the place is additionally described by the hunter as "the most inaccessible beach in existence" (ἡ ἀκτὴ ἀπασῶν ἀπρόσιτος; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7, 314/316, transl. by J.W. COHOON, H.L. CROSBY).

The first digression is of a botanical nature:

Having said my prayers, I looked around and saw a few lupine <seeds> soaking in water in a shallow hole in the ground – for they grow on this island, just as other plants grow on other islands. One island produces an abundance of fennel with its widely spreading shoots, while another produces only rue, and another savoury or thyme or some other herb. But each island has its special product that grows and flourishes there better than anything else (15).

The Hunter notices that Paros is remarkable for its enormous amount of lupine (θέρμιον). He mentions also other plants specific to other isles: fennel (μάραθρον), rue (πήγανον), savoury (θύμβρον), thyme (θύμον). That piece of information is verifiable, for each and every guest or inhabitant of Paros could check it personally. Therefore, its inclusion in the story's narration enriches the reader with knowledge about Parian flora, and also provides an image of the really existing island with details. However, it must be noted that all the above-mentioned plants are quite common, so the lupine digression is less valuable as a specific piece of environmental data²⁵.

Another digression is of a zoological kind:

I was again ready to go hunting with my companions for deer and wild goats – the latter are numerous on the island <of Paros> and grow bigger than on any other <island>, a marvel to behold and describe. For their skin is almost like that of deer, but they are bigger in size than deer and their horn is up to sixteen palms long²⁶. Unlike that of deer, it is not embellished with offshoots and branches, but the entire horn is straight and protrudes in one piece (19).

This digression concerns a specific animal species – the wild goat. The Hunter describes it in detail. This digression, just like the former one, enriches the reader's environmental knowledge, but it is also “stronger”, since the phenomenon seems to be rather unusual²⁷. In the botanical digression only the amount of

²⁵ In contrary to the relatively famous Parian figs, mentioned in Athen. *Deipn.* 76 B.

²⁶ Gr. ἑκκαίδεκάδωρον. The word was taken from Homer (*Il.* IV 109) and plays an obvious role as proof of Niketas erudition and literary knowledge. By no means does it affect the digression's factographical worth: “sixteen palms long” must be understood simply as *very long*.

²⁷ So unusual, that RYDÉN (2006: 250) considered the creature to be a unicorn, but his thesis seems unlikely to me. Let us take a look at the original Greek text beforehand: Κατὰ γοῦν τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ὀσίας, ἤνικα πάλιν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἔμελλον ἐξιέναι πρὸς θήραν ἐλάφων καὶ ἀγρίων αἰγῶν, οὓς ἢ τοιαύτη νῆσος πολλοὺς καὶ μεγίστους τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον τρέφει, θαῦμα καὶ ιδέσθαι καὶ διηγῆσασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐλάφοις τὴν χροιάν εἰσι παραπλήσιοι, μείζους δ' ἐλάφων τὸ μέγεθος, τὸ δὲ κέρασ δολιχὸν ὅσον ἑκκαίδεκάδωρον, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἐλάφων ὄζοις καὶ παραφύασι κοσμούμενον, ἀλλ' ἰθυτενὲς ὄλον καὶ μίαν τὴν κεραΐαν προτεινόμενον (17 D.). Firstly, the word κέρασ (horn), although indeed in the singular form, refers not exclusively to the goat, but also to the animal to which the mysterious creature has been compared: the deer, so it should be understood rather qualitatively, as an *antler*, not quantitatively, as *one (and only one) horn*. Secondly, μία κεραΐα means *one horn*; if it was meant to be *the one and only*, it would rather be μόνη κεραΐα. The size of the creature and the shape of its horn are unusual enough, so there is no reason to introduce a mystical creature into the narration, which is really not comparable to a fairy tale.

lupine is unique, in this case the object – the wild goat – is described as exceptional in itself²⁸.

The harbour of Paros

Niketas described the harbour of Paros with the following words:

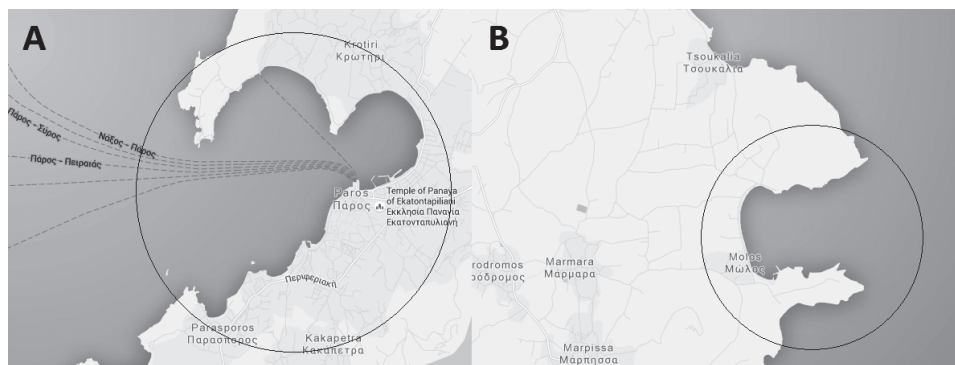
This harbour gets deeper gently and gradually and naturally retreats from the waves, as if it were built for that purpose, being enclosed in the hollow of the mountain, so that ships can pass the winter or the summer there comfortably (6).

Niketas' description accords with the real shape of the harbour, as can be easily observed on map 1 (A). It offers comfortable access to incoming boats and provides them with protection, as they are enclosed by the land. Staying here during the summer and winter seasons was, naturally, possible, since the harbour is protected by the mainland against winds, i.a. so-called "meltemi", Etesian winds. Furthermore, it has been continuously in use from antiquity up until now. The description is then precise and exact, not counting one mistake²⁹. Probably, it also contains an intertextual reference³⁰.

²⁸ It should be pointed out that the digressions, even though they are of interest here only because of their role within the historical layers, probably served not only and not predominately the purpose of describing Paros. As JAZDZEWSKA (2009: 273) aptly noticed, both parts underline the Hunter's *down-to-earth demeanour*. CHRISTIDES (1981: 95), in turn, suggests that putting stress on the large numbers of fair game aims to strengthen the impression of Paros being uninhabited (I discuss this subject below). Such a selection of animals and plants can also be a result of intertextual reference. Unfortunately, for now I have to leave this only as a hypothesis: I could not find anything about the Parian lupine or wild goats in Aristotle's works on nature, *Enquiry into Plants* and *On the Causes of Plants* by Theophrastos, *Hunting with Dogs* by Xenophon or the quasi-encyclopedic *Moralia* by Plutarch and *The Learned Banqueters* by Athenaios, even though Paros itself appears multiple times on various occasions and the plants, enumerated in botanical digressions, have been precisely described by Theophrastos or mentioned by Athenaios. Perhaps additional traits can be found in other sources.

²⁹ ZERLENTES (1901: 162) noticed that Niketas made a mistake, placing the harbour facing Naxos. (This is not, by the way, his only mistake: according to ZERLENTES 1901: 163, the *magistros* quotes an incorrect distance between Paros and Naxos; see 13). In reality the Parian harbour faces Antiparos and two minor isles, Dipla and Firo. It is on the western coast of the island, while Naxos neighbours Paros from the east. Niketas' mistake could be assumed to be coincidental, if there were not another bay on the opposite shore of the island [see Map 1(B)]. It is much smaller than the one Parian harbour is placed in, and it does not suit Niketas' description. However, it is positioned facing Naxos, and there is even today a little harbour close to the town of Molos, which suggests that the bay could have served this purpose also in Antiquity and/or the Middle Ages. Surely though it is not the harbour which Niketas had in mind, because he completed his description of the harbour with the following words: "we disembarked and, after a short walk, arrived at the church" (6). The church, *Panagia Ekatonpiliiani*, is placed in the city of Paros, exactly over the harbour; it would be impossible then for Niketas and his company to get there so quickly from the eastern shore of the island. Still, Niketas' mistake is intriguing. Maybe his nautical knowledge was not sufficient, so he mixed up the isles of the Cyclades, or maybe he misinterpreted his map when writing the *Life* some time after the events which are narrated there.

³⁰ JAZDZEWSKA (2009: 264) claims: "One notices a particular resonance with Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, which starts with a description of the harbour of Sidon, the city to which



Map 1. Part A presents a fragment of the western coast of Paros, and part B shows a fragment of the eastern coast. Available from: <https://maps.google.pl/> (accessed May 24, 2013). The outlined fields contain: the port of Paros (A) and the unnamed harbour facing the island of Naxos (B).

Paros as an uninhabited island

Each narration level contains information about Paros being desolate or even uninhabited during Theoktiste's years as an anchoress, as well as later on, when Niketas visited the island:

(1) Upon seeing Symeon, Niketas says: “we saw coming toward us a monk, who had emerged from the wilderness [τῆς ἐρήμου] and was stepping forward from the grove” (8).

the first-person narrator of the novel arrives after a severe storm” and notices also that both Kleitophon and Niketas visit the temple/church immediately after they arrive. Indeed, these two sections of the writings resemble one another, but this similarity does not extend very far. Niketas visits the church out of curiosity, and only using the opportunity after his ship was forced to divert from its intended course. On the contrary, Kleitophon offers thanksgiving to the gods, having just survived the storm – his motivation is purely religious. Furthermore, the description of Sidon harbour differs from the Parian one, being depicted with following words: “Nestled in its bosom, discretely [ἡρέμα] refusing the ocean's advances, is a broad double harbor: where the bay curves round on the right, a second entrance has been channeled, a further inlet for the tidewater, a harbor within the harbor. There the great freighters calmly wait out the storms of winter [χειμάζειν] and in the summer ply [θερίζειν] the harbor's forebay” (Achill. Tat. I 1, 1; transl. by J.J. WINKLER). The words in square brackets are present in both descriptions, but I consider pieces of information about capability of spending the summer- (χειμάζειν) and wintertime (θερίζειν) in the harbour fundamental for each and every sailor and, therefore, important in the case of all harbours. Moreover, the word ἡρέμα, used in both descriptions, designates the characteristic that actually makes them different, not similar. Sidon harbour just gently shuts off assaults from the sea, while the Parian harbour goes gently and gradually deeper into the land. The first one is a wide, open area of water, the second one rather cuts into the land. Manoeuvring in both harbours must have been different and this is why, even though Niketas used his evident knowledge of Achilleus Tatios' work, the real characteristics of the place being depicted are more important in this case – characteristics known *ex visione*, either his own or that of other experienced sailors. The harbours, by the way, could not have been described in the same manner, since, as ZAWADZKI (2002: 54, n. 5) observes, the description of the harbour is very detailed which might mean that the author knew the city from his own experience. Therefore the description of the Sidon harbour also credibly presents a place that really exists.

(2) When the monk introduces himself: “I have persevered for more than thirty years, wandering alone in this wilderness [τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην]” (8).

(3) Having visited the shrine and found soaking lupine seeds, the Hunter concludes: “he must be a holy man to live in this wilderness [ταύτην τὴν ἔρημον]” (15).

(4) When Theoktiste asks the Hunter: “But for what reason did you come to this wilderness? What necessity has brought you to an uninhabited island [ἄοικον νῆσον]” (17).

The author-Niketas refers carefully to Symeon as one coming out of desolation (τῆς ἐρήμου). The others place greater emphasis, pointing at τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην – that desolation, *that one you can see*, while Theoktiste simply claims that the island is uninhabited (ἄοικος).

Opinions about Paros, desolated and completely abandoned or not, diverge. As I have already mentioned, CHRISTIDES treats such statements as a hagiographical exaggeration. By contrast, ZERLENTES trusts Niketas’ words and adds that many islands had become uninhabited due to earthquakes and the activities of corsairs, having been resettled only by the Franks of the Fourth Crusade³¹. CHRISTIDES’ thesis seems more valid, but it is not my task to develop that subject any further. What matters here is the reason why Niketas depicted Paros as a desolated land. Regardless of who is right: CHRISTIDES, maintaining that the locals simply moved to the interior, or ZERLENTES, it must be noted that Niketas stayed close to the coast, at one place on that coast and for a brief amount of time only. As a result, he refers to what he or his informants could have seen, in accordance with their limited view of the island. A city (or its ruins) through which Niketas and his company had to come in order to reach the temple is not even mentioned, nor any living soul, excluding Symeon. Whether there was anybody inland or not, Niketas may have not known; his knowledge, even if incorrect, comes *ex visione*³².

The church of *Panagia Ekatontapiliani*

There are *ekphraseis* in chapters 6 and 7, describing a church of the Mother of God and a ciborium placed within it. This part, being extraordinarily plastic, but also universal to such a degree that it suits many other Christian churches, was

³¹ ZERLENTES 1901: 163 f.

³² It is important to note that if anybody proves beyond all doubt that Paros was inhabited in Niketas’ times, only then will the final proof for the historical unreliability of the *Life of St. Theoktiste* appear. Niketas might have not seen Paros’ inhabitants, but they would not have escaped Symeon’s and Theoktiste’s attention, since they were living there over thirty and thirty-five years, respectively. Also the Hunter would have seen somebody when hunting in the territory of the whole island. Concentrating on literary inquiries only, though it develops our knowledge, is not enough for this type of practical issue – especially when writings are full of *topoi* and rhetoric, which are usually used as an argument against texts’ credibility (sometimes by literary scholars, more frequently by classical philologists and a far too often by less careful historians). However, it is once again significant to recall that whether the *Life* is *in fact* credible or not does not concern us here at all.

more thoroughly described below³³. Let us now take a look at Niketas' motivation for disembarking on Paros. He knew about the church on Paros and, taking the opportunity, decided to visit it. He justifies his purpose by saying: "for it was indeed worth seeing and preserved vestiges of its old beauty" (6). The phrase might as well have been said by any tourist, and Niketas indeed is a tourist here, looking for remarkable places and experiences, and because of that the passage appears pretty "human": a bit mundane, but also authentic³⁴. Furthermore, there is an important detail: a crucial role in the *ekphrasis* is played by the king stone (ὁ βασιλικὸς λίθος), very important for the metaphor that Niketas coined here. It is an obvious allusion to the local marble, of which Paros was famous across the Mediterranean. As the comic writer Alexis says, in a fragment preserved by Athenaios: "Your country has two products that outdo those from anywhere else: stone that brings honour to the blessed ones, and cakes that do the same for mortals" (fr. 22 K.-A. = Athen. 644 B-C)³⁵. Niketas subtly attests his visit to the island by introducing into his narration a widely recognised fact about Paros, saying indirectly: "I have been there, I have seen that".

There is in the passages discussed above a clearly visible, conscious or semi-conscious, attempt to provide the narration with solid pillars, which support the historicity of the story. The exact description of the harbour, the subtly underlined motif of Parian marble, the environmental digressions and the image of the island as a desolate place, suitable for asceticism, all together enforce an impression of something that really existed, anchored in the real world – the world which had already been sketched in the common-historical layer. And these were the last parts of the story where readers could feel as though they were travelling safely on (relatively) solid and stable historical ground. From here on starts the journey into the depth of ahistory.

THE *EX AUDITU* LAYER

The *ex auditu* layer contains the majority of the information included within the *Life* and significantly differs from the other two layers by presenting a world

³³ There are monographs dedicated to this object, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to consult them. See H.H. JEWELL, G.N. KORRES, *Ἡ Ἐκατονταπυλιανὴ τῆς Πάρου*, Athinai 1954; F.W. HASLUCK, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates*, London 1920; T.Ch. ALIPRANTIS, *Ἡ Ἐκατονταπυλιανὴ τῆς Πάρου*, Thessaloniki 1993.

³⁴ AS HERO (1996: 104, n. 37) noticed: "Paros cathedral is known for its ciborium, a structure in the form of a canopy supported by columns and placed over the altar as a symbol of Christ's tomb". Since it is relatively famous now, there is a possibility that it was also known throughout the Middle Ages. It is important, however, to distinguish between the fame and the description of the object. Since (if) it was famous, mentioning the commonly recognised church and the ciborium have strengthened the common-historical layer and the *ex visone* layer. Still, the description did not really have to be accurate, and, as I argue below, could have served another purpose.

³⁵ Transl. by S.D. OLSON. Parian marble was mentioned in three out of five Athenaios' passages concerned with Paros (205 F, 605 F and the one quoted above).

which is quite distinct from the real and verifiable one. The historical definiteness is replaced by (1) ahistorical space, (2) blurry and undefined time, (3) common personas, who could be more correctly named *narrative figures*, and (4) a schematic plot.

Ahistorical space

The *Life's* scenery has been, no doubt, set in a historical framework, since Paros, just like the other Aegean Isles (Crete and Ios), does exist, and it is also invested with some distinctive and equally historical places. The dominant factor within this framework, however, seems to be the groves and forests that represent a dehumanised *nature*. When the Hunter is going to visit Theoktiste, he says about his companions: “the others then hurried to the forest to start hunting” (19). When he is trying to find the saint’s remnants together with them, he says that they run “around the entire forest and the groves” (22). It must also be recalled that the monk Symeon comes out of the grove and that both anchoretic persons, according to their own words, live in *a desolation*. All of this together gives an impression of Paros being a place somewhere beyond the human world, and that impression is intriguing, since Paros, even if uninhabited, must have preserved the evidence of previous settlement. For instance: the Church of the Mother of God visited by Niketas was placed nearby the ancient city of Paros that was located on the shore of the harbour so accurately described by the *magistros*. What is more, the shortest way to the church must have been through the ruins, so there is no possibility that Niketas did not see them. For some reason, however, the author decided not to say a word about them.

The notion of something not of this world is deepened by the picture of the place where Symeon tells Niketas the story of Theoktiste: “There were some fallen blocks and columns as well as thick green grass and a spring gushing out fresh water and the whole place was filled with quiet and was suitable for godly tales” (10). It corresponds with the idea of the *locus amoenus*, a Sicilian-Arcadian *topos*³⁶ and looks more like a picture that was taken directly from the

³⁶ Or rather a *topos* that was taken on as Sicilian-Arcadian (actually Arcadian, because it is known under this name in Western culture; unfortunately, this is not the place to question most scholars’ custom of preferring the Latin motif to the Greek one). It is necessary to remind ourselves that the *locus amoenus* is as venerable as European literature in general. As CURTIUS (1963: 186) noticed: “From Homer’s landscapes later generations took certain motifs which became permanent elements in a long chain of tradition: [...] the lovely miniature landscape which combines tree, spring, and grass”. Even though trees are missing in this particular place, there are plenty of them in the other parts of the *Life*. The English translator of the *Life* notices a convergence here between Niketas’ writing and Achilles Tatios’ *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (12, 3). Although the influence of the antique writer on our hagiographer seems obvious, there is probably, however, also an idea not present in Achilles Tatios’ work, introduced by the word ἡσυχία. The term designates quite an important and popular concept of Eastern Roman spirituality, especially in monastic terms. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*: “*Hesychia* involves the stilling of the normal human senses and passions in order to perceive

literary repertoire. In other words, it is a literary pattern merged into Parian space, rather than an idealised topographical description. That pattern very often shows up in the contexts of dialogue and poetical creativity, and it is no different in this case³⁷. The dialogue between Symeon and Niketas is not just a casual talk, but has a deeper, religious meaning. This kind of dialogue in the Christian period corresponds with antique philosophical discussions. Furthermore, the part with the nominal and declared content of the *Life*, which is the story of Theoktiste, starts in this very place. Niketas could not have imagined any better circumstances for himself as well as for an interlocutor (or interlocutor and student, if one understands Symeon as his master) and an artist³⁸. But what matters here is that for the purpose of his writing he did not hesitate to create the ahistorical and universal (= poetical, if one follows Aristotle's notion of this word: *Poet.* 1451 a–b) conditions which did not come from the world that he was really experiencing.

Also the *ekphraseis* of the church and ciborium do not seem to be descriptions of any specific objects. To start with the church:

Built in perfect symmetry on all sides, it was supported by numerous columns of royal marble. Every wall was covered with sawn marble similar to that of the columns. The artisan had carved the marble so fine as to give the impression that the wall was dressed in cloth of fine linen. The marble gleamed with such translucence and sparkle as to surpass even the lustre of pearls. That is how superior was <the quality of> the marble or rather the zeal of the artisan who strove to bestow additional beauty on nature (6).

This elaborate and sophisticated description does not offer many details. Readers are told only that the church was built symmetrically and was surrounded by

the transcendent God. Inner and outer *hesychia* were not normally to be found in ordinary society, and *hesychia* became the particular goal of solitary eremitic and hesychastic monks. [...] The 'philosophy' of HESYCHASM consists of three essential points: (1) renouncing the importance of family and the world, (2) renouncing one's own will and attaining complete obedience, and (3) a life of simple-minded, pure devotion to God. The prophets Elijah and John the Baptist were seen as biblical prototypes of *hesychia*, or silent absorption in God..." (*ODB* II, p. 924). Symeon and Theoktiste suit this description perfectly, with their anchoritism, contempt for temporality and absolute dedication to God. It is not surprising then that the place where they live their solitary life is also full of *hesychia*. If one remembers that already in the introduction to the *Life*, Symeon was compared to Elijah and John the Baptist, what Niketas might have had in mind was not only to make an ordinary intertextual reference, but also to depict a place as being as close as possible to the monastic ideal.

³⁷ "To write poetry under trees, on the grass, by a spring – in the Hellenistic period, this came to rank as a poetical motif in itself" (CURTIUS 1963: 187). Suffice it to remember that Theokritos and Vergil composed under similar circumstances.

³⁸ It is important to note that such a use of the *locus amoenus* exposes some ambiguity in Niketas' understanding of himself writing the work. On one hand, Sicily-Arcadia is the place where pastoral improvisations – a genre quite far from historiography (and hagiography) – are created; on the other hand, the *locus amoenus* is also the place where one speaks about important truths (like in the case of Phaidros and Socrates), the truths being quite far from the sphere of literary fiction and entertainment, even if presented with some wit.

many marble columns. Niketas develops a spectacular metaphor around the latter, but he does not say, in fact, anything that could not be said about many other Eastern Roman churches. So, this *ekphrasis* seems actually ahistorical, and its inclusion into the *Life's* narration evokes Niketas' personal literary ambitions.

The same can be said of the ciborium:

For the carving did not seem to be made of marble nor wrought by <human> hands with <tools of> iron and skill. <It looked>, instead, as if <it had been made> out of milk mixed with juice of the fig tree <in order to thicken> and had been cast in the shape of a canopy. Made of such stone I saw once <a statue of> Selene driving a chariot drawn by bulls (8).

In this case the reader is given even less information: only that the ciborium did not look like it had been made by human hands, and that the material gave the impression of being something different from what it really was. We do not know what it depicted, nor what its form was. It is worthwhile comparing this *ekphrasis* with the one composed by Achilles Tatios, which presents a picture of Selene and to which Niketas refers in the last sentence of his description:

Such beauty I had seen once before, and that was in a painting of Selene on a bull: delightfully animated eyes; light blond hair – blond and curly; black eyebrows – jet black; white cheeks – a white that glowed to red in the centre like the crimson laid on ivory by Lydian craftswomen. Her mouth was a rose caught at the moment when it begins to part its petal lips.
(Achill. Tat. I 4; transl. by J.J. WINKLER)

This *ekphrasis* offers data specific enough to let us imagine its heroine. By contrast, Niketas gives only some impression that comes from the contemplation of artwork which is actually left undescribed. That kind of impression must have been pretty common for visitors to the magnificent sacral monuments in e.g. Constantinople or Antioch³⁹.

It can thus be said that ahistorical space has been placed in a broader historical framework. The objects it contains, though they correspond to some degree with the historical world (Parian marble, the very fact that the Church of the Mother of God was known to Niketas before he visited Paros), are also of an ahistorical quality.

Time and timelessness

While the mention of Himerios' expedition and the reign of Leo VI makes anchoring the narration of the *Life* in time possible, these are the only certain

³⁹ JAŹDŹEWSKA (2009: 265–267) believes the *ekphraseis* to be a camouflaged message on the author's literary composition – Niketas offers his readers a work which is something different than it nominally seems to be. If she is right, this is another proof for Eastern Roman literature being something much more subtle than it is usually claimed to be.

historical points – the rest belongs to ahistorical time, i.e. timelessness. The Arabic raids, even if they mark actual events, only give a general impression of how to date them, as a quite blunt *terminus post quem*. We in fact dispose of three more pieces of information about Theoktiste's story, which enable a more precise dating: (1) Symeon spent thirty years on Paros as an anchorite, (2) Theoktiste was there for more than thirty-five years, and (3) she died in November. Since Symeon could not have met Theoktiste during his years on Paros, she arrived on the island ca. 65 years before Symeon's and Niketas' meeting; however, we cannot be sure if Symeon appeared there just after Theoktiste's death. The periods in question are to outline the ascetic capability of the two saintly figures and should be understood as "long" (Symeon) and "very long" (Theoktiste), rather than as factual time markers. Also, the month of Theoktiste's death was given only to make room for the saint's life in *menologia* (collections of saints' lives). The time is then of a quality similar to that of space. The broader time background – the military expedition, the reign of Leo VI, (maybe) Nisiris' raids – marks out the frame within which time undergoes dilution and loses its sharpness. In other words, time goes into timelessness.

Conventional personas

The more comprehensive study on personas has been placed in the part that deals with the fields of authority. Here it suffices to say that Niketas is the only person anchored firmly in history, as a well-connected and high-ranked official. The rest can be described as follows:

- a certain Symeon, who comes out of nowhere, with no family and no acquaintances;
- a certain nameless Hunter of Euboea;
- a certain Theoktiste of Lesbos.

Symeon and *Theoktiste* were quite popular and usual names. Symeon and the Hunter have no biographies, and the biography of Theoktiste is scant and very typical. Also the appearance of the two anchoritic figures is typical and lacks any individual characteristics. As for the Hunter, we do not even know what he looked like. All three people are virtually certain figures and can be placed within any story whatsoever, not necessarily hagiographical, in almost any time and place.

Conventional plot

The plot corresponds to the character of the persons whose story it narrates. Just as with them, it can be taken out of Theoktiste's story and narrated as an episode in any kind of chronicles or hagiographical writing. With not much effort it can also be composed as a poetical work about almost anyone just by leaving aside the most general historical markers (the place: Paros, the time: before and during Himerios' expedition). This plot can be most generally set forth in accordance with the following scheme:

- (1) a well-born hero meet an anchorite;
- (2) the anchorite foretells the hero's future (Eastern Roman or, more generally, medieval narrations are full of spiritual persons who have the ability of limited prophecy⁴⁰);
- (3) the anchorite narrates the story he was told by a coincidental commoner, who met a saint;
- (4) the saint appears to be a typical anchoress, and her holiness is supported by a miracle which is mediocre in terms of originality and quality.

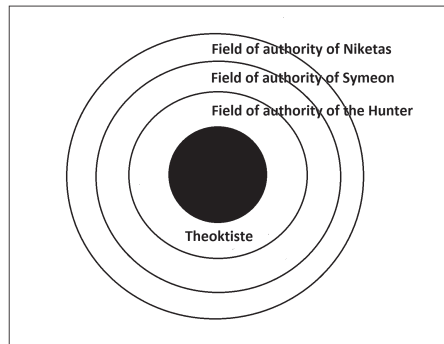
Even though Niketas' writing is crafted, sophisticated and well-thought-out, the plot it includes remains dry and lacking any original and peculiar characteristics.

The ahistorical story still had to meet certain conditions, if it was supposed to be believed to be something more than just a fairy tale. The common-historical and the *ex-visione* data is not enough to compensate for the indefiniteness and ahistorical universality of the major part of the writing. Historicity and veracity are then sanctioned by what I term *fields of authority*.

FIELDS OF AUTHORITY

The *Life's* narration has been organised around the four narrators: Niketas, Symeon, the Hunter, and Theoktiste. It is, as HERO calls it, a story within a story within a story: the Hunter's story includes the story about Theoktiste and is included in the story of Symeon, included in turn by the story of Niketas, the main narrator and author of the writing. This simple operation, which makes the reading more enjoyable, guarantees also, in my opinion, its historical veracity in the eyes of the readers. The three narrators are of different types of authority and all together they empower the historicity of the narration as well as cover its weaknesses.

My proposal is to conceptualise the relations between all the narrators and their narrations, and also between that entity and the readers, as *fields of authority*, shown in the picture below:



⁴⁰ E.g. Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* has plenty of such people. One of them foretells the rebel Alexios Komnenos that he will become an emperor (see *Alexiad* II 7).

I define a field of authority as a part of the narration concentrated around a specific narrator and sanctioned by his authority. The field of authority works:

(a) Externally – where it strengthens with its authority a field or fields of authority of a higher level or, as in the case of a field of authority of the highest level – the field of Niketas – it represents all of the subordinate fields together to the recipients, and communicates its content to the culture it belongs to.

(b) Internally – where it strengthens and sanctions the content of a field (or fields) of authority of a lower level.

Niketas' field of authority

The authority of Niketas is of a twofold character. On one hand, it is the authority of a qualified historian; on the other, of a no less skilled writer. Furthermore, as a person responsible for the writing, the *Life's* author is present within the whole narration, from the first word to the last. It means that his field of authority encompasses the entity not only because it includes the other three fields of authority, but also because Niketas basically wrote it all⁴¹.

The authority of Niketas the historian (the hagiographer)

The activity of Niketas the historian is in accordance with POMIAN's remarks on the methodology of medieval historians. Niketas strongly sets forth his participation in a part of the narrated events: as a sailor he notices the character of the Parian harbour where he and his companions anchored, and as a tourist, or a Christian who is not indifferent to aesthetics, he describes the church⁴². Furthermore, sharing the responsibility for the field of authority of the Hunter, he also presents the previously mentioned digressions. Niketas the historian sets forth the information gathered *ex visione*⁴³.

⁴¹ Niketas, as an authority and writer, shares the responsibility for the other fields of authority because he gives them their voices. It does not violate the autonomy of the other three sources (or "sources", if one considers them fictitious). From the times of Herodotus and Thucydides, historians have composed speeches (i.e. all the sections that have been said by historical persons and then written down by historians) in the way they were said or *might* have been said. It is not important then if Niketas presented Symeon's testimony word for word (though it is important that he claimed to do so) – no one sane would expect it from him anyway. What was of the essence was whether the words preserved the sense and truth of the original speeches. If this was not the case, Niketas would never have encrusted the words of the unlearned (ἀγράμματος) Hunter with quotes from high class authors, e.g. Homer and that ἐκκαίδεκάδωρος of his. Medieval historiography has not much to do with its modern counterpart, the latter enabling the verification of almost all that was said, thanks to recordings and journalists' work and, as a result, making us all expect precision and literalness.

⁴² Especially here Niketas highlights his personal participation by mentioning him and his company having circled around the church (περιήειμεν τοῦτον ἀγάμενοι, 3 D.) or stating directly that they saw the ciborium (ὡς [...] ἐώρακαμεν, 4 D.).

⁴³ It needs to be said once again that whether he really saw what he was speaking about or not is of no importance there.

On the other hand, in relation to the *ex auditu* layer he occupies the position of a faithful scribe. When Symeon demands that the *magistros* write down the story, he uses the words: Καὶ δυσωπῶ τηρικαῦτα τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐν μνήμῃ γενόμενον τὸ τῆδε γεγονός συγγράψαι – Niketas is then supposed to compose the *Life of Theoktiste* “having my [i.e. Symeon’s] words” in his memory (10 D.)⁴⁴. He declares the monk’s demand fulfilled, stating in the part of the writing just next to Symeon’s story: “the blessed and great man recounted these things just as I related them above [ὡς ἀνωτέρω μοι λέλεκται]” (23).

The authority of Niketas the writer

However, Niketas was first and foremost a writer, having become a historian only on Symeon’s demand⁴⁵, and as a writer he distinguished himself with extraordinarily literary erudition. Quotes from Church Fathers (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus), Thucydides, Plato, Achilles Tatios can be found in the *Life*. There is also Homer, represented by epithets specific to him, like σιτοφάγος (‘living on bread’), ἀναίμων (‘without blood’) or ἑκκαίδεκάδωρος (‘sixteen palms long’), and the Holy Bible, the most intensively exploited reservoir of quotes.

Yet, Niketas proves his literary efficiency as a writer mostly by exposing his own capability, e.g. both *ekphraseis* can be estimated as literary masterpieces⁴⁶. Furthermore, he displays a variety of rhetorical devices, among which metaphors and *figurae etymologicae* (σχήματα ἐτυμολογικά) stand out. Among the former the one with Niketas as a colt and Himerios as his mother is worth remembering, or a quite paradoxical one, in which hair on human flesh is compared to thorns⁴⁷. Among the latter, one can find Leo VI, who “entombed in a tomb together with him the good fortune of the Romans” (τὴν εὐτυχίαν Ῥωμαίων τῷ τάφῳ συνθάψαντος, 2 D.)⁴⁸ or the one about “passing the pass” (διεπορθμεύθημεν εἰς Ναξίαν δέκα σχεδὸν σταδίου ἔχοντος τοῦ πορθμοῦ, 10 D.)⁴⁹. Niketas is also

⁴⁴ HERO translates this section as follows: “And I implore you to remember my words at that time and write down what occurred here, for it deserves to be remembered and recounted...” (14). In my opinion, her translation does not make the original meaning clear enough.

⁴⁵ It must be said though that in the Eastern Roman Empire historians usually were skilled and perfectly educated writers, because historiography itself was an elite literary genre, whereas chronicles were more popular and accessible. See TURTLEDOVE 1982: X f.

⁴⁶ JAZDZEWSKA (2009) also noticed, on many occasions, that Niketas displayed literary and rhetorical devices in his work, but she concentrated more on the literary strategy that is hidden within and behind them. Since this article is concentrated, in turn, on the historiographical aspect of Niketas’ work, it is more important here and below to outline the role of rhetoric itself as one of the pillars employed to strengthen the work’s historical veracity.

⁴⁷ Ἀνεπήδησαν γὰρ μου τῆς σαρκὸς αἱ τρίχες, καὶ γέγοναν ἀκάνθης ὀξύτεραι (13 D.).

⁴⁸ “...who took with him to the grave the <good> fortune of the Romans” (4). Here and in the next section, the English translation does not expose the original σχήματα ἐτυμολογικά.

⁴⁹ “...we crossed over to Naxos, the width of the strait being approximately ten stadia” (13). To express the activity of *crossing over* he could have used many other verbs, e.g. διαβαίνειν or

not ignorant of multiplication (συναθροισμός), apparent in a passage where the Hunter depreciates himself and his companions with the words “wretched and foolish and thick-skinned men” (22)⁵⁰.

Such proficiency in using rhetorical devices can only be expected of a dedicated reader of Hermogenes, who Niketas certainly was⁵¹. However, rhetoric is also present in the very composition of the writing. As P. NEHRING noticed, the early Latin *vitae* are composed just like judicial speeches⁵², and I suppose that a similar scheme can be expected in their Greek prototypes⁵³. Even though the wholly executed scheme of judicial oratory is not present in the *Life*, at least two major parts – the prologue and the epilogue – were drafted after the rules of rhetoric. Let us take a look at the prologue first.

As R. VOLKMANN claims, the function of the προοίμιον is “den Zuhörer vorbereiten, damit er uns bei den übrigen Teilen der Rede um so geneigter sei”⁵⁴. That Niketas devotes much attention to the προοίμιον may be gauged by the very length of this part. The first section of his writing in the *Acta Sanctorum* is three or four times more extensive than any other, and also two times longer than the respective part of the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, the prototype for Niketas’ work, which is in turn two times more ample than the entire *Life of St. Theoktiste*. This section is also very carefully composed.

Niketas ushers his reader in with the following words: “Praising that which is good and conducive to virtue and piety is a blessed <deed> and a trait of good and truly praiseworthy men” (1). Already the two important pieces of information have been given here:

- (1) explicitly: he will praise that which is good;
- (2) implicitly: he aspires to the circle of good and praiseworthy men.

Subsequently, a longer metaphor appears in which the author compares the influence of eulogy to the one that concerns sportsmen, in favour of the former⁵⁵. Here the soul is compared to the body⁵⁶. In this way, Niketas puts a stress on the

ὑπερβάλλειν. The same with a *pass*, which he could have named simply as ἰσθμός (e.g. the Isthmus of Corinth).

⁵⁰ Δείλαιοι καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ παχύδερμοι (21 D.).

⁵¹ “Il avait toujours sous la main son exemplaire d’Hermogène” (WESTERINK 1973: 33).

⁵² NEHRING 1999.

⁵³ It is but a supposition, not groundless though: the Greek cultural sphere was a lair for both rhetoric and hagiography. Latin theory and practice, at least in the beginning, were only following their Greek teachers (not always in a creative way).

⁵⁴ VOLKMANN 1963: 128.

⁵⁵ “Eulogies arouse those who hear them and such a speech makes them strive for praise more than the ardor of athletes makes those who attend athletic contests <eager to emulate the contestants>”.

⁵⁶ “<Our> souls are, indeed, wont to develop and be trained by edifying discourse, just as our bodies by suitable exercise”.

power of words, simultaneously placing the topic in a more down-to-earth category (sport competition and exercises). Then he specifies a series of effects that the audience experiences thanks to eulogy, which can stimulate (1) bravery, (2) the desire for justice, and (3) moderation, while also (4) encouraging a spiritual life and ascetic practices. The last motive, placed at the end and treated in the most extensive manner, suggests that Niketas expects this kind of effect to be caused by his writing. Next, he contrasts eulogies with bad orations, the latter being like a plague (λύμη). Niketas ends this part of the prologue by determining the goals he wants to achieve with his writing (speech). These goals are: (1) to praise God, (2) to make his readers/audience recognise the perpetrator (Theoktiste, who has not yet been named) of the deeds (that he is going to narrate), and (3) to make readers/audience emulate her. Here Niketas also sets forth his expectation that his audience will give ear to the story, since his previous words have proven the benefits that come from eulogies.

The next part is dedicated to refuting potential objections⁵⁷. Niketas seemingly notices his failure, when, by introducing the *topos* of modesty, he says “still, I do not know how I forgot myself”, since with his life (βίω) and eloquence (λόγω)⁵⁸ he is by far inferior to the subject of the story. He also acknowledges those better than he, who should compose writings on such topics. However, he defends himself by claiming that obedience (ὕπακοή) is a virtue that leads to salvation – and he writes after all only at the demand of the saint, who was since childhood dedicated to God, just like John the Baptist and Elijah (= Symeon, yet unnamed). The whole prologue is concluded with a second ending: “But let us start the story from the beginning. For it is now time to recount it to you, since you have been sufficiently prepared to hear it” (3).

In the epilogue Niketas certifies himself as having fulfilled his commitment to Symeon, saying: “As for me, I have come forward to honor obedience and to repay a debt” (24). He then enumerates the effects which may be the results of his writing. There are three of them. First, God will be praised. Second, the saint (Theoktiste) can expect that “her memory will be honored and acclaimed every year” – as can be seen, now he explicitly declares an intention of introducing Theoktiste into the ranks of the saints (and he succeeded⁵⁹). Third, in a more

⁵⁷ In a classical judicial speech, refutation of the charges (λύσις/ἀνασκευή) comes after the argumentation (πίστις/ἀπόδειξις/κατασκευή). See VOLKMAN 1963: 124.

⁵⁸ It is worth mentioning that among potential excuses Symeon quotes a lack of literary training (ἀπορία λόγων).

⁵⁹ As seen in the Polish menologion (PIĘTKA 2007: 75; I give my own English translation): “St. Theoktiste (Theoktistē, ‘created by God’, Gr.) lived an ascetic life on the Isle of Lesbos for 35 years. She lived on plants, fruit and seeds only, she died in peace in 881”. There are obvious mistakes in the menologion (Theoktiste lived her ascetic life on Paros, Lesbos is where she was from), but one can see based on this example her existence as a saint in the Orthodox Church – an existence brought to life by Niketas.

extensive part which ends with a conventional *amen*, he expects benefits for himself, thanks to the Mother of God's, angels' and saints' intercessions. The results correspond to the goals which he declared, with one exception: the benefits for the audience were replaced by benefits for the author only.

As can be seen, Niketas deftly operates within the framework of hagiography and elevates this genre to the level of high literature⁶⁰. The author proves then that he can skilfully play both of his roles, i.e. as a historian and as a skilled writer.

The field of authority of Symeon the anchorite

The persona of Symeon is crucial to the historicity of the writing in question. As a monk, priest, anchorite and holy man he is given a very high social status, which is actually the highest accessible for an anonymous person⁶¹. Because of that, this figure must be bestowed with expressiveness, for it is his authority on which the veracity of the *Life* actually hangs. His field of authority sanctions the Hunter's field that it embraces, and through the field of Niketas it guarantees the truth of the story about Theoktiste. This is why Symeon and his relationship with Niketas were drafted very carefully.

The above-mentioned expressiveness can be observed as soon as Symeon appears. His appearance has been described as follows:

His face was pale, his cheeks drawn, his feet bare, and he was all shriveled up. He was wearing a hair shirt, a cape and headcover similar to the shirt, and a leather belt around his waist. He was as hairy as a beast, as kind as an angel. For he did not look like a man who lived on bread, but like someone without flesh, almost without blood, in a word, like the abode of virtues or even of God Himself (8).

This gaunt and heavily emaciated body of his, together with his ragged uniform, inform us about the kind of lifestyle Symeon lives, which is a long-lasting and radical asceticism. Niketas yet strengthens this image by exposing his personal impression of the monk, describing him to be "as hairy as a beast, as kind as an angel". Symeon belongs then to the world of the wilderness, but he is also the kind of person that stays close to Heaven – that part being empowered with epithets like ἄσπαρκος ('without flesh') or ἀναίμωον ('without blood'). The hermit

⁶⁰ "There were two types of lives of saints: popular and rhetorical ones. While the popular type, with its accessible and entertaining content and common language, was accessible to a broad audience, the rhetorical type was designated for an educated reader. The sublime content and stylised language fed tastes shaped in schools and cultivated in the circles of the closed elite" (JUREWICZ 2007: 53; translation mine). Niketas' work belongs, no doubt, to the second type.

⁶¹ The higher position could be occupied by a saint, bishop or head of a cenobitic community, but to be a saint means to be officially acclaimed as one, and the two other posts are also of a rather public character. Therefore, Niketas could not have introduced these types of persons into his writing with no reference to any living and commonly recognised persons.

whom Niketas and his company encountered appears to be at the same time human and superhuman, and, without doubt, an “abode of virtues or even of God Himself”.

When asked to share some pieces of information about himself, Symeon refuses and states only in a short speech that he is not interested in any worldly matters⁶². He declares God to be his sole father and master, and he decides only to reveal himself as having been a hermit for thirty years, a priest and a monk (8). So, his auto-description only supports the previous part. Both of them are short, expressive and marked with something that might be named the *economics of sanctity*, according to which only that data which has something to do with God is relevant, the rest – not just “worldly matters”, but even the slightest bit of anything personal – not being worthy of any attention and, consequently, omitted. As a result, the author of the *Life* prepared himself a really comfortable starting point for the story of Theoktiste.

A correlation between Niketas’ and Symeon’s fields of authority, which is quite apparent in the mutual relationship between the two, is of no smaller importance. Let us take a look at how Niketas reacts to Symeon’s words about himself⁶³:

Out of respect for the man’s virtue, his words, his appearance and <monastic> habit, as well as for his asceticism, but above all for the fact that he was a priest of God, we fell at his feet and begged him to pray <for us> and for the forgiveness <of our sins on the day> of judgement (9).

This kind of interaction reveals the hierarchy between them: Symeon is placed above the *magistros* and his companions. It is also the position of a teacher, since a moment later Niketas asks him about “some of the things that are mysterious to us” (τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων). Symeon at first refuses, because his image as a modest monk would be impaired if he did not do so: “Enough of this! I have not yet been deemed worthy of such <revelations>. I withdrew to this <wilderness> to mourn my <sins>, not to seek what is above me” (9). His resistance is but short-lived – Niketas seems to be to his liking. In a simple, perhaps a slightly boorish manner (a fact used by Niketas to introduce a short digression about the simplicity of holy men, putting even more emphasis on Symeon’s grandeur)⁶⁴

⁶² ““I have nothing to say”, he answered, ‘about a homeland and family lineage and all the other things upon which city-dwellers pride themselves. Nor do I have any worldly concerns or find pleasure in things transient’” (8).

⁶³ While it is true that the personal pronoun we (ἡμεῖς) designates a plural subject, it is hard, however, to think of Niketas companions, here and in the other parts, as anything more than background. Moreover, one moment later Niketas, as a “more inquisitive” person (περιεργότερος), establishes a more exclusive relationship with Symeon.

⁶⁴ “this is what his simple disposition prompted him to do. For when the souls of great men are in communion with the highest power, they strive to become like it and, through communion

he invites the *magistros* to chat and tells him the story of Theoktiste. Yet before this, two other important events take place. First, Symeon foretells the course and outcome of Niketas' mission, and that prediction is immediately confirmed by the author himself to be entirely correct (13). That part confirms the monk's extraordinary and superhuman nature. Second, Symeon celebrates a Mass, so that he can be seen as a priest (14).

When the *magistros* speaks about Symeon, he speaks of him as being "great" (μέγας), "the greatest" (μέγιστος) and even "blessed" (μακάριος), this last epithet being ascribed generally to Theoktiste. Having in mind that in the προοίμιον Symeon is compared to Elijah and John the Baptist, it is hard to imagine what else could be invented to make the monk's authority any greater. Niketas basically could not deny such a person's request.

The field of authority of the Hunter

The Hunter performs two important functions. We shall start with the first one: the Hunter, as the person directly responsible for the story of Theoktiste, makes it as obscure as possible. His role is to blur the narration, to deprive the plot of any exactness and, as a result, to reduce the factography to a minimum. The Hunter reveals only his dialogue with the anchoress and the events shortly after her death, of which the dialogue gives only the minimum of data on Theoktiste, while his evidence on later events only provides the miracle necessary for her to be recognised as a saint. To put it frankly, Hunter's narration is skimpy, and this is exactly what it is supposed to be. Symeon describes his account as follows:

As you see, my friend, many details were left out of my account. For I should have discussed her lineage and all her ascetic exertions and suffering on the island and how she struggled against the assaults of <spiritual> enemies. But what can I do? The man who met the great <Theoktiste> was not like the great Zosimas who knew how to investigate the lives and struggles and achievements <of saints>; on the contrary, he was a man of the mountains, obtuse and ignorant of such things (23).

In order to explain why this is so, one needs once again to take a look at JAZDZEWSKA's inquiries. She argues that the duet between Mary and Zosimas in the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, as well as similar duets in the *vitae* that proceeded and, perhaps, influenced the above mentioned one, are of a different quality from the Theoktiste–the Hunter duet. Zosimas, the almost perfect monk, though different from his interlocutor, presents the very same way to achieve holiness, i.e.

with the Original Good, they become good in every way, pure, simple, removed from all our <affectations>, just like this great man who, by being gracious and good, appeared in his unaffected manner to be one of us" (10). This section can be interpreted in many ways, e.g. as a kind of excuse for Symeon in the eyes of the elite readers, or even as an implicit mockery of the master. Only the explicit meaning of this part is important here.

by asceticism. Even though both characters are not equal, Mary being closer to God, qualitatively they are both pretty similar. What is more, Zosimas becomes Mary's successor by burying her body, while the Hunter is refused such an honour. The latter is a person of different character and it is hard to find within him anything of a partner for the saint⁶⁵.

If one agrees that Zosimas and Mary are being replaced, respectively, by the Hunter and Theoktiste, JAŹDŹEWSKA's theory seems valid. In my opinion though we cannot do so.

The *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* contains an uncomplicated narration. There is only one narrator who tells the story, Mary and Zosimas are simply people within it. The latter is mentioned as the only filter between the anonymous author of the writing and the narrated events. However, there are two such filters in the *Life of St. Theoktiste*: Symeon and the Hunter. If one compares then the two writings, Zosimas must be confronted not only with the Hunter, but also with Symeon – and the second one is far more important as a real partner of Theoktiste. If one takes such a perspective, relations in the two writings become parallel. Our monk conducts a life similar to that of the holy woman, just like Zosimas (or rather more than him, being almost identical: Symeon is an anchorite from the beginning, while Zosimas is a half-anchorite and a half-cenobite). He spends only five years less in wilderness than Theoktiste and the nature of his prophetic gift is qualitatively similar to the miracle that occurs after Theoktiste's death. Therefore, Symeon is holier in his holiness than Zosimas. What is also important is that it is he, not the Hunter, who narrates the story to the *magistros*, performing the same role as Zosimas does. If only it were he who had met the saint, the story would look completely different. But it does not, because of the Hunter. Whatever the reason, be it Niketas' invention or the actual events, the unlearned commoner suits his role perfectly.

However, there is also another function the Hunter performs, which is based on his own authority. If he did not have any, Symeon would have not trusted his words. But he does, even though he seriously doubts the Hunter's ability to investigate the lives of the saints. The conclusion is that this person must have been, for some reason, credible in the eyes of Symeon and his contemporary readers. There are three types of religiosity in the *Life*. The first one, which can be called a "model religiosity", is founded on an unconditional devotion to God, and it is represented by Theoktiste and Symeon. The other two that JAŹDŹEWSKA names are "the casual and aesthetic religiosity" of Niketas and the "candid, simple-minded and crude devotion" of the Hunter⁶⁶. The last one does not suit the subtle theological discourse nor offer any examples to be followed, but is also characterised by a priceless truthfulness. The Hunter is simple-minded enough

⁶⁵ JAŹDŹEWSKA 2009: 275–277.

⁶⁶ JAŹDŹEWSKA 2009: 264.

to profane the saint's body just to attain a relic, but his intentions are, no doubt, dictated by his heart. Symeon identifies the Hunter as "a pious man, who was very much concerned with his <spiritual salvation>" (15). This man visits the church immediately after his arrival on Paros, as is his custom. When he realises that somebody extraordinarily lives there, he at once jumps to the conclusion that he must be a holy man (θεῖος ἄνθρωπος) and prays ardently to meet him. When he meets Theoktiste, he shows her a reverence which is timid, but also full of devotion. The Hunter is both too good a Christian and too simple (or too foolish) a man to be able to lie, a man governed by his heart rather than by his mind. Furthermore, the raw folksy character of him is strengthened twofold by Niketas. First, the author of the *Life* refers in his writing to the other hunter, known from Dio of Prusa's *Euboean Discourse*, who is a person entirely positive and unblemished⁶⁷.

Second, in the part of the story narrated by the Hunter (and only there) numerous only softly reshaped quotes from the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* were included⁶⁸. Many scholars consider this operation to be obvious evidence of the reliance of the newer text on the older one, and to also be proof for the incredibility of the

⁶⁷ The thesis about the Hunter being taken from Dio Chrysostom's work was coined by KARSAY (1975). The scholar interpreted the *Life* based on LOTMAN's conception of the *aesthetics of identity* (*Ästhetik der Identität*) and the *aesthetics of antithesis* (*Ästhetik der Entgegensetzung*) – according to KARSAY, the *Life* should be read as having been created in the first category. As a part of the aesthetics of identity, literature operates in a commonly recognised system, being presented in the form known in advance to its recipients. In KARSAY's opinion, for a 10th century Eastern Roman reader this system was ancient, not medieval literature. Therefore, in the medieval form of hagiography Dio's hunter appears, as an element of entropy, easily recognised by the educated reader. KAZHDAN argues with this thesis (in previously mentioned articles): according to him Niketas did not need Dio Chrysostom's inspiration to introduce any more hunters, since there already is one in the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, i.e. Zosimas, when chasing Mary in the desert. But HERO (1996: 108, n. 54), in turn, considers Niketas being influenced by Dio to be beyond any doubt. JAŹDZEWSKA (2009: 275) also seems to agree, to some degree, with KARSAY: "in the *Life of Theoktiste* there is no place for Dio's idealised image of natural simplicity of rural life and for human brotherhood reaching beyond social differences; instead, the hunter's obtuseness is emphasised and his simple-minded religiosity is ridiculed". Indeed, there is not anything like that in the *Life*. Still, there are many common things in the *Life* and the *Euboean Discourse*. Firstly, the narration is in both of them shown from the first person perspective and is also provided by more than one narrator. Secondly, the author's personal participation is highlighted in both works, by Dio in a more explicit way: "I shall now relate a personal experience of mine; not merely something I have heard from others" (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7, 286; transl. by J.W. COHOON, H.L. CROSBY), and by Niketas more implicitly. Thirdly, as I have already pointed out, Dio strongly exposes the motif of Cape Kaphereus/Xylophagos, which is also very important in the *Life*. Fourthly, zoological, botanical and environmental descriptions, which are pretty numerous in the *Euboean Discourse*, are depicted by the hunter and his relatives first and foremost in categories important for themselves, which makes persons and descriptions similar to the Hunter and his digressions in the *Life*. Fifth and lastly, all the above-mentioned persons in both writings belong to the same type of character, which can be shortly and rather pointedly described as simple-minded, honest and not really clever.

⁶⁸ The quotes are so numerous, and the reliance of the *Life of St. Theoktiste* on the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* is so obvious that there is no point in listing them here. All of them are highlighted in the English translation by HERO, to which I refer an interested reader.

Life of St. Theoktiste. However, it is quite the opposite, since, as POMIAN noticed, the use of the parts or an entire section of older works in newer ones was meant to strengthen, not to weaken, the historical veracity of a historian's own account.

Therefore, the third authority in the *Life* is as carefully drafted as the second one (Symeon). They are of course of a different nature: since the monk's field of authority must radiate with the biggest possible strength, the authority it hangs on must also be very expressive, with no subtle lines. The Hunter, even though a boorish and uneducated person, has been depicted in a much more sophisticated manner. Symeon comes from hagiography – a literature simple and popular, while the Hunter was born in the Second Sophistic, a realm accessible only to the select few⁶⁹.

The centre of the authority fields: Theoktiste

Theoktiste, the real subject of the story, is placed in the centre of above-discussed fields. Even though she is also a narrator, when discussing her own life she cannot be understood as an authority in a sense which guarantees the veracity of her words. The existence of the saint, her outlook, words and deeds are all the theses which are being proved within the *Life*, and the thesis naturally cannot prove itself. It is true or not, and each option must be supported by arguments, part of which has been contained in a carefully devised historiographical construction by Niketas.

CONCLUSIONS

There is a clearly visible strategy in the *Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos* which makes its content historically reliable. The data encoded within the two first historical layers anchor the plot in a world which was known to the author and his readership (the common-historical layer), and also offer a relatively credible eyewitness account (the *ex visione* layer). The latter does so both directly, in the autobiographical section on the first narrator (Niketas), and indirectly, through the words of the other speaking persons. Both the layers guarantee a connection with the really existing world, but, in the end, they only support the *ex auditu* layer, which is the most important, the most extensive and also the most blurry. This last layer contains i.a. the fundamental part of the narration, i.e. the story of Theoktiste. She is made credible, as far as possible, by the three narrators, who operate within fields of authority specific to themselves. They complement each other, strengthen the historical content of the writing and also justify its historical deficiencies (the Hunter). It can thus be said that there is a well-constructed strategy which historicises the writing and makes it credible, at least in the eyes of its medieval Eastern Roman readership.

⁶⁹ Even though Niketas' allusion is visible to a select few, an average recipient could still understand the Hunter in terms of a simple, popular piety, so close to his own.

It is important to note that the *Life*, though it is exceptional as a particular literary work, still seems typical as a representative of its literary genre. Its historical credibility, as viewed nowadays, arouses suspicions, but there is no doubt about its authenticity, i.e. it is what it declares itself to be: a hagiographical work. If my analytical model proves effective in working out the historical thinking in historiographical writing, it should also pass the test in the case of the other, more conventional works. Perhaps, it is a good introduction for a more thorough investigation of the way in which medieval Romans conceptualised their historiography and the historicity of their world.

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 ActaAntHung – Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
 AJA – American Journal of Archeology
 Byz. – Byzantion
 BZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 DOP – Dumbarton Oaks Papers
 GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
 ODB – *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
 RBén – Revue bénédictine
 ZRVI – Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LOST SOURCE OF JOHN SKYLITZES'
SYNOPSIS HISTORION IN THE CHAPTER ABOUT THE REIGN
OF MICHAEL IV

by

KAMIL BIAŁY

ABSTRACT: It was thought that Demetrios of Kyzikos was the author of the lost source of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* in the chapters about the reigns of Romanos III and Michael IV. However, the analysis of the attitude of Skylitzes to the patriarch Alexios the Studite reveals that the author of the *Synopsis Historion* followed two contradictory sources in the aforementioned chapters. In the chapter about the reign of Romanos III it was indeed Demetrios of Kyzikos, which is supported by prosopographical evidence. However in the subsequent chapter on Michael IV, Skylitzes used a different source. This source cannot be identified with certainty due to the lack of evidence, but some traces suggest that it was John the Lydian, the last author whom Skylitzes mentions in the prooimion to his work.

One of the most frequently undertaken research themes concerning the *Synopsis Historion* of John Skylitzes is the question of the sources which the author used¹. This paper is part of the above mentioned research trend and its aim is to prove on the basis of existing source material that the source of John Skylitzes in the chapter on the reign of Michael IV could not be the lost chronicle of Demetrios of Kyzikos, as A. LAIOU claimed in her paper.

It should be noted that the study in question was not strictly devoted to the case of the lost sources of Skylitzes. A. LAIOU examined only Skylitzes' attitude to the imperial marriages and concluded that Demetrios of Kyzikos was the source for the author of the *Synopsis Historion* in the description of the two first marriages of empress Zoe². Although she does not state directly that Skylitzes used Demetrios' narrative more extensively, by examining the evidence

¹ I disagree with A. MARKOPOULOS' statement doubting that "the subject has anything new to yield", *From Narrative Historiography to Historical Biography. New Trends in Byzantine Historical Writing in the 10th–11th Centuries*, ByzZ CII 2009, p. 708.

² A. LAIOU, *Imperial Marriages and Their Critics in the Eleventh Century: The Case of Skylitzes*, DOP XLVI 1992, p. 172.

from entire chapters of Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* devoted to the reigns of Romanos III and Michael IV (not only those describing marriage issues), she admits that they could have been inspired by Demetrios of Kyzikos' lost work³.

The present paper is entirely devoted to the question of Skylitzes' sources in the chapters about the reigns of Romanos III and Michael IV. By re-examining Skylitzes' account and A. LAIOU's statements, I will argue that Demetrios of Kyzikos could not be a source of Skylitzes' description of Zoe's second marriage and of the reign of Michael IV as a whole. Instead, I will argue that it was inspired by an account of the same type i.e. by an ecclesiastical source but with a different attitude than Demetrios of Kyzikos. I will propose the lost chronicle of the monk John the Lydian, the last author mentioned by Skylitzes in the prooimion of his work, as a possible source, although I do so with caution. The authorship of this work is hard to establish, because John Skylitzes' sources for this part of the *Synopsis Historion* are lost and because we have no information about John the Lydian.

Skylitzes based his extensive chronicle covering the years 811–1057 on a number of sources that have survived to our time, as well as those that are lost. In many cases he is the only source of information about some of these authors. Knowledge about his material is derived from the prooimion to his work. This introduction itself is an extremely valuable source of knowledge about the Byzantine historiography of the ninth to eleventh centuries, and in particular for the first half of the eleventh century⁴. This is due to the fact that among the authors mentioned by Skylitzes in the prooimion, the least is known about the sources and their authors used in the later chapters of the *Synopsis Historion*, and in many cases, the chronicle of Skylitzes is our only source of information about them. In this respect, we can divide the *Synopsis Historion* into two parts, the first covering the years 811–976, while the latter covers the years 976–1057. We have relatively good knowledge on the sources of the first part of the *Synopsis*. Among the surviving works we can mention the *Basileiai* of Joseph Genesios⁵, whom Skylitzes included in his prooimion. We can also note a collection of

³ See especially two references from LAIOU, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 169, where the scholar shows the link between Skylitzes' positive description of the marriage of Zoe and Romanos III and the generally favourable attitude of Skylites (or his source) to the emperor's reign; and pp. 171 f., where Skylitzes' harsh description of not only Zoe's second marriage but also of the whole reign of Michael IV is explained by a reliance on an ecclesiastical source, and if this was one source then, according to LAIOU, it was Demetrios of Kyzikos' chronicle.

⁴ See A. MARKOPOULOS, *Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millenium*, in: P. MAGDALINO (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, Leiden–Boston 2003, pp. 192–194.

⁵ A. LESMÜLLER-WERNER, H. THURN (eds.), *Iosephii Genesii Regum Librii Quattuor*, Berlin 1978 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XIV).

histories called *The Continuation of Theophanes*⁶. Although not listed in the prooimion itself, its impact is very visible in the *Synopsis Historion*. The failure to mention *The Continuation of Theophanes* and its multiple authors, mostly unknown, resulted in the creation of the hypothesis that the author of the last book of this chronicle was Theodore Daphnopates⁷. Beside these authors and their works, we know that among Skylitzes' sources was the *History* of Leo the Deacon⁸. Niketas Paphlagon allegedly composed the biography of the patriarch Ignatios⁹, while Manuel of Byzantium probably wrote that of John Kourkouas¹⁰. We have, therefore, a large amount of information provided by Skylitzes and by modern scholars. Considering the reason for this, it is significant to conclude that in these first chapters Skylitzes follows his sources very faithfully. He tries to make only a partial modification of the account found in his materials, in the spirit of the promises which he made in his prooimion, leaving aside the fact that he was not always successful in maintaining this spirit, as was shown by C. HOLMES¹¹. The situation is different in the case of the sources for the second part of the *Synopsis Historion*. In his prooimion Skylitzes lists Theodore of Side, who remains anonymous to us, Theodore of Sebasteia, the author of the lost biography of Basil II¹²; and finally Demetrios, bishop of Kyzikos and the monk

⁶ I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus*, Bonn 1838 (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae).

⁷ F. HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig 1876, p. 284, n. 1.; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München 1897, p. 459; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, Leiden 1983, p. 542; I. DUJCEV, *On the Treaty of 927 with the Bulgarians*, DOP XXXII 1978, p. 242; A.P. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, Athens 2006, pp. 152 f.

⁸ C.B. HASE (ed.), *Leonis diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, Bonn 1828 (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae).

⁹ Nicetas David Paphlago, *Vita S. Ignatii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, in: J.P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CV, Paris 1862, pp. 487–574. Modern edition with an English translation: A. SMITHIES (ed.), *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, Washington 2013 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae LI). On its authorship and date of composition see: R.J.H. JENKINS, *A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the "Vita Ignatii"*, DOP XIX 1965, p. 247.

¹⁰ Skylitzes says that Manuel Protospatharios described the life of John Kourkouas in eight books, I. THURN (ed.), *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Berlin 1973 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae V), p. 230, 33–37. Throughout this paper the *Synopsis* is cited according to this edition.

¹¹ Cf. the analysis of the Romanos I Lekapenos chapter of the *Synopsis Historion*, C. HOLMES, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005, chapter 3.2.

¹² There are two premises in favour of this thesis. The first comes from the *Synopsis Historion*, where the interpolation contained in the two versions of the manuscript states that in the words of the Bishop of Sebaste, Basil II began his reign on January 11 (Ὁ Σεβαστείας κατὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην (ἰα' Α) τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς βασιλεῦσαι φησι τὸν Βασίλειον), Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 313, 46. The second premise originates from the *Peri Metatheseon*, a treaty devoted to the transfer of bishops between dioceses. According to the information contained in the treaty, Bishop of Seleukeia Pieria Agapias was seconded to the seat of Antioch, which happened during the reign of Basil II at the time of Skleros' rebellion, as Theodore of Sebasteia wrote in his *Chronikon Biblion*, J. DARROUZÈS,

John the Lydian. We know nothing about the last author, while the impact of Demetrios' chronicle on the narrative of Skylitzes was investigated by A. LAIOU, as was indicated earlier¹³.

It seems that the connection between John Skylitzes and Demetrios of Kyzikos as his source is certain. The latter appears in Skylitzes' text three times, the first time in the prooimion where he is on the list of the historians criticized by the author of the *Synopsis Historion*, and two more times in the chapters devoted to the reigns of Romanos III and Michael IV. Skylitzes reports that Argyros, shortly after the beginning of his reign, bestowed the dignity of *synkellos* on three bishops. Among them was Demetrios, bishop of Kyzikos, who according to Skylitzes was a friend of the emperor before he ascended the throne. We also know that, according to Skylitzes, Demetrios belonged to the family of Rhadenoi¹⁴. The friendship between Argyros and Demetrios suggests that the chronicle of the bishop of Kyzikos presented the reign of the emperor in a positive light. It was reflected in Skylitzes' work, where he praised the generosity of the *basileus* to the Church and to the aristocracy. The emperor granted additional monetary subsidies to the Church of Holy Wisdom which, according to what Skylitzes reports, were justified because the emperor had knowledge of the finances of the church, having previously exercised the office of *oikonomos*¹⁵. He also contributed to the improvement of the financial situation of the clergy, abolishing *allelengyon*. In fact, the tax was levied not only on the clergy, but despite this, Skylitzes shows them as the main social group affected by this tax burden¹⁶. This means that Demetrios of Kyzikos, as a bishop, was very interested in ecclesiastical matters, thus providing Skylitzes with plenty of information on that matter. It also means that the chronicle of Demetrios of Kyzikos was an ecclesiastical chronicle. There are more signs that Skylitzes used an ecclesiastical source in his narrative. He mentions that in the Pentecost of 1029¹⁷, there was a dispute between bishops over the precedence in liturgy, induced by the decision of Argyros to bestow

Le traité des transferts: édition critique et commentaire, REByz XLII 1984, p. 181; cf. HOLMES, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 96.

¹³ Cf. n. 3 above.

¹⁴ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 375, 58–62.

¹⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 375, 49–54. The office of *oikonomos* was bestowed on Romanos Argyros by Constantine VIII, see I. KRATCHKOVSKY, F. MICHEAU, G. TROUPEAU (eds.), *Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche*, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. XLVII, Paris 1997, p. 486. Probably thanks to the exercising of this function, Romanos Argyros gained influence among senior clergy.

¹⁶ See the recent study of M.C. BARTUSIS, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, p. 113.

¹⁷ Romanos III began his reign in December 1028, and therefore the first Pentecost during his reign fell in the year 1029, but according to the Byzantine calendar it was still 1028.

the honour of *synkellos* on more than one person¹⁸. The account of Skylitzes in this section is full of information about events that are assigned to divine intervention, confirming Argyros' legitimacy. Not without significance is the fact that Skylitzes often gives the exact date of the occurrence of such phenomena. Information about events of this kind is one of the main features of ecclesiastical chronicles, and the fact that Skylitzes notices them proves that he used this type of source. According to A. LAIOU, the presentation of the reign of Michael IV in a negative light can also be attributed to the influence of Demetrios of Kyzikos' narrative on Skylitzes' account¹⁹. Demetrios did not sympathize with Michael IV the Paphlagonian because he was in his opinion responsible for the death of his friend, emperor Romanos III. The reign of Michael IV was accompanied by a long series of natural disasters and bad omens, which served as punishment for the murder of his predecessor and his sinful marriage to the empress²⁰. This means that in the chapter about the reign of Michael IV the influence of an ecclesiastical source on the narrative of Skylitzes continued.

There is more direct proof that Skylitzes used an ecclesiastical source in his narrative, and that this source was the chronicle of Demetrios, bishop of Kyzikos. A. LAIOU demonstrated that the bishop of Kyzikos and Demetrios Synkellos are the same person. The evidence for this statement is derived from the ecclesiastical treaty whose author was "Demetrios Synkellos, metropolitan of Kyzikos"²¹. It is a work in which Demetrios of Kyzikos argues that marriages in the sixth degree of consanguinity are legitimate. The author's unorthodox religious views were not shared by the patriarch of Constantinople. Alexios the Studite believed that marriage should be prohibited as early as the seventh degree of relationship, which he eventually announced in 1038²². Echoes of the conflict between the patriarch and Demetrios of Kyzikos occur in the *Synopsis Historion* and are expressed by the negative image of Alexios the Studite at the end of the chapter on Romanos III Argyros. Following the death of the monarch, the empress Zoe demanded that the patriarch consecrate her marriage to Michael the Paphlagonian. The bishop of Constantinople was astounded by this demand at first and did not know whether to comply or not. Nevertheless, he was eventually persuaded by the empress and John the Orphanotrophos, who offered him fifty pounds of gold

¹⁸ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 375, 77–81. It should be noted that the honour of *synkellos* was also bestowed on John, older brother of the future emperor Michael the Paphlagonian, Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 375, 63–65.

¹⁹ LAIOU, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 171 f.

²⁰ Cf. C. SATHAS (ed.), *The History of Psellus*, London 1899, XVII, who does not explicitly advocate murder as the cause of death of the emperor.

²¹ G.A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Κανόνων*, vol. V, Athinai 1855, p. 354.

²² RHALLES, POTLES, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 36 f.

and the same sum for the clergy²³. It seems that Skylitzes took the report about the event from Demetrios of Kyzikos' chronicle, by which the latter showed the patriarch's hypocrisy and his abandonment of religious beliefs for money.

There is direct evidence of a conflict between Demetrios of Kyzikos and the patriarch Alexios in the *Synopsis Historion*. The situation took place during the reign of Michael IV, when Demetrios participated in the conspiracy that sought to overthrow and replace the patriarch with John Orphanotrophos, the emperor's brother. According to A. LAIOU, this is further proof that Skylitzes used Demetrios of Kyzikos' chronicle in his narrative²⁴. However, if one looks closely at the manner in which Skylitzes described Demetrios' plot, it is clear that the whole incident was described from the perspective of the patriarch. The conspiracy was established by John the Orphanotrophos, Demetrios of Kyzikos, Anthony of Nicomedia, and the bishops of Side and Ankyra who are not mentioned by name. According to Skylitzes' report, the patriarch did not wait passively for the movement of the conspirators. With the remaining part of the clergy on his side, he sent a memorandum to the opponents. He stated that if his election to the patriarchal throne was non-canonical, then all his decisions, including the consecration of bishops and the coronation of three emperors, were invalid. The patriarch's words caused great shame and fear in Demetrios' circle (περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον), because they all had been ordained by him (the patriarch), and as a result had all abandoned Orphanotrophos' side²⁵. It is thus evident that the attitude of Skylitzes towards the patriarch changed dramatically in the chapter on the reign of Michael IV. It seems unlikely that Demetrios of Kyzikos presented his own defeat and that he described it from the perspective of the patriarch. Skylitzes' positive attitude to the patriarch continues in the next chapter of the *Synopsis Historion*. Here the patriarch's imprisonment played a significant role in the events which resulted in the overthrowing of the emperor Michael V Kalaphates. Describing the circumstances of the abolition and blinding of Michael V, Skylitzes stresses that the imprisonment of empress Zoe was one of the two main causes of the rebellion of the people of Constantinople, not the only one as was stressed by Michael Psellos²⁶. The second reason, as Skylitzes emphasizes, was the banishment of Alexios the Studite and his removal from the patriarchal throne. This decision was met with an angry reaction from the crowd, which did not want a "cross-trampling caulker" (σταυροπάτην καλαφάτην) for emperor²⁷. *Kalaphates* (caulker) is

²³ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 891, 5–8. Note the term used by Skylitzes in order to express the patriarch's protest – ἱερολογία, which in this context may mean a sermon involving theological arguments.

²⁴ LAIOU, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 172.

²⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 411, 67–80.

²⁶ Psellos, *The History* (n. 20), XXV f.

²⁷ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 418, 26.

a well-known nickname of the emperor, underlying his humble origin, but the less known *Stauropates* (cross-trampler) is very suggestive and can be explained by the hostile attitude of Michael V toward the patriarch. Therefore, we have here a continuation of the positive image of Alexios the Studite.

On the basis of the variable attitude of Skylitzes to the bishop of Constantinople, it can be concluded that the historian could not have used one source to describe the history of the patriarch. Indeed, the chronicle of Demetrios of Kyzikos influenced parts of Skylitzes' narrative which were negative towards the patriarch (in the chapter on Romanos III), Nevertheless, in the chapters devoted to the reigns of Michael IV and of Michael V, Skylitzes used a source favourable to the bishop of Constantinople, which could not have been Demetrios of Kyzikos' chronicle. In that case what kind of source it was?

One should not exclude the possibility that Skylitzes used more than one source in each chapter²⁸. It is possible that he still used the chronicle of Demetrios of Kyzikos, but at least in the fragments previously analyzed (in the case of the patriarch) it is clear that they arose under the influence of a different account. The lack of sources makes it impossible to show a direct relationship between Skylitzes' account and his source, because we have only content of the *Synopsis Historion*. The only hope in the search for name lies in the list of historians from the prooimion. If one looks at it carefully, and takes into account the knowledge about the authors, it is fair to say that Skylitzes listed them chronologically. First on the list is Theodore Daphnopates, who however causes considerable trouble. Some scholars believe that he was the author of the last book of the *Theophanes Continuatus*²⁹ and adopting this view would mean that Skylitzes did not make his list chronologically. However, more recent studies have put forward the theory that he was not the author of this book, and have even offered another writer³⁰. Thus, this issue remains unresolved. However, we know for sure that Daphnopates composed the so-called *Vita A* of Theodore the Studite

²⁸ This was the case in the chapters on Nikephoros II and John I (the so called sources A and B), see A.P. КАЗХДАН, *Из истории византийской хронографии X в., 2: Источники Льва Диакона и Скилицы для истории третьей четверти X столетия*, Vizantijskij Vremennik XX 1961, p. 112, who followed M.I. СЛУЗИУМОВ, *Объ источникахъ Льва Дьякона и Скилицы*, Vizantijskoje Obozrenie II 1916, p. 107.

²⁹ See n. 9 above.

³⁰ P. FREI, *Das Geschichtswerk des Theodoros Daphnopates als Quelle der Synopsis Historiarum des Johannes Skylitzes*, in: M. KANDLER (ed.), *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters*, Wien 1985, pp. 348–353, who insists that Theodore Daphnopates wrote a different chronicle which is now lost. In turn, J.M. FEATHERSTONE, *Theophanes Continuatus VI and De Cerimoniis*, ByzZ CIV 2012, p. 119, thinks that the author of the last book of *Continuation* was Basil Lekapenos. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ is also skeptical of this thesis, see *Byzantine...* (n. 4), p. 193, and *From Narrative...* (n. 1), p. 108, where on the other hand he rejects P. FREI's assumptions.

(759–826)³¹ and if Skylitzes had that work in mind, then it fits the chronological arrangement of authors. Its content precedes the works of other authors mentioned by Skylitzes: Niketas the Paphlagonian (who worked between 886 and 920³²) and his *Life of Ignatios* (who lived 798–877); Joseph Genesios' (who worked during the reign of Constantine VII³³) *History of the Reigns* (813–886); Manuel of Byzantium's biography of John Kourkouas (first half of the tenth century); Nikephoros, the Deacon of Phrygia is unfortunately unknown to us; next Skylitzes mentions Leo the Deacon (who wrote after 989, probably in 995³⁴) and his *History* which describes events from 959 to 976; Theodore of Side and Theodore of Sebasteia, who were brothers³⁵ and thus worked at the same or a similar time, and the latter was the author of the lost biography of Basil II (976–1025)³⁶; Demetrios of Kyzikos, the author whose chronicle influenced the chapter of the *Synopsis Historion* about Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034); and the last author, the monk, John the Lydian. Thus it is possible to assume, but not with full certainty, that Skylitzes ordered the whole list of authors according to the chronological framework of their works³⁷.

Therefore our sole clue in the case of the authorship of Skylitzes' source is John the Lydian, the only author who was mentioned after Demetrios of Kyzikos in the prooimion of the *Synopsis Historion*. We know that Skylitzes used other written sources, although they were not listed in the prooimion, possibly because they were not strictly historiographical or because, by not listing them in the prooimion, Skylitzes intended not to criticize them. These other sources were

³¹ Theodoros Daphnopates, *Vita S. Theodori*, in: J.P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. XCIX, Paris 1903, p. 113–232.

³² JENKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 244, proposed the years between 908–910.; SMITHIES, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. XII, the years 910–920; while more recently I. TAMARKINA, *The Date of the Life of the Patriarch Ignatius Reconsidered*, ByzZ XCIX 2006, p. 629, the years 886–902.

³³ E. KOUNTOURA-GALATHE, *The Origins of the Genesios Family and its Connections with the Armeniakon Theme*, ByzZ XCIII 2000, p. 464.

³⁴ C. HOLMES, *Political Elites in the Reign of Basil II*, in: MAGDALINO, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 38, n. 8. This date is also accepted by English translators of Leo's work, M.-A. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN (eds.), *The History of Leo the Deacon*, Washington 2005, p. 10 with n. 22 (with reference to HOLMES' considerations).

³⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, pp. 3 f., 28 f.

³⁶ Cf. n. 12 above.

³⁷ Apart from that list, Skylitzes mentioned two authors, Theognostos and Michael Psellos. In my view they constitute a different set because Skylitzes does not criticize them totally stating that they tried to emulate the style of the works of George the Monk and Theophanes the Confessor (Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 3, 16–19). Theognostos was the author of the lost chronicle describing the revolt of Euphemius in Sicily, while in the case of Michael Psellos, Skylitzes probably had in mind his less famous work *Historia Syntomos*, which presented Roman history from Romulus to the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII, see W.J. AERTS (ed.), *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, Berlin 1990 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XXX).

used by the historian in the last chapters of the *Synopsis Historion*, which are devoted mainly to military matters. We owe our knowledge of these sources to the studies of J. SHEPARD, who identified one of them as a biography or war journal of the Byzantine military commander Katakalon Kekaumenos³⁸. Skylitzes also used this kind of source, which was favourable to George Maniakes. The influence of this source is already visible in the chapter on Michael IV, where Skylitzes devoted separate paragraphs to the actions of Maniakes in Sicily³⁹. However, in contrast to the subsequent chapters, Skylitzes' account here is interwoven with information from an ecclesiastical source. Following the chapter on Michael V, we do not note natural disasters or supernatural phenomena (characterizing ecclesiastical chronicles), as being present in such large numbers in the chapters on Romanos III and Michael IV. While in these two chapters we find seven and ten phenomena respectively, in later we have only three, and all of them occurred in the chapter on Constantine IX⁴⁰. Given these circumstances, the chapters devoted to the reign of Michael IV and possibly that of Michael V (based on Skylitzes' presentation of the patriarch there) were the only places where Skylitzes could have used an ecclesiastical source, presumably a chronicle by the monk, John the Lydian. Unfortunately it is impossible to establish a direct link between Skylitzes' chronicle and work of John the Lydian as his source. It is also difficult to determine whether his chronicle was of an ecclesiastical nature, apart from the fact that he was a monk. Thus this remains only a hypothesis.

Nonetheless we know for sure, and that was the purpose of this paper, that Skylitzes in the chapters on the reigns of Romanos III Argyros and Michael IV Paphlagon could not have used the same ecclesiastical source. This is because of the different attitude of the historian to the patriarch Alexios the Studite in the said chapters. In that on Michael IV, Skylitzes used a source of an ecclesiastical nature which was favourable to the patriarch, and he continued to use it in the next chapter devoted to Michael V. In the latter Skylitzes showed the key role of the patriarch whose overthrow led to a revolt by the people of Constantinople. Skylitzes did not use this source in the following sections of the *Synopsis Historion*, as they change their nature. They are filled mainly with military matters and were influenced by such sources as that associated with Katakalon Kekaumenos. So, the only places in the last parts of the *Synopsis Historion* where Skylitzes could have used an ecclesiastical source different to that of Demetrios of Kyzikos were

³⁸ J. SHEPARD, *A Suspected Source of Skylitzes' Synopsis Historion: The Great Catacalon Cekaumenos*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* XVI 1992, p. 175.

³⁹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 403, 22–40, and pp. 405 f.

⁴⁰ Those were: a comet visible in the sky for a month, which was the harbinger of upcoming catastrophes (Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 424, 59–63), a storm that destroyed crops (pp. 433, 38–42 and 434, 51–64); a plague and hailstorm which occurred in the last year of the reign the emperor (p. 477, 74–78).

the chapters about the reigns of Michael IV and Michael V. This source could be a chronicle of the monk John the Lydian, because he is the only author listed by Skylitzes in the prooimion after Demetrios of Kyzikos, provided that the monk from Lydia was the author of an ecclesiastical source.

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ZUM KATEGORIALEN STATUS DES VOKATIVS.
DER VOKATIV IN DEN KLASSISCHEN SPRACHEN*

von

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ABSTRACT: The article offers an examination of the evidence of classical languages concerning functions and semantics of the vocative. The author comes to the conclusion that the vocative is not a case by its nature. It occupies often a position outside the syntactical system proper. Yet it can also function as a case in syntactic positions where it is congruent with verbs in the 2nd person. Thus, the vocative may be described then as: (1) an equivalent of the nominative (a case of subject), or (2) a phantom case of mediator (by whom?).

0.

Dieser Beitrag stellt den Versuch dar, eine neue Lösung zur Problematisierung des Vokativs aufgrund seiner Gebrauchsanalyse in den klassischen Sprachen vorzulegen. Die meisten dieser Probleme sind schon seit mehr als zweieinhalb Tausend Jahren bekannt. Philologen und Linguisten bemühen sich nach wie vor, sie zu lösen. Aber trotz vieler Forschungsarbeiten im Altertum, im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit bleiben die wichtigsten Aspekte des Phänomens Vokativ unklar. Dies liegt meiner Ansicht nach darin begründet, dass dieses Phänomen einen sehr komplizierten und widersprüchlichen Charakter hat.

Mit dem Vokativ stellen sich zwei Hauptfragen:

- (1) Ist der Vokativ ein Kasus?
- (2a) wenn „ja“, was für ein Kasus ist es?
- (2b) wenn „nicht“, was ist er dann?

Vorweg ist aber eine terminologische Klärung angebracht. Unter *Vokativ* werden spezielle Formen des Nomens verstanden – vor allem der Substantive, aber auch Adjektive, Pronomina und Zahlwörter – die zum Ausdruck des Anrufes bzw. der Anrede gebraucht werden. Üblicherweise geht es hier um Formen, die eine spezifische Flexion (Endung) besitzen. Als Vokative dienen oft auch Formen

* Für die freundliche Hilfe bei der Redigierung des deutschen Textes möchte ich Herrn Professor Roman SADZIŃSKI (Universität Łódź) meinen aufrichtigen Dank aussprechen.

des Nominativs. Wenn diese so wichtige Merkmale des formellen Vokativs wie die sogenannten linguistischen Pausen und die entsprechende Intonation besitzen, kann man sie mit vollem Recht ebenfalls als Vokative bezeichnen, genauer gesagt als *nominativische* Vokative.

Der Kasus stellt eine morphologische Kategorie dar, die durch ein System einander gegenüberstehender Reihen von Formen ausgedrückt ist, wobei diese Formen der Wiedergabe der Beziehung einer Größe zu einer anderen dienen. In den klassischen Sprachen werden durch die Kasusmorpheme auch zugleich der Numerus und (nicht immer) das Genus formal gekennzeichnet. Ähnlich wie bei anderen grammatischen Kategorien unterliegt die Kasus-kategorie der indogermanischen Sprachen den syntaktischen Regeln von *Kongruenz* und *Rektion*. Der Vokativ ist im Allgemeinen eine polyfunktionale Form, dessen wichtigste Funktionen, die als *pragmatisch* definiert werden sollen, die folgenden sind:

1. Der Anruf, dessen Ziel darin besteht, den Kontakt mit einem Gesprächspartner herzustellen. Das ist wohl die grundlegendste Funktion des Vokativs.

2. Die Anrede, deren Ziel es ist, die Aufmerksamkeit des Gesprächspartners auf sich zu richten oder aufrechtzuerhalten. Das wäre die zweite grundlegende Funktion des Vokativs.

3. Die emotive Haltung zum Gesprächspartner – *Achtung, Liebe, Hass, Missachtung, Mitleid* usw.

4. Die Äußerung der Gefühle des Sprechers: *Erstaunen, Empörung, Freude, Trauer* usw. Die zwei letzteren Funktionen werden gleichzeitig mit der Funktion des Anrufes oder der Anrede verbunden.

Außerdem hoffe ich in diesem Beitrag zu beweisen, dass der Vokativ in gewissen Positionen auch syntaktische Funktionen erfüllen kann. Dabei muss der eigentliche *Vokativ* (auch: *Anredefall*) von der *Anredeform* unterschieden werden. Der Ersterer kann, wenn es um den Vokativ der indogermanischen Sprachen geht, seine eigene von anderen Nominalformen abweichende Flexion besitzen. Das gilt aber nur für einen Teil der möglichen paradigmatischen Formen, in anderen Fällen ist dieser Kasus mit dem Nominativ identisch. Solche Formen, wie oben erwähnt, nennt man auch *nominativische* Vokative. Denn unabhängig davon, ob der Vokativ seine eigene Flexion besitzt oder nicht, wird seine Funktion durch mächtige prosodische Mittel zum Ausdruck gebracht – vor allem durch sogenannte linguistische Pausen und spezifische Intonation, aber oft auch durch eine Akzentverschiebung und/oder einen Quantitätswechsel.

1.

In diesem Beitrag werden vor allem altgriechische und lateinische Vokative (darunter auch *vokativische* Nominative) in Betracht gezogen. Allerdings lege ich auch Rechenschaft über viele Unterschiede der Sprache der Hellenen und der Römer ab. Die genetische Verwandtschaft und typologische Ähnlichkeit der beiden

Sprachen der antiken Zivilisation geben uns aber m.E. das unbestrittene Recht, die Verwendungen des Vokativs in ein und demselben Beitrag zu untersuchen.

Bekanntlich gibt es Anruf- und Anredeformen auch in Sprachen, in deren Kasussystemen kein Vokativ auftritt und wo als dessen formaler Vertreter der Nominativ dient. Das gilt für viele indogermanische Sprachen. Es gibt zudem zahlreiche Sprachen, in denen es überhaupt keine nominale Deklination und keine Kasussysteme gibt. Aber auch dort ist es möglich, *Anruf- und Anredeformen* dank der oben genannten prosodischen Mittel erkennen zu lassen. Außerdem lässt sich solch eine *forma vocandi* aufgrund ihrer Position innerhalb des jeweiligen Satzes bzw. Textes leicht identifizieren. Denn ihre Funktion ist immer klar – dank der oben erwähnten prosodischen Mittel sowie dank der syntaktischen Verhältnisse innerhalb des Satzes, in dem diese Form auftritt – unabhängig davon, ob der Vokativ (bzw. die Vokativgruppe) in dem jeweiligen Satz syntaktisch integriert ist oder nicht. Ich meine, dass diese Tatsache für das Thema des Beitrags sehr wichtig ist.

2.

Zwar haben die Stoiker als die ersten in der Geschichte der europäischen Sprachwissenschaft den Begriff Kasus (πτῶσις) etabliert und in der altgriechischen Sprache vier Fälle – ὀνομαστική (Nominativ), γενική (Genitiv), δοτική (Dativ) und αἰτιατική (Akkusativ) – bestimmt¹. Das προσαγορευτικὸν πρᾶγμα zählte die Stoa² (wie auch die altindischen Sprachwissenschaftler³) aber noch nicht zu den Kasus.

Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft erscheint der Begriff Vokativ bei den hellenistischen Gelehrten unter dem Namen κλητική πτῶσις ‚Anruffall‘ oder προσαγορευτικὴ πτῶσις ‚Anredefall‘⁴. Die Ehre, diese Form identifiziert zu haben, kommt wohl den alexandrinischen Gelehrten zu. In der uns überlieferten antiken Literatur erscheint der Begriff Vokativ erstmals in der *Ars Grammatica* von Dionysius Thrax⁵ (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.):

¹ H. WOLANIN, *Fleksja w gramatyce starożytnej Grecji*, Kraków 2004, S. 143–147; I.A. PEREL’MUTER, *Философские школы эпохи эллинизма*, in: *История лингвистических учений. Древний мир*, Leningrad 1980, S. 180–214; I.M. TRONSKIJ, *Основы стоической грамматики*, in: *Романо-германская филология. Сборник статей в честь академика В.Ф. Шуммарёва*, Leningrad 1957, S. 300–307.

² E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, Bd. II, München 1950, S. 54.

³ A. GAWROŃSKI, *Podręcznik sanskrytu*, Warszawa 2004, S. 33; SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 54.

⁴ Ausführlich zum Thema „Der Vokativ in der antiken Sprachwissenschaft“ siehe in: G. CALBOLI, *La linguistica moderna e il latino: I casi*, Bologna 1974; H. STEINTHAL, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1890, Bd. I, S. 280–305.

⁵ Dionysius Thrax, *Ars grammatica* I 1, 31. Siehe auch WOLANIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 1), S. 194–211; R.M. OLENIČ, *Александрийская грамматическая школа*, in: *История лингвистических учений. Древний мир*, Leningrad 1980, S. 214–233.

Πτώσεις ὀνομάτων εἰς πέντε: ὀρθή, γενική, δοτική, αἰτιατική, κλητική. Λέγεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ὀρθή ὀνομαστική καὶ εὐθεΐα, ἡ δὲ γενική κτητική τε καὶ πατρική, ἡ δὲ δοτική ἐπισταλτική, ἡ δὲ αἰτιατική † κατ' αἰτιατικὴν, ἡ δὲ κλητική προσαγορευτική.

Dionysius hat also zu der von Stoikern etablierten Liste von vier Kasus – ὀνομαστική (Nominativ), γενική (Genitiv), δοτική (Dativ) und αἰτιατική (Akkusativ) – noch die κλητικὴ πτώσις ‚Anruffall‘ (anders προσαγορευτικὴ ‚Anredefall‘) hingefügt⁶. Wir können vermuten, dass die alexandrinischen Philologen den Vokativ vor allem wegen seiner morphologischen Eigenschaften und nicht aufgrund der Semantik und der Funktionen in die Reihe der Kasus aufgenommen haben.

Römische Grammatiker haben sich die griechische Kasuslehre angeeignet und sogar weiter entwickelt, indem sie die Vermutung äußerten, dass es im Lateinischen einen siebenten Kasus (*hastā percussī*) gebe, dem im Griechischen der sechste Kasus entspreche⁷. Diese genialen Mutmaßungen wurden leider nicht fortgesetzt. Stattdessen bemühten sich römische Philologen die einem jeden Kasus inhärente Grundbedeutung zu ermitteln⁸. Was den Vokativ betrifft, so haben sie den griechischen Terminus κλητικὴ wörtlich als *casus vocativus* übersetzt. Der große Gelehrte Marcus Terentius Varro (1. Jh. v. Chr.) gab κλητικὴ πτώσις als *casus vocandi*⁹ wieder, den Terminus *vocativus* finden wir zum ersten Mal im Werk von Aulus Gellius¹⁰ (2. Jh. n. Chr.). Der spätantike Professor der Grammatik Priscianus führt in seinem Werk noch eine andere Bezeichnung dieser Form an – *casus saluatorius* ‚Kasus der Begrüßung‘¹¹.

3.

In der modernen Sprachwissenschaft stellt der Vokativ wohl das paradoxe Phänomen dar. Einerseits wird in der allgemeinen und der deskriptiven

⁶ CALBOLI, *op. cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 94 und V. PISANI, *Casus interrogandi*, Latomus XLIV 1960, S. 624–634 behaupten, dass der Vokativ schon bei den Stoikern als Kasus erwähnt wurde. Im Lichte der uns zur Verfügung stehenden antiken Quellen erscheint diese These jedoch völlig unbegründet: Der Begriff προσαγορευτικόν, der wirklich bei dem Stoiker Chrysippus erscheint, bezieht sich auf das Substantiv πρᾶγμα und gibt eine der sprachlichen Funktionen wieder, beschreibt aber keinesfalls den morphologischen Terminus (Chrysippus, fr. 186). Siehe hierzu: G. SERBAT, *Grammaire fondamentale du latin*, Bd. VI: *L'emploi des cas en latin*, Abt. 1: *nominatif, vocatif, accusatif, génitif, datif*, Paris–Louvain 1996, S. 87; F. MURRU, *Alcune questioni sul vocativo e sull'ipotizzata teoria localista di Massimo Planude*, Paideia XXXIII 1978, S. 27–33.

⁷ Quintilianus I 4, 26. Dem hervorragenden Theoretiker der Rednerkunst ging es dabei um den *Ablativus instrumenti* (Latein) bzw. *Dativus instrumenti* (Griechisch).

⁸ SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 54.

⁹ Varro, *De lingua Latina* IX 43, 91.

¹⁰ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XIV 5, 1; 2; 4.

¹¹ „...vocativus etiam saluatorius vocatur, ut ‘o Aenea’ et ‘salve Aenea’“ (Priscianus, *Grammatici Latini* II 186, 1 KEIL).

Linguistik sein Kasusstatus oft in Frage gestellt oder gar geleugnet. Andererseits gehört er in der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen zu den am sichersten rekonstruierten Formen. Aufgrund der Angaben aus den ältesten Sprachen dieser Sprachfamilie kann man behaupten, dass in der Ursprache bloße Stammformen der Nomina – oft mit der Rückziehung des Akzentes – als Vokative dienten¹²:

(1)				
Nominativus	<i>vlk^u-o-s</i>	<i>pātēr</i>	<i>diēu-s</i>	
	‘Wolf’	‘Vater’	‘Tageslicht’	
Vocativus	<i>vlk^u-e</i>	<i>pātēr</i>	<i>diēu</i>	

Unter den schriftlich bezeugten indogermanischen Sprachen ist der Vokativ am besten im Altindischen und Altgriechischen erhalten. Wie das altindische Material zeigt, trug der Vokativ in der Initialstellung einen Akzent. Innerhalb des Satzes dagegen lehnte er sich ursprünglich an das erste betonte Wort im Satz an, selbst war er aber nicht akzentuiert¹³. Es ist interessant, dass der Vokativ sich vom Nominativ teilweise auch im Plural unterschied. Die Substantive *pitár* ‘Vater’ und *dēvās* ‘Gott’ zum Beispiel lauteten im Nominativ Plural *pitáras* bzw. *dēvās*, im Vokativ Plural aber entweder *pitaras* bzw. *devās* (innerhalb des Satzes, unbetont) oder *pitáras* bzw. *dēvās* (in Erststellung, betont)¹⁴.

Im Altgriechischen dagegen sind solche Akzentunterschiede zwischen Nominativ und Vokativ im Plural nicht mehr belegt. Es gibt auch keine speziellen Formen des Vokativs im Dual, die das Altindische noch kennt. Im Altgriechischen finden wir die Formen des Vokativs in allen drei Deklinationen, aber nur im Singular:

(2)					
Nominativ	Ἀφροδίτη	νύμφη	δεσπότης	λύκος	πόλις
Vocativ	Ἀφροδίτᾱ	νύμφᾱ	δέσποτᾱ	λύκε	πόλι ¹⁵
Nominativ	μήτηρ	ρήτωρ	Ἀπόλλων	παῖς	Διογένης
Vocativ	μήτηρ	ρήτορ	Ἄπολλον	παῖ ¹⁶	Διόγενης ¹⁷
Nominativ	πειθῶ	βασιλεύς	Ἐρινύς	λέων	
Vocativ	πειθοῖ ¹⁸	βασιλεῦ	Ἐρινύ	λέον ¹⁹	

¹² M. WEISS, *Outline of Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*, Ann Arbor–New York 2009, S. 200.

¹³ WEISS, *op. cit.* (Anm. 12), S. 200 f.; W. WINTER, *Vokative und Imperative*, in: J. PUHVEL (Hrsg.), *Substance and structure of Language*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969, S. 206.

¹⁴ A. SIHLER, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, New York–Oxford 1995, S. 250; SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. I, S. 547; Bd. II, S. 59, Anm. 3.

¹⁵ Der Stamm *πολι- / πολε(ι).

¹⁶ Der Stamm *παιδ-.

¹⁷ Der Stamm *-γενεσ-.

¹⁸ Der Stamm *πειθοι-.

¹⁹ Der Stamm *λεφοντ-.

Im Vergleich zum Altindischen und Altgriechischen hat Latein viel weniger indogermanische Vokativformen fortgeführt. Spezielle Formen des Vokativs wurden nur bei den thematischen Nomina im Singular gebraucht: Meistens auf $-ĕ$ ²⁰, bei Nomina auf $-ius$ endete der Vokativ jedoch auf $-ī$, dasselbe galt auch für das Pronomen *meus*:

(3)					
Nominativ	<i>lupus</i>	<i>amicus</i>	<i>filius</i>	<i>meus</i>	
Vokativ	<i>lupĕ</i>	<i>amicĕ</i>	<i>filī</i>	<i>mī</i>	

Die Herkunft der Endung $-ī$ ist unklar: Hier haben wir es entweder mit einer archaischen Kontraktion der Selbstlaute ($-iĕ > -ī$) oder mit der Synkope des auslautenden $-ĕ$ zu tun. In den altertümlichen lateinischen Texten treten manchmal auch noch die Formen auf $-iĕ$ auf, z.B.: *Saturni filie* (Livius Andronicus, *Odyssea* 2). Man weiß jedoch nicht, ob solch eine Endung eine analoge Rückbildung²¹ oder einen Archaismus des epischen Stils darstellt²². Der römische Gelehrte Nigidius Figulus (1. Jh. v. Chr.) war Aulus Gellius zufolge der Auffassung, dass der Name *Valerius* im Vokativ auf der ersten Silbe akzentuiert war: „Verba P. Nigidii, quibus dicit in nomine Valeri in casu vocandi primam syllabam acuendam esse...“ („Die Worte von P. Nigidius, wo er sagt, dass im Vokativ des Namens ‚Valerius‘ die erste Silbe akzentuiert ist...“ (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XIII 26, 1).

Diese Form sollte *Válērī* lauten und sich vom Genitiv *Valérī(i)* unterscheiden. Wenn dies stimmte, hätten wir es in diesem Beispiel mit einer Akzentverschiebung zu tun, die im Sanskrit und im Altgriechischen auftritt. Im Lateinischen wäre das ein seltener Archaismus, in der Epoche von Gellius lag der Akzent bereits auf der zweiten Silbe²³.

Zwei weitere ursprünglich indogermanische Vokative stecken in dem Gottesnamen *Iuppiter* < **diĕu pātĕr* (siehe oben), vergleiche auch das umbrische *Jupater* und das griechische *Zeū páter*. Was aber die I. Deklination betrifft, so hat hier die ererbte Endung des Vokativs Singular $-ĕ$ die althergebrachte nominativische Endung $-ā$ verdrängt.

Seit der archaischen Epoche verwendeten römische Poeten auch aus dem Griechischen entlehnte Vokativformen der I. Deklination:

(4)					
Nominativ	<i>Leōnidā</i>	<i>Aeacidā</i>	<i>Phaedrā</i>	<i>Philoctētēs</i>	
Vokativ	<i>Leōnidā</i>	<i>Aeacidā</i>	<i>Phaedrā</i>	<i>Philoctētē</i>	

²⁰ In der III. Deklination wurden manchmal auch Vokative in $-ĕ$ (analog der II. Deklination) gebildet, z.B. *Harpag-ĕ* (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 665, vom Nominativ *Harpax*, Genitiv *Harpag-is*).

²¹ WEISS, *op. cit.* (Anm. 12), S. 221.

²² Siehe hierzu I.M. TRONSKI, *Историческая грамматика латинского языка*, Moskva 1960, S. 146.

²³ Aulus Gellius, *ibidem*.

und der III. Deklination:

(4a)			
Nominativ	<i>Atlas</i>		<i>Perseus</i>
Vokativ	<i>Atla</i> ²⁴		<i>Perseu</i> u. a.

Neben dem eigentlichen Vokativ wurde in Paradigmen der beiden klassischen Sprachen auch der Nominativ in vokativischen Funktionen gebraucht. Die griechischen Wörter für *Gott* und *Volk* hatten dieselben Formen θεός bzw. λαός für die beiden Kasus. Die eigentlichen Vokative θεέ und λαέ erschienen erst in der Septuaginta²⁵. Die lateinische Sprache kannte für die Substantive *deus* und *populus* ebenfalls nur nominativische Vokative²⁶. Es ist eines der vielen Zeugnisse, das die Verwandtschaft und die typologische Ähnlichkeit beider Sprachen belegt.

Normalerweise verwendete man in beiden klassischen Sprachen den Nominativ dort, wo es keine speziellen Vokativformen gab. Das wäre völlig verständlich. Darüber hinaus tritt in diesen Sprachen auch bei anderen Nomina der Nominativ oft anstelle der zweifelsohne existierenden Vokativform auf²⁷.

Sowohl im Altgriechischen, als auch im Lateinischen kann vor der Anruf- und Anredeform die Partikel ῶ / o! stehen. Auf den ersten Blick scheint es, dass die Partikel im Altgriechischen als eine Form des Artikels dient. Solch eine Interpretation vertrat Dionysius Thrax²⁸. Doch mit dieser These polemisierte zu Recht schon der Verfasser der ersten griechischen Syntax, Apollonius Dyscolus (2. Jh. n. Chr.)²⁹.

Die Partikel ῶ, die zu den Interjektionen zählt, stellt ein Mittel der Wiedergabe pragmatischer Funktionen bzw. der Anredefunktion in verschiedenen Sprachen dar – darunter auch in solchen, in denen es keinen paradigmatischen Vokativ gibt. Sie diente lediglich dazu, die Aussagekraft der jeweiligen *Vokative* zu verstärken³⁰. Im Unterschied zu Artikelformen enthielt diese Partikel aber weder Informationen über Geschlecht, Kasus oder Zahl des nachstehenden Substantivs, noch wies sie anaphorisch auf Personen oder Gegenstände hin. Zu Recht meint

²⁴ Abgeschnittene Form des Stammes *Atlant-*.

²⁵ J. HUMBERT, *Syntaxe grecque*, Paris 1945, S. 242.

²⁶ „Les formes *dee* et *mee* étaient phonétiquement impossibles. *Dee* apparaît dans le latin chrétien d’après le gr. θεέ qui était lui-même une création tardive faite d’après l’hébreu”: A. ERNOUT, Fr. THOMAS, *Syntaxe latine*, Paris 1989, S. 14.

²⁷ SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 63.

²⁸ Dionysius Thrax, *Ars grammatica* I 1, 63. Siehe aus diesem Anlass: WOLANIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 1), S. 236.

²⁹ Siehe Apollonius Dyscolus, *De syntaxi* I 78–85. Siehe hierzu auch: WOLANIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 1), S. 260 f.

³⁰ SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 60; siehe auch SERBAT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 6), S. 100 f. Über die Partikel ῶ bei Homer siehe P. CHANTRAINE, *Grammaire homérique*, Bd. II, Paris 1953, S. 37.

E. SCHWYZER, dass es eine durch Pause abgehobene Interjektion war, die dem eigentlichen Vokativ vorausging³¹. Dabei ist zu unterstreichen, dass dieselbe Partikel auch andere, den Interjektionen eigene Funktionen erfüllte – nicht nur die des Anrufes. Das gilt auch für die lateinische Interjektion *o!*

Daneben gab es in klassischen Sprachen andere Interjektionen, deren einzige Funktion es war, (im Unterschied zu ω) einen Kontakt mit dem Gesprächspartner herzustellen: α , $\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu$ (neugriechisch $\beta\rho\epsilon$ aus $\mu\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}$) – man kann sie durch das Deutsche ‘*he!*’ oder ‘*hedá*’ wiedergeben. Im Lateinischen entspricht ihnen die Interjektion *heus*:

- (5)
Heus, tu, ubi es?
 „Heda, wo bist du?“
 (Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* I 15, 1)

Solche Partikeln treten in allen Sprachen der Welt auf, ihrer Funktion nach gehören sie wohl zur ältesten Schicht der menschlichen Sprache.

4.

In anderen indogermanischen Sprachen ist die Situation des Vokativs sehr verschieden. Im Altkirchenslawischen war er noch in allen Deklinationstypen zu finden. Dasselbe lässt sich über die meisten modernen slawischen Sprachen sagen – Polnisch, Ukrainisch, Serbokroatisch u. a. Im Slowakischen und Weißrussischen überlebte er dagegen nur in einigen Dialekten, im Slowenischen und im Niedersorbischen verschwand er völlig. Widersprüchlich ist seine Situation im modernen Russisch. Einerseits sind die eigentlichen Vokativformen, die den indogermanischen und urslawischen Vokativ fortsetzen, völlig verschwunden. Es blieben – als literarische Archaismen – nur einige Vokative:

- (6)
- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Nominativ | <i>бог</i> | <i>старик</i> | <i>господь</i> |
| | ‘Gott’ | ‘Greis’ | ‘Herr (Gott)’ |
| Vokativ | <i>боже!</i> | <i>старче!</i> | <i>господи!</i> |

Andererseits hat das Russische einen neuen Vokativ gebildet, der eigentlich eine abgeschnittene Stammform des jeweiligen Substantivs darstellt. Dieser neue Vokativ kommt nur einer begrenzten Gruppe von Substantiven der Deklination auf *-a-* zu:

- (7)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Nominativ | <i>папа</i> | <i>мама</i> | <i>Ваня</i> | <i>Маня</i> | <i>ребята</i> |
| | ‘Vati’ | ‘Mutti’ | Name | Name | ‘Kinder’ |
| Vokativ | <i>пап!</i> | <i>мам!</i> | <i>Вань!</i> | <i>Мань!</i> | <i>ребя!</i> |

³¹ SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 60.

Es sind vor allem Personennamen (Kosewörter) und einige Termini der Verwandtschaft. Dieser Vokativ wird nur im Familien- und Freundeskreis verwendet. Ähnlich abgeschnittene Vokativformen, die von den Nomina anderer semantischer Gruppen gebildet werden (z.B. *учительниц von учительница ‘Lehrerin’, *соседк von соседка ‘Nachbarin’ usw.), wären nicht nur unzulässig, sondern wohl auch unverständlich. Das gibt uns kaum Gründe, von einer wirklichen Neubildung des Vokativs zu sprechen – es ist womöglich erst ein Auftakt dazu.

In den westromanischen Sprachen ist der Vokativ nicht erhalten geblieben. Das soll uns nicht wundern, weil es die nominale Deklination dort überhaupt nicht gibt. Dagegen wird im Rumänischen der lateinische Vokativ Singular der II. Deklination auf *-ē* fortgesetzt. Dort wurden außerdem noch weitere Formen des Vokativs gebildet: Auf *-o* im Singular der I. Deklination und im Plural aller Deklinationstypen. Der erste Fall entstand unter dem Einfluss der benachbarten slawischen Sprachen, der letztere stellt die einzige Ausnahme zur allgemeinen Regel dar, dass der Vokativ, wenn er keine spezielle Flexion besitzt, immer durch den Nominativ ausgedrückt wird. Im Rumänischen fällt er aber im Plural mit dem obliquen Kasus (dem sogenannten Genitiv-Dativ) zusammen³²:

(8)

Nominativ Singular	<i>bărbat</i>	<i>frate</i>	<i>domn</i>	<i>fată</i>
	‘Mann’	‘Bruder’	‘Herr’	‘Mädchen’
Nominativ Plural	<i>bărbați</i>	<i>frați</i>	<i>domni</i>	<i>fete</i>
Vokativ (= Obliquus)	<i>bărbați-lor</i>	<i>frați-lor</i>	<i>domni-lor</i>	<i>fete-lor</i>

Diese eigentümliche Erscheinung kann man m.E. dadurch erklären, dass diese Form, wenn sie als Vokativ Plural dient, sich an einer für den obliquen Kasus blockierten syntaktischen Position befindet, was das Erkennen der vokativischen Bedeutung erleichtert.

Im Serbokroatischen wird der Vokativ Plural – analog zum Sanskrit – vom Nominativ Plural durch einen Akzent abgehoben: Nominativ *iunáci* ‘Helden’, aber Vokativ: *iunàci* ‘Helden!’³³. Und im Irischen ist der ursprüngliche Nominativ-Vokativ Plural der thematischen Stämme in den Nominativ und den Vokativ zersplittert: Die älteren Formen dieses Kasus dienen nur vokativisch (*ā firu!* ‘Männer!’ < **o uiros*), die jüngeren dagegen nur nominativisch markiert (*fir* < *uiroi* ‘Männer’, vgl. lateinisches *virī*).

5.

Nach all diesen Angaben ist es nun angebracht, zum Hauptthema des Beitrags überzugehen. Die wichtigste Frage um den Vokativ ist, ob er als Kasus aufgefasst

³² Ausführlicher siehe in SERBAT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 6), S. 92 f.

³³ SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 59, Anm. 3.

werden kann. Obwohl der Vokativ in den modernen historisch-komparativen und deskriptiven Grammatiken immer in dem der Nominaldeklination gewidmeten Teil der grammatischen Beschreibung auftritt und zusammen mit anderen Fällen behandelt wird, halten es die Autoren für sinnvoll, den außerparadigmatischen, nicht kasuellen Charakter dieses Kasus (Quasikasu?) zu unterstreichen. Es lohnt sich, die wichtigsten Charakteristika anzuführen, die ihm von hervorragenden Linguisten zuerkannt worden sind:

I. K. BRUGMANN: Der Vokativ, kein eigentliches Glied des Satzes, ist die nominale Form des Anrufs. Der Vokativ stand, als Anruf ein Satz für sich, außer syntaktischer Beziehung zu einem anderen Satz³⁴.

II. B.J. BLAKE: Vocatives do not appear as dependents in constructions, but rather they stand outside constructions or are inserted parenthetically. [...] They are unlike other cases in that they do not mark the relation of dependents to heads. [...] modified forms of nouns used as forms of address also occur in languages that do not have case inflection. [...] There is no reason to consider that these modifications of names constitute a vocative case³⁵.

III. F.R. ADRADOS: El Vocativo no indica relación, que es lo que indican los demás casos salvo cuando se neutralizan. El V. es una relación por sí mismo, equivale a la manifestación completa de un mandato, un afecto o una descarga emocional. [...] Equivale en cambio, a veces, a una interjección. Se opondrá [...] a la totalidad de los casos. [...] ... en los demás casos se trata de una función marginal, de un limitado uso „pro Vocativo“. La inversa no es cierta: no hay un V.[ocativo] „pro Nominativo“, etc., el V.[ocativo] jamás se neutraliza para marcar la función habitual de otros casos³⁶.

IV. H. VAIREL: On the basis of the distinction between act of speech and utterances, we can identify two features in which the vocative stands apart from the other cases: 1) the vocative deals with the referent of the noun [...], whereas the other cases deal with nouns as linguistic items, with no regard to their referents; 2) the vocative marks a participant-role in the act of speech, whereas the other cases mark syntactic relationships between constituents of sentences³⁷.

The vocative form *Catilina* denotes that the person named Catiline assumes the participant-role of hearer in the act of speech, [...] to whom the speaker's *Quo usque tandem?* is addressed³⁸.

V. M. DELAUNOIS: On peut négliger quelque peu le vocatif [...], cas absolument autonome, échappant à la chaîne parlée [...]³⁹.

³⁴ K. BRUGMANN, *Griechische Grammatik*, München 1913, S. 427.

³⁵ B.J. BLAKE, *Case*, Cambridge 1994, S. 8.

³⁶ F.R. ADRADOS, *Nueva sintaxis del griego antiguo*, Madrid 1992, S. 48.

³⁷ H. VAIREL, *The Position of the Vocative in the Latin Case System*, *AJPh* CII 1981, S. 440.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, S. 443.

³⁹ M. DELAUNOIS, *Essais de la syntaxe grecque classique*, Bruxelles–Leuven 1988, S. 36.

VI. G. SERBAT: Le V[ocatif], on le note depuis l'Antiquité, est hors phrase⁴⁰.

VII. J. KURYLOWICZ: The vocative differs from the remaining cases by its function of appeal, thus occupying a position outside the system proper⁴¹.

Diese Liste der Meinungen über das Wesen des Vokativs ließe sich weiterführen. Doch schon in den oben angeführten Zitaten aus den Werken der angesehensten und kompetentesten Philologen und Linguisten kommt die ausführliche Charakteristik des Phänomens von Vokativ gut zum Vorschein und kann wie folgt zusammengefasst werden:

„Der Vokativ hat keine Beziehungen zu dem Satz, in welchem (oder vor welchem) er gebraucht wird – er ist wie ‚ein Nagel in einem Brett‘. Er erfüllt eine spezifische Rolle, die sich von denen der übrigen Kasus unterscheidet. Der Vokativ identifiziert den Referenten des Substantivs, der von ihm bezeichnet wird, während andere Kasus die Beziehungen von Verba zu Nomina oder von Nomina zu Nomina ausdrücken. Der Vokativ gehört also zum Bereich der Pragmatik, während die anderen Kasus dem Bereich der *Grammatik* gehören.“

Es scheint, dass die Autoren solcher Thesen Recht haben. Es stellt sich jedoch die Frage, ob sie in allem, was sich auf den Vokativ bezieht, Recht haben. Denn es gibt andere, nicht weniger angesehene Forscher, die glauben, dass der Vokativ doch syntaktische Funktionen erfüllt und an den formalen Satzstrukturen beteiligt ist:

I. E. SCHWYZER: Der Vokativ [...] wird schon früh als Bestandteil des mehrgliedrigen Satzes empfunden, an den er angeschlossen ist; dabei werden die Pause oder die Pausen, die den Vokativ ursprünglich abhoben, reduziert⁴².

II. W. BOEDER: Die verschiedensten syntaktischen Prozesse, die hier skizziert worden sind, sprechen jedoch dafür, dass die syntaktischen Beziehungen zwischen Anrede und Satz enger sind als die zwischen selbständigen Sätzen und dass die semantische Beziehung zwischen bestimmten Anreden und zugehörigem Satz ganz spezifischer Natur sind. In diesem Sinne gebe ich Šaniže recht, der den Vokativ als Kasus betrachtet⁴³.

III. H. FUGIER: ...le syntagme vocatif, grâce à son élément Adj.[ectif] en particulier, n'est pas sans lien avec d'autres constituants de la P[hrase] totale où il figure. [...] C'en est assez, nous semble-t-il, pour le réintégrer „en phrase“⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ G. SERBAT, *Le syncrétisme des cas*, in: G. CALBOLI (Hrsg.), *Subordination and Other Topics in Latin*, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 1989, S. 280.

⁴¹ J. KURYLOWICZ, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*, Heidelberg 1964, S. 62 f.

⁴² SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 60.

⁴³ W. BOEDER, *Zur Grammatik des Vokativs in den Kartwelsprachen*, in: *Studia Linguistica Diachronica et Synchronica*, Berlin 1983, S. 71 und Anm. 3.

⁴⁴ H. FUGIER, *Le vocatif dans la phrase latine*, in: C. TOURATIER (Hrsg.), *Syntaxe et latin*, Aix-en-Provence 1985, S. 106–107.

IV. R.O. FINK: ...it seems simplest and most natural to regard the vocative as the subject of the verb⁴⁵.

V. A.A. POTEBNIA: Die einzigen Kasus in unseren [d.h. in den slawischen] Sprachen, die fähig sind, das Subjekt auszudrücken, sind der Nominativ und der Vokativ. Der Vokativ, indem er bestimmte Funktionen im Satze erfüllt, steht nicht außerhalb, sondern innerhalb des Satzes – wie der Nominativ⁴⁶.

Um dem Problem des Wesens des Vokativ gerecht zu werden, schlage ich vor, alle Positionen, in denen der Vokativ erscheinen kann, in vier Gruppen einzuteilen⁴⁷:

5.A. DIE ERSTE POSITION

In dieser Position steht der Vokativ ganz allein. Er befindet sich weder am Beginn eines Satzes, noch in einem Satz, weil es neben ihm keinen Satz gibt. Ich könnte hier als ein Beispiel für eine solche Verwendung den Beginn der *Adelphoe* von Terenz anführen:

(9)
[Micio:] *Storax!*⁴⁸

In diesem Beispiel kommt die Anrufform (leider kein Vokativ *sensu stricto*, denn in diesem Substantiv fallen beide Kasus zusammen) in ihrer eigentlichen Funktion der Herstellung eines Kontaktes mit dem gesuchten Gesprächspartner vor.

Die Anrufformen (darunter auch Vokative), die an solch einer Position auftreten, bilden wirklich ein „Sätzchen“ für sich. Sie haben keine Beziehungen – weder grammatische noch pragmatische – zu anderen Satzteilen, weil es neben ihnen nichts Anderes gibt. Das ist alles klar und einfach. Mehr lässt sich jetzt über diese Position nicht sagen.

5.B. DIE ZWEITE POSITION

Der Vokativ schließt an einen Satz an, der ein Verb in der 1. oder 3. Person enthält:

⁴⁵ R.O. FINK, *Persons in Nouns: Is the Vocative a Case?*, AJPh XCIII 1972, S. 66.

⁴⁶ A.A. POTEBNIA, *Из записок по русской грамматике*, Moskva 1958, S. 100 f. [Das Zitat wurde vom Autor des Beitrages ins Deutsche übersetzt – S.Sh.].

⁴⁷ FUGIER (*op. cit.* [Anm. 44], S. 105–120) hat gründlich alle semantischen und syntaktischen Merkmale des lateinischen Vokativs betrachtet, die mit einem attributiven Adjektiv verbunden sind, und ist zu wichtigen Schlussfolgerungen gekommen, die ich völlig akzeptiere. Dabei glaube ich, dass man das Problem des Wesens des Vokativs auch dann erforschen kann, wenn man nur die Wendungen mit allein stehendem Vokativ (ohne Adjektiv) betrachtet.

⁴⁸ *Storax* ist der Name eines Sklaven, der hier von *Micion* gerufen wird. *Storax* antwortet aber nicht.

(10)

νέος ἐγώ, πάτερ„Jung bin ich, Vater!“⁴⁹(Euripides, *Alkestis* 406)μαῖα δὴ κάτω || βέβακεν, ὦ πάτερ

„Mutter ist [in den Hades] hinuntergegangen, o Vater!“

(Euripides, *Alkestis* 393–395)ὦ Ζεῦ, τίς ἂν παῖ πόρος κακῶν γένοιτο;

„O Zeus, was für einen Ausweg aus der Not gibt es?“

(Euripides, *Alkestis* 213 f.)Πραξινοά, μαλα τοι τὸ [...] ἐμπερόναμα τοῦτο πρέπει

„Praxinoa, wunderschön steht dir dieses Spangengewand!“

(Theokrit, *Idyllen* 15, 34 f.)Mi Luci, [...] *sat pol diu est quod intervisimus te.*

„Mein Lucius, es ist in der Tat sehr lange her, dass wir dich gesehen haben.“

(Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* I 24, 4)Quin igitur, soror, *hunc primum discerpimus?*

„Warum denn, Schwester, reißen wir ihn zuerst nicht in Stücke?“

(Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* I 13, 2)Ego te, o Luci, *meis istis manibus educavi.*

„Ich habe dich, o Lucius, mit diesen meinen Händen aufgezogen.“

(Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* II 3, 3)

Bei allen im Punkt (10) angeführten Beispielen stehen die Vokative bzw. die Vokativgruppen, syntaktisch gesehen, außerhalb der jeweiligen Sätze. Wechseln wir zum Beispiel in einem dieser Sätze den grammatischen Numerus des Subjekts und des Prädikats, wird dies keinen Einfluss auf die Form des Vokativs (der Anrede) haben:

(11)

νέος ἐγώ, πάτερ*Ego te, o Luci, meis istis manibus educavi.*νέοι ἡμεῖς, πάτερ*Nos te, o Luci, nostris istis manibus educavimus.*

Wenn man eine direkte Rede mit einem Vokativ in eine indirekte umsetzt, so muss der Vokativ entweder entfallen⁵⁰, oder seine charakteristischen Merkmale – die linguistischen Pausen und die spezielle Form, sofern er sie besitzt – weiter beibehalten. Als Anredeform *sensu stricto* kann der Vokativ schlechtweg in

⁴⁹ Hier und nachfolgend wurde die wörtliche Übersetzung der Beispiele vom Autor des Artikels besorgt.

⁵⁰ Das wäre ein charakteristischer Wesenszug des Vokativs, der von HALLIDAY am Material der englischen Sprache untersucht worden ist: M.A.K. HALLIDAY, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, London 2004, S. 154.

einem Satz stehen, auch innerhalb der indirekten Rede. Besitzt er keine spezielle morphologische Form, soll er sich wenigstens durch linguistische Pausen und die Intonation abheben. Sonst hätten wir in demselben Satz anstelle eines Vokativs den zweiten Nominativ. Und zwei Nominative würden den Satz unverständlich machen:

(12)

νέος ἐγὼ, πάτερ.

„Jung [bin] ich, Vater.“

*Λέγω, ὅτι ἐγὼ νέος πατήρ.„Ich sage, dass ich der Vater jung [bin].“Ego te, o Luci, educavi.

„Ich zog dich, o Lucius, auf.“

*Dico, quod ego te Lucius educavi⁵¹.„Ich sage, dass ich dich Lucius aufzog.“

Die oben rechts angeführten transformierten Sätze sind grammatisch nicht richtig, weil sie zwei Nominative, einen davon statt Vokativformen, beinhalten. Der zweite Nominativ in einem Satz – auch in der Funktion des grammatischen Subjektes – ist durchaus nicht akzeptabel. Wenn das zweite Substantiv in der Vokativform bleibt, so ist der transformierte Satz verständlich und akzeptabel:

(12A):

Λέγω, ὅτι ἐγὼ νέος, πάτερ.Dico, quod ego te, Luci, meis istis manibus educavi.

Der Vokativ hat zwar eine implizite Sinnbeziehung zum Verb *sprechen*, das die indirekte Rede einleitet, diese Beziehung trägt aber einen *pragmatischen*, keinen *grammatischen* Charakter. Dank dieses pragmatischen Charakters können Sätze wie unten ganz normal sein, jedenfalls unter der Bedingung, dass die durch den Vokativ bezeichnete Person im Satz angesprochen wird. Das heißt, dass der Sprecher seinen Gesprächspartner in Bezug auf den vorigen Satz (mit der direkten Rede) nicht gewechselt hat:

(13)

Νέος ἐγὼ, πάτερ.Ego te, o Luci, meis istis manibus educavi.Λέγω, πάτερ, ὅτι ἐγὼ νέος.Dico, o Luci, quod ego te meis istis manibus educavi.(Der Gesprächspartner bleibt weiter *πατήρ* bzw. *Lucius*.)

Wenn der Gesprächspartner jedoch gewechselt wurde, dann muss das im Vokativ stehende Substantiv entweder aus dem Satz verschwinden oder seine Form in die des Dativs umsetzen:

⁵¹ In diesem und nächstfolgenden Beispielen bediene ich mich statt der für das klassische Latein charakteristischen Konstruktion *accusativus cum infinitivo* der Konstruktion *dico quod* + Indikativ. Die letztere kommt zwar in den spätantiken lateinischen Texten vor, darf aber als eine Verletzung der klassischen Sprachnorm betrachtet werden. Deshalb möchte ich betonen, dass ich sie vor allem *argumentandi gratia* verwende.

(14)

Τί τῶι πατρὶ λέγεις; Λέγω [τῶι πατρὶ], ὅτι ἐγὼ νέος.„Was sagst du dem Vater? Ich sage [dem Vater], dass ich jung [bin].“*Quod Lucio dicis? Dico [Lucio], quod ego illum meis istis manibus educavi.*

(Der Sprecher wendet sich an einen anderen Hörer).

Es ist also unmöglich, dass wir solche Sätze wie in den Beispielen 12A–13 derart transformieren, dass anstelle des Vokativs der Nominativ (oder ein anderer Kasus) folgt. Der Vokativ bildet in den Positionen 1 und 2 *ein „Sätzchen“ für sich* – innerhalb des Matrixsatzes. Er hat keine syntaktischen Beziehungen zu diesem Satz.

Die Beispiele unter (14), wo die Substantive ihre Formen in die des Dativs umsetzen, widersprechen dieser Behauptung nicht. Sie können den an der zweiten Position hervortretenden Charakter des Vokativs nicht in Frage stellen. Hier haben wir es bereits mit neuen Hauptsätzen zu tun: Λέγω τῶι πατρὶ, ὅτι... („Ich sage dem Vater, dass...“) bzw. *Dico Lucio, quod...* („Ich sage Lucius, dass...“).

Das syntaktische Schema dieser Sätze lässt sich folgenderweise darstellen:

Subjekt ⁵² _{nom.}	–	Prädikat _{verbum dicendi}	–	Objekt _{indirekt}
[ἐγὼ]	–	λέγω	–	τῶι πατρὶ
[ego]	–	dico	–	Lucio

Hier wechseln die Substantive, die in den Beispielen (10–13) im Vokativ standen, ihren Platz. Sie verlassen die in die indirekte Rede transformierten Sätze und geraten in grundsätzlich andere syntaktische Positionen (14).

An der zweiten Position⁵³, deren Beispiele unter 11, 12A und 13 angeführt sind, kann das Substantiv dagegen nur im Vokativ auftreten. Es besitzt keine syntaktischen Beziehungen zum Satz, in dem es untergebracht ist. Der Vokativ funktioniert hier wirklich wie „ein Nagel in einem Brett“. An den Positionen 1 und 2 schert er offenbar aus dem Kasusrahmen aus. Sein Gebrauch hängt von der extralinguistischen Situation ab, in der sich die Gesprächspartner befinden. Wie aber sieht es mit den übrigen Positionen aus?

5.C. DIE DRITTE POSITION

Hier tritt im sich anschließenden Satz ein Verb in der zweiten Person Indikativ, Konjunktiv oder (im Altgriechischen) Optativ auf:

(15)

Αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες;

⁵² In den klassischen Sprachen wird dieses Glied normalerweise *implizit* durch die 1. Person des Verbs ausgedrückt, es kann aber auch *explizit* durch das Personalpronomen vertreten werden.

⁵³ Die erste Position kommt hier nicht in Frage.

„Grauenhafter Kronides, was für ein Wort hast du gesprochen?“
(*Odyssee* I 552)

Δύστανε, τί μεν τὸ χιτῶνιον ἄρδεις;
„Tollpatsch, warum begießt du mein Kleid?“
(Theokrit 15, 31)

Tityre, tu [...] || silvestrem [...] Musam meditaris.
„Tityrus, du komponierst ein ländliches Motiv“
(Vergilius, *Bucolica* I 1 f.)

Die Funktion der an dieser Position verwendeten Vokative unterscheidet sich von denen der zweiten Position. Der Kommutationstest zeigt: Wenn man den grammatischen Numerus des Prädikats im anschließenden Satz ändert, so muss man auch den grammatischen Numerus des Vokativs ändern:

(16)
Αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες;
Tityre, tu [...] || silvestrem [...] Musam meditaris.
Αἰνότατοι θεοί, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἐείπετε;
Amici, vos [...] || silvestrem [...] Musam meditamini.

Der Vokativ kongruiert hier freilich mit dem wichtigsten Glied des Satzes – mit dem die Funktion des grammatischen Prädikats ausübenden Verbum. Die Kongruenz ist zweifelsohne ein Mittel, um syntaktische Beziehungen herzustellen.

Man kann auch zu Recht behaupten, dass der Vokativ des Hauptsatzes, wenn man diesen Satz in die indirekte Rede transformiert, in dessen Struktur als wichtiges Glied, das heißt als Subjekt im Nominativ, zum Tragen kommt:

(17)
Λέγω, ὅτι αἰνότατος Κρονίδης τὸν μῦθον ἔειπεν.
Λέγω, ὅτι αἰνότατοι θεοί τὸν μῦθον ἔειπον.
Dico, quod Tityrus || silvestrem [...] Musam meditatatur.
Dico, quod amici || silvestrem [...] Musam meditantur.

An dieser Position ist also – im Unterschied zur zweiten Position – eine Transformation möglich, in welcher der Nominativ den Vokativ ersetzt, was ebenfalls ein Zeugnis der syntaktischen Funktion des Vokativs wäre. Man darf also im Lichte der beiden Kommutationstests zu Recht behaupten, dass das im Nominativ stehende Substantiv in diesem Falle mit dem Satz syntaktisch konsistent ist.

5.C. DIE VIERTE POSITION

Der Unterschied zwischen den Positionen drei und vier besteht darin, dass an der vierten Position das Verb des anliegenden Satzes im Imperativ steht. Der

Imperativ ist eine grammatische Kategorie, die mit dem Vokativ aufs Engste verbunden ist⁵⁴. Folgende Beispiele können für diese Position angeführt werden:

(18)
 ὦ πάτερ, εἶκε τῆι ἡλικίῃ.
 „Vater, unterwirf dich deinem Alter.“
 (Herodot V 19)

Κατάβα, πανοῦργε.
 „Geh weg, Bösewicht!“
 (Aristophanes, *Ranae* 35)

Discede [...], miselle.
 „Hau ab, Unglücklicher!“
 (Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* II 7, 5)

Ähnlich der dritten Position geben auch hier die Kommutationstests ein positives Resultat ab: Der Vokativ ändert seinen grammatischen Numerus, wenn er beim Verb des anschließenden Satzes wechselt:

(19)
 Κατάβα, πανοῦργε.
Discede, miselle.

Κατάβητε, πανοῦργοι.
Discedite, miselli.

Auch bei der Transformation des Satzes, wo die direkte Rede zur indirekten Rede wechselt, wird das im Vokativ stehende Substantiv offenbar zum Subjekt des Satzes, indem es zum Nominativ überwechselt:

(20)	Κατάβα, πανοῦργε.	Λέγω, ὅτι πανοῦργος κατέβη.
	<i>Discede, miselle.</i>	<i>Dico, quod misellus discessit.</i>

6.

Interessant ist auch, dass sowohl im Griechischen, wie auch im Lateinischen das prädikative Adjektiv bisweilen nicht im Nominativ, sondern im Vokativ steht:

(21)
 ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών
 „O Gestorbener, von Freunden viel beweint!“
 (Aeschylus, *Persae* 674)

⁵⁴ Die Probleme der Beziehungen des Imperativs und des Vokativs sind in der Monographie von CHRAKOVSKIJ und VOLODIN ausführlich untersucht worden: V.S. CHRAKOVSKIJ, A.P. VOLODIN, *Семантика и типология императив. Русский императив*, Leningrad 1986, S. 15–32.

Ἦ ποτ' οὔσα καλλίνικε [...] μήτερ τροπαίων
 „O Mutter der Siegesdenkmäler, die früher berühmt durch Siege war!“
 (Euripides, *Troades* 1221)

Rufe, mihi frustra [...] credite amice
 „Rufus, mein Freund, welchem ich vergeblich glaubte.“
 (Catullus 77, 1)

Quibus Hector ab oris expectate venis?
 „Von welchen Ufern kommst du, Hector, der du sehnlich erwartet wirst?“
 (Vergilius, *Aeneis* II 283)

In allen diesen Beispielen gehört ein Adjektiv oder ein Partizip zum Satz, an welches der Vokativ geknüpft ist. Eigentlich sollte die prädikative Bestimmung in solchen Wendungen im Nominativ stehen:

(22)
 *Ἦ θανών – φίλοισι πολύκλαυτος
 *Hector – quibus ab oris *expectatus* venis?

Sie wurde aber, wie J. WACKERNAGEL bemerkt⁵⁵, der Anrufsform angepasst:

(23)
 Ἦ θανών – φίλοισι πολύκλαυτε
Hector – quibus ab oris *expectate* venis?

Eine Variante dieser Konstruktion haben wir, wenn im angeschlossenen Satz ein Imperativ oder ein imperativischer Konjunktiv bzw. imperativischer Optativ auftritt:

(24)
 ὦ Πάν ἀλίπλαγκτε φάνηθι
 „O Pan, erscheine wandernd auf dem Meer!“
 (Sophokles, *Aiaks* 695)

Ἦπνε [...] εὐαἴες ἡμῖν ἔλθοις
 „Hypnos, [...] komm wohlwollend zu uns!“
 (Sophokles, *Philoctetes* 828)

ὄλβιε κοῦρε γένοιο
 „Sei glücklich, Junge!“
 (Theokritus 17, 66)

Sic venias hodie, [Osiri].
 „Also komme heute, [Osiris]!“ (wörtlich: heutig)
 (Tibullus I 7, 53)

⁵⁵ J. WACKERNAGEL, *Vorlesungen über Syntax. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*, Basel 1920, S. 308 f.

In allen Beispielen der Nummern (21) und (24) ist das Adjektiv syntaktisch mit dem Verb (φάνηθι, ἔλθοις, γένοιο, *venias*) verbunden und nicht mit dem vorausgehenden Vokativ: ὦ Πᾶν – φάνηθι ἀλίπλαγκτε. Die vokativische Form des Adjektivs hängt jedoch vom Substantiv im Vokativ ab, was nur dank einer Beziehung des imperativischen Verbs zu diesem Substantiv ist möglich. Sie hat in diesem Fall einen formalen, syntaktischen Charakter. Dabei ist auch zu bemerken, dass wir es hier zweifelsohne mit sehr seltenen und manierlichen poetischen Wendungen zu tun haben, die sich keinesfalls in moderne europäische Sprachen wörtlich übersetzen lassen.

J. HUMBERT schreibt in diesem Zusammenhang:

Peut-être faut-il y voir la tendance bien connue d'accorder presque mécaniquement l'attribut avec le substantif auquel il se rapporte; peut-être l'écrivain a-t-il eu le sentiment que l'adresse au vocatif formant un tout, devait prendre dans tous ses termes les caractéristiques du vocatif⁵⁶.

Außer dem Altgriechischen, wo diese Wendungen nur in der Poesie auftreten, findet man sie auch im Altindischen⁵⁷. Außerdem begegnen uns auch in der klassischen römischen Poesie einige Beispiele solcher Wendungen. Sie werden zu Recht als Gräzismen bezeichnet⁵⁸. Die Tatsache, dass solche Konstruktionen auftreten, zeugt davon, dass das lateinische Sprachsystem sie im Prinzip erlaubte. Das wäre ein weiterer Beleg dafür, dass der Vokativ im Sprachgefühl beider antiker Sprachen mit dem ihm nachfolgenden Satz verbunden war⁵⁹. Deshalb drängte sich seine Form darin förmlich auf. Alle unter (21) und (24) angeführten Beispiele der Kongruenz von Adjektiven mit einem vokativischen Substantiv (das angeblich außerhalb der syntaktischen Strukturen stehe!) stellen einmal mehr den syntaktischen Charakter des Vokativs unter Beweis.

7.

Bekanntlich wird der Nominativ im Altgriechischen nicht selten statt des eigentlichen Vokativs verwendet, sogar dann, wenn der Vokativ seine eigene Form besitzt. Zwar stehen attributive Wörter, die den Vokativ bestimmen, normalerweise auch im Vokativ: φίλε κασίγνητε „lieber Bruder“ (*Ilias* IV 155) usw. Manchmal jedoch erscheint das Adjektiv im Nominativ: φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε „lieber Menelaos“ (*Ilias* IV 189) oder umgekehrt – im Nominativ steht nur das

⁵⁶ HUMBERT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 25), S. 288.

⁵⁷ K. BRUGMANN, *Griechische Grammatik*, in: K. BRUGMANN (et al.), *Griechische und lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*, München 1890, S. 202; B. DELBRÜCK, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, Bd. V, Halle 1888, S. 106.

⁵⁸ S. WITKOWSKI, *Historyczna składnia grecka na tle porównawczym*, Lwów 1936, S. 239.

⁵⁹ WACKERNAGEL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 308.

vom Adjektiv bestimmte Substantiv: ὦ δῦσμορ' Αἴας „O unglücklicher Ajax!“ (Sophokles, *Ajax* 923)⁶⁰.

Wenn in einem Satze zwei Anreden mit der Konjunktion τε verbunden werden, dann steht bei Homer nur die erste im Vokativ, die zweite dagegen im Nominativ: Ζεῦ πάτερ [...] 'Ἡελίος θ' „Zeus Vater [...] und Sonne!“ (Homer, *Ilias* III 276 f.)⁶¹. Auch im Altindischen treten ähnliche Konstruktionen auf: *vāyav indraś ca cētat'ah* „Vayu und Indra, ihr habt acht“⁶². Diese Art der Konstruktion war wohl sehr archaisch. Später begegnen uns im Altgriechischen auch die umgekehrten Konstruktionen vom Typ ὦ + *Nominativ* + καί + *Vokativ*: ὦ πόλις καὶ δῆμιε „O Stadt und Volk!“.

J. GONDA schreibt in diesem Zusammenhang: „Sanskrit scholars usually confine themselves to the remark that two vocatives cannot be connected with *ca*, one of them being replaced by the nominative“⁶³. Der bekannte niederländische Sanskritologe hatte im Prinzip Recht, ähnliche Erklärungen gaben auch andere Gelehrte⁶⁴.

Solche Deutungen könnte man vertiefen. Die seltsame Besonderheit des altindogermanischen Vokativs muss m.E. bis in die älteste Stufe der Ursprache zurückreichen, als es noch kein Kasussystem gab. Damals genügte ein Signal des Anrufs für eine ganze Gruppe von Wörtern. Erst später, als das Kasussystem zu entstehen begann, verband sich das ursprüngliche Anrufzeichen mit einem Wort und so entstand der ursprüngliche Vokativ, der allerdings in einem Satz nur einmal erscheinen durfte. Es konnte damals noch von keiner morphologischen Kongruenz die Rede sein. Gerade darauf weist die Verteilung von Nominativen und Vokativen in den Wendungen mit der altgriechischen Konjunktion τε und dem altindischen *ca* hin. Noch später entstand die nominale Deklination mit der obligatorischen Kongruenz der grammatischen Form, die epische Sprache jedoch bewahrte die Rudimente des ursprachlichen Zustandes.

Der Vokativ konkurriert also in den klassischen Sprachen mit dem Nominativ – der, wie oben gezeigt, ihn oft ersetzt. Das ist eine klare Sache. F.R. ADRADOS behauptet, dass diese Wechselbeziehung nur einseitig gerichtet sei. Der Vokativ stehe seiner Ansicht nach nie für den Nominativ⁶⁵. Doch das ist nicht zutreffend,

⁶⁰ N. BASILE, *Sintassi storica del greco antico*, Bari 1998, S. 169 f.

⁶¹ L. MELAZZO, *Sulla possibilità di coordinazione di vocativo e nominativo in greco antico*, in: E. BANFI (Hrsg.), *Studi di linguistica greca II*, Milano 1997, S. 143 f.

⁶² BRUGMANN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 57), S. 431.

⁶³ J. GONDA, *On Nominatives Joining or 'Replacing' Vocatives*, *Lingua* VI 1956–1957, S. 89 f.

⁶⁴ Darunter H. REICHEL, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, München 1909, S. 226; HUMBERT, *op. cit.* (Anm. 25), S. 252 f.; CHANTRAINE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 30), S. 36.

⁶⁵ ADRADOS, *op. cit.* (Anm. 36), S. 48: „La inversa no es cierta: no hay un V. ‚pro nominativo‘, etc., el V. jamás se neutraliza para marcar la función habitual de otros casos. Equivale en cambio, a veces, a una interjección“.

denn gerade in den klassischen Sprachen begegnen uns oft Beispiele der nominativischen Verwendung von Vokativformen⁶⁶. Schon Apollonius Dyscolus überlieferte, dass der Vokativ der maskulinen *ā*-Stämme im thessalischen Dialekt für den Nominativ gebraucht wurde⁶⁷. Asigmatische Nominative, die ihrer Herkunft nach ursprünglich Vokative darstellten, treten auch in anderen altgriechischen Dialekten auf. Im homerischen Epos lauten manche Maskulina der I. Deklination auf *-ǎ* statt auf *-ης (-ǎς)* aus: εὐρύοπǎ, ἰππότοǎ, ἰππηλάτοǎ, νεφεληγερέτοǎ⁶⁸. Im böotischen Dialekt begegnen uns auch solche asigmatischen Formen wie Μέννει statt Μέννεις⁶⁹. Was das Lateinische betrifft, so hat dort die Vokativform auf *-ǎ* die ursprünglichen Nominativformen auf *-ā* verdrängt. Und in der III. Deklination gibt es den Gottesnamen *Iuppiter*, dessen Form als ein normaler Nominativ funktioniert. Historisch gesehen stellt sie aber eine Verschmelzung von zwei Vokativformen (siehe Abschnitt 3).

Solche beiderseitigen Wechselbeziehungen stellen m.E. ein weiteres Argument zugunsten des kasuellen Charakters des Vokativs dar. Denn die Angehörigkeit des Nominativs zu den Kasus wird heutzutage von niemand in Frage gestellt: Er nimmt als Träger der Funktion des grammatischen Subjektes die wichtigste Stellung unter allen Kasus ein. Man sollte jedoch hinzufügen, dass es unter seinen Funktionen eine gibt, die keinen kasuellen Gebrauch *sensu stricto* darstellt. Ich meine den *nominativus nominandi*. Dieser Nominativ nennt nur den Namen eines Objektes oder einer Person, ohne weitere Informationen über die Beziehung zu anderen Objekten mitzuteilen⁷⁰. Das wäre – entsprechend der primären Bedeutung ὀνομαστική bzw. *nominativus* – die eigentliche Funktion dieses Kasus, die wohl überhaupt eine der ältesten Funktionen des Nomens ist. Diese Funktion bringt die beiden Kasus – den Nominativ und den Vokativ – einander näher, denn sie ist auch dem Letzteren eigen⁷¹.

Bekanntlich erfüllt der Vokativ die Funktion des Anrufes und der Anrede. Diese Funktion soll als die wichtigste unter all seinen Verwendungen anerkannt werden. Sie gehört zum breiten Kreis der Funktionen, die keine Beziehungen zwischen einzelnen Satzgliedern wiedergeben. Der Vokativ ist jedoch nicht der einzige Kasus, der pragmatische Funktionen erfüllt. In den beiden klassischen Sprachen gibt es

⁶⁶ Interessant ist in dieser Hinsicht auch, dass die griechischen Männernamen in ihrer Vokativform ins Georgische entlehnt wurden, die ihnen aber als Nominativ dient: Στέφανε > Sṭepane, Κορνήλι > Ḳorneli, Χρίστε > Kriṣṭe usw., siehe BOEDER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 43), S. 56 f.

⁶⁷ Apollonius Dyscolus, *De syntaxi* 214.

⁶⁸ A. RAPAPORT, *Słownik grecko-polski do wyboru z pieśni Homera*, Lwów–Warszawa 1932, S. 11; BRUGMANN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 57), S. 117 f.

⁶⁹ WACKERNAGEL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 55), S. 310.

⁷⁰ Siehe ausführlicher in BASILE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 60), S. 148–150; SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 2), Bd. II, S. 65–67.

⁷¹ Im Grunde erfüllen alle Kasus diese Funktion, aber beim Nominativ *subiecti* (vel *agentis*) und den obliquen Kasus tritt sie in den Hintergrund und spielt eine untergeordnete Rolle.

den *nominativus exclamationis*⁷², im Altgriechischen den *genetivus exclamationis*⁷³ und in der lateinischen Sprache den *accusativus exclamationis*⁷⁴. Auch der in beiden Sprachen auftretende *dativus ethicus* muss in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt werden. Diese Verwendungen erfüllen ebenfalls pragmatische Funktionen, keinesfalls aber syntaktische. Es ist jedoch offensichtlich, dass für alle Kasus (außer dem Vokativ) die pragmatischen Funktionen sekundär sind.

Mit dem Vokativ ist es gerade umgekehrt. Mit Rücksicht auf die Tatsache, dass die Anrufs- und Anredefunktion in allen seinen Verwendungen erscheint, kann man sie als die wichtigste Funktion bezeichnen. Dies gilt für alle vier Positionen, in denen der Vokativ erscheinen kann⁷⁵.

Wie ist es aber um die syntaktischen Funktionen des Vokativs bestellt? Zu Recht lässt sich behaupten, dass er diese Funktionen nur in den Positionen 3 und 4 erfüllt. In der dritten Position drückt der Vokativ die Funktion des Subjektes aus, anders gesagt – die eines Agens. Das Verb nimmt dabei die Form der 2. Person an:

(25)

Bene legis, amice.

„Du liest gut, Freund.“

An dieser Position ist der Vokativ mit dem finiten Verb nicht nur pragmatisch, sondern auch syntaktisch verbunden, was in den oben angeführten Beispielen gezeigt wurde.

Ähnlich sieht der Sachverhalt an der vierten Position aus. Hier ist der Vokativ ebenfalls mit der 2. Person des Verbs verbunden, der Unterschied besteht im Modus der Verben:

(26)

Lege bene, amice!

„Lies gut, Freund!“

Das würde uns das Recht geben, dem Vokativ den Wert der 2. Person zuzuschreiben⁷⁶. Genauer gesagt, hängt der Vokativ von einem in der 2. Person

⁷² BASILE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 60), S. 151 f.

⁷³ BASILE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 60), S. 212 f.

⁷⁴ Es ist wichtig, dass diesen Kasusverwendungen oft die Partikel ὃ / ο vorausgeht: ὃ δούστηνος [Ἀντιγόνη] „O unglückliche [Antigone]!“ (Sophokles, *Antigone* 379) u.ä.

⁷⁵ Ich bin mir natürlich darüber im Klaren, dass wir es in vielen Fällen seiner Verwendung (besonders in der Poesie) mit einer fingierten Anrede zu tun haben. Das spielt m.E. aber bei der Betrachtung dieses Themas keine Rolle.

⁷⁶ Dies behauptet FINK, *op. cit.* (Anm. 45), S. 64–66. Er weist u.a. darauf hin, dass bereits antike Grammatiker diesen Zug des Vokativs bemerkt hätten. Auch KURYŁOWICZ schreibt: „The vocative is a second person form“, *op. cit.* (Anm. 41), S. 63.

stehenden Verb ab, ähnlich wie der Nominativ mit einem Verb in der dritten Person kongruiert. Mit der ersten Person sind nur die Pronomina *ich* bzw. *wir* verbunden⁷⁷. An den Positionen 3 und 4 sind die Funktionen der kongruierenden Formen wie folgt verteilt: Das Verb erfüllt die Funktion der Tätigkeits- bzw. der Willensbekundung und der Vokativ die des Anrufes oder der Anrede. Außerdem drückt der Vokativ zusätzlich das Subjekt der durch den Indikativ bzw. durch den Imperativ wiedergegebenen Handlung aus:

(27)

Legis bene, amice! Amicus bene legit. (die 3. Position)

Lege bene, amice! Amicus bene legit. (die 4. Position)

Der Vokativ ist also offenbar in beiden Positionen mit dem sich anschließenden Satz syntaktisch verbunden. Stellt aber die Tatsache, dass der Vokativ (darunter auch die vokativischen Syntagmen) durch die linguistischen Pausen vom Rest des Satzes abgehoben wird, diese These nicht in Abrede? Das glaube ich nicht. Die Pausen sowie andere prosodische Merkmale dienen dazu, die eigentliche vokativische Funktion auszudrücken bzw. zu unterstreichen. Diese Mittel sind in jedem Fall unentbehrlich, denn die Anrufs- und Anredefunktion ist die Hauptfunktion des Vokativs.

Diese Funktion, die keinen grammatischen, sondern einen pragmatischen Charakter hat, stört den Vokativ aber nicht, in den Positionen 3 und 4 auch syntaktische Funktionen wahrzunehmen. Es ist klar, dass es in der dritten und vierten Position nur um die grammatischen Funktionen des Subjekts gehen kann.

An Position 3 ist es der grammatische Wert des Subjekts, der bei transitiven Verben der Bedeutung des (direkten) Objektes gegenübersteht. Das ist die Opposition *Subjekt* : *Objekt* – die wohl grundlegendste im Rahmen des Kasussystems⁷⁸. In diesem Fall muss man den kasuellen Charakter des Vokativs anerkennen, denn in dieser Position verbindet seine Form ihre pragmatische Bedeutung mit einer syntaktischen.

8.

Eine ähnliche, aber nicht identische Konstellation, finden wir an der vierten Position. Der Vokativ erfüllt auch hier eine syntaktische Funktion, aber sie

⁷⁷ In der antiken Literatur begegnen uns auch Nominative, die von der 1. Person abhängen: Ἄρτεμις σ'αὐδῶν (Eurypides, *Hippolytos* 1285) „Ich – Artemis wende mich an dich“; *volens vos Turnus adoro* (*Aeneis* X 677) „[Ich] Turnus achte euch gern“; *Hannibal peto pacem* (Livius XXX 30, 29) „Ich – Hannibal erbitte den Frieden“. Solche Gebrauchsweisen des Nominativs könnte man als Rudimente der ursprachlichen Syntax und zugleich als künstliche literarische Wendungen interpretieren.

⁷⁸ S. SHARYPKIN, *О семантической структуре категории падежа в древнегреческом языке*, *Inozemna filologija* LXXX 1985, S. 62–72.

unterscheidet sich von der dritten Position. In Verbindung mit dem Imperativ stellt der Vokativ kein selbständiges Subjekt dar, sondern nur dessen *Vermittler* – die den Willen eines anderen Menschen ausführende Person.

Es gibt keinen Kasus – weder im Altgriechischen noch im Lateinischen – und wenn ich gut unterrichtet bin, auch in keiner anderen indogermanischen Sprache, der den Stellenwert eines *Vermittlers* ausdrücken würde. Diese Bedeutung wird im Altgriechischen entweder durch die Präposition *διὰ* ‘durch’:

(28)

Κροῖσος μὲν δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκείτο.

„Kroisos übermittelte das durch Botschafter.“

(Herodotus I 69)

Ἀστυάγης [...] τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμέο.

„Astyages ... [will] nun ihren Sohn durch mich töten.“

(Herodotus I 109)

ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὤμιλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλωι.

„als er [Periander] durch Botschafter Verbindung mit Thrasybulos hergestellt hatte.“

(Herodotus V 92)

oder durch *ὑπό* ‘unter’ ausgedrückt:

Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι.

„Leutychides wendete sich durch einen Boten an die Ionier.“

(Herodotus IX 98)

Es gibt auch andere Möglichkeiten der Wiedergabe dieser Bedeutung⁷⁹. Eine davon stellt in den beiden klassischen Sprachen der mit dem Imperativ verbundene Vokativ⁸⁰ dar:

(29)

Ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ βιβλίον, ᾧ παῖ.

Lege libellum, puer:

„Lies das Büchlein, Knabe.“

In solchen Sätzen (Position 4) erfüllt der Vokativ dank seiner Verbindung mit dem Imperativ die Rolle des Vermittlers. Sie wird in diesem Fall zweimal wiedergegeben: *Explicit* durch den Vokativ und *implicit* durch den Imperativ, dessen Semantik auch einen Hinweis auf die einen Befehl (eine Bitte, einen Rat

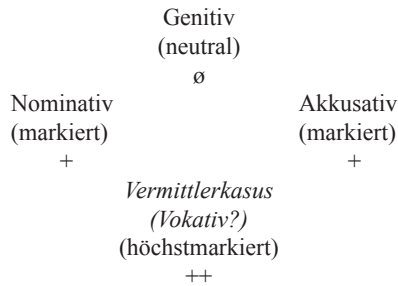
⁷⁹ Ein interessantes Beispiel findet DANYLENKO in der altukrainischen Sprache: *veleno mi svoimâ knâzemâ otâ boga otvoriti vorota* „I have been ordered by God through my prince to open the gate“. Der Autor meint, dass „the instrumental [*svoimâ knâzemâ*] indicates a channel for the unfolding of the predicate-attribute“: A. DANYLENKO, *The Genitive of Agent and the Instrumental of Means in Old Ukrainian: An Old Idea Worth Revising?*, *General Linguistics* XXXVII 2000, S. 50 f.

⁸⁰ Das gilt auch für viele andere indogermanische und nicht-indogermanische Sprachen.

usw.) ausführende Person enthält. Dies ist ein wesentlicher Zug des Imperativs. Seine Semantik umfasst neben unbeständigen Komponenten (Person und Zahl von Vermittlern, Zahl von Hörern) auch die ständigen Komponenten (die Willensbekundung, die Aktion und die 1. Person Singular – den Sprecher)⁸¹.

9.

Der Imperativ verweist also an Position 3 auf das Subjekt der Aktion. Komplizierter ist seine Funktion auf Position 4. Hier deutet er explizit auf den Initiator der Aktion und implizit auf den Vermittler. Wie bereits zuvor bemerkt, wird letztere Funktion durch verschiedenartige sprachliche Mittel erfüllt. Der Vokativ stellt nur eines davon dar. Diese Funktion ist in jedem Fall wichtig, aber keinesfalls grundlegend in seiner Semantik. Im System der indogermanischen Kasus nimmt der *Vermittlerkasus*, der als ein *Phantomkasus* aufgefasst werden kann, die am höchsten markierte Position ein – zumindest gegenüber dem Nominativ und dem Akkusativ, die den ersten Grad der Markierung darstellen. Der Genitiv ist dabei das neutrale Glied im System⁸².



Einerseits besitzt der Vokativ in allen seinen Verwendungen immer die Funktion des Anrufs oder der Anrede. Gibt es neben ihm kein Verb in der 2. Person, dann stellt er einen „Nagel im Brett“ dar, d.h. man kann ihn als eine Form klassifizieren, die außerhalb der syntaktischen Strukturen steht. Andererseits sollte der Vokativ als ein linguistisches Phänomen mit mehreren Gesichtern verstanden werden. Wenn er mit einem Verb in der 2. Person kongruiert, ist er zweifellos in die syntaktischen Strukturen des anliegenden Satzes integriert.

Es besteht also ein fundamentaler Unterschied zwischen der Semantik des Vokativs in den Positionen 1–2, einerseits, und den Positionen 3–4, andererseits. Nun stellt sich die Frage: Was ist primär an seiner Semantik? Klar ist, dass der Vokativ als ein „Sätzchen“ für sich (Position 1 und 2) außerhalb des Satzes steht. Das wäre für ihn in diesem Fall eine normale Stellung. Man kann zu Recht

⁸¹ CHRAKOVSKIJ, VOLODIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 54), S. 17 f.

⁸² SHARYPKIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 78), S. 62–72.

behaupten, dass – historisch gesehen – eine solche Verwendung primär sei und die Subjekt- oder Vermittlerfunktion eine sekundäre Ausdehnung seiner Semantik darstelle. Aber wäre diese Auffassung auch vom synchronen Standpunkt richtig? Wäre es nicht angemessener, die syntaktischen Verwendungen, die es nur in einem Teil seiner Funktionen gibt, als primär anzusehen und die asyntaktischen Verwendungen als eine Art elliptische Konstruktionen zu betrachten? Wäre es nicht richtig in Sätzen wie:

(30)

Marce, amicus tuus bene legit.
„Markus, dein Freund liest gut.“

den Vokativ seiner impliziten Semantik entsprechend folgendermaßen zu ergänzen:

(31)

[Audi, quod dico], Marce: amicus tuus bene legit.
„[Hör mal, was ich sage], Markus: dein Freund liest gut.“

Drückt also jeder isolierte Vokativ implizit eine imperativische Bedeutung aus? Solch eine Interpretation könnte vielleicht stimmen, obwohl sie mir ein bisschen künstlich erscheint. Wie dem auch sei, die Anrufs- und Anredefunktion sollten als primär unter den anderen Funktionen des Vokativs aufgefasst werden. Seine syntaktischen Funktionen dagegen, die er nur in einem Teil seiner Verwendungen bekundet, sollte man eher als sekundär klassifizieren. Darin besteht der fundamentale Unterschied zwischen dem Vokativ und den übrigen Kasus.

Als die adäquateste Definition könnte man daher formulieren:

Der Vokativ ist kein Kasus – es ist eine Anrufs- und Anredeform, die sich jedoch in einigen ihrer Verwendungen wie ein Kasus verhält und dementsprechend als Kasus beschrieben werden kann. Somit kann der Vokativ in bestimmten Positionen über seine Hauptfunktion hinaus eine von zwei folgenden Funktionen wahrnehmen: (1) die des *Nominativus subiecti*; (2) die des Vermittlers.

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TWO ANCIENT NAMES: *BRITANNI* AND *LONDINIUM*

by

ANDREW BREEZE

ABSTRACT: *British*, *Britain*, and *London* are terms so familiar that they have distinctive forms in Polish, as *brytyjski*, *Brytania*, and *Londyn*. Yet their origins have been obscure. This paper sets out what has been said on the subject from medieval times to the present, and suggests solutions to the problem through comparison with Welsh and other Celtic languages.

1. *BRITANNI*

The etymology of *Britanni* ‘Britons’ and *Britannia* ‘Britain’ is an old problem. Scholars have asked for twelve hundred years why Britain is so called, and their first recourse was to heroes. The ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* explained that the ancestor of the Britons was Brutus, grandson of Aeneas. A wandering exile (like his grandsire), Brutus came to the island now called after him and filled it with his race. Accounts of his colonizing achievements were thereafter magnified and given further circulation by Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1155). They were still taken seriously six centuries later by the Rev. Theophilus EVANS (1693–1767). His (uncritical) pseudo-history of Wales shows him quite certain that a Greek called Brutus ruled in Britain. How else, he asked, could Welsh have borrowed so many words from Greek? He had counted some three hundred, but was sure there were more. He tells how Brutus taught the natives to read, write, build, and plough; duly impressed, they apparently then asked him to be their king (“y cyfrinachwyd rhyngddynt, sef yw hynny, i Frutus gael bod yn frenin i deyrnasu arnynt”). This edifying constitutional event, with Brutus as Iron Age precursor of William III (1688–1702) and George I (1714–1727), who both gained crowns in Britain by the decision of its parliament, allegedly happened in about 110 BC¹.

While EVANS was making a medieval legend do turns for Whig interpretations of history, others had discarded Brutus for sounder methodologies. In his long-unpublished *Sketch of the Ancient British History*, the exiled Philip PERRY (1720–1774) said this. He explained *Britannia* from “the Welch word *Brith* and the

¹ EVANS 1716: 21, 23.

Celtic word *Tannia*. *Brith*, according to Camden, signifies ‘painted’, and *Tannia*, according to Pezron, signifies ‘country’, and both together signify ‘the country of a people that painted their bodies’”. PERRY, rector of the English College at Valladolid, cited as his authorities *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain, or Scotland* (London 1729) by Thomas INNES (1662–1744), himself quoting *Britannia* by William CAMDEN (1551–1623), the great antiquary, and *Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celtes* (Paris 1703) by Paul-Yves PEZRON².

Even when King Brutus was discarded by serious historians, subjects of Queen Victoria mentioned CAMDEN’s *brith* with respect, including Thomas Frederick TOUT (1855–1929), then a young professor at St David’s College, Lampeter. He described *Britanni* as the Roman name for south Britain’s inhabitants, adding that

Its etymology has generally been traced to the Welsh *brith* (spotted or tattooed), but it is more probably kindred with *brethyn*, the Welsh for cloth. Thus, the Britons were the clothed people, as opposed to the pre-Celtic inhabitants, who probably wore but little clothing³.

TOUT was a great historian, but he would not claim expertise on linguistics or anthropology. His views hence betray certain pre-scientific assumptions of his age.

By George V’s day, philology had become more professional. Sir John LLOYD (1861–1947) of Bangor, following Sir John RHÏS (1840–1915), noted that the Welsh “have always dubbed themselves *Brython*, representing an old *Brittones*”, whereas the Irish “call them *Bretain*, for an older *Brittani*”. He noted the curiosity that Greeks and Romans alike yet preferred ‘Goidelic’ *Brettanoi*, *Brittani*, or (less correctly, in his view) *Britanni* to the Brittonic form⁴. But no word on what these might mean. Another Bangor scholar, Sir John MORRIS-JONES (1864–1929), showed scepticism. After reviewing early attestations and particularly Welsh *Pryden* ‘Picts’, he concluded that an explanation from Welsh *pryd* ‘form’ was “probably only a piece of popular etymology; but even if it had some old tradition behind it, the name is equally applicable to the other Britons, for they all painted or tattooed themselves”, as stated by Caesar and, some three centuries later, Herodian. He added, “[i]ndeed, the objection to accepting it as the true explanation is that, at the time when it was first applied, it could not be distinctive”. He had another proposal. Latin *creta* is ‘chalk’, Welsh *pridd* and Irish *cré* mean ‘loam’. He believed that they had a common origin and the root in Celtic

² PERRY 1772.

³ TOUT 1889.

⁴ LLOYD 1911: 35.

“may have yielded the name *Pritannia* meaning ‘the island of the white cliffs’” given by Celtic invaders from the Continent⁵. This last has gained no acceptance.

William WATSON (1865–1948) of Edinburgh noted that Middle Welsh *Prydein* ‘Britain’ and Old Irish *Cruthen* ‘Pict’ may be related to “Welsh *pryd*, Gaelic *cruth* ‘form’”. He then said:

The whole group has been referred to a root *qrt* ‘cut’, whence Latin *curtus*, Gaelic *cruth* ‘form, shape’, giving to *Pretani* the meaning of ‘Figured Folk’, with reference to the practice of painting the skin mentioned by Caesar. From other references it appears that the ancient pre-Celtic Britons tattooed as well as painted themselves. This is in substance the traditional explanation, and it makes the country, Britain, get its name from its inhabitants.

He was careful to add that the island’s older name was *Albion*, presumably what the Celts called it before they crossed the Channel; *Britannia* was a purely Roman formation; and *Albion* still survived in Gaelic *Alba* ‘Scotland’⁶. WATSON was echoed by EKWALL, whose dictionary sets out the forms, giving *Prettania* ‘Britain’ and *Prettanoi* ‘Britons’ from Diodorus and Strabo (Greeks living in the time of Caesar and Augustus) as having more authority than Latin equivalents in *B-*. He related them to Welsh *pryd* and Irish *cruth* ‘figure, picture’, and thought they referred to “the custom of the ancient Britons to tattoo themselves”⁷.

At this point we come to a third Bangor professor, Sir Ifor WILLIAMS (1881–1965). Speaking not of place-names but bards, he discussed various Celtic words which designate verse and its creators. These include Welsh *prydydd* ‘poet’ and Irish *creth* ‘poetry’, the first going back to *pryd* ‘shape, form’, the second to *cruth* ‘form’, which themselves have a common Celtic original. Bardic song has, therefore, “the beauty of the shaped thing; it is not a formless, shapeless chunk of wood, but a carving, a piece of sculpture”, so that Welsh *prydydd* ‘shaper; poet’ will resemble Greek ποιητής ‘maker; poet’⁸. No mention of tattoos or dyes on skin, we observe. His remarks may steer us to a truer understanding of Britain’s early inhabitants. *Pritani* and *Britanni* received lengthy treatment by Thomas O’RAHILLY, but without comment on meaning⁹.

An important step came in 1950, when the great University of Wales dictionary began publication. On coming to *pryd*, it defined it as ‘sight, countenance, aspect; face; image, shape, form; beauty’, and cited as a cognate Old Irish *cruth* ‘form, appearance, beauty’, both from a root meaning ‘to form, shape, make’. It quoted the Old Breton personal names *Pritient* and *Pritmael* (where the latter’s

⁵ MORRIS-JONES 1913: 5 f.

⁶ WATSON 1926: 13 f.

⁷ EKWALL 1936: 63.

⁸ WILLIAMS 1944: 7.

⁹ O’RAHILLY 1946: 444–452.

second element means ‘prince’). These will be crucial for present arguments. So, too, will early compounds that include *prydfawr* ‘very beautiful, splendid’ and *prydfferth* ‘beautiful, splendid, handsome, fine, fair’¹⁰.

In a famous paper, Kenneth JACKSON (1909–1991) of Edinburgh put order and clarity into the variant forms. In the fourth century BC, the Greek explorer Pythias called the people of Britain by a form that we may render as *Pritani*. The Romans called them *Britanni*, a Latin corruption of *Pritani*. On its meaning JACKSON said this.

The name is presumably Celtic, and may mean ‘the people of the designs’, i.e., tattoos; and, if it is really as old as Pytheas’s time, it must first have belonged to the Iron Age A tribes of southern England, who may have borrowed the custom of painting or tattooing from an older population. It had evidently come to be applied, however, to the people of the whole of Britain, which is natural enough, especially in the use of foreigners like the Gauls who would know the islanders chiefly from the people of the south¹¹.

Quoting his explanation of *Pritani* as ‘people of the designs’ almost word for word, Isabel HENDERSON yet follows Nora CHADWICK on the dangers of pre-conceived notions about other cultures, including tattoos, a sought-for aspect of any barbarian encountered by Romans or Alexandrians. It has a parallel in John White’s spectacular fantasies of Elizabeth I’s day, who drew a Pictish warrior brandishing an enemy’s head, and accoutred in nothing but shield, sword, belt, and tattoos from neck to ankle¹². In this context we might quote Graham WEBSTER, who considered the people of ancient Britain almost as mixed as those of modern Britain. The crossing of the seas being dangerous in flimsy Iron Age boats, those reaching British shores were probably “only the bravest and most determined of their kind, and thus some of our national characteristics may be due to this form of selection”, with newcomers in the south-east having to “fight for a foothold” before they could enslave or push out those already there. “This led to a gradual drift of the weaker folk towards the north and west”¹³. Whatever the merits of his approach, it would not have made Dr WEBSTER popular on the Celtic Fringe.

The Old Breton personal names *Pritient* and *Pritmael* have been mentioned. At this point we add to them some in Old Welsh, likewise not previously related to *Britanni*. The twelfth-century *Book of Llandaff* gives those of two clerics: Coilbrit, in seventh-century Glamorgan, and Lunbrit, active in about 775¹⁴. The

¹⁰ GPC 2915, 2917.

¹¹ JACKSON 1955: 158.

¹² HENDERSON 1967: 33, pl. 2.

¹³ WEBSTER 1978: 29 f.

¹⁴ DAVIES 1979: 155, 178.

second is the more significant of these. In the former, *-brit* might correspond to modern *bryd* ‘mind’. But *Lun-* in the latter will be *llun* ‘shape, figure, form’, so that *Lunbrit* will mean ‘shapely form’, with Old Welsh *prît* ‘shape’ mutated to *brit* in a compound. The element is hardly *brit* ‘mind’, because ‘shapely mind’ is meaningless. Minds may be narrow, broad, shallow, deep, or well-stocked, as if they were containers. But we do not normally regard them as having shapes.

The account of RIVET and SMITH remains a basis for enquiry. They stated that *Britannia* is later than *Albion*, the ancient Celtic name for Britain, and will be an artificial Latin abstraction derived from the name of a people, much as Diodorus and Strabo in the first century BC created *Prettanike*. It may have begun as a poetic coinage of Catullus, who uses it in a satirical poem (29) and again (as plural) in a celebrated lyric (45) on Septimius, who would rather have his girl Acme than all Syria and Britain together.

Unam Septimius misellus Acmen
mavult, quam Syrias Britanniasque.

It was later adopted by the poet’s friend Caesar. RIVET and SMITH added that the tribes of pre-Roman Britain lacked political unity, so that they would have no word to indicate their collectivity (which, however, ignores their sense of linguistic and cultural unity, expressed by Gildas in the fifth century, and never lost sight of by Welsh writers from his time). The two scholars saw no reason to dispute the accepted translation ‘figured folk, tattooed folk’¹⁵.

Britain is explained *tout court* as “land of the Britons, i.e., figured folk, alluding to the practice of pre-Celtic inhabitants of the island of tattooing their bodies” in a reputable dictionary¹⁶. French authorities relate Old Irish *Cruithin* ‘Picts’ to *Pritani* ‘Britons’, and Old Irish *cruth* ‘form, shape, appearance; beauty of form, shapeliness’ to Welsh *pryd* ‘sight, appearance, aspect; shape, form; comeliness, beauty’, as also Sanskrit *karoti* ‘he makes, accomplishes’ and Lithuanian *kùrti* ‘he makes, builds’. The entry for the first refers to “la coutume des habitants de Grande-Bretagne rapportée par les anciens de se tatouer et signifierait ‘les hommes aux dessins’”¹⁷. A popular dictionary refers Britain’s name to “figured folk”, “tattooed people”, from their habit of decorating their bodies¹⁸. A handbook proves that *Britannia* was a goddess as well as a territory. An inscription (*RIB* 643) from York reads: “To holy *Britannia*, Publius Nikomedes, freedman

¹⁵ RIVET, SMITH 1979: 280–282.

¹⁶ FIELD 1980: 40.

¹⁷ VENDRYES 1987: 254, 256.

¹⁸ ROOM 1988: 57.

of our Emperors [set this up]¹⁹. Publius, a pious man of culture both Latin and Greek, saw her as protecting and blessing the land where he lived.

After so much on skin-embellishment, painful and other, some may be relieved that recent commentators effectively shug their shoulders as regards *Britannia*'s meaning. Graham ISAAC remarks that several etymologies might be offered for *Britanni*, but none is beyond doubt, so he does not make any²⁰. Patrick SIMS-WILLIAMS contents himself with the statement on *Britannia* and *Albion* that "in fact these are probably both Celtic names"²¹. More positively amongst recent developments, PERRY's *Sketch*, showing extended curiosity about Roman Britain's toponyms, has now been published²². There has also been work on concepts of Britain. Research on twelfth-century Welsh narratives of Britain, "Isle of the Mighty", shows them as highly political documents, with a stress on the island's unity that goes back to Gildas in the sixth century, *Historia Brittonum* in the ninth, and the propaganda poem *Armes Prydein* ("The Prophecy of Britain") in the tenth. All express a Welsh vision of undivided British sovereignty, which has been shattered by foreign invasion²³. A similar study brings our survey back to where it began, with Brutus the nation-builder, who, having long been under a cloud, is once more a subject of attention²⁴.

So we have seen that Brutus of Latium satisfied enquiry from the ninth century up to the sixteenth in England and the eighteenth in Wales. CAMDEN's etymology in *brith* 'speckled, spotted', with reference to tattoos, then held sway until the late nineteenth century, when philology showed it could have no link with *Britanni*; but substitution of *pryd* seemingly allowed critics to retain the link with adornment of the person.

In what follows, however, we proceed differently, using the same word or element to offer a new meaning. Let us recall Old Breton *Pritient* and *Pritmael*, and Old Welsh *Coilbrit* and *Lunbrit*. The first two and perhaps all of them show *pryd* as part of a personal name. In the case of *Pritmael*, borne by a man of high status, the meaning is 'shape of a prince, aspect of a prince'. Welsh *prydfawr* 'very beautiful, splendid' and *prydfferth* 'beautiful, splendid, handsome, fine, fair' likewise demonstrate the positive associations of *pryd*. So, too, does Welsh *prydydd* 'shaper, maker, poet', which is an old term, because its exact cognate *pridit* appears in Old Cornish. These, together with Welsh *pryd* 'countenance, aspect; face; image, shape, form; beauty' and Old Irish *cruth* 'form, appearance, beauty',

¹⁹ IRELAND 1996: 192.

²⁰ ISAAC 2004.

²¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 178.

²² PERRY 2009.

²³ BREEZE 2009: 28.

²⁴ BERNAU 2010.

from a root meaning ‘to form, shape, make’, suggest that the *Pritani* or British were a people remarkable for their attractive aspect or shape. There is not the slightest reason to link the form with body-decoration. This is too readily linked to Caesar’s over-famous statement that the Britons dyed their bodies with woad, which coloured them blue and made them look terrifying in battle.

We may conclude from the above that *Britanni* does not describe painted, dyed, or tattooed people. The sense will be ‘people of aspect, shapely people’, who were taller, straighter, and fairer than their neighbours. This is more likely than ‘makers, shapers’, as if the Britons were a nation of craftsmen, because there is no reason to take *Pritani* as an agent noun. When future commentators come to the name of Britain, then, they should reject all associations with woad or body-painting. They should think of it instead as an island with Celtic inhabitants who were a handsome people, who were men and women well-shaped in their limbs and proportions. They may also, if of a more fanciful or imaginative turn, feel pleasure in the thought that Britain, an island fertile in poets, can be related directly to Welsh *prydydd* ‘shaper, maker, poet’.

2. *LONDINIUM*

London, one of the world’s great cities, has also been a great puzzle for philologists, who have been trying to explain its name since the days of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The best discussion is that of Sir Ifor WILLIAMS, greatest scholar of Welsh scholarship’s golden age. Unfortunately, few have noticed it, as it is tucked away in a student edition (long out of print) of a *Mabinogion* text. It may be summarized thus. Although Ptolemy (in about AD 120) has *Londinion* and Roman writers have *Londinium* and *Lundinium*, it is difficult to derive medieval and modern Welsh *Llundain* ‘London’ from them, “for the combination *nd* always gives *nn* in medieval Welsh”. *Londinium* with a short *o* might give *Llynnein* in Middle Welsh, but it never occurs.

Even if we lengthened the *o* of the Ptolemy form, *Londinium* could only give *Llunnein* [also unknown]. But why need we connect *Llundain* immediately with *Londinium*? Since the end of the fifth century, London was in hostile territory, and the word dropped out of the stream of Welsh linguistic development. The English kept *nd* unchanged.

WILLIAMS proposed that the Welsh, having forgotten London’s very name, borrowed it anew from English when the place regained importance, so that the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* has *Lunden* (from Old English *Lunden*) in its list of British cities. Later Welsh *Llundain* can be explained as a corruption due to the analogies of *Prydain* ‘Britain’ and *Rhufain* ‘Rome’²⁵.

²⁵ WILLIAMS 1910: 15 f.

Coherent and informed, WILLIAMS's remarks yet had little influence. More important was the comment in an Oxford reference book. "*Londinium* is no doubt a derivative of a stem **londo-* 'wild, bold', found in Old Irish *lond* 'wild'. The immediate base may be a personal name *Londinos* or a tribal name formed from the adjective"²⁶. This derivation was, however, sternly countered by Kenneth JACKSON. He pointed out that the *o* must be long, since it gave *Lundinium* in Ammianus Marcellinus (d. ca 395) and *Lunden* in Old English. The common derivation from **londo-* 'fierce', given by EKWALL after HOLDER and ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, was therefore wrong. JACKSON, citing Max FÖRSTER of Munich, was categorical that the original British form was *Londonion*, with three syllables, although he admitted that, very strangely, this never figures in Classical texts. He thought that there may have been substitution²⁷. (He did not consider that the forms in *-don-* may be late, artificial, and ecclesiastical, as with *Lundonensis civitas* in a letter of St Gregory quoted by Bede.)

JACKSON's observations were, over the decades, taken on board, leading to a general agnosticism amongst scholars. It is true that as late as 1970 we find the statement, "London is a Celtic place-name, probably formed from a personal name *Londinos*, meaning 'the bold one'"²⁸. But by 1978 we have the comment that "this etymology is rejected in an emphatic footnote in Jackson 1953 (p. 308), and we have as yet nothing to put in its place"²⁹. A standard account quotes *LONDINIO* from writing tablets found in 1927 and 1959, and *LONDINI* from a second-century jug. These contemporary forms have high authority. There is also a useful reference to Ptolemy's *Londobris*, the Berlenga Islands off the west coast of Portugal, where the second element represents Celtic *briga* 'hill'. But, JACKSON's warnings being heeded, we hear that for *Londinium* the "British etymon is unsure"³⁰.

Later writers say this. The obscurity of the toponym "may in fact result from the very antiquity of the settlement itself: possibly antedating the Celtic language which provides the earliest recorded forms"³¹. We can disregard that "in fact". There is no evidence for ancient settlement at London or for its name as non-Celtic. No need, then, to invoke pre-Celtic languages. Similarly, popular scholarship states that *Londinium* "is clearly a very old name, and the settlement here an ancient one, which no doubt accounts for the obscurity of the name"³².

²⁶ EKWALL 1936: 289.

²⁷ JACKSON 1953: 308.

²⁸ GELLING 1970.

²⁹ GELLING 1978: 37.

³⁰ RIVET, SMITH 1979: 396–398.

³¹ FIELD 1980: 108.

³² ROOM 1988: 221.

Not so. The form need not predate the first century; the settlement is not ancient (archaeologists will confirm this); the difficulties are more likely to result, not from ancient origins, but our own ignorance. An Oxford book now thus wisely limits itself here to “considered obscure in origin and meaning”³³.

The most recent account known to this writer is by Richard COATES of Bristol. Rightly rejecting ALESSIO’s 1951 attempt to explain *Londinium* from a supposed Ligurian root *lond-* ‘mud’, he relates it instead to an Indo-European root meaning ‘flow, float; move through water’, which gives Greek *πλοῦς* ‘shipping’, Russian *plov* ‘boat’, Ukrainian *plov* ‘swimming’, and (with lengthened grade) English *flow* and *flood*. Since Indo-European initial *p* was lost in all Celtic dialects, he proposes a sense of either ‘place on a river tending to flood’ or ‘place on a river known for ships’³⁴. Yet, despite respect for a co-author, the writer cannot agree with him, for the simple reason that the element cited is unknown in Brittonic.

Recent commentators add little to the above. One contents himself with describing *Londinion* as ‘very difficult’³⁵. Authorities of the English Place-Name Society call it ‘unexplained’, but cite COATES’s hypothesis on it³⁶. Another writer yet declares how we may feel “confidence” that *Londobris* is amongst five Celtic toponyms from Iberia’s west coast³⁷. So there is no talk there of “antedating the Celtic language”, which means that our enquiry gains useful help from a Portuguese island. *Londobris* appears elsewhere as having a Celtic second element, but with no proposal on the meaning of *Lond-*³⁸.

At this point we take stock. The early forms are certain, whether in Tacitus, Ptolemy, late Latin panegyric, or inscriptions actually found in London. We know that the *o* is long, and that *Lond-* would give *Llun(n)-*. (Ifor WILLIAMS noted this in 1910, the present writer coming to the same conclusion and then finding that WILLIAMS reached it a century before.) What nobody has observed is that Welsh *llun* exists, and may be the clue that leads us out of a labyrinth. It is a common word. The great University of Wales Dictionary gives it (without any attempt at etymology) the meanings ‘shape, figure, form, appearance; fashion, manner, mode, means; picture, drawing, illustration’³⁹. We shall see as well that it is an element in Old Welsh personal names.

The first part of *Londinium* may, therefore, refer to a shape or form. What about *-in-*? Here later Welsh comes to our aid. We there find *-in* added to nouns

³³ MILLS 1991: 214.

³⁴ COATES, BREEZE 2000: 15–31.

³⁵ PARSONS 2000: 175.

³⁶ WATTS 2004: 379.

³⁷ GARCÍA ALONSO 2005: 144.

³⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 51, 142.

³⁹ *GPC* 2223.

to form adjectives, especially for materials, like *derwin* ‘oaken’ or *eurin* ‘golden’, but not exclusively so, as shown by *allwynin* ‘grievous, sorrowful’ or *gerwin* ‘rough, severe, harsh’⁴⁰. That would indicate an early Welsh form *llun(n)in* ‘shapely, well-shaped, distinctively shaped’. It also permits an etymology for *Londinium*. It may end a process begun when Geoffrey of Monmouth asserted in his *History of the Kings of Britain* that the metropolis was ruled by King Lud, of Ludgate (*recte* Old English *ludgeat* ‘back door, postern’), west of St Paul’s Cathedral, so that the Britons called it ‘Kaerlud’ (= walled city of Lud) and then (in Geoffrey’s words), “as the name became corrupted, Kaerlundein”, and so modern “London”⁴¹.

If *Londin-* does contain the element giving Welsh *llun* ‘shape’, what would *Londinium* allude to? Did it refer to a person who possessed a settlement on the site of London, or to a landscape feature, a hill or a river? Comparison with other British-Latin toponyms implies, at first, that either is possible. On the one hand is *Luguvalium*, Carlisle in north-west England, the ‘town of Luguvalus’, the settlement of a man who was ‘strong in the god Lugas’⁴². On the other are *Segontium* and *Canovium* in north-west Wales, the first being the fort outside Caernarfon above the *Segonti*, ‘vigorous river’, now the Saint; the second being the fort at Caerhun, by the *Canovio*, ‘reedy river’, now the Conway or Conwy⁴³.

Yet a little thought suggests that *Londinium* refers to a person and his settlement, like *Luguvalium* ‘town of Luguvalus’ or Carlisle. It is not likely to be a place called after a river or other landscape feature. The reasoning is as follows. It is true that we have one piece of evidence for *Lond-* used directly of a place and not a person. This is Ptolemy’s *Londobris*, applied to the Berlenga Archipelago off the coast of Portugal. The second element here corresponds to Welsh *bre* ‘hill’, as with Moelfre ‘bare hill’ in Anglesey (within north-west Wales), or Irish *brí*, as with Bray, a seaside place south of Dublin⁴⁴. If the present hypothesis is correct, Ptolemy’s *Londobris* will mean ‘shapely hill, distinctively-shaped hill’. This makes sense for Great Berlenga, a rugged island visible miles away to those on Lisbon’s northern approaches. We can even play with its etymology. Using the analogy of Moelfre ‘bare hill’ in Anglesey and Pembrey or Pen-bre ‘top of the hill’ in Caermarthenshire, Welsh seafarers might have called this Portuguese island *Llunfre* ‘shapely hill’.

Against *Londinium* as referring directly to a hill or stream is the absence of *Llun* for rivers or hills in Wales and beyond. What we find instead is *Llun*

⁴⁰ MORRIS-JONES 1913: 257.

⁴¹ ECHARD 2011: 50.

⁴² REANEY 1960: 79.

⁴³ OWEN, MORGAN 2007: 64, 96.

⁴⁴ VENDRYES 1980: 87.

in the names of Welshmen. They include these Old Welsh instances. Lunberth was bishop of St Davids in around the year 925. He is mentioned by Gerald of Wales, and witnessed charters in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff. The same manuscript records Lunbiu, witness to the purchase in about 715 of an estate south-west of Cardiff (it was bought for three horses, a cloak for the queen of Glamorgan, and a trumpet). Lunbiu lived in the same century as Lunbrit and Lunguid, who witnessed other Book of Llandaff charters⁴⁵. So *Llun* is well attested in Old Welsh personal names. The name of Lunbrit is here of especial interest, because it means ‘shapely form’, with elements that would be *llun* and *pryd* in Modern Welsh. That strengthens the case for seeing Londinium as named after an ancient Briton called *Londinos*, *Londinus*, or, in Modern Welsh, *Llunin*. His name would mean ‘shapely one, well-formed one’, even ‘handsome one’.

There are archaeological and historical implications in the above. First, the archaeological. Earlier writers were enthusiasts for the notion of a pre-Roman London.

It is not surprising to learn that during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius a trading-settlement grew up on the left bank of the Thames, on the site of London, where goods from Gaul and Italy were handled in considerable quantities. London was already entering upon its career as the leading commercial port of the British Isles⁴⁶.

Later experts were more restrained. Hence the verdict that “there is no evidence of any substantial pre-Roman settlement” at London, despite chance finds of pottery and coins⁴⁷. Another commented that the “legend of a pre-Roman London dies hard”, and quoted Sir Mortimer WHEELER for the few pieces of pre-Claudian imported Italian pottery found in the City and Southwark, which indicate that “a few prospectors from the Roman world” perhaps “built a wharf and warehouse somewhere near the site of London Bridge a decade or so before the legions arrived”⁴⁸. A third scholar, analyzing finds of pottery and coins in the context of native trackways, mentioned that “the few pre-Roman pot-sherds from Southwark may have been the property of those who manned the ferry” for north-south travellers, while Roman roads themselves suggest that “in the first year or two after the Conquest, there was not yet a London”. There was never any “royal centre rich enough to afford expensive foreign imports” before the Claudian invasion. There were, at most, a few farms on the gravel terrace where the City now is, which was more thinly-wooded and better drained than the claylands of the London Basin, and had plentiful well-water at no great depth⁴⁹. One

⁴⁵ DAVIES 1979: 178.

⁴⁶ COLLINGWOOD, MYRES 1937: 71.

⁴⁷ RIVET 1958: 137.

⁴⁸ MERRIFIELD 1965: 29.

⁴⁹ MORRIS 1982: 31, 84, 85, 87–90, 93.

of these farms, perhaps at Cornhill (east of the Bank of England), may have been the original *Londinium*, the homestead of a Briton called *Londinos* or *Londinus* ‘shapely one’.

As for history, we may go back to Ifor WILLIAMS’ words above, demonstrating that *Londinium* cannot have given *Lunden* and its variants in *Historia Brittonum*, or *Llundain* in the Triads and twelfth-century *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*⁵⁰. After London fell to the English, the Britons forgot its very name. The form which the Welsh use to this day was learnt again from Old English. We may infer that London’s fortunes were low indeed during the fifth and sixth centuries.

If the above conclusions are correct, we can lay to rest a problem that has mystified scholars from the days when old men in England could recall seeing William the Conqueror (1066–1087). The city of London will, it seems, take its name from a Briton called *Londinos* ‘shapely one, well-formed one’, who, two thousand years ago, owned land above a muddy bank on the north side of the Thames, and who gave his name to the Roman city of *Londinion* or *Londinium*, and thereafter to modern London. As for *Britanni*, the inhabitants of Britain, we can dismiss any allusion to body-paint or tattoos. Welsh *pryd* ‘aspect, form’ instead suggests a meaning ‘people of fair aspect, well-shaped ones’. If so, *Britain* will mean ‘land of well-proportioned people’ or even ‘land of the handsome’, of men and women who were taller and straighter than their neighbours.

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⁵⁰ PADEL 2000: 87; BREEZE 2009: 20, 38.

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S U M M A R I A D I S S E R T A T I O N U M

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THE MUNICIPAL ELITES OF CAMPANIA IN THE ANTONINE-SEVERAN PERIOD*

by

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In my doctoral dissertation I consider the elites of Campanian cities under the Antonines and Severans, a topic that has not yet been thoroughly covered in scholarly works. Even though certain researchers have recently begun to explore these issues in a more comprehensive manner – one should in particular mention the body of research undertaken by the Italian epigrapher G. CAMODECA *cum suis* – no one has ever published a wide-ranging work that analyses and discusses in-depth the higher social strata of Campania as a whole, as they were under the Antonines and Severans. My dissertation, supervised by Prof. Andrzej Łoś, is a deliberate attempt to fill this gap in our knowledge. However, before I start outlining the main points of my dissertation, I believe it would be prudent to define the chronological and geographical scope of my research as well as to provide a description of what comprises the term elite.

Campania, a southern part of Augustan *regio I*, was a densely urbanized region under the Principate, a land of importance in terms of cultural development and, at least during the first decades of the 1st century CE, economic growth. Preserving a wealth of artefacts and inscriptions found at sites amongst which the towns of Puteoli, Capua, Naples and Vesuvian are the most important, the land has long attracted the scholarly attention of historians, archaeologists and epigraphers. Every ten square kilometre slice of Campania contains, on average, about 13 Latin *tituli*. At the especially rich site of Campi Flegrei, the actual amount of

* The following text is a summary of the doctoral dissertation supervised by Prof. Andrzej Łoś and presented to the Faculty of the Department of History, University of Wrocław in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and defended at the said Department on 4th December 2013. The dissertation was reviewed by Professors Leszek MROZEWICZ and Krzysztof NAWOTKA.

preserved inscriptions is almost twenty times the Campanian average¹. Therefore, even excluding the area of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the remainder of the area contains no less than over seven thousand inscriptions². In terms of my study, the sheer number of these inscriptions translates into a rich source of data on the municipal elites of Campania in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE. It is their number that has attracted so much scholarly attention to this region.

As for the geographical scope of my study, in defining the borders of Campania I have assumed, as a starting point, the administrative division of Italy made by Augustus and described by Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*. Defined in such a manner, the administrative borders closely follow the natural ones and delimit Campania as an economically homogenous region. Conversely, in volume X of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, T. MOMMSEN divided Italy in a slightly different manner and, as a result, incorporated the towns of Allifae, Telesia and Saticula into the mountainous region of Samnium. In contrast to the famous German scholar, I have accepted with certain reservations the original Augustan division³. This framework lets me subdivide Campania into three zones, the maritime one (the cities of the Tyrrhenian coastal strip mostly in the vicinity of the *via Domitiana*, with Puteoli as the chief city), the central zone (with the *via Appia* as its spine and Capua as the principal city) and the hilly border zone (*civitates* in the Apennine foothills, such as Venafrum, Allifae and Telesia). In my view, such divisions provide a research perspective that is neither too broad nor too narrow. It groups the land into discernible regions unified by their geographical environment, links to the same commercial routes and hence, to the *Urbs*, but it is comprehensive enough to avoid the pitfalls of over-analysing one or two sites at the expense of neglecting the broader picture. Hereafter, I believe that any scholar who researches the social and economic phenomena of contemporaneous Campania would benefit from an approach that introduces a tripartite division, each part a clearly distinguishable zone that translates into an adequate research perspective, in contrast to the simplistic approach proposed

¹ G. CAMODECA, F. NASTI, A. PARMA, A. TORTORIELLO, *Il patrimonio epigrafico latino della Campania e delle regioni II e III*, in: *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Atti I, Roma, 18–24 IX 1997*, Roma 1999, pp. 671–678. The actual number of Campanian inscriptions may be even higher, as the Italian authors have not included inscriptions placed on *instrumentum domesticum, miliarii* or Greek inscriptions. Obviously, the authors could not include recently discovered inscriptions.

² A number estimated from the data found in the on-line inscription database Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php).

³ Similarly (with some differences in the southern part of the region) the borders of Campania were defined by the Danish historian R. THOMSEN (*The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion*, Copenhagen 1947, pp. 21–23, 63 f., 71–76).

by J.R. PATTERSON and others, who subdivide Italian *regiones* into maritime zones and hinterlands⁴.

Moving to the chronological scope of my dissertation, I chose to limit my study to the period between 96 CE and 235 CE, bracketed by Nerva's ascension and Alexander Severus' death, to complement the work of my supervisor, A. Łoś, who had already published a study of the Campanian elites in the period from Augustus to Domitian. It was my wish to build on his studies and research the higher strata of Campanian society in the period that followed Domitian's reign⁵. Moreover, the period that followed Nerva's reign and lasted at least until Marcus Aurelius' ascension can be palpably set apart as a time of relative tranquillity and renewal after the disastrous second half of the 1st century CE, when the region was ruined by two cataclysms: the earthquake of 62 CE and the Vesuvian eruption of 79 CE. Conversely, the death of Alexander Severus instigated a period of political destabilisation. The crisis of central rule eventually resulted in the imperial provinces finally gaining importance at the expense of Italy. Not without significance is also the fact that Alexander Severus' death was a watershed in terms of epigraphy. As much as the Antonine and Severan period was an epigraphic peak, so was the following a low period, with fewer and fewer public inscriptions carved in the years that followed. The rapid departure from the Roman epigraphic tradition in Campania was therefore selected as the *terminus ad quem* of my dissertation.

Consequently, the above timeframe showcases the municipal elites of Campania in a crucial and difficult period, a time in which – in the view of many leading twentieth century scholars of the Roman Empire – Italy was purportedly experiencing a serious economic crisis, which may have already begun in the 1st century CE⁶. However, this theory has many opponents among scholars⁷. Therefore, it would be judicious to investigate how the municipal elites in Campania functioned during the Antonine-Severan period.

Who were the members of the so-called elite? The term itself is notoriously difficult to delimit as sociologists tend to redefine it according to the

⁴ J.R. PATTERSON, *Landscapes and Cities: Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy*, Oxford 2006. PATTERSON rightly bases his historical analysis on small territorial units (such as *ager Cosanus* or *ager Falernus*); nonetheless, whenever he changes the scope to include larger areas, he invariably cleaves them into maritime zones and hinterlands.

⁵ A. ŁOŚ, "Dobrze urodzeni" i "dorbokiewiczze". *Studium socjologiczne elit miast kampańskich od Augusta do Domicjana*, Wrocław 1996.

⁶ See, e.g., M.I. ROSTOVTSSEFF, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1957, pp. 194 f.; A. CARANDINI, *La villa romana e la piantagione schiavistica*, in: A. SCHIAVONE (ed.), *Storia di Roma*, vol. IV: *Caratteri e morfologie*, Torino 1989, p. 117.

⁷ See, e.g., PATTERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 4); A. TCHERNIA, *Les Romains et le commerce*, Naples 2011, pp. 370–372.

historical period and preferred methodological approach⁸. In my study, I employ (in a slightly modified form) the approach of D. SLOOTJES⁹, which was in turn based on M. MANN's four-part IEMP model¹⁰. Accordingly, I chose to distinguish two groups among the local Campanian elites. The first one comprises those who wielded political and occasionally ideological power, its members identified by purely formal criteria, for instance an epigraphically certified membership in the *ordines decurionum* or a recorded performance of certain civic duties and public religious ceremonies. The second group was formed by freedmen and others who could not become decurions, as they were barred by their low socio-legal status and other factors. Nonetheless, I classified some of them as members of the municipal elites due to the fact that they wielded not inconsiderable economic power; affluent and generous, they engaged in acts of euergetism, supporting their local communities by financing, e.g. public works, feasts or distributions from their private funds (the *augustales* and others).

The main research aim of my dissertation was to systematically analyse and discuss the lives of the Campanian municipal elites in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE. The first chapter ("*Campania felix* or *Campania deserta?* – remarks on the Campanian economy of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries") discusses the general economic status of the region under the Antonines and Severans. A dissertation focused on the local elite cannot omit the economy, and therefore, I present and consider four events that in popular opinion could have caused the economic recession in that region: (1) the earthquake of 62 CE and the Vesuvian eruption of 79 CE; (2) the so-called process of latifundisation; (3) the rebuilding of the port at Ostia under Trajan, thought to occur at the expense of the Campanian port at Puteoli, and (4) the Antonine plague, which ravaged Campania and purportedly irreparably damaged its economic potential.

Two natural disasters in the latter half of the 1st century CE are known to have devastated the Campanian heartland, with local cities and vineyards ruined or buried under volcanic ash¹¹. Moreover, it has been claimed that Campanian coastal villas, formerly the popular resorts of the imperial elites, were almost

⁸ See ŁOŚ, *op.cit.* (n. 5), pp. 33–41.

⁹ D. SLOOTJES, *Local Elites and the Power in the Roman World: Modern Theories and Models*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLII 2011, pp. 235–249.

¹⁰ Its name comes from four types of power distinguished by the model: ideological (I), economic (E), military (M) and political (P) power.

¹¹ The serious economic consequences of these natural disasters have been discussed by the following authors: F. WIDEMANN, *Implications économiques des désastres volcaniques. Le court et le long terme dans le cas de Pompéi*, in: C. ALBORE LIVADIE, F. WIDEMANN (eds.), *Volcanologie et archéologie: Actes des Ateliers Européens de Ravello, 19–27 novembre 1987 et 30–31 mars 1989*, Strasbourg–Ravello 1990, pp. 217–231; U. PAPPALARDO, *Vesuvio. Grandi eruzioni e reinsediamenti*, in: E. LO CASCIO, A. STORCHI MARINO (eds.), *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, Bari 2001, pp. 435–453; TCHERNIA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 366 f.

completely abandoned after the catastrophes. The proponents of that view mention numerous deserted *villae maritimae* which were never rebuilt. Even though the data, especially the archaeological evidence, confirms the great extent of the damage, it also demonstrates that Campania was already experiencing a period of economic renewal under Trajan, with vineyards being established on the foothills of Vesuvius. To rise from the ashes in such a short period of time says something of the vitality of the Campanian economy¹². In contrast to many other scholars, I argue that the damage might not have been long-lasting. Furthermore, Campanian seaside resorts retained at least part of their popularity even after the Vesuvian eruption, as we know of many an emperor frequenting the picturesque areas near Baiae. In addition, the hypothesis about the general crisis in Campanian vineyards in this period does not appear completely justified. Although the quantities of wine exported from Campania to Rome sharply decreased after 79 CE, it should be noted that Campanian wines were known and drunk in Rome at least until the end of the Severan period¹³. Moreover, Campanian wines, despite the growing popularity of provincial wines, especially Aegean ones, enjoyed a steady local demand and were, in all probability, the most popular product of this kind in the indigenous market.

Those supporting the hypothesis of the post-Vesuvian winemaking crisis in Campania argue that it was caused not only by the environmental destruction, but also by the process of “latifundisation” that began in the early Principate, which means the concentration of land in the hands of the imperial elite¹⁴. According to these scholars, the latifundia owners preferred to farm extensively and this resulted in them moving away from viticulture to other crops. Consequently, the medium sized estates, which were the main source of income for the local aristocracy, began to disappear. One of the results of this process was the pauperisation of municipal notables. The available pieces of archaeological evidence are not sufficiently substantial to allow us to fully understand how “latifundisation” progressed in Campania. It is quite certain that the depopulation of the countryside and the abandonment of villas in this region did take place. However, the process progressed unevenly and it did not affect all regions in the same manner. The lands around Sinuessa and Venafrum had already suffered from its effects by the second half of the 1st century CE. Conversely, some areas, such as parts of the *ager Falernus* and lands around Suessa Aurunca, started to experience its

¹² See G. SORICELLI, *La regione vesuviana tra secondo e sesto secolo d.C.*, in: LO CASCIO, STORCHI MARINO (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 455–472.

¹³ See, e.g., C. PANELLA, A. TCHERNIA, *Agricultural Products Transported in Amphorae: Oil and Wine*, in: W. SCHEIDEL, S. VON REDEN (eds.), *The Ancient Economy*, Edinburgh 2002, pp. 173–188.

¹⁴ The problem of latifundia was discussed during the round table conference in Bordeaux in 1992 (*Du latifundium au Latifondo: un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne? Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale du CNRS organisée à l'Université Michel de Montaigne – Bordeaux III les 17–19 décembre 1992*, Paris 1995).

results on a greater scale only during the last decades of the 2nd century and early 3rd century CE¹⁵. Nonetheless, even in the mid-third century CE the Campanian winemaking industry was robust enough to export wines to the British Isles¹⁶.

The third factor that supposedly contributed to the Campanian economic recession in the period under discussion was the extension and development of the port at Ostia under Trajan. According to many scholars, the expansion of trade at Ostia occurred at the expense of the Campanian port at Puteoli, which lost a major share of its profits and sank into recession¹⁷. Nonetheless, extant sources indicate that the negative influence of Ostia on Puteoli has been overemphasised. Certainly the Campanian port may have lost part of its profits, but apparently it retained an influential position among other Italian harbours at least until the end of the Severan period.

The last factor that is claimed to have damaged the contemporary Campanian economy was the plague that ravaged the Roman Empire at the end of the Antonine period. Some researchers assert that the plague caused irreparable demographic damage, while others are more circumspect in their appraisals¹⁸. It is hard to find compelling arguments in Campanian sources to support either of these approaches. In fact, the plague coincided with the disappearance of inscriptions carved in the *sacellum augustalium* in Misenum during those years, as well as the puzzlingly strong presence of *curatores rei publicae* recorded at Puteoli. Unfortunately, it is notoriously difficult to date epigraphic and archaeological pieces of evidence with any certainty. Consequently, the Antonine plague, supposedly spread by legions returning from the East, remains somewhat of an enigma.

The appraisal in the first chapter of the economic condition of Campania in the period under discussion provides the basis for the second chapter (“The Campanian elites: income and expenses”), in which I examine the income

¹⁵ Much ink has been spilled on interpreting Campanian archaeological digs and finds. However, the incompleteness of surveys and diversity of methodologies applied to analyse finds often end in scholars arriving at vastly different conclusions, see, e.g., P. ARTHUR, *Romans in Northern Campania: Settlement and Landuse around the Massico and the Garigliano Basin*, London 1991; J.P. VALLAT, *Temps long et temps court, structures et conjonctures dans l'économie rurale de la Campanie romaine*, in: LO CASCIO, STORCHI MARINO (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 583–589.

¹⁶ P. ARTHUR, D. WILLIAMS, *Campanian Wine, Roman Britain and the Third Century A.D.*, JRA V 1992, pp. 250–260.

¹⁷ R. ANNECCHINO, *Storia di Pozzuoli e della zona flegrea*, Pozzuoli 1960, pp. 133 f.; S. DE CARO, *I Campi Felgrei in eta Romana*: in: F. ZEVİ *et al.* (eds.), *Museo Archeologico dei Campi flegrei, Catalogo generale*, vol. I: *Cumae*, Napoli 2008, p. 62.

¹⁸ No consensus has yet been reached on what the consequences of the Antonine plague were for Italy. A well-balanced and neutral summary of the discussion to-date can be found in a recent publication edited by the renowned Italian historian, E. LO CASCIO (*L'impatto della "peste antonina"*, Bari 2012); the work acknowledges the voices of both the proponents and opponents of the so-called traditional approach to the long-term consequences of the plague.

sources of the Campanian municipal elites. The preserved evidence indicates that the main source of profits for the members of the municipal elites was corn farming. Some might have specialized in viticulture; a portion of them might have produced amphorae as well. The landowners occasionally owned estates located in more than one *civitas*. However, the estates were never far removed from the owners' permanent residences and were usually located in Campania or neighbouring regions. Those who did not originally earn a living from the agricultural sector could also buy lands. The richest of the *augustales* – who as a group usually derived their income from trade, craft and financial activity – occasionally bought such estates. Interestingly, local nobles also dabbled in those sectors, especially in trade. More often than not they were *homines novi*, usually sons of freedmen. Their inclination to practice trades more risky than those of farming could be explained by their specific position in the hierarchy of the *ordines decurionum*.

To be classified as a member of the municipal elite, one not only had to be affluent, but one also had to spend money in a specific manner and the subsequent section of my dissertation considers how the elites flaunted their social standing by conspicuous consumption and euergetism. The preserved pieces of information on the private expenditure of some Campanian elites are fragmentary and inconclusive. In contrast, works and contributions to the public good of the *augustales* and members of the *ordines decurionum* were well recorded. In the Late Republican and Julio-Claudian times, the local elites contributed to municipal finances relatively often by raising and repairing buildings. In contrast, the elites in the Antonine-Severan period preferred to distribute money and hold public feasts. In all probability, this shift did not happen because the members of municipal elites lost their wealth – in fact, many of them, as the sources show us, were exceedingly rich. In my opinion, a more probable – but still only hypothetical due to the complexity of the problem – explanation is that the emperors gradually monopolized the practice of funding public buildings¹⁹. Notably, the majority of recorded acts of euergetism were performed in the municipalities of the coastal strip, which proves that those *civitates* and their elite must have been relatively affluent, in comparison to *municipia* and *coloniae* from other parts of Campania.

In the key part of my dissertation, I analyse and discuss the organisation and everyday functioning of the Campanian elites (Chapter Three: “The structure of municipal elites”). The analysed material indicates that aristocratic families only infrequently retained their social standing for more than one generation. The hypothesis that particular *gentes* could not be ranked among the *ordines*

¹⁹ For more information about this hypothesis, see, e.g., J.R. PATTERSON, *The Emperor and the Cities of Italy*, in: K. LOMAS, T. CORNELL (eds.), *Bread and Circus. Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*, London–New York 2002, pp. 89–104.

decurionum in a more permanent manner is in all probability not a result of the incomplete preservation of the source material. In Puteoli, where municipal records were the best preserved out of all the Campanian cities, only about 30 per cent of decurions in the Antonine-Severan period carried the same *nomen gentilicium* as the aristocrats of the preceding eras. The percentage is even smaller if one takes into account only the cases where the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* are carried over together. There are also no findings that let one suppose that during the period of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries the *ordines decurionum* were dominated by members of a few powerful families. In my view, the scale of this process could actually be similar to that of the one in Pompeii in the mid-first century CE, which means it was relatively low²⁰. Many *homines novi* held seats at the municipal councils, with up to 40 per cent of decurions coming from that social group. Again, descendants of freedmen formed the majority of *homines novi* in the municipal councils, although one might also mention the participation of many veterans and their offspring in Misenum or the presence of immigrants on the council of Puteoli. In contrast, the records mention relatively few *apparitores*. The aforementioned lack of generational continuity in Campania is especially visible in Capua.

In order to preserve their power and avert the dangers to succession from impoverishment or lack of offspring, the local nobles implemented long-term measures. Particularly efficient measures were those of adoptions and marriages. The inclusion of a person of a lower social status into the family by adoption or marriage apparently was not a concern for those wishing to prolong their social position and the well-being of their families.

In the light of these findings it can be claimed that the municipal elites of the times of the Antonines and Severans functioned in essentially the same way as their predecessors from the early Principate.

What changed was the structure of the *augustales*, whose descendants relatively often entered the *ordines decurionum*. It was clearly visible in the coastal Campanian cities, where former bodies of quasi-officials began to function as structured corporations. In many *civitates* of the coastal strip the *augustales* enjoyed a period of prosperity that lasted at least until the end of the Antonine age. Notably, in several cities, such as Misenum, the *augustales* gained a high degree of autonomy from the municipal councils; for instance they were granted the right to independently elect new members. The growing structural complexity of these *collegia* may be observed if one analyses the unique albums of the *augustales* from Liternum dated to the end of the Antonine period²¹. The records reflect an intricately organized group that was so untypically inclusive that it drew its members from men, women and slaves. There are not many pieces

²⁰ On the Pompeian *ordo decurionum*, see Łoś, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 213 f.

²¹ *AE* 2001, 853 = *SupIt* 25, 16; *AE* 2001, 854 = *SupIt* 25, 17.

of evidence supporting changes in the organization of the *augustales* in central Campania and in this light one can presume that local *collegia* were usually organized in a much more traditional way. The position of the *augustales* was especially strong in Capua, an important centre of regional and trans-regional trade. Interestingly, there are almost no public records of the activity of the *augustales* in many *civitates* situated in the hilly border zone; for instance, they are almost invisible in the epigraphic sources from Venafrum and Allifae from the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, even though these organisations often appear in the records from the 1st century CE. This may indeed indicate that this part of Campania experienced an economic downturn in the period under discussion.

In the final part of my dissertation, I discuss the members of the imperial elites who descend from the Campanian *civitates* (Chapter Four: “Equestrian and senatorial careers of Campanian citizens”). As we learn about their careers in the military, the imperial administration or the senate, we gain a better understanding of the initial social standing of the local elite and their promotion opportunities. In comparison to the Julio-Claudian age, the Antonine-Severan period was marked by a significant drop in the number of equestrian officials, officers and senators from Campania. However, it should be noted that the numbers of Campanian *equites* employed in the imperial administration rose sharply under the Severans, possibly due to the fact that the Severan emperors often visited the resort at Baiae. Also these *virī consulares* (the elite of the senate) who traced their descent from Campania were similarly numerous in the early Principate as in the 2nd century and the first decades of the 3rd century CE. In summary, Campania might have lost something of its former glory under the Antonines and Severans, but it was still a land that produced many outstanding members of the imperial elites.

This part of the dissertation is also where I discuss *curatores rei publicae* that were active in Campania. Almost all were members of the senatorial elites not previously linked to Campania. The records mention nineteen officials who, without any doubt, acted in the capacity of *curatores rei publicae*, the majority of them appointed under the late Antonines and then under the Severans. Their quite numerous representations in some places are not surprising if one considers how deeply these *civitates* (such as Nola) were affected by the economic downturn. One might wonder about their relatively strong recorded presence in affluent Puteoli. Since the curators were appointed to handle short-term financial crises, it is possible that they were ordered to deal with the transitory downturn brought on by the Antonine plague; the city itself probably did not experience serious economic difficulties²². Significantly, no record about the *curatores rei*

²² Older publications interpret the appearance of *curatores rei publicae* as proof of the city having lost its autonomy (see, e.g., F.F. ABBOT, A.C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, pp. 63, 112 f., 229–231). Nowadays, such strong opinions are usually

publicae appointed for Capua appears until the mid-third century CE. Many senators traced their descent from Capua and it cannot be ruled out that they might have given their city the financial assistance it required.

What therefore were the changes in the condition of the Campanian municipal elites in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE? It appears that the elites of the coastal cities, where the prosperity of the *augustales* and many acts of euergetism were recorded, were in the most favourable situation in Campania with regard to the economic sphere. This is also the area from which numerous members of the imperial elites traced their descent. The Antonine plague was a minor disturbance which was offset by the relative stability of the Severan period. The above is especially true for the *civitates* of the Bay of Naples. Conversely, the northern cities of the coastal strip such as Sinuessa were in all probability suffering from the effect of the recession that began in the 1st century CE. More difficult, compared to the coastal zone, was the situation of the cities of central Campania. Some of them, such as Nola or Nuceria, never recaptured their splendid past after the eruption of Vesuvius; other *civitates* suffered a crisis after the decline of prominent families who had played an important role in the Empire (e.g. Cales). The old capital of Campania, Capua, under the Severans at the latest, was also badly affected as indicated by the dramatic drop in the number of equestrians from this colony. The worst case scenario occurred in the hilly border zone. Almost no records of the *augustales* of the 2nd and early 3rd century CE survive from that region. In some towns – such as Allifae and Abellinum – in contrast to the 1st century CE, we find only very few names of local aristocrats. Venafrum might have fared slightly better – but only just. These remote cities and their elites must have been devastated by the economic downturn that this part of Campania experienced at that time. In light of these findings, the Antonine-Severan age in Campania must have been a period of transition, from glory to downfall, both the highs and lows of the land inextricably bound with those of its municipal elites.

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questioned; see, e.g., G. CAMODECA, *Ricerche sui curatores rei publicae*, ANRW XIII (1980), pp. 488 f.; H. GALSTERER, *Local and Provincial Institutions and Government*, in: *CAH* XI (2000), p. 346.

R.B. RUTHERFORD, *Greek Tragic Style. Form, Language and Interpretation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, XX + 491 pp., ISBN 978-05-218-4890-9 (hb.), £79.99 (hb.) / 22.99 (pb., 2014).

Furnishing a comprehensive overview of tragic poetics, the *Greek Tragic Style* was fathered by a scholar with an eye and appreciation for examples and, perhaps even more importantly, a scholar endowed with a wicked sense of humor. To encounter Douglas Adams' Vogon Poetry Appreciation apparatus right at the beginning of a very serious academic work was both surprising and simultaneously strikingly appropriate – the Classicists are, after all, prone to perceiving poetics through the critical lense of scholarship and literary theory rather than on a purely aesthetic level, thus only rarely opening themselves to pure aesthetic enjoyment.

The work opens with several reservations concerning the subject: having started with three illustrative examples of authors manipulating their language and poetic expression in a manner intended to evoke some *a priori* defined response from the audience (the examples being drawn from the *Choephorae*, *Oedipus Coloneus* and *Bacchae*, and thus illustrating the choices of three great Athenian tragedians) Richard B. RUTHERFORD (= R.) rightly stresses the difficulties involved in the definition of style, particularly when one is dealing with works far removed from our *Fachwort* imbued and (literary) theory-wise reality. He then moves into a discussion of the tragic genre itself, the discussion being of necessity general and synchronic (for his purposes it is important to have a more or less stable concept of tragedy as a form – this certainly does not imply that R. is blind to the fluidity and openness of the genre: however, he needs a framework against which to operate). In this introductory chapter, he pays considerable attention to the idea of tragic diction predominant in the real world Aeschylus and Euripides inhabited, illustrating his point with references to Aristophanes' *Acharneis*, Aristotle's *Poetics* and Pseudo-Longinus *On the Sublime*.

The first foray into the actual style of Classical tragedy is conducted in Chapter Three, and consists of a discussion of the stylistic devices employed to create the predominant mood of a given play; here, R. considers tragedians' use of names and of the forms of address they tend to favour – all in all, he focuses on the lexical aspects of the style. The discussion abounds in examples drawn principally from the Orestes plays: after all, the hero is notoriously reticent about his name, and the act of withholding the name plays an important part in the plot of all three "return" plays. Next comes the Euripidean *Heracles*, where the illustrious name of the hero, the name denoting the slayer of many a beast, clashes violently with the grisly actuality of murder and pollution. Finally, R. discusses Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, a play displaying particular subtlety in its employment of personal names and quite clearly exploring the intricacies of the name vs. name-bearer relationship. The chapter ends with an overview of the existing bibliography – it was with considerable satisfaction that I found a mention of SMEREKA's often forgotten *opus magnum*, the *Studia Euripidea* there.

The chapter on imagery (pp. 119–162) covers the crucial problems related to the tragic use of *similia* and metaphors – why, after all, is Orestes likened to a serpent, while the tragedy itself abounds in frequent mentions of the forthcoming dawn? Are the *similia* intended to be straightforward or is there a complexity, or even a contradiction between the images that are evoked – these are the questions facing anyone attempting to consider the subject. And while R.'s brief treatment is no match for more detailed approaches exemplified e.g. by BARLOW's magisterial work¹, it serves

¹ S. BARLOW, *The Imagery of Euripides*, London 1971.

to illuminate the individual idiosyncrasies of the three great tragedians, providing the reader with a valuable introduction to the matter and, perhaps even more importantly, making him aware of the dangers intrinsic in overinterpretation. R. outlines the possible meaning of recurrence and uniqueness when applied to tragic imagery, highlighting the many possibilities open to the tragedian; he also pays some attention to visions: images absent from the stage and existing solely in the fevered mind of a hero (the Aeschylean Cassandra being possibly the most persuasive example).

Carried out in two separate chapters, the discussion of actual tragic style understood as tragic diction is divided between “spoken” and “lyric” passages – the division which results is particularly appropriate given the many conceptual differences separating the two. For each of these, R. conducts more detailed analyses of particular techniques employed in a number of passages taken from all three dramatists. One notes a preference for Aeschylus and, most importantly, Sophocles – nevertheless, several Euripidean passages emerge in the course of discussion. To provide a glimpse of his preferred method of exposition: when discussing the *stichomythia*, R. uses the famous recognition scenes of the *Choephorae* and the two *Electras* as his example of relevant poetic technique, with the immediate effect of highlighting the relative complexity of Sophocles’ and Euripides’ passages, with their employment of *antilabe* and *disticha* when contrasted with the stark simplicity of Aeschylus’ exchanges. Similarly, he employs the Oedipus–Teiresias exchange in the *OR* for the importance and dynamics of stichomythic exchange as a vehicle of emotionally laden or otherwise pregnant scenes. Then the *Orestes* is employed as an example illustrating the varied prologue techniques (pp. 186–190), while several pages are devoted to various opportunities offered by the introduction of the formal *agon* (as exemplified by the *Hippolytus* and *Ajas*, pp. 190–200), or of messenger speeches (Aeschylus’ *Persae* and *Supplices*, Euripides’ *Orestes*, Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Oedipus Coloneus*, pp. 100–116). R. carefully highlights the most noticeable features of each of these forms, signalling the preferred place of interaction with the Athenian reality, the usual location of gnomic remarks, and the overall importance of the position of the passage within the larger framework of the section.

Chapter Seven (pp. 283–322) focuses on the art of characterisation: R. pays considerable attention to the manner in which language was deployed by the tragedians in order to provide their audiences with some insight into the inner mechanics of decision making, bringing them closer to some understanding of a character portrayed onstage. Here, the chosen case studies include the Watchman of the *Agamemnon*’s prologue, the Aeschylean Clytemnestra (contrasted with another treacherous wife, Deianeira), Neoptolemus, Hippolytus and, last but not least, Medea. One immediately notes the prominent presence of Sophoclean heroes: in contrast with scholars sharing Tycho von WILLAMOWITZ’S low opinion of Sophocles’ psychology, R. makes a convincing case for the dramatist’s insightful portrayal of complex and deeply humane individuals.

When studying language, one is inevitably confronted with issues of irony – R. deals with this particular aspect of tragic language in Chapter Eight (pp. 323–364): as before, his overview is general yet hardly generalizing. In carefully distinguishing between various forms of irony as it appears in tragic literature, he pays particular attention to that masterpiece of divine vengefulness (or malice), Dionysus of the *Bacchae*. He also highlights the usages stemming from the more general understanding of irony (i.e. the situation when words spoken by a character acquire a meaning hidden from the speaker or his immediate audience). The chapter is supplemented by a valuable appendix outlining the possibilities offered by metatextual irony.

Finally, the last chapter deals with the many aspects of wisdom as present in tragedy (pp. 365–398) – here, R. tackles issues of paramount importance in scholarship on tragedy: the issue of gods and divinity, the interference of new philosophical ideas, and finally, possible metatheatrical elements. Issues of considerable complexity are discussed here, such as the use and possible meaning of the *deus ex machina* solution, the introduction of personified abstract concepts such as Justice, Equality, etc. (the most famous instance being the Polyneices–Eteocles *agon* in the *Phoenissae*), but also the possible impact wrought by the inclusion of (para)philosophical elements in the tragic context.

To conclude, this is a wonderful book. While not a monographic study of an individual author or feature, it manages to steer clear of the dangers of oversimplification and excessive generalizing that remain a threat to any comprehensive approach to a genre – at no time is the reader in doubt that this is only a sketch, an outline of principal, predominant preferences, that many more problems remain to be investigated and considered should we want to have a detailed image of a tragic messenger speech or, indeed, an individual drama. Indeed, if I had to choose an introductory work for an aspiring student of Greek tragedy, I would choose R.'s monograph. It is comprehensive yet avoids generalizations, portraying a relatively flexible, living genre. In carefully balancing detailed analyses and a synthetic approach, it provides the reader with a lucid, persuasive and erudite introduction to one of the most fascinating fields within the realm of Classical studies.

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Fiona LEIGH (ed.), *The Eudemian Ethics on the Voluntary, Friendship and Luck. The Sixth S.V. Keeling Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy*, Leiden–Boston: E.J. Brill, 2012 (Philosophia Antiqua 132), XXIX + 197 pp., ISBN: 978-90-042-2536-7, €108.00.

Compared to its better known (and by universal agreement younger) sister, the *Eudemian Ethics* appears not to have fared well in modern scholarship: even in spite of the torrid discussions concerning the so called common books¹ it remains, at least in the eyes of a considerable number of Classicists (and historians of philosophy), “the other” ethical work by Aristotle, the poor relation of that masterwork of ethical thought that came to exercise such an enormous influence on later philosophical thought, namely the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Due to its corrupt manuscript tradition, and to the problem of “common books” which often caused the *Eudemian* to be transcribed only partially, with only necessary reference to the *Nicomachean* left to clarify the situation, the resulting work as we know it is difficult, sometimes convoluted and at other times merely repetitive. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that we are accustomed to depreciate or ignore it, comfortable in the firm belief that it suffers in comparison with its twin both in content and in formal execution. And yet – yet, for an Aristotelian scholar, the *Eudemian* is a trove of immense worth, a litmus paper by which to judge the complexity and development of the Stagirite’s thought, but also a work of considerable interest in itself: after all, its considerations of the voluntary, of friendship and of the concept of autonomous actions prove to be of considerable interest in their own right, not only as the poorer counterparts of the masterly discussion in the *Nicomachean*.

The volume, a product of the highly regarded S.V. Keeling Colloquia, comprises five studies, their content briefly outlined by Brad INWOOD and Fiona LEIGH in an Introduction which also emphasizes the vagaries of transmission (pp. I–XIX). The sequence in which the actual studies appear reflects – to a certain degree – the arrangement of matters in the work itself: starting with David CHARLES’ discussion of the voluntary as presented in Book Two, it concludes with Friedemann BUDDENSIECK’S consideration of *eutychia*, thus relating to Book Eight. The essays vary in length, the longest being Jennifer WHITING’S comprehensive analysis of VII 12 (pp. 77–154). They also display considerable differences of approach: from the impressive formalisations of CHARLES, through the imaginative and erudite extrapolations of McCABE and the detailed close reading and textual criticism in WHITING, to the hermeneutic proficiency of BUDDENSIECK. The result is a varied and fascinating collection illustrative both of the methodological variety of modern approaches to the philosophical (or Aristotelian) text and, at the same moment, of the complexity of issues related to the interpretation of the Aristotelian work.

Opening the sequence, CHARLES’ essay on the *Eudemian* understanding of the voluntary improves on KENNY’S interpretation² in clearly delineating the differences which separate the account in the *Eudemian Ethics* from that known from the *NE*, but also in highlighting the importance of nature (*physis*) in the respective definition: as a result, the *EE* account emerges as the less legalistic and more “Kantian” in its outline, providing in its turn an additional argument for the transmission and fates of the *Nicomachean Ethics* with its characteristic emphasis on knowledge and act of choice (the middle way would be attested by V 8, the “common books” account).

Next, Christopher ROWE seeks to outline the *Eudemian*’s concept of love: this is a rare case of a nearly total absence of comparisons with the *NE* account – this has the interesting result of portraying the *Eudemian* as a self-standing philosophical treatise. His actual focus is on the love of

¹ Cf. A. KENNY, *The Aristotelian Ethics. A Study of the Relationship between the Eudemian and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, Oxford 1978.

² Cf. A. KENNY, *Aristotle’s Theory of Will*, London 1979, pp. 1–68.

things as present in the concept of *philia*, the argument drawing on the earlier studies of PRICE and BROADIE³. It must be said that this essay leaves the reader with a profound appetite for more – it is indeed to be hoped that true to his promise, ROWE will continue to work on the *Eudemian*.

Both McCABE and WHITING focus on *EE* VII 12 (the self-sufficient and his/her friends). Both, interestingly, refer to a Platonic context: yet, where McCABE sees the possible parallels in the *Symposium* (or in the Aristophanic image of entity divided), WHITING goes for the Socratic discussion of a pleasant life in the *Philebus*. The resulting interpretations are radically different, yet each proves in a way persuasive. Thus, the image painted by McCABE is of tragically maimed humanity, of even the most perfect of us being forced to seek companionship by the very imperfection of our nature. Meanwhile, the reading of WHITING offers the complex image of intellectual pleasure stemming from the contemplation of the object most perfect, all the while coloured by the Aristotelian remark concerning the peripheral nature of our self-perception. WHITING'S is an impressive and carefully woven argument: based on the careful reconstruction of the Aristotelian text (VII 12 remains extremely unclear and riddled with textual problems related to the original form of the text with its accumulation of pronouns, a fact obscured by the necessary fluency of any translation), it argues for the pleasure element as crucial in a self-sufficient man's need for a friend. In relying on parallels with the *Philebus* and *Metaphysics* Lambda, her argument rests upon the perfection of the object of perception as essential to the worth of the latter as well as on the peripheral nature of human self-perception – contrary to divine intellect, we are capable of perceiving ourselves only peripherally, while our intellect, a fact well known from the *De anima*, assumes in a way a form of the actual object of perception. Incidentally, even if one remains unmoved by the beauties of the *Eudemian Ethics* itself, WHITING'S contribution, often going for the original *lectio difficilior*, constitutes a valuable lesson in the importance of textual research and a persuasive warning against interpreting Aristotle without keeping a close eye on his text. In fact, it is easy to think that any future inquiry into VII 12 will have to account for her reading.

Finally, BUDDENSIECK'S discussion of luck as a component of human affairs provides a study of the notion of *eutychia* as discussed in the *EE*. The complexity of the subject and its elusiveness, not to mention the elliptical nature of Stagirite's treatment in the *EE*, provide incentive enough for an in-depth consideration. Unfortunately, they also put very unusual demands on the exegete, who is in a way forced to rely on assumptions that cannot be supported with textual references. As a consequence, the resulting essay is difficult and – one may say – very Aristotelian in tone: one almost wishes for a separate commentary on BUDDENSIECK on Aristotle.

To conclude: this is a worthy volume, a welcome addition to Aristotelian studies in general, to the studies on the Stagirite's ethics in particular, and also, incidentally, a reminder of the development undergone by Aristotelian ethical thought, which because of the *Nicomachean* we tend to view as homogenous. It is also a testimony to the multiplicity of approaches to philosophical works that are characteristic in modern scholarship. And while not a work for an uninitiated Classicist (or, for that matter, for an uninitiated historian of philosophy), it offers considerable rewards to those acquainted with the intricacies of Aristotelian philosophy. Stanley KEELING would be pleased.

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³ Cf. A. PRICE, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford 1997; S. BROADIE, Ch. ROWE, *Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics*, Oxford 2002.

Jan Felix GAERTNER, Bianca C. HAUSBURG, *Caesar and the Bellum Alexandrinum: An Analysis of Style, Narrative Technique, and the Reception of Greek Historiography*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013 (Hypomnemata 192), 372 pp., ISBN 978-35-252-5300-7, €89.99.

For centuries Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and *De Bello Civili* were the most popular and useable texts for those learning elementary Latin, a fact which seems to have influenced, to a certain extent, how scholars approached them. They focused more on the grammatical and syntactical phenomena to be found in the texts, as well as on their historical content. As a result, aspects of their literary value and their contribution to the development of Roman historiography were not studied sufficiently. From that perspective, the remaining works that make up the *Corpus Caesarianum* were studied even less.

This omission is successfully remedied by the present multifaceted study by Jan Felix GAERTNER and Bianca C. HAUSBURG [= G&H], which focuses on the language and historiographical technique of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* and investigates the crucial question of its authorship, while also shedding light on numerous aspects of the entire *Corpus Caesarianum*, as well as on matters relating to narrative technique and genre development.

After a very brief Introduction (pp. 13 f.) that presents the scope and gives a general outline of the book, in Chapter 2: "The *Bellum Alexandrinum* and the *Corpus Caesarianum*" (pp. 15–30) G&H discuss in depth the ancient testimonia regarding both the publication of the *Corpus Caesarianum* and the relation between pseudo-Caesarian and authentic Caesarian works. Special emphasis is given to Aulus Hirtius' famous *Epistula ad Balbum*, which precedes the eighth book of the *Bellum Gallicum* and has so far puzzled scholars. Having reviewed the relevant evidence and meticulously scrutinised all the previous hypotheses, suggestions and interpretations, G&H adopt the view of a posthumous publication of Caesar's *De Bello Civili* and give plausible interpretations as regards Hirtius' project to continue the Caesarian *Commentarii* (endorsing in many respects here [pp. 27–29] SEEL's relevant suggestions, although they reach quite different conclusions in the end).

The next two chapters constitute the core of the present study. The discussion of the language and style of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* that dominates Chapter 3 (pp. 31–73) is inevitably connected to the question of authorship. Based largely on linguistic evidence, G&H, by means of sound arguments, first reject both the traditional attribution of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* to Hirtius and the hypothesis of the anonymous dilettante and then advocate an analytical approach; this leads to the conclusion that the work is a heterogeneous text with a Caesarian core in *B.Alex.* 1–21. Not only do G&H scrutinise and successfully invalidate the various objections to this approach (relating both to the language and to the contents of the work), but they also add new linguistic evidence that corroborates the view of the highly heterogeneous character of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*. In particular, they identify further Caesarian expressions in *B.Alex.* 1–21 (collected in appendices E.2 and I.1), which reinforce the thesis of a Caesarian core in this part of the work, while, by analysing the differences in vocabulary and diction as well as the multiple stylistic discrepancies within the *Bellum Alexandrinum* (as regards e.g. the use of relative clauses and connective relatives, sentence-initial ablative absolutes, sentence-initial verbs, connective adverbs and particles, conjunctions), they persuasively demonstrate that the stylistic variation of the work (especially between chapters 1–21 and 22–78) contradicts the attribution of the whole *Bellum Alexandrinum* to a single author and thus that it is "rather an assemblage of two (or more) different reports" (p. 73). As a result, G&H renew the previous discussions on which they have built their case and the question of authorship seems to take a decisive turn.

The main conclusion of Chapter 3 is significantly reinforced by the observations in Chapter 4: "Literary technique and historiographical method" (pp. 74–154). As G&H make evident here, the discrepancies that exist within the *Bellum Alexandrinum* are not restricted to matters of language

and style, but extend to several levels. In this framework, they efficiently demonstrate that the density and quality of the historical information varies considerably, since there are sections which are based on firsthand knowledge of the topography or the events described, and which seem to be the memories of an eye-witness, while other sections are marked by a different degree of historiographical precision and noteworthy differences in focus. This is also the case with the presentation and evaluation of historical events, as the seemingly objective presentation of the historical facts in *B.Alex.* 1–21 does not continue in the later chapters, which are pregnant with political and ethical comments and are characterised by a greater emphasis on emotions. The way Caesar, his troops and his enemies are presented is aptly regarded as indicative of the above. The next inconsistency noted by G&H concerns the underlying concepts of historical change and, by extension, the relation of human and divine agency: although in *B.Alex.* 1–21 the historical events are presented as causally determined and the approach to history is rational, in the later chapters the favour of the immortal gods and the influence of Fortune appear as decisive factors in the course of events. In the next section of Chapter 4 it is demonstrated that *B.Alex.* 1–21 and some later sections also differ in the temporal perspective of the narrative: while in *B.Alex.* 1–21 the events are presented in chronological order and the outcome of the war appears to be still open, in some later sections the events are described from a retrospective vantage point. This fact, as G&H rightly conclude, “lends further support to the view that the *Bellum Alexandrinum* consists of several narratives that were originally composed independently and by different authors” (p. 122). In the final section of Chapter 4 (which could constitute a new Chapter) G&H examine how the *Bellum Alexandrinum* relates to earlier Greek and Roman historiography and consider the implications thereof for the question of authorship. As they correctly observe, this is another level on which chapters 1–21 and 22–78 differ remarkably, since the former follow the Thucydidean literary tradition (also adopted by Caesar in his authentic *Commentarii*), while in the latter the influence of Hellenistic historiography (probably through earlier Roman historiography), which indulges in “tragic” elements, prevails. Without doubt, Chapter 4 in its entirety is a very significant and original contribution to the study of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* and efficiently illuminates many aspects of its composition.

In Chapter 5: “The publication of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* and its historical context” (pp. 155–163) one comes across a number of interesting speculations with regard to the end of Caesar’s *Bellum Civile* at *Civ.* III 112, 3, biographical information that supports the analysis in the previous chapters and comments on the possible political purpose and early reception of the *Corpus Caesarianum*. The main conclusions of the whole study are succinctly gathered in pp. 164 f.

Almost half of the book consists of a plethora of appendices (pp. 167–305). They deal with a variety of topics relating to the discussions in the main part of the study and corroborate the arguments presented there. G&H have here undertaken a painstaking task and have brought it to a successful conclusion. The Appendices are followed by an extensive Bibliography (pp. 306–329) and elegant Indexes (pp. 330–372).

As we are informed in the Preface (p. 5), this book is the product of longstanding research (beginning in 2005). This labour is implicitly reflected in the high quality of this meticulous study. The authors are well versed in the texts they explore and exhibit excellent knowledge of the relevant bibliography. They combine both traditional and modern perspectives and enrich previous discussions with fresh ideas and evidence. As a rule, the arguments are clear and compelling, allowing the authors to reach safe conclusions, while the different views are fiercely challenged.

I have noted some insignificant errors, typos and inconsistencies, which by no means diminish the value of the study. Cf., for instance, p. 98, line 7: “bad been manned”, instead of “had been manned”, p. 309 (in DAVIDSON’S article): “Polybios”, instead of “Polybius”. On p. 327 (regarding WALBANK’S first article) we read “*Journal of Hellenistic Studies*”, instead of “*Journal of Hellenic Studies*”, while the correct volume is 58, not 55. Vergil’s *Aeneid* is inconsistently abbreviated: p. 128, n. 206: *Verg. A.* 3.260–2, but p. 337: *Aen.* 6.1–2. On p. 137 it is implied that the “focus on emotions” is a characteristic of the early chapters of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, but cf. p. 93: “the later chapters put greater emphasis on emotions”.

To conclude, G&H have produced a rich, well-researched and insightful book which offers sound and fruitful observations about many complex issues concerning the *Bellum Alexandrinum*. It is expected to determine our views and interpretations of the work and thus its authors deserve to be congratulated for this outstanding study.

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Krystyna TUSZYŃSKA, *Dyskurs Diona z Prusy w „Mowach o królestwie“*. *Mariaż retoryki z filozofią* [„Der Diskurs Dions von Prusa in den Königsreden. Mariage der Rhetorik mit der Philosophie“], Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2013, 334 S., ISBN 978-83-232-2547-8, PLN 22.00.

Die Autorin der Monografie über die Königsreden von Dion von Prusa versucht, eine Antwort auf die schon von H. VON ARNIM gestellte Frage zu finden, ob ihr Verfasser ein Rhetor und Sophist oder eher ein Philosoph war.

Das Buch beginnt mit der Einleitung, in der die neuesten Veröffentlichungen über Dion vorgestellt werden. Ich vermisse darin das Buch von J.F. KINDSTRAND, *Homer in der zweiten Sophistik*, Uppsala 1973, in dem alle Anspielungen Dions auf Homer analysiert wurden, also auch jene in den Königsreden.

Im ersten Kapitel: „Das Verhältnis der Philosophie zur Rhetorik“ – unterstrich die Autorin, dass diese beiden Bereiche in der griechischen Kultur miteinander wettstreiten, angefangen von Platon, der meint, dass die Kultivierung der Rhetorik mit der Philosophie verbunden sein sollte, da die so ausgeübte Rhetorik dem Individuum und dem Staat dient. Hier erfolgt die Frage, ob Dion ein Sophist oder ein Philosoph war. In der Kaiserzeit durchdringen Rhetorik und Philosophie einander dermaßen, dass Philostratos Dion als „Philosoph in den Kleidern eines Sophisten“ bezeichnen konnte. Zutreffend ist die Bemerkung, dass die Philosophen darüber sprechen, was allgemein ist, während die Sophisten konkrete Dinge zum Gegenstand ihrer Ausführungen machten und sie durch eine schauspielerische Auftrittsweise charakterisiert waren, was Philostratos in der *Vitae Sophistarum* unterstrich. Dion geht in seinem Bemühen, Berater Trajans zu sein, in den königlichen Reden über den rhetorischen Rahmen dieser Reden hinaus, als er die Theorie des Königtums vorstellt, die von der kosmischen göttlichen Ordnung, wie es A. DIHLE (*Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis Justinian*, München 1989, S. 240) bezeichnete, legitimiert wird, was ihn zu den Philosophen zählen lässt.

Hier stellt die Autorin verkürzt das Leben Dions dar, in dem die Verbannung aus Rom und dem heimatlichen Prusa durch Domitian eine wichtige Rolle spielte, was bewirkte, dass aus dem Sophisten ein Philosoph wurde, begünstigt durch *paideia*, die Bildung, die ihn für eine privilegierte Stelle in der gesellschaftlichen Elite vorsah. Dadurch wurde aus dem Griechen ein Römer, aber auch ein Mitglied der „philosophischen Familie“, und die Rede war sein literarisches Instrument der Überlieferung.

Hier wurde auch (in der Anmerkung) die Frage um das *corpus Dioneum* angesprochen, in dem die Reden 34, 37 und 63 als nicht authentisch angesehen werden. Schade, dass die Autorin dazu nicht das Werk von M. CYTOWSKA: *De Dionis Chrysostomi rhythmo oratorio*, Varsoviae 1952, erwähnte, in dem die These ihrer Nichtauthentizität durch überzeugende Beweise in Anlehnung an die Analyse aller großen und kleinen Klauseln in der Prosa Dions beurteilt wurde. Da die drei erwähnten Reden in dieser Hinsicht von der Anwendung der Klauseln in den übrigen Reden abweichen, entscheiden diese Aufzählungen über deren Nichtauthentizität.

Dieses Kapitel endet mit der treffenden Feststellung, dass man Dion, obwohl er dem Kynismus nahe stand, keiner philosophischen Schule zurechnen kann und dass sein Wegweiser in der Philosophie, ähnlich wie auch bei Plutarch, der gesunde Verstand war.

Das zweite Kapitel ist den Bemerkungen von Menander Rhetor zu den Königsreden sowie der Analyse der ersten, wahrscheinlich aus dem Jahr 100, gewidmet. Die Autorin analysiert hier bündig den *Euagoras* von Isokrates, um zu zeigen, dass das Schema dieser Lobrede auf jenen Imperator auf ähnliche Weise zu den Hinweisen Menanders kam, wie die Lobrede von Agesilaos, bearbeitet von Xenophon. Sie nimmt auch an, dass Menander von den Königsreden Dions Gebrauch gemacht hatte. Ihrer Meinung nach wurden vier Königsreden in Rom gehalten. In seinem Lob auf den Kaiser Trajan bauschte er dessen Vorzüge auf und vermied alles, was zweideutig sein könnte. Sein

göttlicher Vater ist Zeus, daher die Gläubigkeit des Kaisers und seine geradezu göttliche Sorge um die Menschen, die Isokrates noch nicht kannte. Charakteristisch für Trajan ist auch sein Verstand und seine Freunde sind des Weltherrschers würdig. Die Verfasserin unterstreicht treffend, dass sich Dion hier im Kreis der sokratischen und stoischen Gedankenwelt bewegt, indem er feststellt, dass man im Einklang mit dem Logos leben sollte. Ein kynischer Akzent ist, dass alle Menschen einander gleich sind, womit er sich gegen die Sklaverei ausspricht, was an die zehnte Rede über Diogenes erinnert. Sie geht geschickt zum Mythos von Herakles, dem König der ganzen Welt, über. Hermes führt ihn über zwei Gipfel: den königlichen von Zeus, zu dem ein steiler Pfad führt. Dort sitzt die ehrwürdige Basileia, in weiße Gewänder gekleidet. Der zweite gehört dem furchtbaren Typhon und wird von Tyrannis eingenommen. Als Herakles gefragt wird, welchen Weg er einschlagen will, wählt er den königlichen als den wahrhaft göttlichen, wenn auch schwierigen. Nach dem Willen Zeus' übernahm er die Herrschaft über alle Menschen und da er alle rechtmäßigen Könige unterstützt, so unterstützt er auch Trajan. Die Autorin meint, dass eine der Quellen dieser Erzählung die Tradition ist, die die Gestalt Herakles' mit der Ethik der Kyniker verbindet, die zweite ist die religiöse Überzeugung des Kaisers, dessen Schutzgott doch Herakles war. Interessant sind hier die Bemerkungen zur anonymen und aus fast dem gleichen Zeitraum stammenden *Tabula Cebetis*, in deren Text ebenfalls die allegorischen Paideia und Pseudopaideia dargestellt wurden, wie auch die Notiz zum Kult des Herakles, der eine Verkörperung des die Schwierigkeiten liebenden kynischen Herrschers ist. Die erste Königsrede diente wohl jener politisch-religiösen Interpretierung des Herakleskultes, der Kontrast zwischen Basileia und Tyrannis hingegen bezog sich auf den Vergleich von Trajan mit Domitian. Der Exkurs über das Vaterland des Herrschers und dessen Herkunft musste den Gegebenheiten angepasst werden, denn Trajan wies keine königliche Abstammung vor. Hier führt Dion die von Gott abstammende Herrschaft an und der Mythos von Herakles sollte das gleichsam bestätigen. Der letzte Satz der Rede, die dem Herakles den Herrscher empfiehlt, ist ein eleganter, aber von Schmeichelei weit entfernter Abschluss. Dion ist sich seiner Würde bewusst und erniedrigt sich nie vor dem Kaiser.

Interessant ist auch der Vergleich dieser Königsrede mit der in derselben Zeit entstandenen Lobesrede von Plinius zu Ehren Trajans, in der jener hohe kaiserliche Bedienstete zu faktografischen Daten über die Herrschaft des Kaisers greift, was die *gratiarum actio* forderte, wozu aber Dion als privater Bürger nicht verpflichtet war.

Das dritte Kapitel befasst sich mit den übrigen drei Königsreden. Die zweite Rede, als eine Königsrede im homerischen Stil, ist ein Dialog von Philip und Alexander über Homer. Trajan ist dort mit Alexander identisch, der hört, dass ein guter König einem solchen Herrscher nahekommen sollte, wie ihn Homer in Agamemnon darstellt, indem er an einen Stier erinnert, der an der Spitze der Herde schreitet. Die Autorin behauptet, dass Dion hier Homer ausführlich zitiert. Mir scheint, dass J.F. KINDSTRAND (s.o.) der Wahrheit näher kommt, da er meint, dass für die Autoren der Zweiten Sophistik jener Dichter ein sehr talentierter Erzieher und ein Lexion der Weisheit ist, weshalb er vielfach zitiert wurde. Ich würde hier noch die Ähnlichkeit des kleinen Werkes von Philodemos von Gadara *Über den guten König nach Homer* angeben. Das von Dion vorgelegte allgemeine Konzept der monarchischen Macht als etwas Göttlichen lässt jegliche Abhängigkeit der analysierten Rede von den Texten des Epikuräers aus dem 1. Jh. v.u.Z. ausschließen. Sie zeugt jedoch davon, dass verschiedene Autoren seinerzeit über ähnliche Themen auf ähnliche Weise schrieben. Die Autorin suggeriert wohl nicht zutreffend, dass Dion in dieser Rede darauf hinaus wollte, dass ihn Trajan auf seinen dakischen Feldzug mitnahm.

Die vierte Rede (diese Reihenfolge wählte die Autorin) ist ein Gespräch von Alexander mit Diogenes, in dem der Herrscher fragt, wie man gut regieren könnte, und er hört, dass Zeus selbst das Vorbild seiner Handlungen sein sollte, von dem er Tapferkeit und Großmut lernen sollte. Das Leben eines jeden Menschen wird vom Daimonion geleitet, das sich in der Liebe zu Reichtum, Genuss oder Ruhm zeigen kann. Zu einem König passt das königliche Daimonion, das ein Anteil von Herakles war, was ein deutlicher kynischer Akzent der Rede ist. Die Autorin meint, dass diese Rede von allen vier Reden am meisten vom panegyrischen Ton gekennzeichnet ist und sie ist nicht damit einverstanden, dass sie noch in der domitianischen Zeit entstanden sein konnte.

Ihrer Meinung nach könnte jedoch die Missbilligung des Genusses, Reichtums und Ruhmes eine Anspielung auf die Zeit Domitians sein. Ich würde hier die Form als solche des Gesprächs Alexanders mit Diogenes zu dem moralischen Themen unterstreichen, in dem der Kyniker den König tadelt und ihn streng belehrt. In der Sammlung der kynischen Diatriben im Genfer Papyrus Nr. 271 aus Kairo (V. MARTIN, MH XVI 1959, S. 77–115), die auf die erste Hälfte des 2. Jh. datiert ist, befinden sich einige Gespräche eines indischen Philosophen mit Alexander, in denen der Weise den König auch belehrt, nicht das Gold zu begehren, sondern sich besser um einen guten Ruf zu bemühen. Dieser Text ist ein deutlicher Beweis dafür, dass eine Form der Diatribe über die Macht der Dialog Alexanders des Großen mit einem der Philosophen war, wobei das letzte Wort dem Philosophen gehörte.

Die letzte Rede kann man als sokratische bezeichnen. Wo Sokrates die Frage, ob der Perserkönig glücklich ist, nicht beantworten konnte, befand sich Dion im Bezug auf Trajan in einer besseren Lage, da er den König kennt, dem Schmeicheleien keine Freude bereiten. Über die Größe eines Menschen entscheiden seine Tugenden. Ein Herrscher, der nur an sich denkt, wird zum Tyrannen. Unter den drei Regierungsformen: Monarchie, Aristokratie und Demokratie ist die Monarchie die beste, denn sie ähnelt der Regierung Gottes. Ein guter König kann nicht ohne Freunde auskommen. Hier folgt eine unproportional lange Ausführung über die Freundschaft. Letztendlich rät der Redner dem Kaiser, eine gesunde Lebensweise zu führen. Schade, dass die Autorin bei der Interpretierung dieser Rede die Meinung von Philostratos übergangen hat, der in der *Vita Apollonii* meint, dass Dion eine demokratische Gesellschaftsordnung für Rom wünschen würde (V 33) und Vespasian empfahl, dass er darauf einginge, wenn er Kaiser wird. Man kann daher mit der Meinung der Autorin, dass Dion der Demokratie deutlich nicht vertraute, kaum einverstanden sein. In der Analyse dieser Rede stellt sie fest, dass der König bei Dion die Kardinaltugenden eines Herrschers besitzt, die den sokratischen Philosophen bekannt sind, bereichert durch die Vorzüge des kynisch-stoischen Ideals. Die Sorge um die Menschen ist seine Pflicht und die Mühe bereitet ihm Freude, wodurch dieser Auftritt friedfertigen Charakter trägt. Dion wird hier zum Sprecher der Imperialpolitik Trajans.

Da im Titel des Buches die Königsreden Dions benannt werden, würde ich noch die Analyse der 36. Rede („Borysthenischen“) hinzufügen. Die Rede beinhaltet einen Vortrag über den Staat, den der Herrscher im Einklang mit dem Recht regieren sollte, was an einen einträchtigen Chor erinnert, den er wie eine gute Koryphäe führt – der beste König ähnlich dem Zeus. Diese Rede bezieht sich auf Olbia, deren Bild idealisiert wurde. K.M. TROFIMOVA (VDI 1959, S. 151 f.) meint, dass die ideologische Aussage dieses Auftritts eine weitere Legitimierung der monarchischen Herrschaft ist. Der Rhetor benutzte hier dieselbe Technik, wie in der ersten Königsrede. So wie er dort die Überlegenheit der Monarchie durch den Mythos von Herakles am Scheideweg belegte, so hier durch die Offenbarung von Zarathustra. Deren Vortrag ist mit der Zeit des ersten Dakerkrieges verbunden.

Die Autorin bewies in ihrem Buch, dass Dion in den Königsreden nicht nur sein rhetorisches Talent präsentierte, sondern auch Erfindungsgeist bei der Behandlung des Genres, was sie in der detaillierten Analyse der ersten Rede zeigte. Sie bemüht sich auch zu beweisen, dass seine philosophischen Überzeugungen im Geiste der kynisch-stoischen Philosophie sind und unterstreicht, dass sein Kynismus durch die Stoa vervollständigt und transformiert wurde, wodurch seine Rhetorik ideologischen und philosophischen Charakter hat. Am Schluss des Buches erscheint die Frage, ob Trajan, an den die Reden gerichtet waren, die Botschaft Dions verstanden hatte. Wohl doch, denn er richtete sich, wie Philostratos (*VS I 7*) überliefert, an denselben mit den Worten: „Ich liebe dich wie mich selbst“.

Das Buch wird durch den Index der philosophischen Terminologie in den Königsreden, den Index rhetorischer Topoi im Traktat von Menander Rhetor *Peri epideiktikon* und in den Königsreden, die Bibliografie, die Übersetzung des Königsrede-Abschnittes aus dem Traktat Menanders sowie die Übersetzung der vier Königsreden vervollständigt.

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Björn C. EWALD, Carlos F. NOREÑA (Hrsgg.), *The Emperor and Rome. Space, Representation, and Ritual*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 (Yale Classical Studies 35), 365 S., ISBN 978-05-215-1953-3, £69.99.

Das Interesse an der Geschichte der Hauptstadt des Römischen Reichs wächst seit einiger Zeit stetig. Die durch „Giubileo“ durchgeführten archäologischen Forschungen haben einen Maßstab erreicht, der mit denen zu Mussolinis Zeiten vergleichbar ist¹. Ein monumentales topographisches Lexikon über Rom wurde veröffentlicht², die Digitaltechnologien ermöglichen immer detailliertere dreidimensionale Rekonstruktionen der römischen Architektur und die Studien über die Topographie und Geschichte der Urbanistik wurden in das Hauptgebiet der Forschungen über die Geschichte des alten Roms integriert. All dies hat auch unser Wissen über das alte Rom enorm erweitert, konnte jedoch nicht alle Lücken füllen. Zwar kennen wir die Geschichte der Stadt bereits sehr gut, besonders zu Zeiten des Augustus³. Doch warten wir immer noch auf detaillierte Forschungen, die die architektonischen Umwandlungen Roms in späteren Epochen betreffen, sowie auf eine allgemeinere Reflexion über den Einfluss der Veränderung des Regierungssystems auf das Bild des urbanen Roms. Diesem Themenbereich widmet sich der hier rezensierte Band. Er enthält die Referate einer dreitägigen Konferenz, die im September 2005 an der Yale University stattfand und berühmte Spezialisten aus verschiedensten Gebieten der Antike vereinigte.

In einer erweiterten Einleitung stellen Björn C. EWALD und Carlos F. NOREÑA den aktuellen Forschungsstand über die Stadt Rom und ihr Umfeld, die Sozialpolitik der Kaiser, die Art ihrer Repräsentation und die römischen Rituale so vor, als wollten sie die Grenzen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes zeichnen, dessen zentrale Punkte der Kaiser und die Stadt Rom sind⁴. Auf diesem Gebiet gibt es für die beiden folgende Themenbereiche: Der Einfluss der kaiserlichen Bauprogramme auf den städtischen Raum (*space*), die praktischen und symbolischen Methoden der Darstellung des Kaisers im öffentlichen Raum (*representation*) und die kaiserlichen Zeremonien und Rituale, verstanden als eine Art der Kommunikation mit diversen sozialen Gruppen (*ritual*). Obwohl auf die Bedeutung dieser Themenbereiche ausdrücklich hingewiesen wird, wurden die einzelnen Beiträge nicht in getrennte Sektionen aufgeteilt. Ebenso wenig wurden die Artikel, die sich mit detaillierten Fragen beschäftigen, von denen getrennt, die eher allgemeine Fragen betreffen.

¹ Siehe F. FILIPPI (Hrsg.), *Archeologia e giubileo: gli interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000*, Napoli 2001.

² E.M. STEINBY (Hrsg.), *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae*, Bd. I–VI, Roma 1993–2000.

³ Siehe z.B. D. FAVRO, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge 1996; L. HASELBERGER (Hrsg.), *Mapping Augustan Rome*, Portsmouth, RI 2002; J.B. LOTT, *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge 2004; L. HASELBERGER, *Urbem adornare: die Stadt Rom und ihre Gestaltumwandlung unter Augustus/Rome's Urban Metamorphosis under Augustus*, Portsmouth, RI 2007 sowie viele andere Arbeiten.

⁴ Ein wichtiger Bezugspunkt für ein so definiertes Forschungsfeld sind die von P. ZANKER formulierten Konzepte: das erste, präsentiert im Eröffnungssessay (dies ist der einzige Text, der kein Konferenzreferat war, sondern mit einem durch die Herausgeber aktualisierten Literaturverzeichnis ins Englische übersetzt wurde; vgl. P. ZANKER, *Der Kaiser baut fürs Volk*, Opladen 1997), unterstreicht die besondere Rolle der Elemente der griechischen Kultur für die kaiserliche Wohltätigkeit; und das zweite, das Bezug auf den Begriff *Bildräume* nimmt, den der deutsche Forscher entgegen der Tradition der Archäologie als eine in verschiedenen Epochen gesammelte „Erfahrungseinheit“ betrachtet. Siehe P. ZANKER, *Bild-Räume und Betrachter im kaiserlichen Rom*, in: A.H. BORBEIN, T. HÖLSCHER, P. ZANKER (Hrsgg.), *Klassische Archäologie. Eine Einführung*, Berlin 2000, S. 205–226.

Im ersten Essay analysiert Paul ZANKER die Beziehungen zwischen Architektur und den Methoden ihrer Darstellung – dem Alltagsrhythmus, den kollektiven Erfahrungen und der politischen Macht im Kontext der symbolischen und ideologischen Beziehung des Kaisers mit der *plebs urbana* („By the Emperor, for the People: ‚Popular‘ Architecture in Rome“). Im nächsten Artikel weist Werner ECK darauf hin, dass angesichts der realen und symbolischen Dominanz des Kaisers im öffentlichen Raum Roms die Vertreter der römischen Elite ihre Aktivitäten innerhalb ihrer Residenzen, in den Villen außerhalb Roms und in den Städten Italiens und anderer Provinzen, insbesondere deren, aus denen ihre Familien stammten, konzentrierten („Emperor and Senatorial Aristocracy in Competition for Public Space“). Emanuel MAYER bemerkt hingegen, dass der Kaiser zwar im städtischen Raum Roms dominierte, diese Dominanz jedoch keinesfalls das Ergebnis einer konsequenten Propagandaaktion war. Der Kaiser hatte nämlich viele „Gesichter“, die den Vorstellungen verschiedener Auftragnehmer entsprachen und über die Polyphonie der römischen Kunst entschieden („Propaganda, Staged Applause, or Local Politics? Public Monuments from Augustus to Septimius Severus“).

Anhand des an die besten hellenistischen Modelle anknüpfenden Theaterkomplexes von Pompejus beweist James E. PACKER, dass eben dieser im hohen Maße über die Qualität und die Darstellung der kaiserlichen Architektur entschied („Pompey’s Theater and Tiberius’ Temple of Concord: A Late Republican Primer for an Early Imperial Patron“). Mary B. BOATWRIGHT hingegen beweist, dass das zu Zeiten der Antoninischen Dynastie auf die Promotion der Kaiserfamilie konzentrierte Rom sein Bild nicht nur den Aktivitäten der Kaiser, sondern auch des Senats Roms verdankt („Antonine Rome: Security in the Homeland“). Elizabeth MARLOWE zeigt, auf welche Weise Konstantin die durch Maxentius begonnenen Bauprojekte für seine eigenen Zwecke verwendet hat („*Liberator urbis suae*: Constantine and the Ghost of Maxentius“).

Diesen Überlegungen zu Stadtplanung und Architektur folgen drei Texte über die Darstellung des Kaisers in Rom. Eröffnet wird dieser Teil mit dem ausgezeichneten Text von Klaus FITTSCHEN, der die heute allgemein als *Kopienkritik* kritisierte Forschungsmethode verteidigt und den aktuellen Forschungen des Porträts eine übermäßige Willkürlichkeit vorhält („The Portraits of Roman Emperors and their Families: Controversial Positions and Unsolved Problems“). Michael KOORTBOJAN zeigt hingegen, auf welche Weise man sowohl in der realen Sphäre als auch in der Kunst die Grenze des *pomerium* überschreiten konnte, das die Sphären *domi* von *militae* voneinander trennte („Crossing the *Pomerium*: The Armed Ruler at Rome“). Die kaiserliche Selbstdarstellung ist ebenfalls das Thema des Beitrags von Egon FLAIG, der im Kontext von Neros Niederlage das Konzept des Prinzipats als *Akzeptanzsystem* entwickelt und die Macht als ein dynamisches Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser, Senat, Armee und *plebs urbana* definiert („How the Emperor Nero Lost Acceptance at Rome“).

Die zwei letzten Artikel des Bandes betreffen das kaiserliche Beisetzungsritual. Eve D’AMBRA zeigt im Kontext der kaiserlichen *funera*, deren unzertrennlicher Bestandteil prachtvolle Scheiterhaufen waren, wie wichtig damals kurzlebige Architektur war, die *ad hoc* für bestimmte Ereignisse errichtet wurde („The Imperial Funerary Pyre as Work of Ephemeral Architecture“). Javier ARCE fasst hingegen eine lange Diskussion über das Phänomen des Ersetzens des Leichmanns des verstorbenen Kaisers durch eine Puppe, am Beispiel der Begräbnisse von Pertinax und Septimius Severus zusammen („Roman Imperial Funerals in *effigie*“). Den Abschluss bilden ein umfangreiches Literaturverzeichnis und die Indexe.

Der Band enthält zweifelsohne zahlreiche interessante Studien, deren größtes Interpretationspotential jedoch nicht ihr Gegenstand selbst ist, sondern in der interdisziplinären Auffassung liegt. Es soll jedoch nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass die versammelten Beiträge die in der Einleitung gestellten Ziele der Herausgeber nicht gänzlich erreichen. In der ausgezeichneten Einleitung erfahren wir viele interessante Dinge über die Architektur und Stadtplanung Roms im Kontext der Aktivitäten konkreter Kaiser, aber schon entschieden weniger über die Beziehungen der Stadt zu den römischen Ritualen, die sie kreiert hat. Diese Situation überrascht, da nicht nur der kaiserliche *funus*, sondern auch der römische Triumph und der kaiserliche Einzug (*adventus*), ähnlich wie

Zusammenhänge zwischen der Politik, den Ritualen und dem öffentlichen Raum in zahlreichen interessanten Publikationen dargestellt sind⁵. Einen ähnlichen Vorwurf könnte man auch in Bezug auf den Teil über die kaiserliche Repräsentation formulieren, wenn es den Beitrag von FITTSCHEN nicht gäbe, der nicht nur auf brillante Weise Vorwürfe gegen eine bewährte Methode widerlegt, sondern auch mit großer Kenntnis ihre Wirksamkeit bei aktuellen Forschungen, die leider die Kaiser nicht betreffen, beweist.

Es darf auch nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass die im Band präsentierten Analysen sich einerseits immer einer der Politik untergeordneten Periodisierung (aufeinander folgende Kaiser und deren Dynastien) bedienen, obwohl die Geschichte, die sie erzählen wollen eher aus Prozessen – nach Worten von Fernand BRAUDEL – von langer Dauer besteht. Auf der anderen Seite sind, obwohl in der Einleitung Bezug auf die mit der Geschichte verwandten Wissenschaften genommen wird (u.a. visuelle Anthropologie oder Geschichte der Wahrnehmung), diese in den präsentierten Texten nur in sehr geringem Maße bemerkbar. All diese Bemerkungen mindern jedoch keinesfalls den Wert des hier rezensierten Bandes, und seiner einzelner Beiträge, die – hoffentlich – bald eine Fortsetzung finden.

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⁵ Siehe z.B. E. FLAIG, *Ritualisierte Politik. Zeichen, Gesten und Herrschaft im Alten Rom*, Göttingen 2003; S. BENOIST, *Rome, le prince et la Cité. Pouvoir impérial et cérémonies publiques I^{er} siècle av. – début du IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.*, Paris 2005.

Peter RIEDLBERGER, *Domninus of Larissa: Enchiridion and Spurious Works*, Pisa–Roma: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2013 (Mathematica Graeca antiqua, vol. II), 281 pp., ISBN 978-88-622-7567-5, €86.00.

The study of Greek mathematics, as demonstrated by recent studies by Reviel NETZ and Serafina CUOMO, or, for a more philosophical (and fairly recent) example, Nicolas VINEL, is a fascinating and highly rewarding subject, bearing on the understanding of ancient literary culture and society¹. However, the absence of a concept which is fundamental to modern science, i.e. that of zero, and the intricacies surrounding the concept of monad combined with the importance held by this in ancient philosophy, all contribute to the difficulty of the matter, easily confusing an aspiring initiate. Still, there are considerable rewards – in studying the surviving documents of mathematical literature, we get an insight into the science which is counted among the most elevated *epistemai* of the ancient world, and, at the same time, a glimpse of the very thought that founded our civilization.

The surviving works of Domninus of Larissa, the only securely attributable being his *Encheiridion*, do not count on a par with the legacy of Archimedes. Written in the late antiquity by a contemporary and colleague of the much better known Neoplatonic philosopher, Proclus (with whom, we are told by Damascius, Domninus found himself at considerable odds), the *Encheiridion* is of an elementary, basic character, far from the magisterial magnitude of Euclides' *opus magnum* or Nicomachus' *Introductio*, on both of which it heavily relies in both content and method of exposition. It is similarly distant from the *Timaeus*-oriented explorations of Theon or the often fanciful insights of Iamblichus and the *Theologoumena arithmeticae*. Essentially, it remains what it claims to be: an introduction, comparable in content and construction (if not in scope) to the two works already mentioned: the *Introductio arithmetica* and the *Elementa*. Before RIEDLBERGER (= R.), recent (i.e. twentieth century) scholarship has produced a single edition of the work², the assessments in secondary literature remaining linked to that of Paul TANNERY in his own studies on Domninus, which in their turn are reliant on the 1832 edition by J.F. BOISSONADE³. The list of extant works that have been attributed to our author comprises also a short treatise on the deduction of ratios, the *scholia* on Nicomachus, and summaries of the principles of optics. The authorship of these is far from certain: R. himself prefers to call the author of *How to Deduce a Ratio from a Ratio* Pseudo-Domninus (his argument for this name on p. 79 may serve as a methodological warning and instruction to all researchers of Antiquity), the *scholia* have been considered spurious since TANNERY⁴, and general scholarly sentiment (shared by R.) favours a distinction between Domninus and the “summaries” author. Among the works lost to posterity, one must number a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, a commentary on Aristotle's *Sophistici elenchi* and, perhaps most importantly given the subject of R.'s investigation, the *Arithmetike stoicheiosis*, the alleged *opus magnum* of the Larissene, possibly construed along (methodological) lines parallel to those of the famous *Stoicheiosis theologike* of Proclus.

¹ Compare R. NETZ, *Ludic Proof: Greek Mathematics and the Alexandrian Aesthetic*, Cambridge 2009; S. CUOMO, *Ancient Mathematics*, London 2001; L. RUSSO, *La rivoluzione dimenticata: il pensiero scientifico greco e la scienza moderna*, Milano 1996; N. VINEL, *Jamblique: In Nicomachi arithmetica*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction française et notes de commentaire, Pisa–Roma 2014.

² F. ROMANO, *Domnino di Larissa. La svolta impossibile della filosofia matematica neoplatonica. Manuale di introduzione all'aritmetica*. Introduzione, testo e traduzione, Catania 2000.

³ The respective works of TANNERY are collected in P. TANNERY, *Memoires scientifiques*, vols. II–III, ed. by J.L. HEIBERG, H.G. ZEUTHEN, Toulouse 1912–1915. For BOISSONADE's edition, cf. J.F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, vol. IV, Paris 1832, pp. 413–429.

⁴ P. TANNERY, *Notes critiques sur Domninus*, in: IDEM, *Memoires...* (n. 3), vol. II, p. 212.

R.'s study improves on the previous editions of Domninus' legacy both in the quality of the textual research and in the comprehensiveness and the detailedness of the commentary: of the nearly two hundred and forty pages of the book (not including indexes or bibliography), not even thirty are occupied with Domninus' text – in bilingual version at that (pp. 108–135). The author opens his investigation with a sketch of the Athenian Neoplatonic school, the background of Domninus' scholarly activities, then discusses the surviving sources on Domninus' life, then proceeds to sketch the problems related to the textual transmission of the *Encheiridion* and its modern editions, the issue of respective titles and characteristic features, with a discussion on both the *Encheiridion* and other works attributed to the Larissene.

After a cursory overview of fifth and sixth century Neoplatonism, with particular emphasis on the Athenian school with which the name of Domninus is associated in the surviving testimonies (pp. 19–41), the biographical part of the introduction (pp. 43–64) centres on the stories transmitted by the ancient sources on Domninus, i.e. Proclus, Damascius, and Marinus (these stories include tales of his alleged conflict with Proclus, his misanthropic tendencies and superciliousness, and then, the tale of the miraculous, pork-based cure he employed to heal his proclivity to blood-vomiting). R.'s argument remains balanced and persuasive, supporting his vision of a hardly unorthodox thinker with possibly a slightly more “scientific” approach to philosophical investigation than that of his contemporaries. This point is important, for our image of Domninus must rely on the testimonies – the basic nature of the *Encheiridion* hardly allows for a more general assessment of its author's actual and more advanced philosophical views. Next (pp. 65–90) comes the discussion of the works associated with the Larissene, with particular emphasis on issues related to the questionable authenticity of the extant writings except the *Encheiridion*, a brief recapitulation (pp. 91 f.), detailed editorial prolegomena (pp. 93–106), and, finally, the actual edition, supported by a carefully compiled and instructive *apparatus*.

As manifest in the above outline, the image resulting from the opening chapter is a portrait of the Larissene against the background of contemporary Neoplatonism, or a consideration of Domninus as seen by his near contemporaries rather than an image of Domninus the mathematician. The latter image is likely to be gleaned from the commentary part of R.'s work (pp. 137–238), where the *Encheiridion* is carefully measured against the mirror of Euclides and Nicomachus, with the effect of stressing the possible divergences and authorial strategies assumed by the late antique thinker. The commentary, impressive both in its scope and exhaustiveness, comprises detailed comparisons drawn with respective *loci paralleli* which emerge in other authors, with a careful tracing of the possible filiations. One also notes the careful balancing of R.'s own opinions concerning possible theoretical or methodological preferences of the author under consideration – thus, contrary to previous editors (most particularly TANNERY), he seems disinclined to consider Domninus as anti-Nicomachean on account of his chosen definition of monad (pp. 137–142). It would however be remiss of this reviewer not to note that, perhaps quite understandably given the subject, R.'s work does more for the history of mathematics than it does for that of philosophy. Iamblichus' mathematical theories are repeatedly dismissed as simply examples of bad mathematics (one wonders what Iamblichus' own reaction would be), as are most of the theological inquires into the nature of numbers.

To sum up: carefully worded, well argued and, last but not least, beautifully edited, R.'s study provides an authoritative and valuable account of a nearly forgotten author, thus contributing to our knowledge of a still rarely studied field. While the opening part provides us with a glimpse of the mathematician as seen by contemporary philosophers, the commentary, owing to the lucidity of its discussion, allows the reader to move with relative comfort through the exposition of ancient mathematical dogmas, all the while being aware of the possible connections to Euclid and Nicomachus. Even more importantly, R.'s work deals with someone he himself described as unexceptional (pp. 63 f.) – as such, it provides its reader with an interesting glimpse of “school” mathematics at the close of Antiquity.

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Maria MAŚLANKA-SORO, *Powrót Melpomeny. Tragedia włoska od średniowiecznego odrodzenia po renesansowy rozkwit* [«Le retour de Melpomène. La tragédie italienne de la renaissance du Moyen Âge à l'essor de la Renaissance»], Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013, 256 pp., ISBN 978-83-7638-254-8, PLN 30.00.

Après un livre intitulé *Tragizm w «Komedii» Dantego* [«Le tragique dans la *Comédie* de Dante», cf. Eos XCVIII 2011, pp. 127 s.], Maria MAŚLANKA-SORO [= M-S] poursuit son étude de la tragédie tout en élargissant son champ de recherche à l'ensemble de la tragédie italienne. *Le retour de Melpomène* est une étude diachronique qui présente le développement de ce genre du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle. L'auteur y reprend les tragédies qui, comme elle l'explique dans ses «Remarques préliminaires», représentent des étapes importantes de l'histoire du genre à partir du Moyen Âge.

L'ouvrage comporte trois chapitres. Le premier, intitulé «La tragédie de l'Antiquité tardive et des débuts du Moyen Âge», présente des réflexions d'ordre terminologique et génologique servant d'introduction aux analyses qui vont suivre. Dans ce chapitre très synthétique, l'auteur fait un rappel des différentes formes de spectacles qui existaient sous l'Empire romain et présente les opinions critiques de plusieurs auteurs anciens (Suétone, Tertulien, Lactance, saint Augustin) à propos des spectacles romains. Elle traite également de la notion même de «tragédie» tout en soulignant son caractère polysémique et en s'appuyant sur les témoignages de quelques auteurs choisis (Diomède et Donat, puis, parmi les auteurs plus tardifs, surtout Isidore de Séville, Huguccio, Osbern de Gloucester). Le déclin de la tragédie dans l'Antiquité lui sert de point de départ pour montrer par contraste, dans les deux chapitres suivants qui sont analytiques, le développement et l'épanouissement de ce genre dans les siècles suivants.

Le chapitre deux, intitulé «La tragédie du XII^e au XV^e siècle», est subdivisé en six parties. La première, «L'homme, enjeu des dieux. La tragédie latine des XII^e et XIII^e siècles», présente les drames qui ont vu le jour en France et en Angleterre à cette époque. L'on sort donc du paysage italien, et une justification détaillée de ce déplacement provisoire dans d'autres contrées aurait été souhaitable. Le lecteur devra se contenter de supposer qu'à l'époque, les Italiens n'ont produit aucune œuvre méritant d'être considérée comme de la tragédie.

La deuxième partie de ce chapitre s'intitule «La découverte du Sénèque «tragique»: Nicholas Trevet et l'*Ecerinis* d'Albertino Mussato». L'auteur y évoque la découverte – capitale pour l'évolution du théâtre européen – du manuscrit des tragédies de Sénèque et leur étude réalisée par les philologues du cercle de Padoue réunis autour de Lovato Lovati. Albertino Mussato, l'auteur d'*Ecerinis* (1314–1315), première tragédie moderne écrite dans l'esprit de Sénèque, faisait partie de ce groupe. Ce drame qui relate l'histoire d'un cruel tyran de Vérone est soumis dans cette partie du chapitre à une analyse s'appuyant sur les réflexions théoriques de Mussato.

La partie suivante, «Les *Fabulae praetextae* des Trecento et Quattrocento», traite de tragédies à thème historique, dont l'*Historia Baetica* de Carlo Verardi, *Fernandus servatus* de Carlo et Marcellino Verardi, et la tragédie *Hiempsal* de Leonardo Dati, inspirée du *Bellum Iugurthinum* de Salluste. L'auteur y observe que les frontières du genre restent floues, la différence entre tragédie et comédie n'étant toujours pas nette.

La quatrième partie, «La première tragédie mythologique: l'*Achilles* d'Antonio Loschi», analyse une tragédie qui, toujours inspirée du théâtre de Sénèque, ouvre le courant des drames à sujets mythologiques. Assassiné par trahison, Achille y est un représentant typique des «grands de ce monde» tombant sous les coups de la Fortune.

La cinquième partie, «*Quis dolori sit satis tanto furor?* Progne de Gregorio Correr: la tragédie de la vengeance», est consacrée à l'œuvre considérée comme la meilleure tragédie du Quattrocento. Correr s'inspire également du théâtre de Sénèque. Comme élément important pour la future évolution du genre, on y voit que ce n'est pas le *fatum* mais la folie des hommes (*furor*) qui déclenche les catastrophes.

La sixième partie intitulée «La sombre tragédie «plébéienne»: *Panfila* d'Antonio Cammelli» est consacrée à l'analyse de la première tragédie écrite en langue vernaculaire (le toscan), inspirée à la fois du théâtre de Sénèque et du *Décameron* de Boccace. Une nouveauté de cette œuvre est son style variable, tantôt élevé, tantôt bas.

Le chapitre III, «La tragédie de la Renaissance italienne du XVI^e siècle», est très volumineux et propose des analyses soignées et originales de sept œuvres italiennes. On sent que l'auteur apprécie particulièrement les tragédies italiennes de cette époque. Ce chapitre est également subdivisé en six parties.

La première traite de *Sofonisba* de Giovan Giorgio Trissino, la première tragédie «régulière» européenne. Comme importante innovation, Trissino s'inspire de la tragédie grecque, et non plus de Sénèque. Le conflit évoqué (à la manière de Sophocle) oppose la raison d'État au bonheur de l'individu, et l'action est tirée d'un épisode de l'*Ab urbe condita* de Tite-Live. Cette analyse de *Sofonisba* est agrémentée de réflexions théoriques de Trissino.

La deuxième partie est consacrée à la «Nouvelle *Antigone*» et la «Nouvelle *Electre*», c'est-à-dire à *Rosmunda* de Giovanni Rucellai et à *Tullia* de Ludovico Martelli. *Rosmunda* trouve sa trame dans un épisode de l'*Histoire des Lombards* de Paul Diacre et est également un mélange novateur des modèles grec et sénéquien. Pareillement, *Tullia* est une tragédie hellénisante même si son histoire est tirée de celle de Rome et de l'époque des Tarquins (de l'*Ab urbe condita* de Tite-Live). Cette œuvre introduit dans le théâtre italien le personnage de la *virago*, c'est-à-dire de la femme emportée, avide de pouvoir, déterminée et capable de commettre un meurtre.

La troisième partie s'intitule «Le nouveau modèle de la poétique tragique: *Orbecche* de Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio». Giraldi s'inspire toujours de Sénèque, mais lui aussi de façon innovante puisqu'il fait en même temps appel à la *Poétique* d'Aristote. En outre, la trame de son œuvre s'écarte de la mythologie et de l'histoire en apportant de la fiction romanesque.

La quatrième partie intitulée «Polémique autour des *Canacae* de Sperone Speroni» montre que l'auteur de cette tragédie inspirée des *Héroïdes* d'Ovide a soigneusement étudié la *Poétique* d'Aristote. Speroni y propose des nouveautés qui ont déclenché une ardente polémique (par exemple, on y voit l'esprit d'un enfant devenir héros de tragédie).

La cinquième partie s'intitule «La dimension tragique des passions humaines: *Marianna* de Lodovico Dolce». Cette tragédie est une habile *aemulatio* de modèles antiques (Sénèque, Sophocle et Euripide) et de premières tragédies italiennes. Son histoire s'inspire de la *Guerre des Juifs* de Flavius Josèphe. La perception du tyran (Hérode) qui se transforme à la fin en un pécheur repent est une nouveauté.

La dernière partie de ce chapitre s'intitule «*Quel est le sens de l'amitié, quel est le sens de l'amour?* Ombres et lumières de la *psychè* humaine: *Il Re Torrismondo* de Torquato Tasso». La structure de cette tragédie est basée sur celle de l'*Oedipe roi* de Sophocle, mais l'histoire provient cette fois des chroniques médiévales scandinaves. Il s'agit de conflits entre amour et amitié, entre vérité et tromperie. Le drame se joue dans un climat de contre-Réforme et aborde la question du rapport entre le libre arbitre et la prédestination de l'être humain.

Il ne fait pas de doute que dans la littérature du Cinquecento, ce sont les tragédies écrites en italien qui ont occupé la place centrale. Toutefois, en passant complètement sous silence dans ce chapitre les tragédies latines, l'auteur peut amener ses lecteurs à croire – à tort – que l'on n'écrivait plus de tragédies dans la langue des anciens Romains à cette époque. Il aurait été souhaitable de rappeler qu'à côté des pièces en italien, on continuait à écrire des œuvres en latin, comme par exemple la tragédie mythologique d'Antonio Telesio (1482–1534) *Imber aureus* dont l'héroïne est la malheureuse Danaé, ou la *Dido* de Pier Angelio Bargeo (1518–1596), qui s'inscrit dans le courant des œuvres populaires (en latin ou en langues nationales) reprenant l'histoire de la reine de Carthage.

Il aurait été intéressant d'établir un parallèle entre les tragédies italiennes et latines produites à la même époque, même si elles furent de valeur artistique inégale, et de comparer l'évolution du genre dans les deux langues, ne serait-ce qu'en relevant leurs différences. L'image de l'histoire des tragédies italiennes aurait été plus complète.

L'on peut être également surpris de l'absence des tragédies à thèmes religieux (qui ne sont évoquées que dans une brève remarque où elles sont signalées comme phénomène qui deviendra caractéristique à l'époque baroque italienne, pp. 184 s.). Il est vrai que les tragédies bibliques n'étaient pas à la mode pendant la Renaissance italienne. Ce type d'œuvres s'est surtout développé dans les pays qui ont fortement subi les effets de la Réforme. Mais pour cette raison justement, il aurait été opportun de signaler les tentatives italiennes inspirées de l'Ancien Testament, telles la tragédie latine *Progonos* (1536) de Giano Anisio, humaniste de l'Academia Pontaniana, qui aborde la question du péché originel, ou *Sosanna* de Tiburzio Sacco (1524), en italien, qui se rattache au courant des œuvres populaires de la Renaissance consacrées à cette héroïne biblique.

Il aurait été également opportun de signaler les tragédies consacrées à la Passion et à la mort du Christ. À côté de nombreuses pièces liturgiques, ce sujet a en effet inspiré plusieurs tragédies classiques. C'est un Italien (même s'il était au service de la cour de France), Quintianus Stoa (Giovanni Francesco Conti, 1484–1557) qui est l'auteur de la *Tragoedia de Passione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Quae Theoandathanatos Inscritur* (1508). Cette œuvre est un intéressant essai de tragédie sur le sujet, car sa composition et l'interprétation stoïque de la Passion qui y est présentée doivent beaucoup à Sénèque. D'autres dramaturges européens ont suivi la même voie, et l'on peut certainement considérer la tragédie de Stoa comme un jalon important de l'histoire du genre.

Bien sûr, comme tout livre, *Le retour de Melpomène* repose sur un choix de textes sources propre à la conception originale de son auteur. Ce choix aurait toutefois pu être précisé davantage dans l'introduction où l'auteur aurait pu expliquer ce qu'elle entend par l'adjectif «italien». Dans les deux premiers chapitres, on a l'impression qu'il se rapporte globalement à l'origine géographique des auteurs, alors que dans le troisième, son sens est restreint à la langue dans laquelle les drames ont été écrits.

Le retour de Melpomène, même s'il laisse parfois le lecteur sur sa faim, est cependant et très certainement une précieuse étude qui permettra à ce dernier de se familiariser avec la tragédie italienne. Après l'ouvrage de Monika SURMA-GAWŁOWSKA et Jadwiga MISZALSKA (*Historia teatru i dramatu włoskiego*, t. 1: *Od XIII do XVIII wieku* [«Histoire du théâtre et du drame italien», t. 1: «Du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle»], Kraków 2008) écrit dans la perspective de la théâtrologie, le livre de M-S apporte un regard de philologue en se concentrant sur l'évolution de la tragédie en tant que genre littéraire. L'analyse intertextuelle des œuvres, agrémentée de réflexions théoriques de leurs auteurs, située dans un large contexte littéraire et historique, accompagnée de citations et de traductions des textes sources (généralement peu connus des lecteurs polonais) fait certainement toute la valeur de cette étude. L'auteur a en outre réussi à démontrer que la tragédie de la Renaissance n'est pas une «pièce de musée poussiéreuse», mais continue d'interpeler sur les problèmes existentiels humains et conserve toute sa *vis tragica*.

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György KARSAI, Gábor KLANICZAY, David MOVRIN, Elżbieta OLECHOWSKA (eds.), *Classics and Communism. Greek and Latin behind the Iron Curtain*, Ljubljana–Budapest–Warsaw 2013: Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts; Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Studies; Faculty of “Artes Liberales” of the University of Warsaw, VIII + 576 pp., ISBN 978-961-237-601-7, €29.90.

“Classicists will be certain never to forget the remark of Thucydides 1.22: What has happened already is likely to happen again, ‘according to human nature’. The solidarity of all branches of knowledge could help us to create a novelty that would prevent the future from looking too much like a reflection of the past”. The above quotation concludes the last chapter in the *Classics and Communism* [= *C&C*], written by A. HURST. With these words the author wants to overcome Thucydides’ pessimistic statement, hoping that the lesson of the past will prevent the future from similar damage caused by the communism in our part of the world. It is a pity that we cannot quote Vergil here (*Aen.* I 203): “forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit”. Unfortunately, *non iuvabit*.

The reader of the *C&C* gets a book which is the result of the cooperation of classicists from the area of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Countries. “The idea for this book”, as we read on the last page, “came from ‘*Gnôthi seauton!* Classics and Communism. The History of the Studies on Antiquity in the Context of the Local Classical Tradition in the Socialist Countries 1944/45–1989/90’, a Focus Group Project at the Colloquium Budapest in 2009–2010, convened by Jerzy Axer, György Karsay, and Gábor Klaniczay, and supported by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung”.

The main part of the book consists of three chapters from the geographical area of the Soviet Union, fifteen chapters from the Socialist Countries, and one chapter by A. HURST: “The Fondation Hardt and Classical Philology in the Socialist Countries”. There follow the “Documents” (150 pages), “About the Authors”, and “Index”.

Fifteen chapters are the result of the above mentioned initiative taken in Budapest in 2010, while three chapters were written earlier. Usually each of the authors first presents the situation of classical philology in their country before the war, during the war, and after the war up to the collapse of the Soviet Block. The formal systems in which classical philology and related disciplines functioned, the curricula of teaching classical languages in high schools, the programmes of classical studies, the research, the access to foreign literature, foreign conferences, and the possibilities for travelling abroad are more or less presented in detail. However, the greatest achievement of the authors is their presentation of people, their responses to the political and ideological reality, to the threats to the foundations of European civilization and culture, the role of ancient Greece and Rome in all this, and the main threat of the complete elimination of antiquity from social life. With great appreciation for the classicists of that difficult era, one can say that despite being conscious of the threat, the vast majority of them did their best to control the damage caused to the classics by communism. There were few exceptions, and those who collaborated with the new regime were conscious of their isolation. It is interesting that some prominent scholars of this minority were not party members, though they did the research and taught students in accordance with the spirit of Marxism. There were also shameful examples of collaboration with the secret police, connected with reports and denunciations. In the light of accessible materials, it seems that such persons were really few.

Soviet Russia¹

Olga BUDARAGINA devotes her paper to Olga M. FREIDENBERG, and Aristid I. DOVATUR, two outstanding scholars from the Department of Classics in Leningrad. The latter was sentenced to ten years in labour camps. It is interesting that BUDARAGINA could not get personal files of

¹ All subheadings are taken from the *C&C*.

either scholar, as they are still sealed as secret. Alexander GAVRILOV presents a scholar and poet in a chapter entitled “Jakov M. Borovskij: Poet of Latin in the Soviet Union”. He was born in tsarist Russia, lived out the whole period of the Soviet Union, and died some years after its collapse. GAVRILOV shows in an interesting way how some philologists, in spite of everything, could survive in the Soviet Union without losing face. Dmitri PANCHENKO, in his paper “Classics and Cultural Resistance to the Soviet Regime”, recalls two excellent researchers who were uncompromising and worth admiring: Sergei AVERINTSEV (1937–2004) and Alexander ZAICEV (1926–2000), both of whom were involved in the political opposition to the Stalinist regime and spent years in prison. The author also mentions the journal “Metrodorus”, edited by a group of young philologists in 1979–1982 without official permission – something which was quite unusual in the Soviet Union.

Central Europe

Cornelia ISLER-KERÉNYI remembers her father, Károly KERÉNYI, a Hungarian scholar, philologist, and mythologist, who found himself in Switzerland in 1943, and remained there for good. Obviously, his *curriculum vitae* and career would have looked quite different if he had lived in Hungary. In fact, it was much better for his research that he chose to live in exile. But above all, in Switzerland he was able to conduct his research in accordance with his beliefs, which were far from Marxism. The title of the chapter by Péter HAJDU “The Classics and the Party Line: The Case of Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel” is meaningful enough. We read that he was “a key figure in classical studies during the Communist era in Hungary, both from the view point of his scholarly achievement and his influence on academic life”, although he “had no real chance of assuming a position in the academic world before World War II”. Let us add that there were more such scholars in other countries, and in different disciplines. TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL can be treated as an example.

György KARASAL describes in detail the case of János SARKADY, another Hungarian classical philologist who collaborated with the security police. The author is writing about a person well known to himself, so he prefers to quote the documents connected with SARKADY’s activity.

Josef MOURAL writes an essay on Jan PATOČKA, a Czech philosopher “with strong leanings towards classical studies”. The content of MOURAL’s paper is briefly summarised in the initial sentence: “This chapter describes the story of his becoming a dissident hero and martyr – one of the first three spokesmen of Charter 77 – who died in March 1977 exhausted by unscrupulous police interrogation”. In the extensive text the author shows the figure of a dissident against the background of the Czech intelligentsia of that time. Ludmila BUZÁSSYOVÁ brings the history of classical philology in Slovakia at the Comenius University in Bratislava after World War II closer, and against such a background she presents professor Miloslav OKÁL, a great scholar with a large number of publications, and with many hopes and disappointments. The case of OKÁL reveals one of the methods used by the communists for moving aside a significant but inconvenient scholar: reorganizing a unit in the scholarly institution.

David MOVRIŇ, in his paper “The Anatomy of a Revolution: Classics of the University of Ljubljana after 1948”, recalls the political atmosphere in communist Yugoslavia, and its dissimilarity to that in other communist countries after Yugoslavia became independent from Moscow. Unfortunately, the situation there was still far from normal. The content of the chapter is expressed by its subheadings: “The Purging of the University”, “The Labyrinth of Academic Survival”, “Classics between University and Resistance”, “A Handful of Omnipotents”. From behind them emerges the gloomy reality at the University of Ljubljana and in Slovenia, being at that time part of Yugoslavia.

The chapter by Nijole JUCHNEVICIENE, “Classical Philology in Early Soviet Lithuania: between the European Tradition and Reality”, depicts the political, social, and cultural situation in the country which after World War II lost its independence and was incorporated into the Soviet Union as one of its republics. Despite that, owing to the attitude of society towards the Soviet reality, the Lithuanians took the opportunity given by *kairos* and recuperated their lost freedom. JUCHNEVICIENE shows classical philology in that context and the continued efforts of the classicists to save as much as possible. “One of their major successes”, as we read, “was to bring Latin back into the so-called humanities schools in 1967”.

The situation of the classics in Poland is presented by three authors: Jerzy AXER, Elżbieta OLECHOWSKA, and Witold WOŁODKIEWICZ. Jerzy AXER, in his informative paper entitled “Kazimierz Kumaniecki and the Evolution of Classical Studies in the People’s Republic of Poland” points out at the very beginning: “The situation of classical philology in Poland was exceptional compared to the situation in other countries of the Soviet Bloc: better than in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, not to mention the Soviet Union itself”. Further, he explains: “Polish classical scholars can serve as a good example of how Solidarity among community, a strong sense of mission, and the emergence of firm leadership enabled such a community to offer resistance, in practice quite effectively, while discouraging repressive action”. In that context AXER brings back the figure of Kazimierz KUMANIECKI, a professor of the University of Warsaw, his teacher and master, who for three decades after the war was a leader and strategist in classical studies. What AXER writes on KUMANIECKI is a result of his personal and direct experience over many years. When drawing the picture of KUMANIECKI’s activities and personal features, the author goes back to the long tradition of intellectual opposition in Poland, rooted in the 120-year history of a nation without a state. The subheadings point out the extensive coverage of the topic: “Historical Background”, “The German Occupation”, “Early Post-War Years”, “Following the Soviet Model”, “The Weight of Classics under Communism”, “Kazimierz Kumaniecki – a Spokesperson”, “Family Background and Early Career”, “Kumaniecki and the Secret Police”, “Resistance through Academic Excellence”, “The Tradition of Polish Classical Studies”, “The Importance of Cicero”, “Kumaniecki’s Political Realism”, “The Legacy”, “Latin Tradition in Poland”, “Post-Communist Reality”. Under the last subheading: “Bibliographical Note”, there is a long chronological list of publications about the life and works of KUMANIECKI. With his chapter AXER pays homage to the leader of Polish classical philologists, and at the same time the text briefly presents the history of classical philology in Poland with a reflection on its future. It also touches on a lot of Polish intellectuals during the war and postwar years. KUMANIECKI was an example of a Polish intellectual who, with some leading writers and intellectuals, turned to the Prime Minister at a crucial moment and demanded more creative freedom and less censorship in the famous Letter of Thirty-Four (1964). With his merits for the classicists in Poland, he can be compared to the tower (*pyrgon*) from an elegy by Callinus, towards which the rest of the fighters turn their eyes.

At the same time at the University of Warsaw professor Bronisław BILIŃSKI was active, but, unfortunately, in a quite different way. Elżbieta OLECHOWSKA presents his case in the chapter under the significant title: “Bronisław Biliński, a Bolshevnik without a Party Card”. He called himself this, while Poles said ironically of such people: “positive non-party members”. BILIŃSKI was more than “positive”. Nevertheless, OLECHOWSKA tries to show his case in a most objective way. BILIŃSKI was the first in Poland to begin scholarly investigation in the spirit of Marxism. He started with Hesiod, showing the aspect of labour in opposition to Homer and his heroes. Fortunately, owing to KUMANIECKI’s strong personality “the Bolshevnik” left the University in 1956.

Witold WOŁODKIEWICZ, in his chapter: “Rafał Taubenschlag and Roman Law in Poland during Real Socialism”, describes the difficult situation of the studies of Roman Law in Poland, and the positive role in this field of TAUBENSCHLAG (1881–1958). He was one of the founders of the “Journal of Juristic Papyrology”. At the same time, the chapter describes in short the history of Roman Law in postwar Poland, the attitudes of people and their efforts to make use of all opportunities to continue research, and to teach students.

In the German Democratic Republic, one of the leading classicists was Johannes IRMSCHER (1920–2000), known in other European countries and also in Poland, a participant in many conferences and in academic celebrations. Isolde STARK revealed him to be a collaborator with the GDR secret police (Stasi) in her paper of 1997². The authoress agreed to republish this paper in English

² I. STARK, *Die inoffizielle Tätigkeit von Johannes Irscher für die Staatssicherheit der DDR*, Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte V 1998, pp. 46–71.

in the *C&C* under the title: “Johannes Irsmscher’s Unofficial Activity for the State Security of the German Democratic Republic”. STARK’s chapter contains passages from reports and denunciations of people and institutions. The reader is particularly stirred by the denunciations of people, their views and beliefs, and private lives. IRMSCHER was very active as an agent working for the Stasi when he was abroad, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Balkans

David MOVRIN, in his chapter “Yugoslavia in 1959 and its *gratiae plenum*: Greek, Latin, and the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties (Cominform)”, reveals the complicated history of postwar Yugoslavia. Right after the war classical philologists were treated as “a remnant of the ancien régime to be done away with as soon as possible.” Fortunately, the situation changed after the “Clash of the Titans. Tito–Stalin Split” (one of the subheadings). The article as a whole is a piece of the post-war history of Yugoslavia; knowledge of this is necessary to understand the fate of classical philology and its scholars. The text is enriched with extensive quotations from various documents.

The paper by Milena JOVANOVIĆ refers to Serbia: “Classics in Serbia 1944–1945: The Case of Veselin Čajkanović”. The period mentioned in the above title, as the authoress writes, means the most cruel “red terror” and “purges” with all the consequences of them. ČAJKANOVIĆ (1881–1946), a classical philologist and popularizer of antiquity, was expelled from the University of Belgrad because of supposed collaboration with the Germans during the war. He was, as JOVANOVIĆ writes, one of the victims of the Court of Honour.

Nikolas GOCHEV’s chapter: “Living with the Ancients: Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimowa, a Biography with a Commentary”, is based on an interview with TAPKOVA published in 2007. The author presents the history of the life of classicists among the Bulgarian intelligentsia. With Tapkova as an example, he presents the reality of researchers in academic institutions in Bulgaria, the mutual relations between scholars as well as between Party members and non-members, the possibilities of scholarly work, etc.

Alexander BARNEA, in his chapter “Dionisie M. Pippidi and the Society for Classical Studies in Romania”, describes the story of an interview with PIPPIDI (1905–1993) conducted in 1982. The interview was to be included in a volume of self-portraits by the professors who taught at the University of Belgrad. At that time, however, only the dictator Ceaușescu and his wife could be publicly honoured. Eventually, the interview was published in the late nineties. BARNEA briefly presents PIPPIDI, the history of her life before the war and in postwar Romania. In BARNEA’s paper, PIPPIDI presents some facts concerning classical philology from her point of view, and the history of the Society for Classical Studies in Romania.

A Crack in the Curtain

The chapter: “The Fondation Hardt and Classical Philology in the Socialist Countries” by André HURST concludes the texts in the *C&C*. The author reflects on the classical philologists of this well know institution which was a kind of asylum for scholars from behind the Iron Curtain. His paper is, *mutatis mutandis*, a kind of satyr drama after the many tragedies that were played on the scene of execrable Communism.

The “Documents” include numerous documents and photos in black and white. At the very end of the book there are notes “About the Authors”, and a useful “Index”.

C&C should not only be read in Europe. The older generation will do it differently than the younger one, but both of them should realize that classical philology has something in it which troubles tyrants. However, will there still be classical philology which could trouble future tyrants, if its condition goes in the direction we often see it in present?

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