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VOM WALDHEROS ZUM SONNENHEROS.
DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER ERZÄHLUNGEN
VON SAMSON UND HERAKLES

von

MIESZEK JAGIEŁŁO

ABSTRACT: Samson from the Book of Judges has been compared to Heracles on many occasions. The following paper suggests a new point of view for the subject: while Samson's solar aspect seems almost undeniable, Heracles' connection to the deified sun needs reconsideration. Originally, he might have rather been some kind of a sylvan hero. Especially Homer's description of the mighty demigod points towards this conclusion, but also his *dodekathlos* provide some evidence. The author explores this hypothesis and proposes a chronology for the evolution of the myth.

EINLEITUNG

Herakles und Samson sind über die Jahre hinweg bereits oft miteinander verglichen worden. Die Gemeinsamkeiten sind zahlreich, daher kam man mehrfach zu dem Schluss, Herakles habe als Vorlage für den biblischen Richter gedient – eine vage Behauptung, der auch widersprochen worden ist. Besser als griechische Einflüsse auf die semitische Tradition wurden in den letzten Jahren die orientalischen Motive in der griechischen Kultur dokumentiert. Es stellt sich somit die Frage, ob es nicht anders herum gewesen sein konnte: Hätte nicht der Danite Samson als Inspiration für die Figur des Herakles gedient haben können? Die Untersuchung dieser Hypothese führt durch ein Labyrinth von Motiven und Metaphern. Manchmal sind Abhängigkeiten zu erkennen, wo eigentlich keine sind. Andere Male stellen sich scheinbare Zufälle als gezielte Eingriffe heraus. Um die folgenden Zeilen nicht unnötig zu verkomplizieren, werde ich mich ausschließlich der Identifikation Samsons mit Herakles widmen, ohne diese jedoch vollkommen auszuschöpfen. Bewusst bleibe ich Vergleichen der Keule des griechischen Heros mit dem von Samson als Waffe benutzten Kieferknochen, der euripidischen Episode des Todes der Megara, der Gattin Herakles', mit dem Einstürzen des Dagon-Tempels in Gaza, sowie der Abstammung und dem Tod beider Helden fern. Auch die Herakles-Melkart-Gleichsetzung lasse ich außen vor¹.

¹ Die synkretistischen Kulte des Herakles mit Melkart in Tyros (Hdt. II 44), Sandon in Tarsus (siehe H. GOLDMAN, *Sandon and Herakles*, Hesperia Supplements VIII 1949, S. 164–174) und Nergal

In der Auswahl der Quellen der Heraklessage beschränke ich mich auf die frühesten Texte, sodass der Kontrast zwischen Samson, dem Sonnenheros, und Herakles, dem *Posis Theron*, umso deutlicher wird. Spätere Überlieferungen spielen nämlich zunehmend auf einen solaren Aspekt des Heros und dessen Konflikt mit Hera an. Diesbezüglich merkt beispielsweise Joseph FONTENROSE an: „we see Hera inciting dragons and demons against Herakles just as she did against Apollo“². Er bezieht sich dabei auf Pseudo-Apollodoros (II 4, 8), dessen *Bibliothek* aus dem 1. Jhd. v. Chr. stammt. Inwiefern dies zutrifft und ab wann diese Tendenz einsetzt, soll hierbei erörtert werden. Bei dieser Erörterung ist es hilfreich stets im Hinterkopf zu behalten, wie anfällig die griechische Kultur nach dem Untergang der mykenischen Palastzeit für fremde Einflüsse gewesen sein muss.

SAMSON DER SONNENHEROS

Das Buch der Richter erzählt unter anderem die Geschichte des „Kraftprotzes“ Samson (*Ri* 13–16). Die Handlung ist in der Wirklichkeit der philistinischen Bedrohung verankert und preist Samson als deren Bezwiner. Schon allein aus diesen wenigen Informationen entstehen gewaltige philologische und geschichtliche Probleme. Der Name Samson (hebr. שמשון) wird von dem semitischen Stamm *šmš für „Sonne“ abgeleitet. Dieser ist womöglich um die philistinische Endung *-on* erweitert worden³. In Anbetracht dieser Etymologie sei Samson keinesfalls Hebräer, sondern Angehöriger einer Volksgruppe, die einen Sonnengott verehrt⁴. Obwohl diese Schlussfolgerung angezweifelt worden ist⁵, überwiegen tatsächlich die Argumente für diese Interpretation. Die meisten Forscher sind sich darin einig, dass Samson als Philister identifiziert werden sollte. Ausschlaggebend für dieses Urteil ist besonders der Aspekt seiner Größe und Stärke, in der er den Philistern (u.a. dem Goliath) gleicht und dadurch mit ihnen in Verbindung gebracht wird⁶. Der Samson-Mythos wird oft mit der Kultur des antiken Griechenland assoziiert, weil die Philister in zahlreicher Hinsicht (Onomastik, Keramik, Militaria etc.) an die Mykenen erinnern⁷. Auch eine philologische Analyse der relevanten Verse weist in dieselbe Richtung: Neben der

(siehe Anm. 31) sind erst relevant nachdem Herakles der Waldheros bereits orientalische Motive absorbiert hat.

² J. FONTENROSE, *Python. A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origin*, Berkeley 1959, S. 357.

³ Dafür siehe Ł. NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *Goliath's Legacy. Philistines and Hebrews in Biblical Times*, Wiesbaden 2015. Er macht die Endung *-on* mehrfach als philistinisch aus (vgl. S. 76, 83, 167) und bezeichnet Samson auch als Sonnenheros (S. 189, 240).

⁴ G. GARBINI, *I Filistei. Gli antagonisti di Israele*, Brescia 2012, S. 197.

⁵ Dafür siehe E.L. GREENSTEIN, *The Riddle of Samson*, Prooftexts I 1981, S. 237–260.

⁶ NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *op. cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 73–76.

⁷ In den letzten Jahren wurde die Identifizierung der Philister mit den Mykenen angezweifelt, dafür siehe G.D. MIDDLETON, *Telling Stories: The Mycenaean Origin of the Philistines*, Oxford Journal of Archaeology XXXIV 2015, S. 45–65.

Fehlinterpretation einer Lehnübersetzung des griechischen Wortes λάμπουρις (dt. „Fackelschwanz“, „Fuchs“) aus der die Passage in *Ri* 15, 4–6 entstanden sein muss⁸, ist höchstwahrscheinlich auch das Wort *ḥîdâ* (*Ri* 14, 12–18) nur eine provisorische Übersetzung eines griechischen Terminus (für genaueres siehe unten, S. 185 f.)⁹. Zudem erinnert Samson an den griechischen Heros Herakles, der ebenso „bärenstark“ gewesen sein und einen Löwen erlegt haben soll. Hinsichtlich einer solchen Gleichsetzung tun sich jedoch fundamentale Fragen auf. Sind beide Sagen chronologisch kompatibel? Können beide Mythen trotz ihrer Ähnlichkeiten nicht unabhängig voneinander entstanden sein? Wenn die hebräische Tradition tatsächlich aus der griechischen (bzw. philistinischen) geschöpft haben sollte, wie ließen sich dann die Unterschiede zwischen beiden erklären?

Einer der wohl ältesten poetischen Texte der Torah befindet sich in ebendiesem Buch des Pentateuch, in der auch Samsons Geschichte erzählt wird. Das sog. Deborahlied soll etwa Anfang des 12. Jhd. v. Chr. entstanden sein¹⁰. Andererseits wird angenommen, dass die Inkonsistenz in der Erzählweise (mehrere Richter werden nur namentlich erwähnt, wohingegen anderen mehrere Kapitel gewidmet sind) durch die Redaktion bzw. das Verfassen des Buches der Richter in deuteronomistischer Zeit (also im 6. Jhd. v. Chr.) zu erklären sei¹¹. Demnach können hierbei leider keine historischen Ereignisse des Alten Testaments als Orientierungspunkt dienen, was die Zeitspanne, in der die Samson-Sage entstanden sein könnte, so erweitert, dass folglich keinerlei kausaler Zusammenhang mit anderen Mythen auf diese Weise eindeutig nachgewiesen und belegt werden kann. Doch in den letzten Jahren häuften sich berechtigte und belegbare Vermutungen bezüglich einer griechischen kommerziellen Präsenz zwischen Mitte des 8. Jhd. und Ende des 7. Jhd. v. Chr. an der Mittelmeerküste des Nahen Ostens¹². Dabei handelte es sich hauptsächlich um Händler und Söldner (aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mitunter aus der Peloponnes). Für Timna – einen wichtigen Schauplatz der Samson-Erzählung – belegen archäologische Funde eine solche Anwesenheit ägäischer Siedler für das 7. Jhd. v. Chr.¹³. Genaueres

⁸ O. MARGALITH, *Samson's Foxes*, *Vetus Testamentum* XXXV 1985, S. 224–229.

⁹ A. YADIN, *Samson's ḥîdâ*, *Vetus Testamentum* LII 2002, S. 418–422.

¹⁰ D.H. MÜLLER, *The Structure of the Song of Deborah*, *American Journal of Theology* II 1898, S. 110–115.

¹¹ C. DAVIS, *Dating the Old Testament*, New York 2007, S. 181–187.

¹² Vgl. G.B. LANFRANCHI, *The Ideological and Political Impact of the Assyrian Imperial Expansion on the Greek World in the 8th and 7th Centuries BC*, in: S. ARO, M. WHITING (Hgg.), *The Heirs of Assyria. Proceedings of the Opening Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project. Held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8–11, 1998*, Helsinki 2000, S. 7–34, oder R. ROLLINGER, *Assyria and the Far West: The Aegean World*, in: E. FRAHM (Hg.), *A Companion to Assyria*, Hoboken, NJ 2017, S. 275–285

¹³ T. DEYSÖ, A. VÉR, *Assyrians and Greeks: The Nature of Contacts in the 9th–7th Centuries BC*, *AAntHung* LIII 2013, S. 325–359.

bezüglich der Entstehungszeit der Samson-Episode aus dem Buch der Richter lässt sich bisher jedoch nicht sagen.

Gemäß der Enthüllung, Samson sei ein Sonnenheros, wird argumentiert er sei aus der Figur des Gilgamesch entstanden¹⁴. Gilgamesch war ein Liebling des Sonnengottes Schamasch¹⁵ und soll von den Göttern mit (dessen) Stärke ausgestattet worden sein, was auch ihn zu einem Sonnenheros macht. Doch dem zuwider ist, was Samson seine Stärke verliehen haben soll, das Nasiräat, an welches er sich letztendlich nicht einmal hielt¹⁶. Plausibel wäre es anzunehmen, dass das Nasiräat in Samsons Fall eine „Dazudichtung“ des hebräischen Verfassers sei. Der Glaube an die im (ungeschorenen) Haar steckende Stärke eines Kriegers (besonders eines Sonnenheros) ist in der semitischen Tradition bis auf Samson nicht vorhanden¹⁷. Es ist ein indo-europäisches Kulturmerkmal¹⁸, wie beispielsweise an dem skythischen Brauch des Skalpierens (vgl. Hdt. VI 64 ff.), der Bedeutung der Haarpracht in skandinavischer Kultur¹⁹ oder eventuell auch dem *Kesh* im Sikhismus zu erkennen ist. Im Falle Samsons sind die wohl wichtigsten Beispiele zum einen Phoebus Apollo²⁰ – Φοῖβος ἄκερσεκόμης (Hom. *Il.* XX 39), zum anderen Aristaios – Ἀρισταῖος βαθυχαίτης (Hes. *Th.* 977). Jenes Mem könnte aus Anatolien (dem nächsten durch Indo-Europäer besiedelten Territorium) auch direkt nach Philistea gelangt sein, ohne sich erst in der griechischen Kultur manifestiert zu haben.

Ähnlich hätte es mit der Prophezeiung bzw. Intervention Gottes im Fall der Geburt des Heros sein können: Der Verfasser hätte einfach an Stelle eines (indo-europäischen) Orakels oder göttlicher Hypostase einen Engel Jahwes einfügen müssen. Dies mag er es letzten Endes auch getan haben. Das darunter verborgene Grundmotiv kann aber entweder als griechisch-anatolisch oder als semitisch gedeutet werden. Anders verhält es sich jedoch mit dem berühmten Rätsel Samsons. Das Rätselraten, welches man für indo-europäischen Ursprunges hält²¹,

¹⁴ O. MARGALITH, *Samson's Riddle and Samson's Magic Locks*, *Vetus Testamentum* XXXVI 1986, S. 225–234.

¹⁵ Vgl. Gilgamesch-Epos I 241.

¹⁶ O. MARGALITH, *The Legends of Samson/Heracles*, *Vetus Testamentum* XXXVII 1987, S. 63–70.

¹⁷ Benjamin W. FORTSON IV (*Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction*, Oxford 2004, S. 530) gibt bei der Gelegenheit einer Besprechung des armenischen Mythos *Geburt des Vahagn* an, die Erzählung stamme, trotz bedeutender Ähnlichkeit zu iranischen und indischen Mythen, aus Anatolien. Der Text selbst konzentriert sich besonders auf dem Haar des Helden, dessen Namen lose übersetzt „Schlangentöter“ bedeutet.

¹⁸ Siehe s.v. *Hair*, in: J.P. MALLORY, D.Q. ADAMS (Hgg.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, London–Chicago 1997, S. 253.

¹⁹ Wahrscheinlich ist dieses nordische Mem auch mit dem Tragen des sog. Suedenknoten einiger germanischer Stämme vergleichbar (Tac. *Germ.* 38, 3 f.).

²⁰ MARGALITH, *Samson's Riddle...* (Anm. 14), S. 233.

²¹ J.T. KATZ, *The Riddle of the sp(h)ij-: The Greek Sphinx and her Indic and Indo-European Background*, in: G.-J. PINAULT, D. PETIT (Hgg.), *La langue poétique indo-européenne. Actes du*

findet auf der Hochzeitsfeier (hebr. חתונה) in Timna statt (*Ri* 14, 10). *Mišteh* abgeleitet von *šth (dt. „Trinken“) deutet auf ein Symposion mit dem Verzehr von Wein hin²², einen griechischen Brauch, den andere Völkern abgelehnt haben sollen²³. Hinzu kommt, dass das sog. Rätsel in Wahrheit keines war (und das nicht auf Grund seiner Unlösbarkeit²⁴). Azzan YADIN überzeugt in seiner Interpretation, *hîdâ* sei in Wirklichkeit eine geheimnisvolle Aussage in einer Art Poesiewettbewerb, der es gilt eine ebenso geheimnisvolle Aussage zu erwidern. Dies soll in Griechenland Brauch gewesen sein²⁵. YADIN schreibt:

...if *hîdâ* means ‘riddle’ this translation is impossible: the Philistines cannot ask Samson’s wife to persuade him to tell them the riddle, since he told them the riddle in the previous verse. They must, by this reasoning, be looking for the solution to the riddle, and so *wayyagged lânû* must mean ‘that he reveal to us’ or ‘explain for us’ the riddle. Similarly v. 17 informs that Samson’s wife “told (*wattagged*) the *hîdâ* to her countrymen.” If *hîdâ* means ‘riddle,’ and considering the Philistines already know the riddle, *wattagged* must mean ‘she solved’ or ‘she revealed.’ It is clear, then, that the otherwise unattested meaning ‘solve’ is assigned to *higgîd* for the sole purpose of maintaining the philologically questionable assertion that *hîdâ* means ‘riddle’.

[...]

In terms of the structure of the exchange the *skolion* structure explains how two sayings (*gnômai*) can form a verbal competition, that is, why the Philistines response is itself an enigmatic not a “straightforward” solution to a riddle: the first *hîdâ*, enigmatic saying, is Samson’s challenge, which the Philistines must cap with a saying, a *hîdâ*, of their own. This is why Samson’s wife “told them the *hîdâ*,” and not the solution to a riddle²⁶.

Eine entsprechende Episode des Herakles-Zyklus gibt es bei Pseudo-Hesiod, in der der Sohn Zeus‘ auf der Hochzeitsfeier des Keykos zur allgemeinen Unterhaltung Rätsel stellt²⁷. Dass Herakles gerne an Symposien teilgenommen haben soll, wird auch in Aristophanes‘ *Vögeln* deutlich, wo er als Vielfraß, der sich mit Nahrung bestechen lässt, persifliert wird (*Ar. Av.* 1575–1585; 1670–1690). Überdies ist anzumerken, dass der eben erwähnte langhaarige Aristaios

Colloque de travail de la Société des Études Indo-Européennes (Indogermanische Gesellschaft/ Society for Indo-European Studies), Leuven–Paris 2006, S. 157–194.

²² NIESIŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *op. cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 241–243.

²³ *Ibidem*, S. 189–192.

²⁴ P. CARUS (*Mythical Elements in the Samson Story*, *The Monist* XVII 1907, S. 33–83) schlägt eine Lösung des Rätsels vor: „There is an ancient Mithraic plaque representing a lion with a bee in his mouth and the simple explanation of it may be nothing more nor less than that the bees produce honey in the lion, i.e., the month when the sun stands in the sign of Leo. Thus it would be quite plausible for an ancient riddle to propound the paradox, ‚When or where can honey be found in a lion?‘ And the answer, alluding to the deed of the sun-god, would be: ‚In the month of the slain lion““ (S. 43 f.).

²⁵ YADIN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 9), S. 418–422.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, S. 414 und 419 f.

²⁷ R. MERKELBACH, M.L. WEST, *The Wedding of Ceyx*, *RhM* CVIII 1965, S. 300–317.

späteren Zeugnissen nach als Gott der Jagd und Imkerei verehrt worden ist²⁸, wobei letzteres das bugonistische Rätsel Samsons erklärt.

Es ergibt sich also eine grundlegende Verbindung zur griechischen Kultur, auch wenn sich dadurch die Sonnenheros-Hypothese keineswegs von der Hand weisen lässt. Nun bleibt festzustellen, inwiefern sich der Sonnenheros-Aspekt auf die Handlung der Legende ausgewirkt haben konnte. Es wurde versucht die Taten beider Helden als Kampf der Sonne gegen die Sternzeichen zu verstehen²⁹. Theoretisch wäre es in einer solchen Interpretation möglich, eine Überlegenheit des solaren (bzw. lunisolaren) Kalenders gegenüber dem lunaren zu sehen. Doch meine Versuche den jeweiligen Abenteuern der Heroen (Samson und Herakles) auf nachvollziehbare Weise Sternbilder zuzuordnen, endeten in Samsons Fall beim Sternbild des Löwen. Bei Herakles bedarf darüber hinaus des Eingeständnisses, dass nach den Sternzeichen des Sagittarius (7. Arbeit – Stymphalische Vögel) und Taurus (6. Arbeit – Kretischer Stier) jegliche saisonal oder astronomisch relevanten Verbindungen entweder der Fantastik angehörten oder schlichtweg „im Sand verliefen“³⁰.

Letztendlich lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass Parallelen zwischen den Mythen des Samson und Herakles bestehen; griechische Elemente sind in der Samson-Erzählung klar vorhanden, doch auch der solare Aspekt Samsons liegt auf der Hand. Was für eine Bedeutung die Nähe des Samson zu Herakles hat, kann nur offenbart werden, wenn die wahre Gestalt hinter Herakles erkannt wird.

HERAKLES DER WALDHEROS

Analog zu der bisher nicht eindeutig erörterten Datierung des Samson-Mythos, bereitet auch das Feststellen eines klaren Zeitpunktes der Entstehung der Heraklessage Schwierigkeiten. Die ersten uns zugänglichen Zeilen, in denen Herakles erwähnt wird, stammen aus der *Ilias* und *Odysee*. Die mehr oder weniger im Anschluss daran entstandenen Werke *Theogonie* (Hesiod) und *Schild des Herakles* (Pseudo-Hesiod) sind in der Chronologie die nächsten Zeugnisse des in Theben geborenen (Hom. *Il.* XIV 323 f.) Heros. Sein Bild hat sich seither sehr verändert. Später hieß es, er sei an Stärke nicht zu übertreffen, doch dem war nicht von Beginn an so. Sein Name muss zu jener Zeit in unbestreitbaren etymologischen Zusammenhang mit Hera gesetzt worden sein, sodass er durch diesen in frühester griechischer Epik definiert wurde³¹.

²⁸ A. SCHRIMER, s.v. *Aristaios*, in: W.S. ROSCHER (Hg.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1884–1890, S. 547–551.

²⁹ G.G. COHEN, *Samson and Hercules. A Comparison between the Feats of Samson and the Labours of Hercules*, *Evangelical Quarterly* XLII 1970, S. 131–141.

³⁰ Die Hesperiden könnte man aufgrund ihres etymologischen Bezugs zum Westen als Venusstern deuten. Die Hydra hingegen besitzt ihr eigenes Sternbild.

³¹ Die Etymologie von „Herakles“ ist bis heute umstritten. Für eine Ableitung aus dem Akkadischen (bzw. Sumerischen) von „Erragal“ (= Nergal, Gatte der Ereschkigal) siehe P. HINGSLEY,

Zwar ist auch versucht worden Herakles als Gatten Heras, gar namentlich als Heros, zu identifizieren, doch fehlt es solchen Versuchen an Substanz: Das Wesen Heras als Ehegöttin veranlasst zu der Annahme, dass bevor sie an Zeus' Seite zur Göttermutter wurde, sich ihre Fähigkeiten erst durch die Ehe mit einer Gottheit Namens Heros entwickelt hätten³². Dies lässt jedoch eine philologische Diskrepanz der beiden Termini Ἥρας und *e-ra* (Linear B)³³ bezweifeln, welche diese Hypothese in erster Linie überhaupt erwägenswert gemacht haben. Außerdem könnte man damit kaum Herakles' Namen mit dem Anhang *-kles* erklären. Überhaupt kann nicht mit absoluter Gewissheit postuliert werden, dass „Herakles“ von Beginn an der Name dieses Helden gewesen ist. Eher sollte man davon ausgehen, dass der Name erst zusammen mit anderen „Dazudichtungen“ der Figur des Waldheros gegeben worden ist.

Homer zufolge war Herakles unter den besten zwei Bogenschützen (Hom. *Od.* VIII 224 f.) der Ägäis³⁴, was auf seine ursprüngliche Charakteristik als Jäger zurückzuführen ist. Der zweite Teil seines Namens (*-kles* aus dem Griechischen κλέος für „Ruhm“) lässt die Übersetzung „der sich an Hera Ruhm erwarb“ zu³⁵. Dies verweist im Gegenzug auf den homerischen Passus, in dem Herakles die Göttin mit einem Pfeil verwundet (Hom. *Il.* V 393). Das ist die früheste Spur und der einzige Anhaltspunkt in der homerischen und hesiodischen Epik, dem Namen Ἡρακλῆς eine Bedeutung zu geben. Zudem verweist dieser Passus auf eine Fehde mit Hera. Während seiner Katabasis traf Odysseus nicht nur Herakles, sondern auch Orion, einen Jagdheros, der wilde Tiere mit seiner bronzenen Keule zu erlegen pflegte (Hom. *Od.* XI 572–575). Gewiss sind Orion und Herakles vergleichbar, dadurch aber auch in der Ikonographie schwer voneinander zu unterscheiden. FONTENROSE machte drei mögliche Szenarien für den Verlauf eines Jäger-Mythos aus, die den Streit eines Jagdheros mit einem der Olympischen Götter und eine darauf folgende Bestrafung des Jägers vorsehen³⁶. Die Bruchstücke, die vom ursprünglichen Herakles-Mythos

Poimandres: The Etymology of the Name and the Origins of the Hermetica, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes LVI 1993, S. 1–24. Zwar schenkt Martin L. WEST (*The East Face of Helicon: East Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry*, Oxford 1997, S. 472, Anm. 102) dieser Etymologie keinen Glauben, dennoch lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass der spätere Nergal-Herakles Kult zu Hatra einen Synkretismus dokumentiert, durch den Herakles' Heraufbringen eines dreiköpfigen Kerberos erklärt werden könnte; dafür siehe L. DIRVEN, *My Lord With His Dogs. Continuity and Change in the Cult of Nergal in Parthian Mesopotamia*, in: L. GREISIGER et al. (Hgg.), *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Religion, Kultur und Politik zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge des internationalen Edessa-Symposiums in Halle an der Saale, 14.–17. Juli 2005*, Beirut 2009, S. 47–68.

³² W. PÖTSCHER, *Hera und Heros*, RhM CIV 1961, S. 302–355.

³³ *Ibidem*, S. 329.

³⁴ COHEN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 29), S. 133.

³⁵ J.V. O'BRIEN (*The Transformation of Hera: A Study of Ritual, Hero, and the Goddess in the Iliad*, Lanham 1993, S. 114–118) stellt Hera als Göttin der Jahreszeiten dar und argumentiert unter Anderem mit Hilfe des Herakles-Mythos bzw. seiner zwölf Arbeiten.

³⁶ J. FONTENROSE, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1981, S. 142 f.

erhalten geblieben sind, erlauben es aber nicht Herakles einem dieser Szenarien zuzuordnen.

Als Bogenschütze und Bändiger wilder Tiere erinnert Herakles stark an Artemis, Göttin der Wildnis und *Potnia Theron* mit Pfeil und Bogen als Attribute. Aus Hom. *Od.* XI 621 f. und späteren Überlieferungen der Heraklessage kann man schließen, dass die Fehde zwischen Hera und Herakles schon früh Eurystheus, Pseudo-Hesiod nach ἀλιττήμενον Εὐρυσθῆα (Hes. Sc. 91), involviert haben muss, wobei dadurch zum Ausgleich Artemis an der Seite des Herakles umso weniger unwahrscheinlich erscheint. Eine Tafel aus Pylos (172 = Kn02 [Tn316])³⁷, dieselbe auf der Heras Name in Linear B bezeugt ist, nennt auch eine Göttin mit dem (Bei-)Namen Potnia³⁸. Zwar ist das Motiv der *Potnia Theron* eines, das vielerlei weibliche Gottheiten widerspiegeln, gleichwohl ist Artemis die beste Kandidatin für eine Identifikation mit der aus Pylos bezeugten Göttin, denn ein Kult der Artemis ist in Pylos zweifelsfrei belegt³⁹. Somit ist es möglich, wegen der Abwesenheit ihres Namens auf der zuvor erwähnten Pylos-Tafel und dem homerischen Passus πότηνια θηρῶν Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη (Hom. *Il.* XXI 470 f.) den Schluss zu ziehen, es handle sich hierbei um ein und dieselbe Gottheit. Außerdem ist dank Sarah P. MORRIS' stichhaltiger Argumentation mindestens eine Facette der pylyischen Potnia zweifellos der ephesischen Artemis zuzuordnen⁴⁰. Interessanterweise – wolle man tatsächlich eine Partnerschaft von Herakles als Waldheros und Artemis als Jagdgöttin in Betracht ziehen – so müsse man bemerken, dass bei jenen Arbeiten des Herakles, die keine Verbindung zum Orient aufweisen, keinem der Tiere ein Leid geschieht – ganz im Sinne eines *Posis Theron*. Zuletzt hatte Billie Jean COLLINS auf die Ikonographie des Jägers bei den Hethitern hingewiesen und dabei angemerkt, Pfeil und Bogen seien für das Motiv religiöser Jagd durch hochrangige Mitglieder der hethitischen Gesellschaft zu der Zeit des Alten Königreiches bzw. frühen Imperiums repräsentativ gewesen. Besonders deutlich werde dies auf Reliefs aus Alaca Höyük, auf denen eine Jagd auf Löwe, Stier, Wildschwein und Hirsch abgebildet sind. Das Motiv sei dabei ein Symbol für die Schutzfunktion des Königs gewesen⁴¹. Eine Analogie zu der frühesten Immanenz des Herakles könnte dabei zu vermuten sein.

³⁷ M. VENTRIS, J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, S. 286 f.

³⁸ PÖTSCHER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 32), S. 344 f.

³⁹ M.L. NOSCH, *Approaches to Artemis in Bronze Age Greece*, in: T. FISCHER-HANSEN, B. POULSEN (Hgg.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Men and Beast*, Copenhagen 2009, S. 21–40.

⁴⁰ S.P. MORRIS, *Potnia Aswiya: Anatolian Contributions to Greek Religion*, in: R. LAFFINEUR, R. HÄGG (Hgg.), *Potnia, Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000*, Liège–Austin 2001, S. 423–434.

⁴¹ B.J. COLLINS, *Hero, Field Master, King: Animal Mastery in Hittite Texts and Iconography*, in: D.B. COUNTS, B. ARNOLD (Hgg.), *The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography*, Budapest 2010, S. 59–74.

Schon in der späten Antike hatte man Herakles einen anderen Geburtsnamen zugesprochen (siehe Diod. IV 10, 1). Passend für Herakles wäre gewiss der Name „Aristaios“ gewesen, denn als Jäger und Hirte (ἄγρεια καὶ νόμιον) war jener zuvor genannte Thebaner Aristaios bereits Pindar bekannt (Pind. *Pyth.* IX 64–67). Dessen früheste uns bisher bekannte graphische Darstellungen stammen aus der Mitte des 7. Jhd. v. Chr.⁴². Als *Agreus* und *Posis Theron* liegt es nahe, Aristaios mit Artemis zu vergleichen. Außerdem sei Lewis R. FARNELL nach sein Name auch von einem Beinamen der Artemis abzuleiten⁴³. Spekulativ, aber doch begründet, wäre es ihm – wie jedem Jäger – besonderes Geschick beim Schinden zuzusprechen. Wahrlich scheint das Häuten auch ein bedeutendes Element des ephesischen Kultes der Artemis gewesen zu sein⁴⁴. Wäre nun Herakles ursprünglich tatsächlich ein Waldheros gewesen, dessen Wesen sich nach und nach orientalisierte, könnte man das Tragen des Löwenfells auf den Aspekt des Jägers zurückführen, besonders deswegen, weil Aristaios, der Waldheros schlechthin, in kultischer Beziehung sowohl zu Zeus Lykaios⁴⁵, als darüber hinaus auch Apollo Lykaios⁴⁶ zu stehen scheint, und in der Mythenforschung die Austauschbarkeit eines anatolischen Wolf- und eines orientalischen Löwenmotives bereits des Öfteren vermutet worden ist⁴⁷. Dass das Schinden im antiken Griechenland Teil des Tieropfers gewesen sein konnte, wurde zuletzt von Scott SCULLION nachgewiesen⁴⁸.

Bei Pseudo-Hesiod kämpft Herakles im Zweikampf gegen Kyknos (Hes. *Sc.*). Er ist Anführer und Erfolgsgarant sowohl der Kadmäer, als auch aller Bötier⁴⁹. Man könnte meinen, dass es bereits zu Zeiten Homers aufgrund der Unstimmigkeit zwischen Bogenschütze und Hoplit eine alternative Version des Herakles-Mythos gegeben haben könnte. Einer solchen Haltung steht jedoch ein läppisches und doch durchaus gerechtfertigtes Argument im Wege: Als Heros könnte Herakles sehr wohl über mehrere außerordentliche Fähigkeiten verfügt haben. Dennoch

⁴² A. ALEXANDRIDOU, *The Early Black-Figured Pottery of Attika in Context (c. 630–570 BCE)*, Leiden 2011, S. 64 f.

⁴³ L.R. FARNELL, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, S. 50.

⁴⁴ MORRIS, *op. cit.* (Anm. 40), S. 431 f.

⁴⁵ A.B. COOK, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Greek Religion*, Bd. 3, Cambridge 1940, S. 267 ff.; vgl. auch SCHRIMER, *op. cit.* (Anm. 28), S. 450.

⁴⁶ M. SUMMERS, *The Werewolf in Lore and Legend*, Mineola 2003, S. 143. Vorher bezieht SUMMERS Stellung zu der Hypothese die Lykaia-Feste haben Tänze in Wolfshäuten involviert haben können (S. 141 f.).

⁴⁷ Vgl. A. ÜNAL, *The Nature and Iconographical Traits of "Goddess of Darkness"*, in: M.J. MELLINK *et al.* (Hgg.), *Aspects of Art and Iconography. Anatolia and its Neighbors*, Ankara 1993, S. 639–643.

⁴⁸ S. SCULLION, *Sacrificial Norms, Greek and Semitic: Holocausts and Hides in a Sacred Law of Aixone*, in: P. BRULÉ (Hg.), *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne*, Rennes 2007, S. 153–169.

⁴⁹ A. KÜHR, *Invading Boeotia. 'Polis' and 'Ethnos' in the Mirror of Theban Foundation Myths*, *Hermes* CXXXII 2006, S. 367–372.

erscheint der Gedanke einer „Dazudichtung“ von Attributen oder Abenteuern in Anbetracht der späteren Entwicklung der Heraklessage nicht ganz abwegig. Man sollte durchaus anzweifeln, dass der Mythos von Anfang an derart ausgebaut gewesen war. Würde man annehmen, dass Herakles anfänglich tatsächlich das männliche Gegenstück zu Artemis gewesen sei, ergäbe sich ein Blickwinkel, der den *Dodekathlos* (zwölf Arbeiten) in neuem Lichte erscheinen ließe. Im Hinblick auf die Tatsache, dass die Mehrheit seiner Arbeiten an den mythologisierten Tagesablauf eines einfachen Hirten, Jägers oder Försters erinnern, stechen vier der zwölf Arbeiten deutlich heraus: die Erlegung des Nemeischen Löwen, die Tötung der Lernäischen Hydra, das Erwerben des Gurtes der Amazonen Königin Hippolyte und das Herausbringen des Kerberos aus dem Hades. Als Bezwinger des Nemeischen Löwen (Hes. *Th.* 329–334) und der Lernäischen Hydra (Hes. *Th.* 310–318) war er bereits Hesiod bekannt. Auffällig dabei ist lediglich, dass Homers Bezüge auf Löwen wahrscheinlich auf seine Erfahrungen in Ionien zurückzuführen sind⁵⁰. Folglich könnte der Löwentöteraspekt in der griechischen Epik ein (zugegebenermaßen sehr früher) Import entweder aus Anatolien oder aus Syro-Palästina bzw. Mesopotamien sein⁵¹. Besonders Homer soll sich mit anatolischer bzw. mesopotamischer Epik inspiriert haben; sowohl Achilles, als auch Odysseus und nicht zuletzt auch Kirke sind gute Beispiele für ein Schöpfen literarischer Motive aus dem Gilgamesch-Epos⁵². Auch Hesiods Werke weisen Mary R. BACHVAROVA zufolge eindeutig mesopotamische bzw. anatolische Züge auf⁵³. Es ist anzunehmen, dass demnach die homerische Episode über Bellerophons Erlegen der Chimära (Hom. *Il.* VI 180–183) zusammen mit der hesiodischen Überlieferung der Tötung des Nemeischen Löwen beide eine Spiegelung des orientalischen Drachentötermotivs sind (dem gewiss auch das Duell mit der Hydra angehört). Zwar wurde dagegen durch Othniel MARGALITH berechtigterweise Einwand eingelegt, indem hervorgehoben wurde, dass das Erlegen von Monstern mit bloßen Händen in semitischer Literatur ohne Präzedenz ist⁵⁴, doch kann dieser Aspekt auch durch die Spezifik des Heroen, d.h. seiner übermenschlichen Stärke, oder einfach als eine anatolische Auffassung des Motivs erklärt werden. Wahrscheinlich ist somit auch, dass

⁵⁰ M. ALDEN, *Lions in Paradise: Lion Similes in the Iliad and the Lion Cubs of Il.* 18.318–22, CQ LV 2005, S. 335–342. ALDEN bemerkt aber auch, dass Löwen im 7. Jhd. v. Chr. in Böotien, in Südgriechenland bis Ende der archaischen Periode und im Norden sogar bis ins 4. Jhd. v. Chr. existiert haben (S. 336 f.).

⁵¹ ALDEN (*ibidem*) beruft sich dabei auf S. WEST, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey I*, Oxford 1988, S. 213.

⁵² Siehe z. B. T. ABUSCH, *Male and Female in the Epic of Gilgamesh. Encounters, Literary History, and Interpretation*, Winona Lake 2015, S. 119–126.

⁵³ M.R. BACHVAROVA, *From Hittite to Homer. The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic*, Cambridge 2016, S. 20–23, 34.

⁵⁴ MARGALITH, *Samson's Riddle...* (Anm. 14), S. 66.

der Kampf des Herakles mit der neunköpfigen Hydra ein frühes Addendum ist, welches in einem klaren Gegensatz zu den ursprünglichen, elementaren Arbeiten steht. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass diese Episode des Herakles-Mythos im sumerischen Epos *Lugal-e* ihren Ursprung hat⁵⁵. Das Herabsteigen des Herakles in den Hades, als er Kerberos ins Diesseits führt (Hom. *Od.* XI 624–626), ist wahrscheinlich ebenso aus der mesopotamischen Kultur übernommen worden, wobei der Hund als Wächter der Unterwelt nicht zwangsläufig semitischen, sondern auch indo-europäischen Ursprunges sein kann. Im Motiv der Kata- und Anabasis stehen Herakles und Odysseus der akkadischen Göttin Ischtar und dem Sonnenheros Gilgamesch in nichts nach. Dennoch lässt sich mutmaßen, dass das Herabsteigen des Herakles in den Hades aus einer Analogie zu Gilgamesch (und nicht zu Odysseus⁵⁶) heraus entstanden ist, denn in der *Odyssee* ist die Begegnung des Odysseus mit Herakles' *eidolon* mit nahezu denselben Worten beschrieben worden, wie das Schicksal des Gilgamesch bzw. seines sumerischen Archetypen, Bilgames, nach dessen Tod:

Hom. <i>Od.</i> XI 601–604	<i>The Death of Bilgames</i> 78–83	<i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> III 105–106
<p>τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακλεῖην, εἶδωλον: αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι τέρπεται ἐν θαλῆς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυ- ρον Ἥβην, παῖδα Διὸς μέγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου.</p> <p>Und nach diesem erblickt' ich die hohe Kraft Herakles, Seine Gestalt; denn er selber feiert mit den ewigen Göttern Himmliche Wonnegelag', und umarmt die blühende Hebe, Zeus des Gewaltigen Tochter und Heres mit goldenen Sohlen⁵⁷.</p>	<p>And now we look on Bilgames: despite his mother we can- not show him mercy! Bilgames, in the form of his ghost, dead in the underworld, shall be the governor of the Netherworld, chief of the shades! He will pass judgement, he will render verdicts, what he says will be as weighty as the word of Ningishzida and Dumuzi⁵⁸.</p>	<p>Will he not rule with Irnina⁵⁹ the black-head- ed people? Will he not dwell with Ningishzida in the Land-of-No- Return?⁶⁰</p>

⁵⁵ WEST, *op. cit.* (Anm. 31), S. 461.

⁵⁶ Vgl. N. ROBERTSON, *Heracles' 'Catabasis'*, *Hermes* CVIII 1980, S. 276.

⁵⁷ Übersetzt von J.H. VOSS, zugänglich unter: http://www.digbib.org/Homer_8JHvChr/De_Odyssee?k=Elfter+Gesang [5.4.2018].

⁵⁸ A. GEORGE, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation*, London 2000, S. 199.

⁵⁹ Eine Göttin der Unterwelt. Auch einer der Beinamen von Ischtar.

⁶⁰ GEORGE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 58), S. 26.

Bilgames/Gilgamesch wurde nach seinem Tod der Rang eines Gottes zugesprochen, wohingegen Herakles – laut späterer Tradition – *post mortem* in den Olymp aufgenommen wurde. Eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden Halbgöttern besteht definitiv. Das Epos *Gilgamesch, Enkidu und die Unterwelt* erzählt von dem Huluppu-Baum, der von einer Schlange und einem Vogel bewohnt wird. Im Dienste Ischtars vertreibt Gilgamesch den Vogel und tötet die Schlange (Z. 135–144)⁶¹. Diese Narration bildet eine weitere interessante Parallele zur semitischen Tradition, sowie zum Sündenfall; das Stehlen der goldenen Äpfel der Hesperiden durch Herakles weist verblüffende Ähnlichkeiten hierzu auf. Der Baum der Hesperiden soll von einer Schlange (Hes. *Th.* 334) (bzw. in späterer Tradition einem Drachen)⁶² bewacht worden sein, wie auch die „Schlange“ (erst zur Strafe wurden dem Wesen die Beine entfernt, sodass es auf Ewigkeit zum Kriechen verdammt war) und später die Cherubim den Baum im Zentrum des Garten Eden bewachten (*Gen.* 3) oder die Lamassu, die auf verschiedenen orientalischen Reliefs um den Assyrischen Heiligenbaum herum abgebildet sind. Jene Schlange wird von Herakles erlegt und die goldenen Äpfel, die er von dem Baum pflückt, sind seine Belohnung. In einer weiteren Aufgabe vertreibt er die Stymphalischen Vögel. Auf diese Aufgabe verweist Homer wohl, als Odysseus Herakles mit Pfeil und Bogen als Schrecken von Greifvögeln beschreibt (*Hom. Od.* XI 605–608). Nimmt man die Vertreibung der Stymphalischen Vögel also als eine der chronologisch ersten des *Dodekathlos* an, so könnte man im Vertreiben der Vögel eine Ähnlichkeit des Thebaners zu Gilgamesch erkennen und ihm folglich auch das Erlegen einer Schlange, die einen Baum bewacht, zugesprochen haben.

Peisander von Rhodos gilt als derjenige, der die *Dodekathlos* in seinem Werk *Herakleia*⁶³ zuerst als solche kanonisierte, auch wenn bereits Homer⁶⁴ und Pseudo-Hesiod (Hes. *Sc.* 126–128) auf derartige Arbeiten anspielten. Diese Kanonisierung der Aufgaben ist von immenser Wichtigkeit, denn sie hebt die Anzahl der Arbeiten (genau zwölf) hervor, sodass alle anderen, kleineren Abenteuer und Errungenschaften des Herakles in den Hintergrund rücken. Peisander dichtete im 7. Jhd. v. Chr. und entstammt somit einer deutlich jüngeren Epoche als die zuvor erwähnten Aoiden. In der folgenden Tabelle sind die Zwölf Arbeiten nach Peisander zusammen mit ihrer wahrscheinlichen Entstehungszeit aufgelistet.

⁶¹ A. GADOTTI, *‘Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld’ and the Sumerian Gilgamesh Cycle*, Boston–Berlin 2014, S. 156.

⁶² Die Schlange wird bei Apollonius (Ap. Rhod. VI 1394–1339) Ladon genannt. Eine Schlange als Wächter des Baumes mit goldenen Äpfeln wird auch von Hesiod (Hes. *Th.* 333–336) erwähnt. Es ist offensichtlich, dass der Name „Ladon“ (und damit gewiss auch die Figur selbst) mit dem kananäischen Lotan, einem Widersacher Baals, gleichzusetzen ist.

⁶³ A. BERNABÉ, *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum. Testimonia et Fragmenta*, Bd. I, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996, S. 167–170.

⁶⁴ COHEN, *op. cit.* (Anm. 29), S. 133.

ARBEIT	ENTSTEHUNGSZEIT
Einfangen der Kerynithischen Hirschkuh Einfangen der Erymanthischen Ebers Ausmisten der Rinderställe des Augias Vertreibung der Stymphalischen Vögel Einfangen des Kretischen Stiers Zähmung der Pferde des Diomedes Raub der Rinderherde des Geyron	bis 12. Jhd. v. Chr.
Erlegung des Nemeischen Löwen Tötung der Lernäischen Hydra Pflücken der Äpfel der Hesperiden	12.–10. Jhd. v. Chr.
Heraufbringen des Kerberos aus der Unterwelt	10.–8. Jhd. v. Chr.
Erwerb des Gurtes der Hippolyte ⁶⁵	womöglich nach oder zeitgemäß zu Pseudo-Hesiod, demnach ca. 750–650 v. Chr.

Im Raub der Rinderherde des Geyron ist eine Verbindung zum indo-europäischen Sonnenkult erkannt worden. Dabei hob man hervor, dass die heilige Herde eines indo-europäischen Sonnengottes bereits in diversen Mythen entführt worden ist. So stahl Hermes die Herde des Apollo, die Gefährten des Odysseus vergingen sich an Helios' Tieren, Euenius ließ zu, dass die Schafe des Helios von Wölfen gefressen wurden und auch König Nestor gelang es eine Rinderherde zu entführen, welche einem gewissen Augias gehörte, dessen Name womöglich aus einem Epitheton des Helios entstanden sein könnte⁶⁶. In Anlehnung an den vedischen Panis-Mythos, kam Douglas FRAME jedoch zu der Erkenntnis, dass jene Diebstähle auf die Intelligenz und das Geschick des jeweiligen diebischen Heros anspielen⁶⁷ und nicht auf dessen physische Stärke und Kraft, wie bei semitischen Sonnenhelden üblich. Dem zuwider ist erkannt worden, dass die Odysseus-Episode eher der anatolisch-mesopotamischen Tradition entstammt. Dies geht deutlich aus BACHVAROVAS Rekonstruktion der ritualen Bedeutung des Gilgamesch in Anatolien hervor⁶⁸. WEST bezieht den Raub der Rinderherde durch Herakles hingegen auf Ninurtas Taten in *Lugal-e*⁶⁹ und

⁶⁵ Timothy GANTZ (*Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore–London 1993, S. 397–398) gibt an, die Entstehung dieser Episode könne frühestens auf Anfang bis Mitte des 7. Jhd. v. Chr. datiert werden.

⁶⁶ D. FRAME, *The Myth of Return in Early Greek Epic*, New Haven–London 1978, S. 30–50 und 86–95.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, S. 45.

⁶⁸ BACHVAROVA, *op. cit.* (Anm. 53), S. 78–110 (im Besonderen S. 99–107).

⁶⁹ WEST, *op. cit.* (Anm. 31), S. 467–469. WEST schreibt: „The Labours of Heracles form a cycle like the victories of Ninurta. Ninurta is a vigorous champion, a son of the chief god Enlil. An Akkadian text (KAR 76.9) calls him *aplu dannu ša Enlil*, ‘the strong son of Enlil’, paralleling the formula

FRAME erkennt in Geryon einen chthonischen Aspekt des Helios⁷⁰. Das Stehlen der Rinderherde durch Herakles kann aber kaum auf dessen Kraft basiert haben, lediglich die Überwältigung des Geyron lässt sich auf diese zurückführen. Der Raub *per se* müsse demnach indo-europäischen Ursprunges sein.

Der Ursprung des Abenteuers mit den Amazonen ist schwierig nachzuvollziehen. Doch ist der Erwerb des Gurtes sicherlich ein Resultat der Sammlung von Artefakten „göttlicher Manufaktur“, analog zu den im *Schild des Herakles* beschriebenen Beinschonern des Hephaistos oder des Harnisches der Pallas (Hes. Sc. 122–128) und der Aneignung der Ares-Rüstung des Kyknos nach dessen Tod (Hes. Sc. 469)⁷¹. An dieser Stelle ist erwähnenswert, dass die Amazonen bereits in der *Ilias* (Hom. *Il.* II 184–189; VI 185–186) genannt worden sind, daher kann eine „Dazudichtung“ dieser Episode nur als Hypothese basierend auf der Abweichung von den ursprünglichen Arbeiten geachtet werden. Zugleich ist aber ein literarisches Vermächtnis einer früheren Sage nicht vollkommen auszuschließen.

Aus der Datierung der Arbeiten des Herakles ergeben sich vier Etappen bis zur endgültigen Kanonisierung des *Dodekathlos* durch Peisander im 7. Jhd. v. Chr., die sich im historischen Rahmen folgendermaßen zusammenfassen lassen:

- 1) Helladische Phase: Entstehung der Figur von Herakles dem Waldheros (bis 12. Jhd. v. Chr.);
- 2) Phase des helladischen Kollaps: parallel zum kulturellen Kollaps der mykenischen Ägäis (bzw. als dessen Resultat) Zustrom und „verstärkte“ Übernahme anatolischer und semitischer Motive (ca. 12.–10. Jhd. v. Chr.)⁷²;
- 3) Migrationsphase: Aufnahme mehrerer durch die okzidentale Expansion Assyriens verursachter Migrationswellen aus der Küstenregion Syro-Palästinas bzw. Kilikien und ebenda intensivierte Aktivität ägäischer Siedler⁷³. Folglich Neuinterpretation diverser mythologischer (orientalischer) Motive (ca. 9.–7. Jhd. v. Chr.);
- 4) Entstehung der griechischen Tragödie: poetisch-literarische Neuinterpretationen von Mythen (ab 7.–6. Jhd. v. Chr.).

used of Heracles, ‘the doughty son of Zeus’ (Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς)” (S. 467). Er gibt die Quelle diesen Zitates nicht an, mit denselben Worten wird jedoch Hermes in der vierten *Homerischen Hymne an Hermes* beschrieben (Hymn. Hom. Merc. 101 f.). Im darauf folgenden Vers wird von dem Diebstahl der apollinischen Herde berichtet.

⁷⁰ FRAME, *op. cit.* (Anm. 66), S. 46.

⁷¹ A. KLÜGMANN (*Die Amazonen in der attischen Literatur und Kunst*, Stuttgart 1875, S. 12–15) merkte an, dass bei den Skythen der Gurt als Symbol „der von den Vorfahren ererbten Herrschaft“ angesehen wurde. In Hom. *Od.* XI 609–612 trägt Herakles einen besonderen, verzierten Gurt. Ob es jener der Hippolyte ist, bleibt ungeklärt.

⁷² Dieser Zeitraum stimmt generell mit der Rekonstruktion von BACHVAROVA (*op. cit.* [Anm. 53], S. 417) überein.

⁷³ Vgl. LANFRANCHI, *op. cit.* (Anm. 12), S. 32 f. oder BACHVAROVA, *op. cit.* (Anm. 53), S. 234.

DER FALL ÖDIPUS

Des Weiteren sticht die Ähnlichkeit mehrerer Episoden aus den Mythen Samsons und Herakles' mit der Legende des Ödipus ins Auge. Folgende wird der Leser sicherlich mit den entsprechenden, zuvor erwähnten Handlungssträngen der Mythen des Herakles und Samson zu verbinden wissen: Erstens, die Geburt Ödipus wird von dem Orakel zu Delphi vorhergesehen; zweitens, Ödipus erlegt die Sphinx und wird zum Lohn mit der Königin Thebens vermählt; drittens, die griechische Tradition des Rätselratens wird aufgegriffen; viertens, Ödipus erblindet (vgl. *Ri* 16, 21). Diese Elemente sind Teil des Kanons wie er im 6. Jhd. v. Chr. allgemein bekannt gewesen zu sein scheint⁷⁴. Sollte sich diese Annahme als wahr erweisen, dann ist zu vermuten, dass jene vier Handlungselemente mit der Evolution des Herakles- und Samson-Mythos in Verbindung stehen. Aus den frühesten Quellen des Ödipus-Mythos geht hervor, dass weder die Rätsellösung, noch das Duell mit der Sphinx Teil der ursprünglichen, thebanischen Volkssage gewesen sind⁷⁵. Es liegt keinerlei literarischer Beleg für ein Rätsel der Sphinx vor dem 5. Jhd. v. Chr. vor⁷⁶; die Sphinx wird zwar von Pseudo-/Hesiod erwähnt (*Hes. Th.* 326–329; *Hes. Sc.* 30–33), doch steht Ödipus weder bei Hesiod, noch bei Homer in jeglicher Verbindung zu ihr. Während also Samson im 7. Jhd. v. Chr. den (kontroversen) Bezug zu einem Rätsel in seinen Lebenslauf aufnimmt, beginnt sich wohl auch das Ödipus-Rätsel regional zu verbreiten. Der Ödipus-Mythos zeichne sich somit als die Geschichte eines jungen Mannes, der seinen Vater erschlug und seine Mutter heiratete (*Hom. Od.* XI 271–274). Ob der Patrizid während Kriegshandlungen⁷⁷ begangen worden ist oder doch lediglich aus Unwissenheit, ist heute wohl kaum noch zu erörtern. Eher unwahrscheinlich ist, dass in der originalen Erzählstruktur aus dem ödipalen Inzest mit Epikaste/Jokasta ein Fluch für die nächste Generation resultierte.

Die Tetrade von Innovationen, die der thebanischen Sage gewiss nicht ohne Grund hinzugefügt worden sind, mussten sozial-politische Vorgänge veranlasst bzw. begleitet haben. Dieselben Vorgänge, die bereits die sog. orientalisierende Periode eingeleitet haben⁷⁸, könnten den ausschlaggebenden Impuls verursacht haben, der letztendlich auch zu Neuinterpretation und Umdichtung von Mythen geführt hat. Doch welchem Zweck sollte eine solche Umdichtung dienen? Jene

⁷⁴ L. EDMUNDS, *Oedipus*, London–New York 2006, S. 18–20.

⁷⁵ L. EDMUNDS, *The Sphinx in the Oedipus Legend*, in: L. EDMUNDS, A. DUNDES (Hgg.), *Oedipus. A Folklore Casebook*, New York 1984, S. 146–173.

⁷⁶ H. GOLDMAN, *Two Unpublished Oedipus Vases in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, *AJA* XV 1911, S. 378–385.

⁷⁷ EDMUNDS, *Oedipus* (Anm. 74), S. 40.

⁷⁸ Dafür siehe W. BURKERT, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur*, Heidelberg 1984, S. 15–19.

Elemente, die der Ödipus-Sage hinzugefügt worden sind, enthalten die Antwort auf diese Frage: Punkt Eins, die Mantik des Orakels zu Delphi, ist in jener Zeit mit der politischen Institution des delphischen Apollo-Tempels gleichzusetzen. Obgleich die Mantik und der Kult des Apollo anatolischer Herkunft zu sein scheinen⁷⁹, hat das Orakel in Griechenland zur Zeit der Umdichtungen bereits politische Wichtigkeit und Akzeptanz erlangt⁸⁰, was im Rückschluss erlaubt die Prophezeiung der Geburt des Ödipus als politisches Statement der griechischen bzw. einer delphisch-apollinischen Fraktion zu deuten. Durch das Addendum einer solchen Prophezeiung konnte das Orakel die Ödipus-Sage entweder teilweise oder gar vollkommen für sich beanspruchen. Für das Hinzufügen der Sphinx als Widersacher des Heros sehe ich die Möglichkeit, dass die Sphinx als Hybridwesen orientalischer Herkunft im Rahmen von Assimilationsversuchen mit Migranten aus Syro-Palästina oder Kilikien in die Handlung des Mythos eingeflochten worden ist. Das Erschlagen der Sphinx, die wohl mit dem Dämon Lamaštu zu identifizieren ist⁸¹, könnte mit dem Vorhaben der Dichter auf die Neuansiedler einzuwirken begründet werden. Beispielsweise wäre eine ikonoklastische Absicht naheliegend. Das Rätsel der Sphinx als tertiäres Element im Ödipus-Mythos ist meines Erachtens ein klares Indiz für eine Art „Hellenisieren“, zumal das eine der Sphinx zugeschriebene Rätsel außerordentlich banal⁸², das andere (Theodectes fr. 4) wiederum ein geschicktes, auf griechischer Grammatik basierendes Wortspiel ist. Anlass für diese Innovation könnte zwar auch die Geburt griechischer „Liebe für die Weisheit“ gewesen sein, wahrscheinlicher ist aber ein gezieltes Integrieren des typisch Griechischen in einer Zeit starken orientalischen Einflusses. Allein für die Addition des letzten Elementes, der Selbstverstümmelung des Ödipus, kann ich im politischen Hier und Jetzt der orientalisierenden Periode keinerlei Sinn finden. Es bleibt wohl jene als Teil einer tragischen Komposition zu betrachten, besonders in Anbetracht der Inkonsistenz ihres Vorkommens.

⁷⁹ Institutionalisierte Mantik in Griechenland sind mit Gewissheit Orakelstätten aus dem in Mehrheit durch anatolische Völker besiedelten Raumes Kleinasien (Antiochia, Karien, Lykien, Kilikien) vorausgegangen, dafür siehe W. BURKERT, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 2011 [1977], S. 178–184. Für Apollos Verbindung zum Orient siehe R. ROSÓL, *Herkunft des Gottesnamen Apollon*, Glotta LXXXIII 2007, S. 222–242.

⁸⁰ W.G. FORREST, *Colonisation and the Rise of Delphi*, Historia VI 1957, S. 160–177.

⁸¹ Doch auch unabhängig davon ist deutlich erkennbar, dass die (thebanische) Sphinx einer den Griechen fremden Kultur entstammt. Für die Entwicklung und Verbreitung von Sphingen aus kunsthistorischer Sicht siehe A. GILBERT, *Die anatolische Sphinx*, in: L. WINKLER-HORAČEK (Hg.), *Die Wege der Sphinx: Monster zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Rahden 2011, S. 39–49. M. JAGIELLO, *Wschodnie inspiracje tebańskie Sfinks. Droga Lamaštu do Beocji* wird voraussichtlich demnächst in der Zeitschrift „Meander“ erscheinen.

⁸² W.G. REGIER, *Books of the Sphinx*, Lincoln 2004, S. 71.

Abschließend verbleibt nun den gesamten Ablauf des Austausches jener besagten Motive, sowie auch der Umdichtungen, in chronologische Reihenfolge zu bringen.

FAZIT

Der semitische Sonnenkult gebar eine Vielzahl an Helden, derer Abenteuer sowie Kämpfe mit wilden Tieren und diversen Mischwesen sich in verschiedenster Form auf der Arabischen Halbinsel verbreitet haben. Es ist anzunehmen, dass Samson ein solcher Heros aus der Region nahe der Mittelmeerküste ist. Mit dem Einfall der Seevölker im 12. Jhd. v. Chr. und der im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (mehr oder weniger konstanten) hethitischen Präsenz in diesem Gebiet wurden dem Samson-Mythos neue Elemente zugefügt. Zu den frühesten hethitischen Einflüssen könnten die im Haar steckende Stärke und das barhändige Erlegen des Löwen zählen. Mykenischer Provenienz hingegen muss das Motiv des Symposion sein, zusammen mit der darin verflochtenen Wein- und Rätseltradition. Charakteristisch hierbei sei vor Allem das in diesem Mythos vorkommende „Bienen-im-Kadaver“-Motiv, welches „in Mesopotamien nicht hätte entstehen können“⁸³.

Funde von Linear B Inschriften belegen vor-homerische Kulte der Göttinnen Hera⁸⁴ und Artemis⁸⁵. Mehr oder weniger zeitgleich zu diesen (und womöglich von ihnen beeinflusst) ist der Waldheros Herakles, mit den für ihn typischen Arbeiten, entstanden. Als Attribut besaß er damals – seinem weiblichen Ebenbild gleich – Pfeil und Bogen. Er vollbrachte einfache Arbeiten des mythologisierten Alltags eines durchschnittlichen Menschen – eines Hirten, Bauern, Försters o. Ä.⁸⁶. Es besteht eine Parallele zur anatolischen Version des Humbaba – *Huwawa*: Als böswillige Naturgewalt aus dem Zedernwald war er in mesopotamischer Epik ein Antagonist, dennoch vermutet man einen separaten hurritisch-hethitischen Epos, welcher *Huwawa* als Protagonist porträtiert haben konnte⁸⁷. Vom Jäger zum Krieger und als gebürtiger Thebaner schließlich auch zum Anführer der Bötier stilisiert, begann Herakles mit dem Entstehen der griechischen Epik abseits des Waldes aufzutreten. Dieser Wandel könnte zu der Aufnahme des Drachentötermotivs verholfen haben. Zwar ist der hethitische Mythos des Jägers

⁸³ MARGALITH, *Samson's Riddle...* (Anm. 14), S. 228.

⁸⁴ Siehe s.v. *e-ra*, in: *Dead Languages of the Mediterranean*, zugänglich unter: <http://minoan.deaditerranean.com/resources/linear-b-sign-groups/e/e-ra/> [3.4.2018].

⁸⁵ Siehe s.v. *a-te-mi-to*, in: *Dead Languages of the Mediterranean*, zugänglich unter: <http://minoan.deaditerranean.com/resources/linear-b-sign-groups/a/a-te-mi-to/> [3.4.2018].

⁸⁶ In eine ähnliche Richtung ging Walter BURKERT bei seiner Analyse in *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, S. 95–98.

⁸⁷ Für eine Besprechung des *Huwawa*-Liedes und eines möglichen *Huwawa*-Epos siehe BACHVAROVA, *op. cit.* (Anm. 53), S. 73–76.

Kešši nur fragmentarisch überliefert, dennoch weist die Geschichte dieses Heros Ähnlichkeiten mit der des Herakles auf: Nicht nur ist Kešši ein Jäger, in einem Traum begegnet er Löwen und anderen Fabelwesen⁸⁸. Ob genau dieser Mythos die Heraklessage beeinflusst hat, bleibt offen. Gewiss ist aber, dass das Motiv des Löwen- bzw. Drachentöters entweder aus Anatolien oder dem Nahen Osten zur Zeit der Entstehung der griechischen Epik, d.h. zwischen dem 12. und 10. Jhd. v. Chr., in den Ägäisraum eingeflossen sein muss. Hauptgrund für diesen Schluss sind die zahlreichen Verbindungen zwischen Herakles und Gilgamesch. Diese sekundäre Ähnlichkeit mag auch die Geschichte um Samson beeinflusst haben, doch bleibt ungewiss, wann genau dies geschehen sein konnte. Zudem bleibt die griechische Etymologie für Herakles anzuzweifeln, wodurch anatolische und semitische Ableitungen wahrscheinlicher erscheinen. Nichtsdestotrotz ist dadurch die Figur des Herakles keinesfalls im Ganzen ein Import aus Syro-Anatolien, Mesopotamien oder Phönizien.

Wann der Heraklessage die Episode auf der Hochzeitsfeier des Keykos „angehängt“ worden ist, ist noch nicht feststellbar. Fakt ist aber, dass sie bereits Hesiod bekannt und wahrscheinlich sehr früh Teil des Mythos gewesen ist. Im Angesicht der assyrischen Expansion (ab dem 9. Jhd. v. Chr.), mit zu der Zeit verstärkten griechisch-orientalischen Kontakten, könnten das Weingelage und Erlegen eines Löwen genügt haben, um Herakles zum unbezwingbaren, samsonitischen Sonnenheros umzugestalten – oder aber anders herum: Samsons Ähnlichkeit mit Gilgamesch (und somit auch Herakles) könnten ihn „anfällig“ für ägäische Heldenmerkmale gemacht haben. Das Präzisieren des Moments dieser Anpassung ist schwierig. Wollte man aber eine zusätzliche Gemeinsamkeit beider Mythen erhalten, so könnte man den Zeitraum auf nach 750 v. Chr. einschränken, als sich das Orakel von Delphi endgültig hatte etabliert haben können⁸⁹. Infolgedessen könne die Heraklessage zum Zeitpunkt der Umdichtung einen prophetischen und einen zusätzlichen solaren Aspekt gewinnen. Dadurch wäre dann auch das Anheben der traditionellen Zahl der Arbeiten des Herakles auf zwölf im 7. Jhd. v. Chr. (halbwegs) plausibel zu erklären. Die Aufnahme orientalischer Elemente in den Herakles-Mythos zu dieser Zeit wäre einleuchtend, denn das Festsetzen der delphischen Prophezeiung (die ja kaum vor der Entstehung des delphischen Orakels hätte eingefügt worden sein) als Orientierungspunkt erlaubt anhand von Präzedenzfällen Vergleiche zu ziehen. Als solche könnten die Mythen des Ödipus und Kadmos fungieren. Beispielsweise könnte letzterer nicht im 7. Jhd. v. Chr. den Rat des Apollo bei der Gründung des deutlich älteren Thebens befolgt haben. Im Umkehrschluss bedeutet dies, dass das Orakel in allen drei Fällen sekundär gewesen ist, was eine (kurzfristige) „Anfälligkeit“ für weitere Innovationen nach sich gezogen haben könnte. So wäre auch die wie-

⁸⁸ H.A. HOFFNER, *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta 1998, S. 87–89.

⁸⁹ FORREST, *op. cit.* (Anm. 80), S. 171.

derkehrende Zahl zwölf – erst in der Anzahl der Söhne des Neleus bei Homer (Hom. *Il.* XX 690–694) und später in den *Dodekathlos* bei Peisander – eben letzten Endes doch auf den Sonnenkult zurückzuführen, bloß nur nicht bereits zur Entstehungszeit der *Ilias*. Zusammenfassend offenbart sich also, trotz aller vorheriger Entwicklungsstadien, erst das 7. Jhd. v. Chr. als besonders wichtiger Zeitpunkt für die Mythen des Herakles und des Samson.

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NOVITÀ E TRADIZIONE NELL'ECL. 3 DI VIRGILIO

di

PAOLA GAGLIARDI

A mia madre

ABSTRACT: Virgil's *Ecl.* 3, often viewed (due to the author's young age) as an imperfect poem, shows, through a careful analysis, many interesting features. In particular, the author characterises the two protagonists in order to establish a comparison with Theocritus, and to highlight the original traits of his own poetry, putting in evidence his debt toward the neoteric tradition and the rising Latin love elegy of Cornelius Gallus.

Il destino di molte ecloghe virgiliane è stato per lungo tempo legato (e per alcune lo è tuttora) ad elementi estranei o marginali rispetto al loro significato poetico e relativi alla biografia dell'autore o ad eventi e personaggi a lui contemporanei¹. È la sorte anche dell'*Ecl.* 3: spesso ritenuta giovanile e troppo dipendente dall'imitazione di Teocrito, grande motivo di interesse per essa da parte di molti esegeti antichi e moderni sono sempre stati gli indovinelli conclusivi, dei quali nel testo non è data una soluzione². Anche l'esercizio consueto di dare ai personaggi un'identità reale non è stato trascurato³, mentre l'impostazione dell'ecloga (in particolar modo la descrizione delle coppe e gli indovinelli) ha incoraggiato letture simboliche talora fin troppo minuziose⁴.

¹ È ad esempio il caso dell'espropriazione delle terre mantovane di Virgilio per le *Ecl.* 1 e 9, con l'annesso dibattito sulla cronologia dei due componimenti, o dell'identificazione del *puer* nella 4 e della supposta presenza di Cesare dietro il Dafni dell'*Ecl.* 5, ma anche degli innumerevoli tentativi di riconoscere nei personaggi delle ecloghe figure storiche di poeti, intellettuali o uomini politici del tempo.

² Sugli indovinelli cfr. la discussione in SEGAL 1981: 253–255; DIX 1995: *passim*. Tentativi di sintesi della bibliografia su di essi in MONTELEONE 1994: 37–44; SCHULTZ 2003: 217–219 e note; KARAKASIS 2011: 121, n. 138.

³ Fin dall'antichità sono attestate proposte di identificazione dei personaggi: gli *Scholia Bernensia* riportano ad esempio il discutibile accostamento di Virgilio a Dameta, di Cornificio a Menalca e addirittura di Ottaviano a Palemone. I moderni, quando distinguono le due figure, tendono a vederle come simboli della poesia teocritea (Dameta) e virgiliana (Menalca): cfr. in tal senso *infra*, note 16 e 21.

⁴ Così ad esempio l'arco rotto di vv. 12–13 è stato interpretato come simbolo della resistenza di Menalca contro la tradizione (HUBBARD 2008: 104; KARAKASIS 2011: 104) e la sua omosessualità

Fortunatamente l'orientamento odierno degli studi sulle *Bucoliche* sta facendo giustizia di simili procedimenti esegetici e tenta di ricondurre le specificità e gli elementi simbolici e allegorici (che certamente non mancano nell'opera) ad una comprensione più ampia dei testi. Così per l'*Ecl.* 3 la stessa esibita imitazione teocritea non viene più giudicata un segno dell'imaturità del poeta, ma un espediente per dialogare con il grande predecessore e mettere in risalto le novità della propria poesia⁵. Il ricorso a tanti modelli teocritei fa dell'ecloga una sintesi sul tema dell'agone poetico⁶ e una prova brillante della capacità combinatoria di Virgilio; accanto ad essi, la presenza di notevoli suggestioni di altri generi letterari, dalla commedia all'elegia erotica, dalla dotta poesia alessandrina a quella neoterica, segnala la volontà dell'autore di superare i limiti del genere bucolico per accogliere altre tendenze e altri stimoli. Allo stesso modo l'inserimento della figura di Pollione, oltre a rappresentare un omaggio al potente patrono, denuncia la genesi del componimento in un ambiente letterario (un circolo?) nutrito di gusto neoterico e di dibattiti, "di inclusioni come di inimicizie"⁷, e ribadisce la peculiarità più notevole del *liber* virgiliano, l'accoglimento dell'attualità nel mondo atemporale dei pastori, già annunciata dal tema delle confische e dalla figura del giovane *deus* nell'*Ecl.* 1⁸.

La valutazione oggi prevalente delle singole ecloghe entro il disegno dell'intero *liber* induce a motivare in quest'ottica anche l'*Ecl.* 3: la sua posizione nella raccolta e la sua dipendenza da Teocrito (ma non solo) trovano infatti senso nel dialogo di Virgilio con la tradizione bucolica, rispetto alla quale egli afferma fin dall'*Ecl.* 1 il proprio debito, ma anche la propria autonomia, accostando alla figura 'teocritea' di Tiro quella di Melibeo, portatrice di una diversa e più problematica visione della poesia⁹. Nell'*Ecl.* 2 il confronto con Teocrito è sul tema d'amore e nell'*Ecl.* 3 riguarda un altro caposaldo della poesia bucolica, la gara di canto, destinata ad ulteriori sviluppi e riflessioni nelle altre ecloghe dispari, oltre che nella 8. L'*Ecl.* 3 è la prima formulazione di questo tema, e in essa

passiva (vv. 8–9) è stata intesa come la dipendenza dai modelli del genere, mentre il furto rinfacciato da Menalca a Dameta rivelerebbe la sua incapacità di liberarsi degli influssi della poesia bucolica precedente (HUBBARD 1998: 70–71).

⁵ Così giustamente SEGAL 1981: 237; FARRELL 1992: 65–66; HUBBARD 2008: 79–81.

⁶ Nel testo sono richiamati tutti gli idilli bucolici teocritei, sia pure con un peso diverso: cfr. CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 201.

⁷ CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 202; cfr. altresì KARAKASIS 2011: 105.

⁸ PUTNAM (1970: 29) sottolinea in tal senso della presenza di Pollione, prima figura reale esplicitamente nominata nell'opera.

⁹ Sui due protagonisti dell'*Ecl.* 1 come sintesi di due concezioni poetiche diverse, quella di ascendenza teocritea per Tiro, quella più squisitamente virgiliana per Melibeo, cfr. GAGLIARDI 2013a: 94–96, 101–102. Per HUBBARD (2008: 85, 108), mentre Tiro è figura teocritea, Melibeo rappresenta la negazione del mondo pastorale. Sulle numerose differenze tra i due personaggi cfr. PERKELL 1990: 172–175, 178.

l'imitazione teocritea costituisce ovviamente l'inevitabile punto di partenza per il confronto, nel quale – a ben guardare – Virgilio suggerisce e rivendica la sua originalità sulla base dei saggi che ha già dato nelle due prime ecloghe e in vista di quelli successivi, nelle *Ecl.* 4, 5 e 6. Questo è infatti a mio avviso l'intento e il senso dell'*Ecl.* 3, che mi sembra confermato da un esame accurato del testo.

I due protagonisti, Dameta e Menalca, appaiono spesso agli studiosi moderni “virtually indistinguishable”¹⁰ o almeno equivalenti nelle scelte e nell'orientamento poetico¹¹; talora se ne sottolinea l'incompletezza della caratterizzazione¹², talaltra si denuncia un loro rapporto irrisolto o addirittura conflittuale con la natura¹³. Non è mancato – è vero – chi ha letto in modo diverso le due figure e ha sostenuto la vicinanza più stretta di Dameta e una più marcata indipendenza di Menalca dalla tradizione teocritea, additando talvolta quest'ultimo come l'espressione della nuova poetica virgiliana, o addirittura come l'*alter ego* del poeta¹⁴. Si tratta di proposte talora acute e ben fondate sull'evidenza del testo, alle quali si può però forse aggiungere qualche altra valutazione.

A sostegno delle differenze di poetica tra i due pastori è stata invocata talvolta anche la scelta dei nomi: quello di Dameta caratterizza in Theocr. 6 un coetaneo e amico di Dafni, pari a lui sia per l'età, sia per l'abilità poetica, come dimostra il risultato di parità della loro gara di canto, e dunque, nella misura in cui Dafni può essere considerato simbolo e incarnazione della poesia teocritea¹⁵,

¹⁰ Come scrive CLAUSEN 1994: 91.

¹¹ Cfr. SCHULTZ 2003: *passim*. Lo stesso SEGAL (1981: 262–263) sottolinea le affinità tra i due personaggi, a suo avviso non ben distinti come avverrà invece per Coridone e Tirsi nell'*Ecl.* 7.

¹² SEGAL 1981: 262.

¹³ Lo dimostrerebbero l'ostilità dell'ambiente circostante, rappresentata a v. 93 dal serpente nascosto nell'erba (SCHULTZ 2003: 201, 209, 221; per KARAKASIS [2011: 118–119], il serpente e l'idea del freddo rappresentano invece alcuni degli elementi anti-neoterici che attraversano tutta l'ecloga), dalle rive scoscese del fiume, in cui facilmente possono scivolare gli animali a vv. 94–95 (KARAKASIS 2011: 118), ma anche dall'altezza del nido di colombe a v. 69, che rende pericoloso raggiungerlo (KARAKASIS 2011: 114). Anche i comportamenti che i due pastori si rinfacciano rivelerebbero un rapporto non sereno con la natura, dalla mungitura troppo frequente che debilita gli animali (vv. 5–6) alle ferite inferte alle viti di Micone (vv. 10–11).

¹⁴ L'identificazione è attestata (soprattutto per l'*Ecl.* 9) da Quint. VIII 6, 46–47, e Serv. *ad Ecl.* 9, 1; tra i moderni la sostengono FORBIGER 1872: 81; A. POWELL 2008: 198–199, 202; WILLIAMS 1968: 326; COLEMAN 1977: 274; FLINTOFF 1975–1976: 16–26; *contra*, CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 457 (*ad Ecl.* 9, 10).

¹⁵ Così almeno lo intende Virgilio, a giudicare quanto meno dalle due occasioni in cui gli dà maggiore spazio, le *Ecl.* 5 e 10: nella 5 proprio la vicenda di Dafni, emblematica della produzione teocritea e non a caso collocata nell'*Id.* 1, è il tema su cui si confrontano i due protagonisti, all'interno e al di là della tradizione bucolica greca. Se Mopso infatti ‘prosegue’ idealmente la narrazione di Theocr. 1 con la descrizione degli effetti della morte di Dafni sulla natura, Menalca fa del tema la premessa per una poesia nuova e calata nell'attualità. Nell'*Ecl.* 10 è il personaggio reale e al tempo stesso virgiliano di Gallo a ‘farsi Dafni’, rivendicando una rielaborazione della poesia e della poetica teocritee alla luce di altre suggestioni e di altri modelli.

Dameta può apparire un omologo di Dafni e un esponente di quella poetica¹⁶. Diverso è il discorso per Menalca, anch'egli rivale di Dafni nei pseudo-teocritei *Id.* 8 e 9¹⁷, sconfitto nell'*Id.* 8, ma pari all'avversario nel 9: il percorso di crescita e di maturazione che questa situazione sembra sottintendere in Teocrito può essere il motivo della scelta di Virgilio, che analogamente nelle *Bucoliche* mostrerà questo personaggio in cammino verso l'acquisizione di pregevoli doti poetiche. Nel corso del *liber*, infatti, Menalca assume un risalto via via più grande¹⁸: dopo l'agone poetico con Dameta nell'*Ecl.* 3, è protagonista del confronto con Mopso nella 5 sul tema tipicamente teocriteo della morte di Dafni, a cui con il suo canto dà un taglio di modernità assai lontano dal modello di Theocr. 1. L'attribuzione a lui delle *Ecl.* 2 e 3 ad *Ecl.* 5, 86–87 può far supporre l'identificazione di Virgilio in lui, e nell'*Ecl.* 9, in cui Menalca è protagonista, pur senza comparirvi direttamente, l'ambientazione mantovana, il tema delle confische, lo stile 'virgiliano' dei versi attribuitigli¹⁹ e la presentazione come un grande poeta amato e ammirato dai pastori possono apparire indizi della volontà dell'autore di rappresentarsi in lui. Per alcuni, infine, questo è anche il senso della brevissima comparsa di Menalca nell'*Ecl.* 10 tra i pastori che visitano Gallo sofferente²⁰.

Questa serie di indizi sembra autorizzare ad interpretare in quest'ottica anche le altre apparizioni del personaggio nel *liber*, a patto di intendere ovviamente l'operazione virgiliana non come un'identificazione completa, del tipo di quelle fatte dagli esegeti antichi, per intenderci, ma come l'assunzione, da parte del poeta, della maschera di Menalca per rappresentare le novità della sua bucolica. Una lettura in tal senso²¹ mostra una continuità e una coerenza plausibili nel discorso virgiliano: rispetto al primo battibecco con Dameta nell'*Ecl.* 3, in cui egli sembra più giovane dell'avversario e non ancora del tutto libero dagli influssi

¹⁶ Cfr. HUBBARD (2008: 101), a giudizio del quale Dameta rappresenta il passato. Cfr. anche HUBBARD 1998: 68. VAN SICKLE (1986: 41–42) annette a Dameta, presentato come il maestro di Coridone, l'idea della successione letteraria, in cui egli rappresenterebbe il precedente che Virgilio si propone di superare.

¹⁷ Che tuttavia Virgilio riteneva autentici: sulla selezione di testi che probabilmente il poeta leggeva come teocritei cfr. SERRAO 1984: 133–134; SERRAO 1990: 111–113; FANTUZZI 1985: 143–144.

¹⁸ A condizione – beninteso – di ritenere che i personaggi omonimi nelle varie ecloghe abbiano la stessa identità, una prassi seguita da molti studiosi, ma contestata da altri: sulla questione cfr. JENKYN 1989: 38; KANIA 2016: 24–32.

¹⁹ COLEMAN 1977: 273–274.

²⁰ Pur menzionandolo solo al v. 20, Virgilio dedica a Menalca un perfetto *versus aureus*, l'unico dell'ecloga, che rappresenta un modo per porre in risalto la sua figura e potrebbe essere inteso come un piccolo omaggio del poeta a se stesso, oltre che un modo per mostrarsi idealmente vicino all'amico addolorato. Cfr. GAGLIARDI 2014a: 130–133 (*ad loc.*). Per HUBBARD (2008: 109), con la presenza di Menalca nell'*Ecl.* 10 Virgilio intende porre se stesso, adombrato nel pastore, e Gallo sullo stesso piano, in quanto esponenti di due generi differenti che hanno contatti tra loro.

²¹ Proposta ad esempio da Hubbard 1998: 69; Cucchiarelli 2012: 203. Ma cfr. già CONINGTON, NETTLESHIP 2007 [1898]: 43.

teocritei, il personaggio sembra infatti maturato nella *performance* dell'*Ecl.* 5, quando, ormai più adulto dell'interlocutore Mopso, abbandona i toni dell'alterco in favore di un approccio più cortese e mostra soprattutto di saper utilizzare in modo originale il materiale teocriteo per creare un canto dalle potenzialità nuove. Nell'*Ecl.* 9, ulteriormente cresciuto, Menalca è un grande poeta, benché, nella logica di quest'ecloga (e di tutta la seconda metà del *liber*²²), ormai sfiduciata verso le possibilità della poesia, egli non sia più in grado di cantare di fronte alle forze minacciose che travolgono il mondo dei pastori.

Il testo più difficile da inquadrare in questa prospettiva di lettura è proprio l'*Ecl.* 3, in cui la personalità di Menalca e le peculiarità della sua poesia sembrano poco caratterizzate rispetto a Dameta. Indubbiamente, nel grande debito pagato nell'ecloga da Virgilio alla tradizione dell'agone bucolico, le somiglianze tra i protagonisti, motivate dalla dipendenza da Teocrito, paiono soffocare, se non annullare, le differenze, ma così non è, giacché ad uno sguardo attento si ritrovano, disseminati nel testo, tratti distintivi del carattere di Menalca e della novità della sua poesia, in cui l'autore riflette la propria visione artistica²³. Se infatti, esaminando l'evoluzione di Menalca e del suo canto nelle ecloghe appare credibile ritenerlo una figura 'virgiliana', le sue peculiarità emergono già dall'*Ecl.* 3. Non a caso tra gli studiosi c'è chi ha riconosciuto nell'ecloga un autentico dualismo tra i personaggi²⁴, e ha notato come nella gara Menalca tenda a portare agli estremi e a superare le affermazioni di Dameta²⁵. Proseguendo su questa strada si può tentare di ricostruire la fisionomia del personaggio, a partire dalla sua presentazione e soprattutto dai suoi versi.

La prima, interessante riflessione, più volte proposta, è sull'età di Menalca, che sembra più giovane di Dameta²⁶: giacché in Teocrito quest'ultimo, coetaneo di Dafni, appartiene alla generazione iniziale della tradizione bucolica, la scelta di un Menalca, più giovane potrebbe farne il portatore di una visione

²² Come è stato suggerito da OTIS 1964: 130–131; cfr. anche HUBBARD 2008: 81.

²³ La possibilità di leggere già l'*Ecl.* 3 in quest'ottica è sostenuta da CONINGTON, NETTLESHIP 2007 [1898]: 43, e HUBBARD 2008: 101–102.

²⁴ FARRELL 1992: 68; CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 203. Per LA PENNA (1981: 133–134), anche nel linguaggio Menalca si distingue fin dall'inizio da Dameta per una maggior raffinatezza. KARAKASIS (2011: 94–95) sottolinea i tratti originali dell'espressione di Menalca anche dal punto di vista metrico.

²⁵ Cfr. B.B. POWELL 1976: 116; HUBBARD 1998: 74. Si è anche indagata la figura di Palemone, talora indicato come il vero antagonista dei due pastori, in quanto espressione di un mondo bucolico da loro non pienamente compreso (SCHULTZ 2003: *passim*); si ribadisce in tal modo la tendenza ricorrente ad accomunare, piuttosto che differenziare, Dameta e Menalca (in tal senso anche KARAKASIS 2011: 124).

²⁶ HUBBARD (2008: 105) vede in Menalca il simbolo della sfida di Virgilio alla tradizione rappresentata dal più anziano Dameta. Che Menalca sia il più giovane dei due contendenti si deduce dalla sua dipendenza dal padre e dalla matrigna (vv. 32–34): cfr. COLEMAN 1977: 110 (*ad* 3, 7–8); CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 213 (*ad loc.*).

successiva, e dunque più moderna, della poesia²⁷ e in tal senso potrebbe essere letta anche la precedenza data a Dameta nella gara²⁸. Anche sui premi proposti dai contendenti (vv. 29–48) si è discusso molto: se la descrizione delle coppe è un esplicito richiamo alla famosa ἔκφρασις di Theocr. 1, 27–56, nella misura in cui quel brano simboleggia il raffinato lavoro di composizione ed elaborazione stilistica del poeta²⁹, anche ai versi virgiliani può essere attribuito il medesimo significato³⁰, benché al minuzioso realismo del modello vengano preferiti una maggiore concisione e l’attenzione per temi di erudita poesia scientifica³¹. In ogni caso, se le coppe alludono alla creazione artistica, è significativo che siano proposte da Menalca, associato così agli aspetti più nobili del mondo dei pastori, e che Dameta vi preferisca la *vitula*, più concreta e utilitaristica³²: è forse la rivendicazione del carattere più elegante della bucolica virgiliana rispetto a quella teocritea e della sua rinuncia agli aspetti più crudi e sgradevoli di quel realismo³³? Una conferma in tal senso potrebbe venire dal giudizio di Menalca sull’incompetenza di Dameta nel canto, espresso sì come insulto, ma pur sempre rivelatore di un gusto raffinato³⁴, che non tollera una composizione poco armoniosa e orientata su toni aspri³⁵. Di questa tendenza, in opposizio-

²⁷ FARRELL (1992: 68) vede chiaramente rappresentate nei due personaggi la poesia teocritea (Dameta) e quella virgiliana (Menalca). Cfr. in tal senso anche CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 203.

²⁸ HUBBARD 1998: 73.

²⁹ Cfr. HUNTER 1999: 61–62, 76–77; in particolare l’immagine del fanciullo che intreccia la rete può essere inteso come metafora del poeta (HUNTER 1999: 82, a vv. 45–54).

³⁰ KARAKASIS 2011: 90.

³¹ Così CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 203. LA PENNA (1981: 140) esclude che nella descrizione delle coppe Virgilio voglia gareggiare con il realismo del brano teocriteo.

³² Cfr. SEGAL 1981: 242. Nella scelta dei premi Virgilio ha chiaramente operato una scissione dei due doni (la capra e la coppa) offerti a Tirsi dal capraio in cambio del suo canto in Theocr. 1: cfr. SEGAL 1981: 240–241. A giudizio di HUBBARD (1998: 72), i due premi simboleggiano l’uno (la *vitula*) la tipicità della tradizione bucolica, l’altro (le coppe) la novità di una poesia che ambisce a staccarsi dal passato: in tal modo le due offerte sintetizzerebbero le posizioni dei contendenti. KARAKASIS (2011: 124) accomuna invece Dameta e Menalca nella preferenza per la *vitula*, deducendone l’incapacità da parte di entrambi di capire e apprezzare i valori alti della poesia. Per SEGAL (1981: 264), un’analoga divisione tra i due aspetti della vita pastorale si verifica anche nei doni scambiati al termine dell’*Ecl.* 5 (la *cicut*a e il bastone), ma – a differenza della 3 – in qualche modo essi si armonizzano (il bastone è *formosus*).

³³ Anche nel battibecco iniziale dell’ecloga, che rappresenta la concessione più forte, in Virgilio, al realismo teocriteo, spinto fino all’osceno, il poeta latino attenua i toni ed evita la crudezza esplicita del modello.

³⁴ È stata sempre notata la mirabile fattura dei vv. 26–27 (“non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas/stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen”), con le loro sonorità stridule e l’epiteto *indoctus*, dalle connotazioni fortemente letterarie (cfr. SEGAL 1981: 238; CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 211, a v. 27; KARAKASIS 2011: 107).

³⁵ *Stridenti stipula* è l’ideale compositivo opposto a quello della *tenuis avena* di *Ecl.* 1, 2 o della *tenuis harundo* di *Ecl.* 6, 8.

ne a Dameta, egli darà una concreta dimostrazione ai vv. 82–83, rispondendo alle immagini negative dell'avversario con un linguaggio e una serie di τόποι improntati alla dolcezza³⁶, in uno spirito chiaramente ereditato dal neoterismo e avviato al senso della misura augusteo.

In quest'ottica rientra forse anche la diversa caratterizzazione delle storie d'amore dei due cantori: quelle di Dameta, che allude a più di una figura femminile, disegnando uno scenario di rapporti superficiali e non sempre sereni, rivelano tensioni, malizie e instabilità affettiva, laddove Menalca si mostra devoto ad Aminta e protagonista di un amore solo fugacemente turbato da momenti negativi. La sostanziale fedeltà e la bellezza di questo rapporto, non esclusivamente erotico, ma anche affettivo, sono forse sottintesi anche nella menzione di Delia a v. 67: al di là della dibattuta identificazione di questa figura con la dea o con una fanciulla umana³⁷, il nome infatti non può che evocare la virginale dea della caccia, in stridente contrasto con la ben più materiale *Venus* di Dameta al verso successivo. Si conferma così la caratterizzazione opposta dei due personaggi e l'associazione di Menalca a valori e comportamenti più elevati, e dunque anche ad una poesia meno realistica e più delicata. Ma sul tema d'amore bisognerà tornare.

Le peculiarità e il valore della sua poesia sono affermati da Menalca anche in altri momenti e in altri modi: tra essi è l'associazione ad Apollo (vv. 62–63), in replica al tono forse eccessivo di Dameta, che pone il suo canto sotto la protezione di Giove (vv. 60–61), chiamando in causa il modello arateo, distante per temi e per livello dall'*humilis* genere bucolico³⁸, ma valorizzato da Teocrito³⁹. Anche Menalca evoca la dotta poesia alessandrina nella descrizione delle coppe (vv. 40–42)⁴⁰, ma la sua associazione appare più elegante, anche in confronto alla risposta di Dameta, che con una certa presunzione (forse la stessa che gli fa invocare Giove) menziona Orfeo, altro simbolo di poesia sicuramente troppo

³⁶ “[D.] Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres,/ arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae./ [M.] Dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis,/ lenta salix feto pecori, mihi solus Amyntas” (vv. 80–83).

³⁷ Il dubbio è già attestato da Serv. *ad loc.*; sul punto, CLAUSEN 1994: 108 (*ad loc.*); CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 225 (a v. 67).

³⁸ La distanza di Zeus dall'ambito bucolico è ribadita da KARAKASIS 2011: III.

³⁹ Oltre che ad Arat. *Phaen.* 1–5, Virgilio in questo verso allude infatti contemporaneamente anche a Theocr. 17, 1–2 (KARAKASIS [2011: III] vede nel testo teocriteo, più che in quello arateo, il modello dell'invocazione, ma sottolinea il carattere non bucolico di Theocr. 17): tuttavia la fedeltà dell'espressione e l'allusione appena precedente allo stesso poema rendono inevitabile l'associazione principale con esso.

⁴⁰ Sia quella didascalica di tema astronomico, con la citazione di Arato a v. 42, sia quella calimachea, con l'indiretto riferimento alla *Chioma di Berenice* attraverso il nome di Conone a v. 41: cfr. CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 216–217 (*ad loc.*); secondo HUBBARD (1998: 72), con ciò Menalca vuole superare il modello teocriteo e allargare i confini del genere bucolico includendovi suggestioni nuove e anticipando la tendenza delle vicine *Ecl.* 4, 5 e 6 (cfr. in tal senso anche SEGAL 1981: 264).

elevato (v. 46)⁴¹. L'accostamento di Menalca ad Apollo, invece, ha un senso presente altrove nelle ecloghe (nella 6 e nella 10⁴²), quando il dio è posto in relazione con la composizione poetica: in queste occorrenze la figura di Apollo allude infatti ad una poesia di raffinata fattura, pregevole nell'ispirazione e nella rifinitura formale, sia nel canto riferito da Sileno in *Ecl.* 6, sia nel rapporto istituito dal dio con un poeta di formazione alessandrino-neoterica come Gallo nell'*Ecl.* 10. A quest'ambito di gusto e a questa visione della poesia, in cui bellezza ed elaborazione formale non vanno necessariamente associati a generi alti, come proprio le *Bucoliche* (e l'elegia di Gallo?) attestano, Menalca si richiama quando rivendica un rapporto diretto con Apollo⁴³: lo attestano – mi pare – gli accenni all'alloro e al giacinto, allusivi a vicende amorose del dio, e dunque ai temi erotici dell'agone bucolico, come ricorda Serv. a v. 63, ma anche alla poesia *tout court*, l'alloro per la tradizionale associazione con i poeti, il giacinto per l'evocazione di raffinata poesia ellenistica (il componimento di Euforione intitolato Ὑάκινθος, a cui probabilmente Menalca si riferirà anche nell'indovinello finale)⁴⁴. Rispetto alla figura di Giove, non direttamente in relazione con il canto e sicuramente sproporzionata al contesto, l'invocazione ad Apollo nobilita dunque i versi di Menalca e ne indica la poetica, e ciò sembra compreso e accettato dallo stesso Dameta quando, nel proporre il suo indovinello (vv. 104–105), associa anch'egli il rivale ad Apollo, quasi a riconoscergli la capacità di avvicinarsi a questa visione 'nobile' della poesia⁴⁵.

Ma gli indovinelli finali autorizzano anche altre considerazioni. Al di là del problema della loro soluzione, in essi si sono viste allusioni a testi poetici di dotta matrice alessandrina, e cioè ancora poesia astronomica nel primo, proposto

⁴¹ Per SEGAL (1981: 290) Orfeo è simbolo di poesia pastorale per eccellenza, e tuttavia nel *liber virgiliano* le pochissime volte in cui è nominato, egli appare antonomasia della grande poesia (significativa la sua opposizione ad un ignoto *Tityrus* ad *Ecl.* 8, 55). Diverso ovviamente è il discorso per le *Georgiche*.

⁴² Cfr. *Ecl.* 6, 82–83, in cui il dio è presentato in veste di cantore, ed *Ecl.* 10, 21–23, in cui la sua connessione con la poesia, giustificata dalla qualità di poeta di Gallo, è resa evidente dal suo rapporto con le Ninfe, che a vv. 11–12 frequentano il Parnaso e la fonte Aganippe, e dai *lauri* (v. 13), simbolo anch'essi dell'attività poetica. Meno verosimile motivare la presenza di Apollo nell'*Ecl.* 10 in quanto *Nomios*, e tanto meno in quanto dio profetico. Per il dibattito sul punto cfr. GAGLIARDI 2014a: 134, 136–138 (a vv. 22–23).

⁴³ Come osserva HUBBARD (1998: 73), il rapporto di Menalca con il dio è più intenso e personale di quello di Dameta con Giove: Menalca usa infatti *amat* a v. 62. Cfr. anche B.B. POWELL 1976: 116.

⁴⁴ A giudizio di LA PENNA (1981: 147), con l'invocazione ad Apollo Menalca oppone al carattere maestoso di quella di Dameta a Giove la sua predilezione per una raffinata idea di bellezza, come dimostra la pregevolissima fattura del v. 63.

⁴⁵ Menalca invece – si badi – propone a Dameta come ricompensa per la soluzione dell'indovinello il possesso intero di Fillide, mantenendo l'avversario in un ambito ben più materiale e triviale. Cfr. vv. 104–107: “[D.] Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo, / tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulna. / [M.] Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum / nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto”.

da Dameta, che sembra rispondere così alla descrizione delle coppe di Menalca⁴⁶, mentre per il secondo il riferimento al giacinto ha fatto pensare a poesia mitologica, e cioè al componimento di Euforione dedicato al mitico giovane⁴⁷. Ad avvalorare questo sospetto è il complesso e insolito *ordo verborum* del v. 106 (“Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum/ nascantur flores”, vv. 106-107)⁴⁸, in cui si sente un gusto non propriamente virgiliano, e non è forse azzardato ipotizzare un’allusione allo stile oscuro di Euforione o alla predilezione di Gallo, imitatore del poeta di Calcide, per la disposizione elaborata delle parole⁴⁹. Tutto ciò riporta ancora la poesia di Menalca, che propone l’indovinello, nell’ambito neoterizzante in cui si era formato Virgilio e in cui il poeta di Calcide era apprezzato e imitato, forse su suggestione di Partenio di Nicea, come attesta il caso di Gallo⁵⁰. Di contro, l’allusione di Dameta ad una temperie culturale diversa, benché altrettanto raffinata, sembra più vicina a certe aperture della poesia teocritea verso la coeva produzione erudita; Virgilio delinea così una distinzione, all’interno della tradizione bucolica, tra le suggestioni derivate da Teocrito e quelle, più numerose e moderne, a cui egli stesso va debitore, trovandovi motivi di arricchimento e di originalità.

A questo vivace panorama letterario, improntato alla lezione callimachea di Partenio e alle rielaborazioni dei neoterici, conduce anche la menzione di Pollione (vv. 84–91): grazie ad essa, infatti, l’ecloga si colloca entro l’ambiente raffinato che ruotava attorno al potente protettore di Virgilio⁵¹. L’elogio di Pollione sembra l’unico tema capace di mettere d’accordo i due contendenti, eppure, a ben guardare, anche in esso Virgilio segna le differenze tra loro e sottolinea la novità

⁴⁶ Tra le soluzioni proposte per l’indovinello di Dameta c’è infatti quella che vede in un libro il ‘luogo’ in cui “tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulna” (v. 105) e le ipotesi hanno spaziato da Arato ad Archimede, a Posidonio e così via: per una sintesi bibliografica sul punto cfr. SCHULTZ 2003: 217–218; KARAKASIS 2011: 121, n. 38.

⁴⁷ Cfr. HUBBARD 2008: 107. Partendo da questa supposizione, DIX (1995) arriva a sostenere che l’interlocutore di Virgilio in questo punto sia Gallo, che dal testo di Euforione avrebbe preso spunto per il suo poemetto sul bosco Grineo.

⁴⁸ Sull’audacia del nesso cfr. LA PENNA (1981: 154), che pur riconoscendo un possibile modello in Theocr. 10, 28, sottolinea la complessità dell’espressione virgiliana.

⁴⁹ Una tendenza già pienamente visibile nel pentametro noto da Vib. Seq. (“uno tellures dividit amne duas”) e oggi confermata dai distici del papiro di Qaṣr Ibrīm: cfr. NISBET 1979: 149; MORELLI 1985: 160.

⁵⁰ La predilezione di Gallo per Euforione, al punto da farne il suo *auctor* e da *transferre* i suoi versi in latino, ci è attestata da scoliasti e commentatori: tra queste fonti, non tutte di prima mano e non tutte attendibili, cfr. Serv. ad *Ecl.* 6, 72 e ad *Ecl.* 10, 1; Ps.-Prob. ad *Ecl.* 10, 50; Philarg. I e II, ad *Ecl.* 10, 50; Diomed. I 484 KEIL. Per una discussione di queste testimonianze cfr. ROSS 1975: 39–46; BOUCHER 1966: 79–81. Del rapporto di Gallo con Partenio fanno ovviamente fede gli Ἑρωτικὰ παθήματα, a lui dedicati dal maestro greco.

⁵¹ L’inserimento stesso di un personaggio contemporaneo nel mondo bucolico è – si ricordi – una novità virgiliana, presentata fin dall’inizio con il giovane *deus* dell’*Ecl.* 1 e qui ribadita nel sottolineare le differenze rispetto a Teocrito.

della poesia di Menalca. Dameta infatti presenta Pollione esclusivamente in veste di lettore e ammiratore del suo canto, mentre Menalca, con la tipica tendenza a superare l'avversario, allude all'attività di poeta del potente patrono (e di conseguenza al posto della *vitula* di Dameta propone un toro)⁵²: ciò che mi sembra rilevante è la precisazione che Pollione è un poeta *novus*⁵³, cioè partecipe delle tendenze più moderne della poesia latina e, in quanto tale, capace di apprezzare l'originalità della produzione di Menalca. Riguardo a Dameta, Pollione esprime solo l'apprezzamento per un genere che pure giudica *rusticus* e da cui resta estraneo (si limita a leggerlo⁵⁴): non sembra inverosimile che il riferimento possa essere alla tradizione teocritea, che Pollione gradisce, pur mantenendo qualche riserva ("quamvis est rustica"). Menalca invece conta sul coinvolgimento diretto di Pollione nella composizione, in quanto poeta egli stesso. E la comunanza con il raffinato patrono è confermata dal distico su Bavio e Mevio⁵⁵, con cui Menalca si mostra pienamente inserito nelle dispute letterarie del circolo di Pollione; ben più vago, l'accenno di Dameta ai seguaci del protettore, peraltro ricalcato su un passo teocriteo⁵⁶, quasi a conferma del suo inscindibile rapporto con quella tradizione, laddove Menalca ricorre ad immagini inedite⁵⁷ e tocca temi evidentemente attuali, trattandoli con la vivacità di chi li discute in prima persona.

Peraltro, la vicinanza di Menalca all'ambiente neoterico è confermata da due notevoli richiami a Catullo, uno più vago, l'altro molto preciso. Se infatti la menzione, a v. 40, dell'astronomo Conone, che aveva scoperto la costellazione della Chioma di Berenice, rinvia all'elegia di Callimaco e al rifacimento catulliano,

⁵² "[D.] Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam:/ Pierides, vitulam lectori pascite vestro./ [M.] Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina: pascite taurum / iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam" (vv. 84–87).

⁵³ Fuori dubbio mi sembra infatti che l'aggettivo *novus* si riferisca ad una produzione neoterica di Pollione, e non alla composizione di tragedie, come pure si sostiene: da una parte c'è infatti la sua frequentazione dei neoterici fin dalla giovinezza (cfr. Catull. 12, 8–9) e ancora negli anni in cui Virgilio compone le *Bucoliche* (si pensi, oltre ai rapporti con Virgilio, a quelli con Cornelio Gallo, due poeti che a buon diritto si possono includere nella seconda generazione dei neoterici), dall'altra la considerazione che quello tragico non poteva certo essere definito un genere 'nuovo' in letteratura latina e che peraltro in esso – secondo la testimonianza di Tac. *Dial.* 21, 7 – Pollione sarebbe stato un autore alquanto duro e vicino ai modelli antichi.

⁵⁴ Cfr. SCHULTZ 2003: 212. E' questo – tra l'altro – uno dei pochissimi accenni delle ecloghe alla composizione per iscritto di un'opera letteraria, in contrasto con la convenzionale rappresentazione del canto bucolico come *performance* orale.

⁵⁵ "[M.] Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Maevi,/ atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos" (vv. 90–91).

⁵⁶ "[D.] Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat quo te quoque gaudet:/ mella fluent illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum" (vv. 88–89). Il modello è qui chiaramente Theocr. 5, 124–127 ([KO.] ἡμέρα ἀνθ' ὕδατος ρείτω γάλα, καὶ τὸ δὲ Κρᾶθι/ οἴνωι πορφύροις, τὰ δὲ τοι σία καρπὸν ἐνεΐκαι./ [ΛΑ.] Ῥείτω χά Συβαρῆτις ἐμὶν μέλι, καὶ τὸ πότορθρον/ ἄ παις ἀνθ' ὕδατος τᾶι κάλπιδι κηρία βάψαι).

⁵⁷ Si tratta di espressioni popolari di sapore proverbiale per le quali non c'è tuttavia preciso riscontro in testi antichi: cfr. CLAUSEN 1994: 113; COLEMAN 1977: 123; CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 231.

quest'ultimo è richiamato ancora nella vera e propria citazione del v. 47 ("quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?") al v. 16 dell'ecloga ("Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?")⁵⁸. La scelta di un testo raffinato dei *carmina docta*, allusivo a sua volta ad un significativo componimento callimacheo, ben si concilia con l'interesse per la poesia astronomica ellenistica attribuito a Menalca, lontano dal mondo dei pastori e spiegato con l'intenzione dell'autore di superare i limiti della bucolica per aprire la sua poesia ad altri generi⁵⁹. Non a caso, infatti, Dameta non condivide la stessa attenzione a quest'ambito poetico e l'unica volta in cui menziona la poesia astronomica alessandrina, nella citazione di Arato ai vv. 60–61, non si stacca da Teocrito, che aveva imitato questo stesso passaggio a 17, 1–2. Benché l'idillio teocriteo non appartenga al genere bucolico, mi pare comunque questa un'ulteriore conferma della riluttanza del personaggio a staccarsi dalla tradizione teocritea, e – per converso – dell'opposta tendenza di Menalca a travalicare i confini dei generi.

Anche il risalto dato al tema d'amore dichiara il debito dell'ecloga verso i fermenti poetici contemporanei: non che si tratti di un argomento nuovo rispetto alla tradizione teocritea, di cui anzi costituisce, con l'aspetto agonale, uno dei capisaldi, ma qui ha un trattamento particolare, più vicino all'elegia erotica latina che ai pastori di Teocrito⁶⁰. Ciò non può sorprendere, dato lo spazio del tema erotico in poesia neoterica⁶¹ e lo stretto rapporto di Virgilio con Cornelio Gallo proprio nel periodo della composizione delle *Bucoliche*, quando, presumibilmente, questi stava dando vita al nuovo genere dell'elegia d'amore; un rapporto i cui riflessi sulla raccolta virgiliana si avvertono oggi più forti, dopo la scoperta dei distici di Qaṣr Ibrîm⁶². Non pochi segni lasciano indovinare la presenza di Gallo nell'*Ecl.* 3, sia a livello stilistico, sia concettuale, a partire da una visione dell'amore diversa da quella di Teocrito, che al tipico distacco alessandrino dalle

⁵⁸ Un'altra imitazione catulliana è indicata da FORBIGER 1872: 63 (a v. 111), nell'ultimo verso dell'ecloga ("claudite iam rivos, pueri: sat prata biberunt"), riconducibile a suo dire a Catull. 61, 231 ("claudite ostia, virgines: lusimus satis"): sul punto cfr. BERG 1974: 193–194.

⁵⁹ Cfr. HUBBARD (2008: 105), che vede proseguire e rafforzarsi questa tendenza più avanti nelle *Ecll.* 4–6.

⁶⁰ Il risalto del tema nell'ecloga è anticipato, a giudizio di LA PENNA (1981: 133), dalla motivazione erotica dell'assenza di Egone a vv. 3–4 e aggiungerei – è ribadito alla fine con l'accento agli *amores dolci e amari* a vv. 109–110.

⁶¹ E un sapore tipicamente neoterico hanno le parole conclusive di Palemone, che nel sancire la centralità del tema d'amore nell'ecloga e nel sintetizzarne le peculiarità dal punto di vista dei *poetae novi* (l'alternarsi di gioie e dolori), ricorre ad un linguaggio apparentemente semplice e ingenuo, ma di fatto accuratamente studiato (*amores amaros*), non lontano da certi toni delle *nugae* catulliane (KARAKASIS [2011: 124] vede invece il modello di quest'accostamento in Plaut. *Cist.* 68).

⁶² La presenza di Gallo nelle ecloghe appare oggi pervasiva e importante dalle citazioni e dai riferimenti ai versi di Qaṣr Ibrîm: essa trova ovviamente il suo culmine nell'*Ecl.* 10, in cui Virgilio non solo paga un debito di gratitudine verso un amico e un poeta che evidentemente gli ha dato molti stimoli, ma porta anche a compimento un dialogo sviluppato con lui fin dall'inizio della raccolta.

passioni profonde contrappone un coinvolgimento più pieno⁶³. Con queste caratteristiche il tema erotico è trattato sempre nelle *Bucoliche*⁶⁴ e nell'*Ecl.* 3 trova un'espressione eloquente nel rapporto di Menalca con Aminta, basato sull'attaccamento e sulla fedeltà, anche se non proprio esclusiva, alla maniera in cui i poeti elegiaci latini descrivono le loro relazioni con le *puellae* amate. Di contro, le figure evanescenti di fanciulle nominate da Dameta riportano ai rapporti più superficiali dei pastori teocritei, per i quali anche l'espressione più forte del sentimento d'amore è accompagnata dallo sguardo un po' ironico e dal distacco emotivo del poeta⁶⁵. La devozione di Menalca ad Aminta ricorda invece quella di Coridone per Alessi nell'*Ecl.* 2, anch'essa allusiva ad una visione totalizzante della passione d'amore, rappresentata senza ironia nella 'riscrittura' virgiliana del *Ciclope* teocriteo e vicina per molti aspetti alla sensibilità elegiaca⁶⁶.

L'atteggiamento di Menalca verso il fanciullo amato deve qualcosa all'elegia erotica latina, di cui richiama – sorprendentemente – il motivo peculiare del *servitium amoris* legato alla caccia⁶⁷. È un tema quasi sicuramente galliano, come sembrano confermare la sua presenza ad *Ecl.* 10, 56–60, sia pure con la funzione opposta di *remedium amoris*, e la ripresa properziana di I 1, 9–16, associata all'*exemplum* mitologico di Milanione⁶⁸. Trattandosi di un motivo estraneo alla tradizione bucolica, come del resto la caccia stessa⁶⁹, Virgilio vi ricorre di rado e sempre in contesti in qualche modo 'elegiaci': tra essi, accanto all'*Ecl.* 10, appunto la 2, in cui Coridone sogna di andare a caccia con Alessi per stargli ac-

⁶³ E' il trattamento che Virgilio riserva sempre nelle ecloghe al tema d'amore, vissuto dai personaggi con una partecipazione che più di una volta sfocia nel dramma: si pensi al pastore suicida dell'*Ecl.* 8 o al Gallo afflitto della 10, ma anche al dolore di Coridone per il disprezzo di Alessi, o all'invincibile e distruttiva passione di Pasifae per il toro. Il giudizio del poeta, solitamente negativo, verso queste passioni spinte all'eccesso non fa che confermare la profondità con cui egli fa vivere questo sentimento ai suoi personaggi.

⁶⁴ Sulla visione fortemente negativa dell'amore in Virgilio cfr. PARATORE 1961: *passim*; LA PENNA 1993: XXXIV, XXXIX; FEDELI 1984: 143–147; GAGLIARDI 2011a.

⁶⁵ Un contrasto analogo è nell'*Ecl.* 10, quando Gallo vagheggia di amori disimpegnati con pastori e pastorelle senza volto, contrapposti alla sua unica, vera e grande passione, quella dolorosa per Licoride, la cui immagine giunge nel suo pensiero a spazzare via ogni altro possibile oggetto di *furor*. Sull'atteggiamento distaccato e ironico di Teocrito rispetto all'amore e alle sofferenze dei suoi personaggi cfr. ROSENMEYER 1969: 77–85.

⁶⁶ Sugli elementi 'elegiaci' dell'*Ecl.* 2, una di quelle in cui più sembra palpabile l'influsso di Gallo, sia nel trattamento del tema erotico, sia nella citazione dei vv. 8–9 di Qaṣr Ibrīm ai vv. 26–27, cfr. COLEMAN 1977: 108; GAGLIARDI 2011b.

⁶⁷ Cfr. in tal senso anche LA PENNA 1981: 148.

⁶⁸ Sull'origine galliana della situazione descritta in *Ecl.* 10, 56–60 una conferma sembra venire dalla somiglianza del passo con Prop. 1, 1, 9–16, in cui appunto il motivo della caccia come occasione per stare accanto all'amata, di derivazione euripidea, è attribuito al personaggio mitico di Milanione: sul confronto tra i due testi cfr. ROSS (1975: 60–70), condiviso generalmente dagli studiosi (cfr. ad esempio NICASTRI 1984: 19).

⁶⁹ Cfr. KARAKASIS 2011: 115.

canto (v. 29), e questo passo della 3, in cui l'accento al tema, non strettamente richiesto dal contesto, sembra inserito volutamente, forse a mo' di allusione o di citazione. La situazione rappresentata, dell'amante che si sobbarca fatiche per stare con l'amato e compiacerlo, potrebbe risalire a Gallo ed era forse tra gli elementi di maggior originalità della sua poesia, ripreso (probabilmente in senso rovesciato) nell'*Ecl.* 10⁷⁰.

Di derivazione elegiaca appare anche un altro spunto tematico non comune nella tradizione bucolica, ma verosimilmente importante in Gallo⁷¹: la presenza del rivale in amore, che accomuna quest'ecloga alla 2, alla 8 e alla 10, tutti testi in cui si sente l'influsso galliano⁷². E in senso idealmente vicino all'elegia è stato interpretato⁷³ anche il richiamo di Palemone a "quisquis amores/ aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amarus" (vv. 109–110), che sottolineerebbe l'identificazione tra vita e poesia, tipica dell'elegia erotica latina, in quanto a sperimentare le diverse facce dell'amore sono i pastori stessi, che poi ne fanno l'oggetto dei loro canti; in effetti l'espressione, alquanto inusitata, che connette il timore agli amori felici, potrebbe riportare alle relazioni elegiache, sempre turbate dalla consapevolezza della brevità dei momenti felici e angosciate dall'incertezza. Per altri elementi, invece, presenti nell'elegia ellenistica e poi in quella latina, la derivazione è meno sicura, giacché almeno alcuni sono accolti anche negli idilli bucolici teocritei, che possono quindi legittimamente essere ritenuti i modelli principali di Virgilio⁷⁴.

Anche da altri punti di vista numerosi elementi riportano all'ambito elegiaco⁷⁵: se ad esempio nell'indovinello di Menalca si ammette un richiamo ad Euforione, il pensiero non può che andare a Gallo, che del poeta di Calcide era notoriamente ammiratore e forse traduttore⁷⁶, e d'altronde il giacinto compare ad

⁷⁰ Cfr. CONTE 1984: 28 ss.

⁷¹ DU QUESNAY 1979: 60–61.

⁷² Se ciò è ovvio per l'*Ecl.* 10, a lui dedicata e tutta incentrata sulla sua vicenda e sul suo monologo (particolarmente forti doveva essere l'imitazione dei suoi versi ai vv. 46–49, stando alla famosa notazione di Serv., *ad v.* 46, che "hi versus omnes Galli sunt, ex ipsius translati carminibus"), oggi la presenza di Gallo si avverte anche nell'*Ecl.* 2. Analogamente nell'*Ecl.* 8 i richiami all'elegia riconoscibili nel tema, nella figura e nel tenore dei versi del protagonista della prima metà appaiono sostenuti da una verosimile allusione ai vv. 6–7 di Qaṣr Ibrīm ai vv. 62–63.

⁷³ Da LA PENNA 1981: 155.

⁷⁴ Motivi come il colpire l'amante con mele o la finta fuga per farsi inseguire si ritrovano ad esempio in Theocr. 5 e 6, mentre altri (i cani che non abbaiano all'arrivo dell'amato; i festeggiamenti per il proprio compleanno; l'astinenza sessuale in giorni sacri), indicati da KARAKASIS (2011: 113–116) come prove della dipendenza dell'ecloga dall'elegia, appaiono troppo labili per sostenere un tale assunto, data anche la nostra assoluta impossibilità di ipotizzarne la presenza già nella poesia di Gallo.

⁷⁵ Le affinità dell'ecloga con l'elegia latina sono state sottolineate da KARAKASIS 2011: 87–124.

⁷⁶ Al punto che DIX (1995: 258–262), in un'ipotetica ricostruzione del poemetto di Euforione sul bosco Grineo e della rielaborazione fattane da Gallo ha immaginato che in questa parte dell'ecloga Virgilio dialoghi direttamente con Gallo.

Ecl. 6, 53, in un testo, cioè, la cui impostazione callimacheo-neoterica è evidente e in cui Gallo è direttamente presente a vv. 64–73. Ancora, il giacinto ricorre, sia pure nella forma variata di *vaccinium*⁷⁷, ad *Ecl.* 2, 18 e 50 e 10, 39, due testi in diretto rapporto con la poesia galliana, e con l'*Ecl.* 10 la 3 condivide la presenza di Apollo e dell'alloro. Con le *Ecl.* 2 e 10 la 3 ha in comune poi numerosi elementi stilistici e lessicali, a cominciare dai nomi propri: Amarillide (v. 81), di cui pure Coridone, come Dameta, ha sperimentato le *tristis ... iras* ad *Ecl.* 2, 14 (e l'identità dell'espressione non può che essere un'auto-citazione); Aminta (*Ecl.* 3, 66, 74 e 83), di cui Coridone parla con antipatia ad *Ecl.* 2, 35 e 39, ma che Gallo vagheggia come uno dei suoi possibili amori pastorali ad *Ecl.* 10, 37–38 e 41, accanto a Fillide (vv. 37 e 41), pure nominata nell'*Ecl.* 3 da entrambi i cantori (*Ecl.* 3, 76, 78 e 107), per non parlare dello stesso Menalca, partecipe del dolore di Gallo ad *Ecl.* 10, 20.

Tra le scelte lessicali riconducibili ad un ambito neoterico (e forse galliano) colpisce il termine *Pierides*, raro nelle *Bucoliche* e sicuramente troppo alto per il tenore *humilis* di questa poesia: il sospetto che questo epiteto, associato nelle ecloghe a contesti in cui si avverte il richiamo a Gallo, potesse comparire nella lacuna iniziale del v. 6 del papiro di Qaṣr Ibrīm conforta l'ipotesi che appartenesse al suo lessico⁷⁸. Anche *indoctus* di v. 26 fa pensare al linguaggio neoterico in relazione alla raffinata *doctrina* e al *labor limae* del poeta, e ancor più caratteristico di questo gusto è l'aggettivo *formosus*, impiegato nell'*Ecl.* 3 nell'unica occorrenza virgiliana al superlativo (v. 57). Frequente nelle ecloghe al punto da essere ritenuto un termine caratterizzante del linguaggio bucolico virgiliano, esso ha una chiara derivazione neoterica⁷⁹: benché non ricorra qui in senso erotico, né riferito a persona, la sua stessa presenza contribuisce ad orientare il testo secondo certi criteri e ad inserirlo in un preciso ambito culturale. Che in questo possa rientrare anche la produzione galliana, e che *formosus* possa appartenere anche al lessico del poeta elegiaco sembra deducibile dal suo impiego nelle ecloghe⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Da identificarsi probabilmente con lo *hyacinthus*, cfr. GAGLIARDI 2014a: 170 (a v. 39).

⁷⁸ Sulla presenza di *Pierides* nelle *Bucoliche* cfr. GAGLIARDI 2014b; sulla possibilità che il termine si trovasse nel papiro di Gallo, nella lacuna del v. 6, cfr. GAGLIARDI 2013b.

⁷⁹ Impiegato assai di rado in poesia arcaica, l'aggettivo compare due volte nella palliata (cfr. Plaut. *Merc.* 229; Ter. *Eun.* 730) e due nei frammenti di togata (Titin. *Tog.* 21; Afran. *Tog.* 381). Tra i neoterici, più che da Catullo, che lo usa solo, ripetutamente, nel c. 86, tanto da far sospettare che alluda a qualche testo preciso, si pensa che appartenesse soprattutto al lessico di Calvo (cfr. THOMAS 1988: 82, a *Georg.* III 219). Sulla sua importanza nelle *Bucoliche* cfr. LIPKA 2001: 8, 124; GAGLIARDI 2015.

⁸⁰ Si pensi all'*Ecl.* 2, 'elegiaca' per tanti aspetti, che si apre proprio con *formosum* e che – forse non a caso – ricorre all'aggettivo anche ai vv. 17 e 45, mentre a vv. 25–27, entro la citazione dei vv. 8–9 del papiro di Gallo, riferendosi al proprio aspetto fisico, Coridone evoca, in una significativa litote, il termine *formosus* ("nec [...] adeo informis", v. 25). Ma l'occorrenza che più induce a ritenere *formosus* un termine galliano è *Ecl.* 10, 18, relativo ad Adone, la cui ravvicinata somiglianza con un frammento di Euforione, anch'esso su Adone, può far leggere nel verso virgiliano la citazione,

Notevole nell'ecloga è anche l'impiego insolito del termine *ignis*, riferito in senso erotico alla persona amata a v. 66, così da rientrare nella comunissima metafora dell'amore come fuoco⁸¹; nel suo uso come termine astratto in apposizione a nomi di persona in senso erotico per definire il sentimento del poeta verso l'amato o l'amata, esso anticipa inoltre un procedimento molto presente nell'*Ecl.* 10, in cui ricorrono in quest'accezione sia *cura* (v. 22), sia *furor* (v. 38), secondo un uso non propriamente virgiliano⁸².

C'è infine nell'ecloga un altro termine caro alla sensibilità neoterico-elegiaca e forse galliana, come sembra suggerito proprio da Virgilio: si tratta di *mollis*, il cui rapporto con l'elegia è sicuro in ambito ellenistico e neoterico⁸³, ma il cui impiego nell'*Ecl.* 10 sembra indirizzare specificamente verso Gallo. In un passo tra i più influenzati da questa poesia, i vv. 42–49⁸⁴, *mollis* compare infatti entro un elaborato gioco sui concetti del duro e del molle, in cui il brusco contrasto tra la dolcezza del *locus amoenus*, descritto ai vv. 42–43, e le asprezze della vita militare (vv. 44–45) si ripropone (vv. 46–49) nell'immagine dei teneri piedi di Licoride feriti dalla durezza tagliente del ghiaccio. La ripresa assai simile del

forse come omaggio, di un testo galliano, a sua volta possibile traduzione o rielaborazione del passo euforioneo. Una conferma in tal senso sembra giungere da Propertio, che proprio descrivendo la morte di Gallo a II 34, 91–92, reimpiega l'immagine euforionea del defunto che nell'Ade lava le ferite e in questo contesto ripropone *formosus* (“et modo formosa quam multa Lycorida Gallus/mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua”). Che con esso i poeti latini traducano il greco *καλός*, formulare per Adone (cfr. REED 1997: 194) risulta chiaro, oltre che da *Ecl.* 10, 18, da Prop. II 13, 55 (“illis formosus iacuisse paludibus, illuc/ diceris effusa tu, Venus, isse coma”) e dall'enfasi che all'epiteto dà Ov. *Met.* X 522–523 (“nuper erat genitus, modo formosissimus infans,/ iam iuvenis, iam vir, iam se formosior ipso est”). Su *formosus* nelle *Bucoliche* cfr. ora GAGLIARDI 2015.

⁸¹ Su cui cfr. testi e bibliografia citati da CLAUSEN 1994: 106–108 (ad *Ecl.* 2, I e ad *Ecl.* 3, 66). Specificamente per *ignis* in senso erotico cfr. Hor. *Carm.* III 7, 10–11; Ov. *Amor.* II 16, 11. L'appartenenza di *ignis* al vocabolario dell'elegia erotica latina è ribadita da KARAKASIS 2011: 114.

⁸² Il procedimento ha ovviamente origini ellenistiche e neoteriche, ma il riferimento più immediato nell'*Ecl.* 10 sembra inevitabilmente Gallo. In particolare per il termine *cura*, il dubbio che possa appartenere in quest'uso al poeta di Licoride è rafforzato da *Ecl.* 1, 57 (“raucae, tua cura, palumbes”), in cui non solo è riferito ad esseri viventi nell'accezione di ‘oggetto di premura’, come per Licoride ad *Ecl.* 10, 22 (“tua cura, Lycoris”) e nella stessa posizione metrica, ma si trova per di più inserito in quel particolare *ordo verborum* che proprio per il sospetto di una possibile origine galliana viene definito *schema Cornelianum* (su di esso e sull'improbabilità che risalga a Gallo, entro la cui poesia può però aver trovato un impiego particolare, cfr. PAPANGELIS 1997: 147; GAGLIARDI 2016). L'impiego properziano del nesso a III 3, 31 e quello ovidiano di *Ars* I 117–118 possono rappresentare un argomento a favore di un uso peculiare in ambito elegiaco (e la somiglianza con Virgilio porta direttamente a Gallo).

⁸³ Cfr. KARAKASIS 2011: 91.

⁸⁴ Per i quali non solo i concetti e lo stile, assai lontani da Virgilio, ma anche l'esplicita notazione di Serv. a v. 46 che “hi versus omnes Galli sunt, ex ipsius translati carminibus” indicano un'origine nella produzione di Gallo: sui problemi suscitati dall'espressione di Servio (in particolare il senso di *translati*) e sui versi a cui debba essere riferita cfr. BARDON 1949: 223 ss.; LUISELLI 1967: 80 ss.; ROSS 1975: 88–89, 100; KELLY 1977: 17–20; YARDLEY 1980: 48–51; CUPAIUOLO 1981: 55, n. 22; D'ANNA 1989: 60 ss.

passo in Prop. I 8, 5–8 e la frequenza del motivo anche negli altri elegiaci lasciano pochi dubbi sulla presenza già in Gallo di questo nodo tematico e lessicale. Ebbene, *mollis* ricorre due volte nell’*Ecl.* 3, prima nel senso di ‘flessibile’ a v. 45, per variare *lentus* di v. 38⁸⁵, poi a v. 55, in un impiego notevole per l’analogia con *Ecl.* 10, 42⁸⁶. In entrambi i nessi l’aggettivo è riferito all’erba in descrizioni di un *locus amoenus* e al dato fisico della mollezza aggiunge quello della piacevolezza e del benessere. Ma c’è di più: ad *Ecl.* 10, 42 *mollis* è in una successione anaforica quadrimembre, presente nell’ecloga anche a vv. 29–30 e ritenuta un possibile stilema galliano⁸⁷. Ebbene, all’accenno alla *mollis herba* Palemone fa seguire (vv. 56–57) la descrizione del luogo con lo stesso schema dei quattro *cola* anaforici⁸⁸: certo, il suo tono e le sue immagini sono più rustici dell’espressione di Gallo nell’*Ecl.* 10, ma è ciò che si addice al linguaggio di un pastore rispetto a quello di un raffinato poeta. Le coincidenze tra i due passi sembrano insomma troppo numerose e troppo specifiche per essere casuali; il riferimento potrebbe essere a qualche brano di Gallo, che Virgilio inserisce nell’*Ecl.* 3 e che richiamerà ancora nella 10.

Riguardo a Palemone, si può fare un’altra osservazione. Non mi pare irrilevante che questi versi siano assegnati proprio a lui, giacché, tra le tante identità suggerite per questo personaggio, si è anche proposto di considerarlo il simbolo del mondo e della poesia bucolici⁸⁹. Se così lo si intendesse, l’originalità dei versi che pronuncia, non riconducibili a precisi modelli teocritei⁹⁰, la forma in cui si esprime, con il suo particolare *ordo verborum*, il lessico in cui spiccano termini fondamentali della bucolica virgiliana (*silvae* e *formosus*, posto in particolare ri-

⁸⁵ Non particolarmente rilevante mi sembra l’impiego di *lentus*, come più avanti di *tener* (v. 103), nei quali KARAKASIS (2011: 120) vede uno degli elementi di dipendenza del linguaggio dell’ecloga dalla poesia neoterica: nell’*Ecl.* 3, infatti, la loro accezione è quella puramente fisica presente solitamente nelle *Bucoliche*. L’interesse maggiore di *mollis* è dato dalla sua somiglianza, a v. 55, con *Ecl.* 10, 42.

⁸⁶ “[P.] Dicite, quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba:/ et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,/ nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus” (*Ecl.* 3, 55–57); “hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,/ hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo” (*Ecl.* 10, 42–43).

⁸⁷ Cfr. WILLS 1996: 358–361; GAGLIARDI 2014a: 173 (a vv. 42–43).

⁸⁸ Un procedimento analogo ricorre anche in Theocr. 5, 45–48, ma in modo meno scandito e regolare (l’anafora non è troppo marcata): non mi sembra possa essere considerato il modello di questo passo, e infatti i commentatori preferiscono indicare, sia pure con qualche riserva, Bione, fr. 2, 17 GOW (cfr. CLAUSEN 1994: 105; COLEMAN 1977: 116; CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 221).

⁸⁹ Sulle disparate identificazioni di Palemone cfr. MONTELEONE 1994: 46–49. Palemone è l’incarnazione del mondo bucolico secondo SEGAL 1967: 293; BERG 1974: 192; SCHULTZ 2003: 220; KARAKASIS 2011: 122. Per SEGAL (1967: 243), è solo grazie alle parole di Palemone che si crea finalmente lo scenario adatto per dare inizio al canto.

⁹⁰ Essi infatti non hanno equivalenti nel modello principale di Theocr. 5, come nota DEROUX (1987: 933), e anche il frammento bioneo solitamente invocato (cfr. *supra*, nota 90) non persuade del tutto.

salto dal superlativo, ἀπαξ in Virgilio⁹¹), ne preciserebbero la caratterizzazione: non simbolo della bucolica *tout court*, ma specificamente di quella virgiliana, con le sue particolarità e i suoi debiti stilistici e formali verso altri generi e verso un gusto diverso da quello teocriteo⁹².

Il fitto reticolo di rimandi, allusioni e confronti con la poesia d'impostazione neoterica che l'analisi dell'*Ecl.* 3 consente di intravedere dà un'impronta particolare a questo componimento; già in esso, cioè, Virgilio intende chiarire l'impostazione della sua poesia, inserita profondamente nella tradizione teocritea, di cui non altera le specificità e l'essenza, ma riesce a trarne proprio dal confronto con i modelli motivi di originalità e di modernità. L'apertura ad altri generi poetici, che insieme all'accoglimento di figure e problematiche contemporanee rappresenta la novità più grande della sua bucolica, s'indirizza specificamente a quell'ambito imbevuto di callimachismo da cui sono nate le sperimentazioni neoteriche e in cui Virgilio stesso e i suoi coetanei più promettenti si sono formati. Tutto ciò è già nell'*Ecl.* 3, che si inserisce in tal modo a pieno titolo nella successione del *liber*, dopo la programmatica *Ecl.* 1, in cui le divergenze da Teocrito e i tratti nuovi della bucolica sono fissati nelle figure di Titiro e Melibeo, e dopo l'*Ecl.* 2, in cui al modello teocriteo è accostato quello della nascente elegia galliana. Con l'*Ecl.* 3 il confronto investe il tipico tema bucolico dell'agone poetico, che diventa per Virgilio occasione per mostrare e proclamare la pari dignità e bellezza della sua poesia rispetto a Teocrito (è questo – mi pare – il senso dell'imitazione di tutti gli idilli agonali nel testo e del pareggio finale⁹³), fondata su principi e suggestioni diversi ma non inferiori al modello. In questo disegno portavoce delle istanze dell'autore è (come nelle ecloghe successive) Menalca, i cui versi sono segnati da una delicata ma tenace impronta neoterica.

A confronto con quest'orientamento, affermato e ribadito in molti modi nel testo, perde di importanza – io credo – l'altro modello dell'ecloga, evocato in modo forse più vistoso e perciò spesso sottolineato, quello della commedia latina. A motivare questa scelta, destinata peraltro a rimanere un esperimento isolato nel percorso poetico dell'autore, possono essere ragioni diverse: forse il tentativo di creare, nella ricerca di una cifra stilistica non ancora definita per la nuova

⁹¹ Entrambi i termini sono ritenuti tipici del linguaggio poetico delle *Bucoliche*: per *formosus* cfr. *supra*, nota 80; sul valore simbolico e metapoetico delle *silvae* nelle *Bucoliche*, come elemento per marcare l'originalità rispetto a Teocrito, cfr. SCHMIDT 1972: 243–244; LIPKA 2001: 30–31, 59, 67, 124; cfr. altresì CLAUSEN 1994: XXVI; CUCCHIARELLI 2012: 139.

⁹² Sui possibili significati della figura di Palemone cfr. MONTELEONE 1994, che in particolare nei vv. 108–110, pronunciati dal personaggio, coglie un elogio dei *poetae novi* e della loro produzione erotica.

⁹³ Cfr. in tal senso anche HUBBARD 2008: 108. Il giudizio di parità tra i due contendenti è stato interpretato in modi assai diversi: cfr. discussione e bibliografia in SCHULTZ 2003: 199; KARAKASIS 2011: 87, n. 2.

bucolica, un linguaggio comico rustico, capace di evocare la vivacità del mimo che segna per tanta parte la bucolica teocritea, oppure l'intento di recuperare gli elementi più originali della produzione comica latina per dare un'impronta più 'romana' ad un genere che rischiava di apparire troppo dipendente da modelli greci. In ogni caso il rapporto con la commedia non è più che una patina formale nel linguaggio di Dameta e Menalca nella vivace scena iniziale; le suggestioni callimacheo-neoteriche rappresenteranno invece una radice tenace della scrittura virgiliana, non solo nello stile *humilis* delle *Bucoliche*, ma ancora nei due poemi. Ad esse Virgilio deve infatti non solo la sua formazione, ma anche e soprattutto gli stimoli più innovativi grazie ai quali la sua poesia si farà l'espressione più intensa e drammatica delle contraddizioni e delle angosce del suo tempo.

Al termine dell'indagine l'*Ecl.* 3 appare dunque, pur in una fase presumibilmente iniziale della composizione delle *Bucoliche* (o comunque in quella che il poeta vuole far apparire tale⁹⁴), un testo pienamente consapevole delle potenzialità e del valore della poesia pastorale virgiliana, dei suoi debiti come dei suoi modelli. Il 'pareggio' finale mostra l'orgogliosa consapevolezza dell'autore di poter reggere degnamente il confronto con la tradizione teocritea⁹⁵. Toccherà alle ecloghe successive, dalla straordinaria novità dell'*Ecl.* 4 e della 6 ai confronti diretti con Teocrito nella 5, nella 7 e nella 8, scandire il progressivo distacco dal modello e sottolineare gli elementi nuovi che via via si impongono, per arrivare a proclamare, dopo la dolorosa parentesi dell'*Ecl.* 9, la dignità e la grandezza di una bucolica fondata su presupposti diversi, ma non meno nobili di quelli teocritei, nel 'nuovo Dafni' dell'*Ecl.* 10. Certo, la 'fondazione' di questa nuova poesia sarà affermata al momento della fine, quasi in un bilancio del cammino compiuto, come σφραγίς dell'esperimento virgiliano, e il fallimento di Gallo, che ad essa si accompagna, mostrerà l'insufficienza del canto a sanare i bisogni spirituali della travagliata generazione contemporanea. Sarà una scelta difficile e una delle grandi, irrisolte contraddizioni della *Weltanschauung* del poeta, incapace di affidare alla sua arte la soluzione dei mali del suo tempo, ma anche uno dei più grandi motivi del fascino di questa poesia. Ma se questa sfiducia punteggia l'intero *liber*, all'interno di esso l'*Ecl.* 3 rappresenta il momento positivo dell'orgogliosa persuasione, comune ai poeti augustei, di aver creato, sulla base di una tradizione mai rinnegata, un'arte capace, con l'apporto di altri stimoli e di altri confronti, di dare nuova linfa a quel passato per farsi espressione di esigenze e di attese di un tempo mutato.

⁹⁴ Ed è ciò che conta più che l'effettiva antichità cronologica, impossibile da dimostrare (unico argomento valido è la sua anteriorità, insieme alla 2, rispetto all'*Ecl.* 5, affermata ad *Ecl.* 5, 86-87).

⁹⁵ HUBBARD (1998: 74) legge nell'intero *liber* bucolico il progressivo affrancamento di Virgilio dal modello teocriteo.

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ANNEXING THE NEAR EAST AND THE LONG-LASTING BOSPORAN AUTONOMY*

by

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ABSTRACT: This article discusses the historical and geopolitical conditions that enabled the two marginal Roman client states of Nabataea and Bosphorus to postpone, or avoid altogether, incorporation into the Empire. It also questions the dominant Romanocentric scholarly consensus that client states that fulfilled certain socio-political requirements – for example, those that were highly Hellenised or those which protected the imperial border against the Parthian threat – were customarily annexed. Certainly, these factors were of great importance with regards to the process of facilitating direct Roman administration. However, this perspective is inverted in this paper in an attempt to explain that Nabataea and Bosphorus' enduring autonomy was mainly due to their unique domestic character, accompanied by their remote localisation.

I. INTRODUCTION

The following article investigates the position of the Bosporan Kingdom in the context of early Roman Empire relationships with client kingdoms on its eastern fringe. Special attention is paid to the Nabataean Kingdom as it shared several common features with its Bosporan counterpart, i.e. they were both remotely located and both cultures included nomadic elements. Additionally, they were both ruled by local dynasties and had no direct borders with the Parthian Empire. Even though the battle of Actium marked the beginning of the radical transformation of the Roman state, the situation of Rome's *reges socii* did not change drastically at the time, since Octavian pragmatically extended his hand to most of Mark Antony's erstwhile clients, including the staunchly loyal and effective ruler of Judaea, Herod I; however, Octavian had no qualms about annexing certain client states, should it suit his purposes. Avoiding unnecessary conflicts, the emperor cultivated friendships with rulers of lands adjoining the eastern flank of the Empire, which helped to limit the number of legions stationed in the

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Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, after the reconciliation between Augustan Rome and Parthia, the legions by and large stayed within the provinces, and their presence was barely visible in the East. This lull in military activity was not to last forever. In later centuries, the emperors decided to conquer some of Rome's eastern neighbours, with a concomitant increase in the number of locally stationed legions: in 23 CE, only four out of twenty five (4/25) legions were stationed in the area under discussion, whereas in the early third century the proportion shifted to ten out of thirty three (10/33)¹.

Roman military activity notwithstanding, in the time between Augustus and Trajan it was client kingdoms that served as the primary protectors of the Empire's eastern border between the Euxine and the Red Sea. Constituting a buffer zone between Rome and its neighbours, some of these local principalities (like Commagene or Armenia) faced both the Roman and the Parthian borders and were of primary importance to the Empire, whereas remoter client kingdoms bordered neither Parthia nor Rome, but could still be useful to Rome as a first line of defence against barbarian incursions. The article focuses on one such client state that managed to avoid annexation and retain its autonomy throughout several centuries, namely, the Bosporan Kingdom. This state was situated in the Eastern Crimea and on the western side of the Taman Peninsula; its capital was Panticapaeum (modern-day Kerch) and during antiquity it was surrounded by nomadic (mainly Scythian and Sarmatian) peoples. This study will analyse the main factors behind the retention of Bosporan independence. Also, placing the Bosporan Kingdom in a broader Near Eastern context, a comparison will be made with another remote political organism, the Nabataean Kingdom. The borders of the nomadic Nabateans are difficult to draw. The heartlands of their kingdom included parts of the Negev Desert, Judaea and the Arabian Peninsula, also touching upon the north-eastern shores of the Red Sea. The Nabataean capital was first located in inaccessible Petra, but later was probably located in Bosra².

Although most of such Near Eastern kingdoms disappeared during the first century, Bosporus and Nabataea managed to keep their autonomy: the Nabataean state came under direct Roman administration only shortly before Trajan's Eastern campaign (re-starting the Roman expansionist policy in the Middle East), whereas the Bosporan Kingdom remained formally independent until its demise in the mid-fourth century CE, as a Roman client kingdom under the rule of a single dynasty for an extended period of about four centuries³. Accordingly, the main aims of this paper are (1) to macroscopically analyse the Roman imperial policies on annexing its eastern client kingdoms in the first century CE and

¹ Tac. *Ann.* IV 5; MILLAR 1993: 2–4.

² See mainly GAJDUKEVIČ 1971; BOWERSOCK 1983.

³ From the moment of the marriage between Mithridates VI Eupator's granddaughter, Dynamis, and Asander, the dynasty was in fact Pontic/Sarmatian.

(2) to ascertain why the Nabataean and Bosporan Kingdoms avoided the fate that befell other client states in the first century CE. Furthermore, there will be discussion on the key factors that allowed the rulers of the Cimmerian Bosphorus to preserve their political status quo indefinitely and avoid annexation altogether.

II. EXAMPLES OF THE NEAR EASTERN CLIENT STATES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH ROME

In the period between the battle of Actium (31 BCE) and Trajan's eastern campaign (115 CE), most eastern client states gradually came under direct Roman administration. Much of the process was a grassroots cultural movement: the Empire promoted the administrative model of the Greek *polis* among its eastern neighbours, whereas the local elite actively sought to curry favour with the Romans, which often went hand in hand with gaining access to the Senate⁴. Generally speaking, this first 'grassroots' stage in the process of the assimilation of neighbouring client states by the Empire culminated in 106 CE with the death of the last Nabataean king (Rabel II) and the subsequent incorporation of his kingdom by Rome. The general scholarly consensus depicts incorporated client kingdoms as victims of their own success: helping to introduce Roman administration and culture in their territories, they themselves facilitated their subsequent swift takeover⁵. Nonetheless, some examples prove that the growing Roman impact in the cultural and administrative spheres of eastern client kingdoms did not inevitably have to lead to annexation. The incorporation could be reversed, as happened in the states of Commagene, Judaea (in the early first century CE) and Osroëne (in the third century CE). Furthermore, the Roman administration appeared to have no grand strategy bent on incorporating their client kingdoms, instead preferring a flexible and reactive approach towards their eastern allies: by and large, the Empire refrained from meddling in the internal affairs of their client states' ruling dynasties – that is, as long as their independence benefitted the Empire.

Nonetheless, to examine the role played by Rome's eastern client states, one first needs to briefly reassess the complex political relationship between an average client state's ruler (*rex socius*) and Rome. *Reges socii*, enduringly introduced into modern nomenclature by Ernst BADIAN as "client kings"⁶, were rendered differently by different scholars, who either accentuated their cooperation with Rome ("friendly kings", "allied kings") or their dependence on her might ("dependent", "vassal" or "petty rulers")⁷. Some attempted to define the relationship

⁴ SARTRE 2013: 277.

⁵ SARTRE 2005: 70–74; FACELLA, KAIZER 2010b: 31.

⁶ See BADIAN 1958.

⁷ FACELLA, KAIZER 2010b: 20.

between *rex socius* and the emperor in terms of the *clientelae* system, with kings as *clientes* of the highest echelon and post-Augustan emperors as their patrons; nonetheless, this gross oversimplification obscures the finer points of their complex bond. When Rome began to expand its territory, the lands and people that they conquered became connected to her through the incorporation of customs and norms that were based on models taken directly from Roman society. This, along with Rome's ability to adjust these rules to suit particular states and regions, made the whole process successful. Thus, in most cases, the kings and princes were presented not as *clientelae*, but as friends and allies (*amici et socii*)⁸. The evidence concerning *reges socii* issued outside Rome mostly regards *amicitia*, however the ties between Greek cities and their Roman patrons seem more comparable (at least in nomenclature) to client–patron relations, due to the word *patronus* becoming an official term in the *poleis*⁹. Nevertheless, Christian WENDT points out that the term “friend”, used in the context of international relations, was more neutral than “client” and could give an illusory view of the equity that existed between the two sides. Eventually, institutions like *amicitiae*, *foedera* and *deditiones* were used as tools that helped effect control over the subdued territories¹⁰. A relevant passage from Suetonius showcases the ambiguity of the imperial policy on *reges socii*¹¹. Suetonius implies that the relationship between these kings and the emperor functioned following the fashion of a patron–client relationship (*more clientium praestiterunt*), but it was not identical; nevertheless, the historian and his peers (Tacitus and Strabo) stress that vassal kings, although not fully incorporated into imperial hierarchies, still played an integral part in the inner political workings of the Empire¹². Building on this and other passages, David BRAUND stressed the ambiguity of the position friendly kings held in the imperial power structure: just like their fringe lands, they were neither fully within nor without¹³.

The manner in which vassal kings expressed their loyalty to the Empire hints that the relationship in question operated both as an interpersonal and a political bond. Many rulers chose to socialise with the emperor: in his *Res Gestae*, Augustus informs us that, thanks to him, many foreign nations (*plurimaeque aliae gentes*) with their rulers (*reges*) sought Roman friendship and came to the capital in person or sent hostages¹⁴. A stay at the emperor's court left a favourable

⁸ BALTRUSCH, WILKER 2015b: 8 f.

⁹ COŞKUN 2005: 7.

¹⁰ WENDT 2015: 22 f.

¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 60, 1.

¹² For example Strabo XVII 3, 25; Tac. *Ann.* IV 5, 2.

¹³ BRAUND 1984: 182.

¹⁴ *RG* 31–33.

impression, convincing the emperor of the king's loyalty and allowing the king to gain a first-hand understanding of the Empire's inner workings and to establish a network of social relationships with members of the imperial elite¹⁵. If client rulers could not visit the capital in person, they sent their offspring and relatives as hostages, a practice that, in Olivier HEKSTER's words, transformed the capital into a "princely kindergarten"¹⁶. Nevertheless, it has to be stated at this point that the Romans usually saw vassal kings and their relatives as nothing more than representatives of their respective states, their personal worth determined solely by their importance to the Empire – regardless of any personal friendships they might have established with the emperor or members of the imperial elite¹⁷.

The difficult transition from the Republic to the Empire fell together with Rome reconsidering her relationship with a group of previously independent vassal states. After the battle of Actium, the Romans seized control of all Mediterranean shores, some of them governed by client kings in Rome's name. After the bloody Mithridatic and civil wars, a period of relative peace began in the Roman East, giving the newly ascended emperor an occasion to consolidate his power over the local principalities. As was stated before, Augustus by and large continued Mark Antony's noninterventionist policy towards client states, but he also annexed some when the unfolding situation demanded it; for example, Rome's breadbasket, Egypt, was annexed immediately in 30 BCE. In the following century, Augustus' successors gradually incorporated the majority of independent eastern vassal states and principalities. Two kingdoms on the Black Sea littoral, Thrace and Pontus, lost their independence in 46 and 64 CE respectively; Cappadocia came under direct Roman administration in 17 CE, whereas the kingdoms of Commagene, Armenia Minor and Emesa did so in the early seventies CE. Nonetheless, some states managed to avoid incorporation, whereas others eventually regained their independence, demonstrating that this drive towards annexation was neither universal nor irreversible.

During the short reign of Caligula, six states (the Bashan and Abilene, Commagene-Cilicia, Lesser Armenia, Pontus, Thrace and Arqa) won back their autonomy¹⁸: out of these six, the history of Commagene demonstrates most vividly the complexities of the Roman client state annexation policy in the Near East. A buffer state initially encircled by Syria, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia and Parthia, Commagene attracted the attention of regional powers from the beginning of the Roman presence in the region due to its geographical location. In the beginning its ruler, Antiochus, acknowledged the supremacy of Tigranes of Armenia; however, he switched allegiance to Pompey during his

¹⁵ BRAUND 1984: 120–123.

¹⁶ HEKSTER 2010: 54.

¹⁷ BRAUND 1988: 93; ALLEN 2006: 20.

¹⁸ PALTIEL 1991: 306.

eastern campaign against Mithridates VI (64 BCE)¹⁹. Pompey greatly benefited from Antiochus' loyalty: Commagene's location enabled the Roman general to control the lands by the Euphrates, whereas Antiochus' wealth and prestige reflected favourably on him as a politician. It was not so for Antiochus, who had to carefully manoeuvre between power-hungry Roman generals and the menacing Parthia. Antiochus and his successors twice picked the losing side (first siding with Pompey and then with Antony); however, they briefly managed to retain their independence, as victors in Roman civil wars wished to continue their erstwhile opponents *laissez-faire* policy towards client states. It appears that, at that particular moment in Roman history, the advantages of maintaining numerous vassal states outweighed any political risks connected with their autonomy²⁰.

In case of Commagene, in the post-Augustan period emperors alternatively annexed or liberated the state as the situation demanded. Annexed after the death of Antiochus III (17 CE)²¹, Commagene regained independence two decades later, when Caligula returned the kingdom to a royal descendant, Antiochus IV, its borders now also including Cilicia Trachea²². An independent Commagene advanced both Antiochus' and the Emperor's interests: Antiochus gained prestige as a client king and Caligula gained a trusted ally who could pacify rebellious and non-Hellenised local territories. Despite Antiochus' loyalty, in 72 CE Commagene inexplicably lost its sovereignty again. The official yet implausible explanation named the king's treachery, but the available evidence does not suggest any scheming on Antiochus' part. The re-seizing of Commagene allowed Rome to strengthen its borders. However, Roman military activity had already been increased in the region prior to the re-taking of the kingdom, and this flurry of military action was due to Rome's policy of expanding its eastern limits, rather than protecting what it already had. The role of the Parthian Empire was also of great importance in that regard, as under its successful leader Vologaeses I (51–78 CE), the empire managed to seize control over Armenia and also initiate an active and fruitful relationship with Rome²³. In light of these facts, the re-annexation of Commagene in 72 CE is best explained not as a Roman reaction to local unrest or to Antiochus' treachery, but above all a strategic land grab²⁴.

Judaea constitutes another fine example of a client state that went back and forth between a partially independent state and a province. Twice incorporated into the Roman Empire in 6 and 34 CE, Judaea briefly regained its sovereignty

¹⁹ Plut. *Pomp.* 36, 2; App. *Mith.* 106.

²⁰ FACELLA 2010: 192 f.

²¹ Tac. *Ann.* II 42, 5.

²² Suet. *Calig.* 16, 3; Dio LIX 8, 2.

²³ DĄBROWA 2010: 129; OLBRYCHT 2013: 224 f.

²⁴ DĄBROWA 1997: 110; FACELLA 2010: 196.

with the enthronement of Agrippa I under Claudius (41 CE), only to lose it again in 44 CE. The general Jewish uprising of 66 CE provoked a strong Roman response and quashed the insurgents' spirit, with the Temple destroyed and Judaea forcibly Hellenised²⁵. The prior history of Judaea under the Herodians and their relationship with the Julio-Claudian emperors convinced the Roman administration that having a bold and resourceful client king like Herod I could be preferable to governing the unruly province²⁶. However, one must note at this point that the special position Judaea supposedly held could be a fabrication of our embellished sources: granted, the land distinguished itself among other client kingdoms through its exceptional culture and the Herodians' political acumen, but Josephus' glowing account probably exaggerated its political importance within the Empire.

Cappadocia, ruled at that time by Archelaus, stands as another successful yet perhaps not so well-known country that managed to walk the fine line between independence and submission to Rome. A shrewd politician, Archelaus consistently expanded his territory: initially given Cilicia Trachea, he subsequently seized Armenia Minor and finally, thanks to his marriage with Pythodoris (Antony's granddaughter), he took over the Kingdom of Pontus²⁷. Archelaus' new wife claimed Pontus as a widow after the Bosporan king Polemo I, killed by nomadic Aspurgians during his military campaigns²⁸: through marriage, Archelaus became the king of the united Pontic-Cappadocian kingdom, a firm barrier against the Parthian expansion towards the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire.

Archelaus' life showcases that a client king's changing fortunes depended entirely on Rome: an alliance with one Roman official often entailed offending another contender for power, who could then exact his revenge on the client king. Ca. 1 BCE, Archelaus met with Augustus' step-son Tiberius and grandson Gaius Caesar on Samos or Rhodes²⁹. During his stay on the island, Archelaus chose to support Augustus' heir apparent, Gaius Caesar, over Tiberius, who was subsequently exiled. This rational decision nevertheless had unforeseen and disastrous consequences for Archelaus, since Augustus' grandson died during the Armenian campaign and the slighted Tiberius unexpectedly gained power in 14 CE. Having never forgiven Archelaus, Tiberius took him prisoner and kept him in Rome as a hostage: the ageing king soon passed away, either murdered or driven to suicide, with his kingdom being incorporated in 17 CE³⁰. Archelaus' long and successful reign over Cappadocia,

²⁵ SARTRE 2013: 289.

²⁶ PALTIEL 1991: 21; SARTRE 2013: 289 f.

²⁷ ROMER 1985: 88.

²⁸ Strabo XII 2, II.

²⁹ ROMER 1985: 75 f.

³⁰ HEKSTER 2010: 45.

capped by his ignominious death in Rome, illustrates even more strikingly how fragile the position of the friendly king could be.

Case studies of Commagene, Judaea and Cappadocia clearly demonstrate why the Roman Empire benefitted from a network of client kings that guarded the Empire's flanks, brought in extra monies and, arguably, groomed their countries into vast swaths of annexation-ready Hellenised lands. *Reges socii* supported the Roman war effort with auxiliary troops, their lands buffering the Empire's borders from the often hostile external world³¹; additionally, they kept the peace in the Empire and neighbouring lands, suppressing piracy and other forms of banditry³². Of great importance was also the wealth a vassal king could deliver to the Empire: according to Tacitus and Josephus, king Antiochus IV of Commagene possessed the greatest riches of all *reges socii*, his regular contributions to Roman coffers certainly helping him maintain his position until 72 CE³³. Finally, many scholars asserted that Roman client kingdoms existed only to be eventually annexed once conditions allowed it. Maurice SARTRE conjectured that the Romans encouraged the client states to adopt the Greek model of *polis* in the East and Hellenise their elites: once properly assimilated, the Hellenised local elites would eventually smooth the transition from a semi-independent vassal state to a Roman province³⁴. Indeed, in the case of Herodian Judaea, one observes Romans founding numerous *polis*-modelled settlements, a cultural counterbalance to the local Jewish communities³⁵. However, SARTRE's conjecture can be questioned, as the brief existence of an average client state was not usually conducive to the process of the extensive acculturation of local elites: for example, it is doubtful that the second annexation of Commagene in 72 CE happened primarily because by that point a larger proportion of its people had adopted Greek customs than they had in 17 CE.

Why exactly a given state would be incorporated or not remains a problematic issue, necessitating the adoption of a broader perspective on Roman imperialism. Client state annexations in the first century CE served to consolidate imperial power within the limits marked by the Roman generals of the late Republic. States central to the Roman interest tended not stay independent for very long, a fate that befell the strategically important Syria (incorporated by Pompey³⁶) and the Parthia-oriented borderlands, the point of entry into the Roman East³⁷. When the border of the Empire touched the Euphrates, Roman emperors followed in Crassus' and Mark Antony's

³¹ FACELLA, KAIZER 2010b: 26.

³² *Bell. Alex.* 65, 5.

³³ Tac. *Hist.* II 81; Jos. *BJ* V II, 3; Jos. *AJ* XVIII 7, 1.

³⁴ SARTRE 2013: 278 f.

³⁵ PALTIEL 1991: 21. GOODMAN (1987: 109–134) explains why this policy failed in Judaea.

³⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* 39.

³⁷ SARTRE 2005: 5.

footsteps and ran their incursions into Parthia, Trajan's expedition being followed by those of Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus³⁸. All in all, the independence of Roman buffer states in the East appears to have lasted until the revival of Roman expansionist policy towards its eastern neighbours.

III. SOUTHERN FRINGE – NABATAEA

Geographically and politically isolated, this remote principality for the most part avoided attracting the attention of the imperial elite, appearing most often in recorded sources due to its perceived unruliness. The Nabataeans were often informally excluded from the ranks of *reges socii*. For example, Josephus narrates that Herod Agrippa I organised a summit in Tiberias in 43 CE, inviting both fellow client kings (Antiochus IV of Commagene, Polemo II of Pontus, Sapsigeratnus of Emesa, Cotys of Lesser Armenia and Herod of Chalcis) and C. Vibius Marsus, contemporary governor of Syria: the abortive meeting ended in diplomatic disaster after the governor sent away the newly arrived client kings³⁹. Notably, Agrippa invited no emissary from Nabataea to the summit, probably due to the bitter and ever-increasing conflict between Nabataea and Herodian Judaea⁴⁰: since the Roman administration tended to favour the Herodians, the Nabataeans eventually became embroiled in numerous conflicts with Rome. In the time of Augustus, Nabataean royal advisor Syllaeus, governing in place of king Obodas⁴¹, had a long-running feud with Herod I⁴². Syllaeus, blamed for inadequately supporting Aelius Gallus' expedition to Arabia, was eventually caught and sentenced to death in Rome⁴³. After Obodas' demise, a Nabataean ruler, Aretas, tested Rome's patience again by seizing the throne without Rome's explicit permission; nonetheless, Augustus eventually acknowledged his status as a *regius socius*⁴⁴. Augustus' leniency caused trouble for Tiberius in his final year of life, as Judaea and Nabataea engaged in another major conflict. The emperor attempted to mollify the warring *reges socii*, ready to disturb the fragile peace at the Empire's eastern flank. Despite Tiberius' pacifying efforts, Nabataean king Aretas crushed Herod Agrippa's armies: the outraged Tiberius sent two legions to capture or kill the dissenting Nabataean – and he would have succeeded if not for his sudden death and the subsequent cancellation of the punitive expedition⁴⁵.

³⁸ SARTRE 2005: 87; MILLAR 1993: 492.

³⁹ Jos. *AJ* XIX 8, 1.

⁴⁰ SULLIVAN 1989: 208–213.

⁴¹ Jos. *AJ* XVI 7, 6.

⁴² Jos. *AJ* XVI 9, 1–3.

⁴³ Strabo XVI 4, 24.

⁴⁴ Jos. *AJ* XVI 9, 4.

⁴⁵ Jos. *AJ* XVIII 5, 1.

At this point one must note that the Nabataean kings – in direct contrast to the Herodians – owed their unique position not to Roman political support, but rather to the inaccessibility of their land and their fierce desire to remain independent. Diodorus, quoting Hieronymus of Cardia, noted that the Nabataeans, still nomadic at the end of the fourth century BCE, managed to successfully use their knowledge of the desert terrain in their favour during their struggle against the invading Macedonian commander, Antigonus⁴⁶. The Nabataeans' pathfinding skills once again came to the forefront three centuries later, when a Roman expedition under the command of Aelius Gallus failed to conquer the so-called Arabia Felix⁴⁷. Gallus asked the desert nomads to guide the Roman army through the inhospitable wastes of Arabia, but preserved sources imply that the Nabataeans deliberately gave the Romans wrong directions, as a Roman presence in that region was not in their interest⁴⁸.

What furthermore distinguished the Nabataeans from their neighbours was their mastery over water management techniques in the inhospitable desert environment: their desert subsistence farming techniques at some point became reliable enough for them to adopt a sedentary lifestyle⁴⁹. Their greatest asset, however, was their land's strategic location at the crossroads between Egypt, Judaea, the Levant, the Red Sea and Mesopotamia, a veritable trading hotspot. Strabo describes their *de facto* capital of Petra as a bustling trade centre often visited by foreign merchants⁵⁰. To boost their roaring trade in aromatics imported from Arabia and the Red Sea coast, the Nabataeans widely adopted Aramaic (which they used in inscriptions); however, their culture also exhibited certain Graeco-Roman influences⁵¹. From Pompey onwards, the Romans recognised the strategic importance of Nabataean trade in the region, cooperating with them and importing Arabian wares⁵². However, Nabataean–Roman relations soured in the second half of the first century CE, as the Nabataean kings increased their pressure on Judaea; concurrently, the economic significance of Petra dwindled as other regional trade centres, such as Palmyra and Egypt, took over much of its trade. At this period of time, the Nabataeans moved the administrative centre of their state northwards, from Petra to the city of Bosra, perhaps in response to changes in trade routes⁵³.

⁴⁶ Diod. Sic. XIX 94.

⁴⁷ Cass. Dio LIII 29. See also MAREK 1993.

⁴⁸ Strabo XVI 4, 22–24; BOWERSOCK 1983: 48 f.

⁴⁹ ERICKSON-GINI (2012: 50–54) argues that in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the Nabataeans had only subsistence agriculture, producing their first surpluses only in Late Antiquity.

⁵⁰ Strabo XVI 4, 21.

⁵¹ PALTIEL 1991: 27; SARTRE 2005: 86.

⁵² BOWERSOCK 2003: 21; PALTIEL 1991: 30 f.

⁵³ BOWERSOCK 2003: 22; BOWERSOCK 1983: 64 f.

Rabel II, the last king of the Nabataeans, passed away in 106 CE: emperor Trajan, who perhaps had already been planning his future eastern campaign against Parthia, did not hesitate to annex Rabel's peripheral client state. Extant sources do not speak of Nabataean resistance to Roman annexation, which suggested to many that the desert tribes put up no fight against their invaders, although the serious forces gathered by the Romans can indicate an existing threat of Nabataean resistance⁵⁴. The new province of Arabia hosted two legions, *legio III Cyrenaica* in Petra and *legio VI Ferrata* in Bosra, the latter under the command of the new provincial governor, Claudius Severus. The unusually high number of soldiers stationed in one province (including remote locations such as the outpost in the Farasan islands) demonstrates that the Roman administration placed great importance on the safety of regional trade routes, especially those that facilitated trade in aromatics⁵⁵. Nevertheless, Roman control over the Red Sea trade routes can be traced back to Augustus' reign; apparently Aelius Gallus' expedition must have resulted in some long lasting effects which allowed the Nabataeans to increase their influence on the Arabian Peninsula⁵⁶. Also, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions a "centurion" who was responsible for taxation in the Nabataean harbour of Leuke Kome, which suggests that Rome was collecting the taxes from Nabataean trade directly during the late Julio-Claudian dynasty, long before annexation⁵⁷. However, Glen BOWERSOCK rejects the theory that the tax collector was Roman, suggesting instead that he was a Nabataean administrator⁵⁸.

There are several compelling reasons for Rome's annexation of Nabataea. These include the fact that the previous disobedient royal dynasty had left behind a well-governed kingdom; also, a change in the way that people lived (going from a nomadic to a sedentary lifestyle) enabled the governance of previously dispersed tribes. BOWERSOCK accentuates that becoming a Roman province did not drastically change the Nabataeans' daily lives: granted, Greek culture became more influential and certain oaths, previously sworn in the name of king, now had to be sworn in the name of emperor, but the Arabic culture of this territory was by and large preserved without interruption. Nabataean society continued to function for several centuries: the last inscription found in Petra dates to the mid-fourth century CE, but traces of human activity suggest the site was occupied up to the sixth century CE⁵⁹.

⁵⁴ SARTRE 2005: 87; BOWERSOCK 2003: 22 f.; BOWERSOCK 1983: 81 f.

⁵⁵ See BUKHARIN 2005–2006.

⁵⁶ SPEIDEL 2015: 249, 258.

⁵⁷ *PME* 19.

⁵⁸ BOWERSOCK 1983: 70 f.

⁵⁹ BOWERSOCK 2003: 24.

IV. NORTHERN FRINGE – BOSPORUS

At the same time, on the northern fringe of the eastern border of the Empire one finds the Bosporan Kingdom, a client state that also managed to avoid being annexed in the first century CE. As with the Nabataean Kingdom, the nomads and their culture played an important role in the history of this state, but it was the Greek element that helped to establish and consolidate the Cimmerian Bosphorus. In the first half of the fifth century BCE, existing Greek colonies in the eastern part of Crimea and the Taman Peninsula united and became jointly known as the Bosporan Kingdom, their unification most probably being a means to effectively withstand the constant pressure from neighbouring tribes⁶⁰. In due time, this kingdom came under the rule of the Thracian-Greek dynasty of Spartocids, who gained control over vast territories on the eastern coast of the Azov Sea and founded the city of Tanais at the mouth of the river Don⁶¹. The culturally diverse Bosporan Kingdom and its neighbouring lands hosted the Greek-descended city dwellers, the tribes of Tauri and Maeoti, the nomads from the vast Eurasiatic steppe (Scythians and Sarmatians), and, last but not least, the Romans, who first appeared in the region in the first half of the first century BCE.

At the end of the second century BCE, the Bosporan kingdom became one of Mithridates VI Eupator's dominions. After his fall, the kingdom gravitated towards the Roman sphere of influence, as Eupator's son, Pharnaces II, paid homage to Pompey⁶². From that moment onwards, the Bosphorus, under the rule of the new Mithridatic dynasty, remained a Roman client state for over four centuries and (initially together with Pontus and Thrace) played an important role in Roman policy towards the east. Client kings of Bosphorus, ruling from Panticapaeum, did not grow complacent under Roman protection, but actively engaged in the politics of the region, intermittently having to confront their meddling overlords to maintain Bosporan independence. The first king to defy Romans was Pharnaces II, who engaged Julius Caesar and lost to him in the battle of Zela⁶³. Caesar wished to check the rebellious kingdom and sent the trusted Mithridates II of Pergamum to seize the Bosporan throne, then held by Pharnaces II's successor, Asander, who decided to fight and eventually managed to hold the kingship. Three decades later, the Romans sent the king of Pontus, Polemo I, to ascend the Bosporan throne and quell the rebellion that erupted when Asander's troops deserted him for the Roman usurper Scribonius. Asander's wife, queen

⁶⁰ GAJDUKEVIČ 1971: 32–49.

⁶¹ KUTINOVA 2011: 121.

⁶² App. *Mith.* 113.

⁶³ Plut. *Caes.* 50; Suet. *Jul.* 37; NAWOTKA 1992: 34 f.; FROLOVA, IRLEAND 2002: 5; SAPRYKIN 2005: 168.

Dynamis, initially sided with and married Polemo, but later she and Asander's son Aspurgus prevailed over Polemo and regained the throne⁶⁴. To some extent, constant power struggles in the Bosporan kingdom resulted from inept Roman interference in the Black Sea region. According to Sergey SAPRYKIN's interpretation, the Romans wanted to unify all Pontic client kingdoms – or at least link separate kingdoms through one ruling dynasty. They almost attained the second goal when Mark Antony assigned the rule of Cilicia Trachea to Zeno of Laodicea, a famous orator and Antony's friend, father to Polemo and grandfather to Antonia Tryphaena. Zeno's relatives, in-laws and associates at one point ruled over several Pontic kingdoms. Polemo's wife Pythodoris controlled Pontus and Cappadocia, whereas Thrace was held by Cotys III, who married Antonia Tryphaena (daughter of Polemo and Pythodoris). In Bosphorus one found Aspurgus, son of Dynamis (former spouse of Polemo I), who ascended to the throne at least in 6/7 CE⁶⁵; later on, Aspurgus wed Gepaepyris, apparently a Thracian relative of Cotys III and Tryphaena⁶⁶. In such a way, a single sprawling dynasty united many Euxine lands, a scenario that the Romans actively encouraged to ensure their own safety.

In direct contrast to Thrace and Pontus, Bosphorus never became a Roman province: Roman emperors never decided to incorporate the uncontrollable kingdom, ultimately learning that meddling in Bosporan affairs tended to arouse a lingering anti-Roman sentiment and stiffen local resistance. The last serious anti-Roman revolt in the Bosphorus (directed by Mithridates VIII) took place during the reign of Claudius, seemingly a perfect opportunity for the Romans to finally annex the vassal territory. As narrated by Tacitus, the conflict showcased the Roman attitude towards lands on the northern Black Sea coast and their manner of dealing with deposed client kings. As noted before, ancient historians did not devote much attention to the vassal kings and their affairs, unless they enjoyed particular favour with the Imperial elite, or behaved in an unusual and noteworthy fashion. Since many client kings periodically visited Rome, this was the context in which their deeds were recorded for posterity. Many kings ended their lives in the capital, some taken as hostages, others as war trophies presented to the people during the triumphal procession. It was not so with the rebellious Bosporan king Mithridates VIII, who came to Rome after losing the aforementioned war⁶⁷. Thanks to the deal he negotiated with Claudius, Mithridates VIII was spared from being paraded during the triumphal procession. According to Tacitus, the Emperor agreed to Mithridates' terms because he:

⁶⁴ Strabo XI 2, 11. The so-called "second reign" of Dynamis is disputable. See: SAPRYKIN 2002: 96–105; IVANTCHIK, TOKHTAS'EV 2011: 170 f.; ZAVOYKINA, NOVICHIKHIN, KONSTANTINOV 2018: 680–688.

⁶⁵ ZAVOYKINA, NOVICHIKHIN, KONSTANTINOV 2018: 680–688.

⁶⁶ SAPRYKIN 2005: 171 f.

⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* XII 15–22.

...though merciful to foreign princes, was yet in doubt whether it were better to receive the captive with a promise of safety or to claim his surrender by the sword. To this last he was urged by resentment at his wrongs, and by thirst for vengeance. On the other hand it was argued that it would be undertaking a war in a country without roads, on a harbourless sea, against warlike kings and wandering tribes, on a barren soil; that a weary disgust would come of tardy movements, and perils of precipitancy; that the glory of victory would be small, while much disgrace would ensue on defeat⁶⁸.

In short, Tacitus claims that sending legions to fight for such a remote and irrelevant place as the Bosphorus was hardly worth the imperial attention. Because of his direct and slightly arrogant behaviour towards Claudius, Mithridates was captured and brought to Rome by the procurator of Pontus. Although spared by Claudius from being derided in a parade, Mithridates had to spend the rest of his life in Rome, where he became a renowned and influential person⁶⁹. In Mithridates' absence, Claudius gave the Bosporan kingdom to Mithridates' brother Cotys, succeeded by Rhescuporis I. After Cotys' death, the kingdom briefly remained under Roman rule for a few years until Rhescuporis came of age. From Rhescuporis' ascension onwards, the Bosporan rulers uninterruptedly maintained the role of *reges socii* as part of the Roman–Bosporan status quo over the course of the next three centuries⁷⁰.

What exactly discouraged the Romans from annexing Bosphorus remains open for debate. Certainly, its geographical isolation played a significant role, since the region had no land borders with any other Roman province. Described by Tacitus as an uncharted wilderness full of hostile tribes, Bosphorus would certainly have proved difficult to subdue, although one must remember that Bosphorus' purported inaccessibility could have very well been a Roman literary cliché, the proverbial ruggedness of the Black Sea area being exemplified most clearly in Ovid's *Tristia*⁷¹. In contrast to Nabataea, the Cimmerian Bosphorus was a cultured land of many Greek cities, no less opulent and Hellenised than any other eastern client kingdom. The kingdom was not so remote as to not have any Roman military presence at all. Roman troops were stationed in the Crimea and the Bosporan Kingdom until the third century CE⁷²: epigraphic evidence points to the fact that the so-called Thracian and Cypriote cohorts stayed in Panticapaeum in the first half of the third century CE⁷³, while the garrison at the Roman fort at Charax was

⁶⁸ Tac. *Ann.* XII 20 (transl. by A.J. CHURCH, W.J. BRODRIBB).

⁶⁹ His further history is described by Plut. *Galba* 15, 1.

⁷⁰ NAWOTKA 1989: 337 f. The whole stormy period in the history of the Bosphorus (2nd half of the 1st cent. BCE–1st half of the 1st cent. CE) is discussed by SAPRYKIN 2002.

⁷¹ For example *Trist.* V 7, 9–14, 51 f.; NAWOTKA 1997: 56 f.

⁷² IVANTCHIK 2014: 190.

⁷³ *SEG* LV 862; *CIRB* 691; 728.

also established at some point⁷⁴. Occasionally, the Roman military left their posts to provide support to beleaguered Crimean cities: for example, during the sixties of the first century CE, Tiberius Plautius Silvanus led his army in support of the city of Chersonesus in its struggle against the invading Scythians⁷⁵.

Most significantly, the main reason behind the Bosporan client state's continued independence was its exceptional sociocultural make-up. From the first century BCE onwards, the Bosporan Kingdom underwent so-called Sarmatisation. Epigraphic, archaeological and iconographic material indicated an ever-increasing number of Sarmatian names amongst the inhabitants of the Bosphorus; Sarmatian tribal leaders established close relationships with Bosporan rulers and contingents of the Sarmatian cavalry began to play an ever-growing role in the Bosporan army⁷⁶. The emergent Sarmatian influence in Bosphorus is best demonstrated through the example of the Aspurgians. Strabo describes the Aspurgians as a Sarmatian faction that supported queen Dynamis' son Aspurgus in his war against the Roman-ordained king Polemo I, who died fighting on the Taman Peninsula in 8 BCE. Interestingly, Strabo's passage may have captured an influential Sarmatian social group *in statu nascendi*⁷⁷: after their brief appearance in Strabo's text, the previously insignificant Aspurgians suddenly resurface in the first half of the third century CE, described in a number of inscriptions as a well-organised and influential social faction⁷⁸. Also significant was the fact that the Bosporan Kingdom did not neighbour a serious power capable of threatening the Romans, instead facing the vast Eurasian steppe and its nomadic peoples of Iranian stock. This remote location made this marginal kingdom the perfect buffer state, securing the Roman flank at the north-eastern fringes of the Empire.

V. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the Nabataean and Bosporan kingdoms, two marginal Roman client states on the Eastern border of the Empire, had little in common directly; however, the history of their annexation or lack thereof proves that their ultimate fate depended on the same set of factors that influenced Roman imperial policy. In contrast to many other eastern client states, both Nabataea and Bosphorus were ruled by dynasties that legitimised their status by claiming pre-Roman ancestry. Remarkably, individual members of these royal houses felt empowered enough

⁷⁴ ZUBAR 2005: 179.

⁷⁵ Even if we take into consideration the point of view of SARNOWSKI (2006: 259), an intervention in some form must have taken place: ZUBAR 2005: 176; *IOSPE I* 420.

⁷⁶ MIELCZAREK 1999: 80–89; MIELCZAREK 2014: 14–16; USTINOVA 2000: 153; MORDVINTSEVA 2013: 216; TOKHTAS'EV 2013; HALAMUS 2017: 192 f.

⁷⁷ SAPRYKIN 1985; HALAMUS 2017: 191 f.

⁷⁸ *CIRB* 36; 1246; 1248.

to defy the Romans in order to advance their own interests, although with varying degrees of success⁷⁹. It seemed that, among other factors, being ruled by a local dynasty was the key to a country's autonomy. In the case of Nabataea, its eventual annexation could have been brought about by its dynasty dying out, whereas Bosphorus' independence ended with its last ruler, sometime in the second half of the fourth century CE⁸⁰.

Another important factor shared by the two states was their nomadic culture and its impact on their history. In the Bosporan kingdom, the nomads constituted a significant portion of the society due to Bosphorus being an amalgam of Greek and barbaric communities: later on, the Sarmatian culture played an important role in Bosporan–Roman relations. However, in contrast to the predominantly Arabic Nabataea, the Greek cities exerted just as profound an influence (or even a greater one) on Sarmatian elements in Bosphorus, ensuring the state remained part of the Graeco-Roman cultural milieu for some nine centuries. Therefore, case studies of Nabataea, Commagene, or Bosphorus demonstrate that the relative degree of a given state's Hellenisation – which, as SARTRE erroneously held, directly correlated with the Romans' willingness to annex it – in fact mattered little in imperial policy: Nabataea and Commagene, two client states with relatively few Greek cities, still became provinces, whereas the more urbanised and Hellenised Bosphorus remained independent and separated from Rome by land and sea. This geographical separation, coupled with the unruliness of the local population and the lack of economic significance to Rome were the main reasons why the Empire never properly incorporated the Black Sea country.

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⁷⁹ In Bosphorus for example Pharnaces, Asander, Dynamis, Mithridates VIII, and in Nabataea Aretas IV, Obodas/Syllaeus.

⁸⁰ BOWERSOCK (1983: 80) points out that Rabel II had successor. However, he admits that Trajan had probably waited for the ruler's death.

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THE NOTION OF *PHOENICIA* IN THE ROMAN PERIOD*

by

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to display the evolution of the term *Phoenicia* in the Roman times (64 BCE–636 CE) by focusing on the most important issues regarding this problem, i.e. the geographical extension of the notion of *Phoenicia*, the transition from its geographical meaning into its administrative one and the role of the establishment of the Roman province of Syria Phoenice (194 CE) played in this process. The paper shows that the concept of *Phoenicia* in Roman times was influenced by the Hellenistic term *Syria and Phoenicia*. The provincial identity of the Phoenicians also seems to have been a product of the extension of the notion of *Phoenicia* further inland and some Eastern communities, which were never before thought to be Phoenician, could now share this identity as a means of integration into the Graeco-Roman world. The problem of the notion of *Phoenicia* in the Roman period seems to be a neglected topic and the current paper is an attempt to fill the gap in that field.

1. INTRODUCTION

In modern scholarship it is generally assumed that the term *Phoenicia* designates the narrow coastal strip of Syria where the Phoenician city-states were situated, a term specific mostly for the Iron Age (ca. 1200–332 BCE), when the Phoenician culture flourished. Although the geographical dimensions of this land as proposed by scholars vary to some extent¹, the modern definitions usually set Phoenicia in the coast land somewhere between the city of Arados up to

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¹ Cf. ELAYI 1982: 83, n. 1.

Akko or Mount Carmel². However, as was demonstrated by VAN DONGEN, defining Phoenicia on the basis of linguistic, archaeological and historical criteria is indeed not an easy task; although there are some indications allowing scholars to distinguish such a region, the evidence is too scanty to solve the problem decisively³. The term *Phoenicia* as a designation of a geographical and cultural region, a commonwealth and shared identity of the city-states like Tyre, Sidon or Byblos and their hinterland, despite the uncertain etymology and origins of this concept⁴, seems to be a purely Greek construct without a clear equivalent in known Phoenician sources – there is no indigenous evidence for a common self-identification of these cities and their inhabitants, whose identity seems to be civic rather than ethnic⁵. The view formulated by KRAHMALKOV that the Phoenicians called their language *Ponnīm* and their homeland *Pūt*⁶ is generally rejected by other scholars⁷. On the other hand, the alleged identification of Phoenicia with the notion of Canaan has recently also been brought into question⁸. Therefore, it is necessary to state that the attempt to define Phoenicia demands an instrument which would allow us to do it and only Classical sources can provide that instrument, since only they state explicitly *what Phoenicia is*.

This assumption seems to be of some importance if we keep in mind that the modern notion of *Phoenicia* differs quite significantly from the ancient application of this term. Underestimation of this fact may sometimes lead to a misunderstanding of the problem – some scholars ignore information provided by the sources when it does not correspond to the modern concept regarding what Phoenicia is. SARTRE, for instance, at some point discusses various Classical accounts concerning the geographical extent of Phoenicia, which sometimes include cities situated beyond the modern notion of this land. He points out the divergences between them, but pays only very little attention to the diachronic aspect of this notion. In the case of Strabo, who mentions Rhinocolura near Egypt among the cities of Phoenicia (see map 1), SARTRE writes that “En réalité, la Phénicie se termine au sud avec le territoire d’Akko (Aké, Ptolémaïs), au nord avec celui d’Arados. Ni Rhinocolura, ni Myriandros ne sont, géographiquement,

² For encyclopedic definitions of Phoenicia, see: EISSFELD 1941; LIPÍŃSKI, RÖLLIG 1992; WARD 1997; RÖLLIG 2003–2005; EDER, NIEMEYER, RÖLLIG 2007; SALLES 2012; KOTSONAS 2013.

³ VAN DONGEN 2010.

⁴ For the discussion on the etymology and origins of the term *Phoenicia*, see: SPEISER 1936; BONFANTE 1941; ASTOUR 1965; BILLIGMEIER 1977; VANDERSLEYEN 1987; PARASKEVAIDOU 1991; BEEKES 2004: 181–183. For the term *Phoenicians* as used among the Greeks and Romans, see PRAG 2006 and 2014.

⁵ QUINN 2018: 25–43.

⁶ KRAHMALKOV 2000: 10–13; 2001: 1–5.

⁷ Cf. NAVEH 2001; MOSCA 2003; JONGELING, KERR 2002; VAN DONGEN 2010: 478, n. 53; QUINN 2018: 30, n. 25.

⁸ QUINN *et al.* 2014; QUINN 2018: 30–37.

en Phénicie”⁹. This statement demands a constant and invariable definition of Phoenicia and somehow neglects the fact that, as this paper aims to display, the ancient notion of *Phoenicia* evolved through the ages.

The words Φοινίκη and Φοινίκες appear at the very beginning of Greek literature, since they are mentioned several times by Homer¹⁰. It is noticeable, however, that the term *Phoenicia* persists in Graeco-Roman texts long after the Phoenician language ceases to be attested in the Roman period – it seems that the last known Phoenician inscription carved in stone is either a bilingual dedication from Arados dated to 25/24 BCE or a dedication from Byblos, which is sometimes dated to the 1st cent. CE. However, Phoenician letters and single words appear on coins issued by Tyre as late as the 3rd cent. CE¹¹, while the notion of *Phoenicia* is still present in the evidence long after that time. Furthermore, it is striking that despite the process of acculturation and integration into the Graeco-Roman world, which took place in Phoenicia and shaped the local culture, the concept of Phoenicia as a separate entity could hardly be considered an antiquarian one – the memory of Phoenicia and its heritage, of course in the prism of Graeco-Roman interpretation, lasted and was cultivated in Roman times as well. Old Phoenician cities like Tyre, Sidon or Berytos and their inhabitants, by accepting this Graeco-Roman perspective willingly, referred to their glorious mythological past, as is clearly visible on the iconography of the coins issued by them¹². Moreover, in Roman times the notion of *Phoenicia* itself evolves vividly and does not lose its contemporary aspect. Not only do the boundaries of *Phoenicia* change significantly during this period, but the very nature of this concept evolves. The fact that in Roman times the word *Phoenicia*, next to its geographical and cultural sense, gains permanent status as an administrative term, introduces a difficulty in the interpretation of its meaning attested in the evidence.

These two problems, namely the evolution of the extent of the term *Phoenicia* and the transformation of the nature of this concept in Roman times, so far have not met with much attention. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to investigate the meaning, the semantic range and the historical evolution of the notion of *Phoenicia* in the Roman period (64 BCE–636 CE) and to discuss the most significant problems associated with this issue. Several questions should be asked: What is the application of the term *Phoenicia* in the evidence in the Roman period? What are the geographical boundaries of *Phoenicia* and how do they change over time? What is the nature of this notion – is it after the establishment of the Roman province of Syria Phoenice that it is understood as an

⁹ SARTRE 1988: 19.

¹⁰ Hom. *Il.* XXIII 744; *Od.* IV 83; XIII 272; XIV 291; XV 415. 417. 419. 473.

¹¹ For the decline of the Phoenician language, see BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991. The last Phoenician inscriptions carved in stone: *IGLS* VII 4001 (Arados); *KAI* 12 (Byblos). For Phoenician words on coins, see ROBINSON 1997a, 1997b and 1999.

¹² Cf. HIRT 2015.

administrative term only? What was the reason for naming this province in such a way? Who are the Phoenicians after Septimius Severus' reform? In order to avoid misunderstandings, the terms "Phoenicia" or "Phoenician cities" are understood here in an usual sense, while by *Phoenicia* I will refer to the term itself, i.e. to the construct proper attested by the sources of a particular period.

2. EVIDENCE

In order to examine the meaning and evolution of the term *Phoenicia*, it is necessary to take into consideration the evidence which enables it to be defined. This study is based on the most important descriptions of Phoenicia and attestations of this term occurring in the most informative sources, namely the literary and epigraphic texts dated from the establishment of the province of Syria by Pompey (64 BCE) until the end of Roman rule in the East at the beginning of the 7th century (636 CE). Not all attestations of the term can be taken into consideration, since many appear in a context so obscure that it does not allow for analysis. There are several difficulties we should be aware of.

First of all, the number of available literary texts, our main source, is extremely limited and particular historical periods are not equally represented in the evidence, which is especially true for texts from the first decades of Roman rule over the East. On the other hand, there is so much more evidence for the Late Roman period, that the current investigation is, as a result, somewhat imbalanced. Secondly, because of the nature of Classical literature, the information derived from some texts is in principle anachronistic, since it may be dependent on the writers' own sources and, to some point, reproduce their views, ideas and notions, which do not have to correspond to the views contemporary to the text we are analysing. A very clear example of this is the *Ethnica* by Stephanus of Byzantium, a geographical lexicon based on information provided by a plethora of not always identifiable sources. There are more than fifty entries on Phoenicia and only a few of them actually refer to a primary source – e.g. Hecataeus of Miletus, Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, Philo of Byblos, Alexander Polyhistor, Pausanias of Antioch, Istrus and Aelius Herodianus. Such a mosaic, composed on the basis of the information derived from different texts dated to different times, can hardly be thought to be a coherent picture.

We should also remember that a particular author may be wrong regarding even some major geographical issues, as in the case of Strabo, whose description of the Phoenician landscape sometimes gives erroneous data¹³, or may provide unique information which does not agree with other contemporary sources. This divergence concerns details, but the general tendency his description displays still corresponds to other descriptions dated to the same period and therefore

¹³ MACADAM 1999: 282–285.

provides an insight into the notion of *Phoenicia* in a certain period. For instance, despite the fact that the accounts of Pliny and Ptolemy differ with respect to the exact boundaries of *Phoenicia* (Pliny: Mt. Bargylus – Crocodilon; Ptolemy: Eleutherus – Chorseos; see map 2), they both in fact give very similar information (the environs of Arados – the environs of Mt. Carmel) and in consequence it is probable that both reflect more or less precisely the concept of *Phoenicia* at the time they were written (the 1st–2nd cent. CE). However, we should be aware that sometimes Classical authors may indeed be wrong – the most prominent example of this is perhaps a passage from Josephus, where he corrects Apion, who mistakenly associates Dora with Idumaea instead of *Phoenicia*¹⁴.

We also cannot forget the differences in the nature of the literary sources – apart from geographical narrative texts, historiography and prose fiction, we also have other sources such as itineraries and documents of different informative value. Therefore, it is necessary to remember the fact that our evidence comes from texts of different periods and genres and is characterised by different scopes of perception and interest. The inscriptions, on the other hand, are likely to present ideas on the notion of *Phoenicia* which are contemporary to them, but the information they provide is in fact only very limited.

3. THE MEANING OF *PHOENICIA*

Basically, the term *Phoenicia* as attested by our sources has two meanings. The first one is purely geographical, since it simply designates a certain part of Syria, namely the coast land where the Phoenician cities are situated. The persisting association with Syria as a greater geographical entity can sometimes lead to oversimplification by associating the Phoenician cities directly with Syria and omitting *Phoenicia* as its sub-region, e.g. Lucr. VI 585: *in Syria Sidone*; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 1: Τύρος τῆς Συρίας; Aphrodisias 228: Τρίπολις τῆς Συρίας. It is possible to distinguish two kinds of statements in the evidence which to some extent allow us to establish the view on the frames and content of the notion of *Phoenicia* according to a particular source:

(1) a general description which gives us the most important information concerning the range of the notion, e.g. according to Strabo: “the seaboard from Orthosia to Pelusium is called *Phoenicia*, which is a narrow country and lies flat along the sea”¹⁵. This kind of definition can be accompanied by the enumeration of the elements included, but it is not always the case. Despite its relatively high value for the present research, these kind of statements are rather rare and they do not always have to be representative for every period.

¹⁴ Joseph. *Ap.* II 116.

¹⁵ Strab. XVI 2, 21: τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Πηλουσίου παραλία Φοινίκη καλεῖται; transl. by H.L. JONES.

(2) a selective statement pointing out only a single element of the semantic range of the notion, e.g. Joseph. *BJ* VII 39: Βηρυτός ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ; *IG* II² 4210: Τριπολίται τῆς Φοινείκης; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* IX 5, 2: Δαμασκός τῆς Φοινίκης. The obvious flaw of this category of attestations is the fact that it refers only to a narrow aspect of *Phoenicia* and an analysis of a single text can only very rarely give a comprehensive and coherent description of Phoenicia within a particular account. Only a few sources provide enough information of this kind to create a reconstruction of the notion of *Phoenicia* as a whole.

Secondly, the term *Phoenicia* very often appears in an administrative sense, as a more or less formal name of an administrative district or a domain of competence of a certain official. The identification of this context is possible on the basis of the explicit connection between the office held by a particular individual and the designation of the district, for instance: *I.Tyr* II 23: *legatus provinciae Phoenices*; Amm. Marc. XXV 1, 2: *dux Phoenices*; Malalas XVIII 16 [435]: ὁ δούξ Φοινίκης. Placing the term in a formal context allows us to identify its administrative meaning.

3.1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION OF *PHOENICIA*

Since *Phoenicia* is primarily a geographical term, we should discuss its range and content. The differences occurring in the sources concerning the boundaries of *Phoenicia* attested through the ages indicate an evolution of its meaning. Although the evidence, limited as it is, gives only a very general picture of the course of this process, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish three stages of the geographical development of *Phoenicia* in Roman times:

(1) Phoenicia as the Levantine coast (map 1):

Early Roman evidence attests the geographical boundaries of Phoenicia which seems to strongly correspond to the earlier Classical and Hellenistic imagination concerning this region. Phoenicia is depicted as a narrow coastal strip spreading almost all along the Levant. Strabo, whose account was influenced by Hellenistic sources¹⁶, states that Phoenicia spreads from the Eleutherus river and the city of Orthosia as far as Pelusium¹⁷ – one may conclude that this idea of the extent of Phoenicia is shared by Livy when he calls Raphia a city *in Phoenicia*¹⁸. Therefore, we see that, according to Strabo, Phoenicia extends almost as far as Egypt. This concept is also attested in Diodorus, who, while referring to Homer, states that the place called Nysa is situated between the Nile and Phoenicia¹⁹. We see a distant reminiscence of this in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesus, when he says that the border point between Phoenicia and

¹⁶ SAFRAI 2005.

¹⁷ Strab. XVI 2, 12–19. 21. 22–33.

¹⁸ Liv. XXXV 13, 4.

¹⁹ *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 8 f.; Diod. III 66, 3; IV 2, 3.

the Nile Delta is a place called Paralion²⁰, and in Procopius' remark when he states that in the times of Moses Phoenicia was a coastal land extending from Sidon to the boundaries of Egypt²¹.

(2) *Phoenicia* as a coastal land limited to the core of the Phoenician settlement (map 2):

In the second phase, which is attested by sources dated to the Early Roman period up until the reign of the Severan dynasty (app. 1st cent. CE – the end of the 2nd cent. CE), *Phoenicia* appears in a significantly limited form, comprising only the coastal land where the most important Phoenician cities such as Tyre, Sidon, Berytos and Arados are situated. The term *Phoenicia* ceases to include a great deal of its former land – in the north, the cities of Gabala, Paltos and Balanaea²², and cities such as Caesarea Maritima, Joppa, Jamnia, Ascalon etc. in the south are no longer considered to be Phoenician, since later sources, when referring to these places, locate them in Palestine or Syria without any further details²³. This is the case of Pomponius Mela, who pays great attention to Phoenician matters, but mentions nothing about the Phoenician heritage of cities like Gaza or Ascalon²⁴. According to Pliny, Phoenicia spreads from Mount Bargylus in the north to Crocodilon, which is perceived as a southern marker point²⁵. Although Josephus does not provide a comprehensive description of Phoenicia, we can conclude that this land extends at least from Botrys to Dora, but it is not a consistent and homogeneous area of Phoenician settlement – for example, the author includes Caesarea Maritima while excluding Ptolemais-Akko²⁶. Ptolemy's description on the other hand contains the coastline from the Eleutherus river to the Chorseus or Cherseus river between the city of Dora and Caesarea Maritima, but also includes some cities inland like Caesarea Philippi²⁷.

²⁰ Xen. *Ephes.* III 12, 1.

²¹ Procop. *Bell.* IV 10, 15.

²² Plin. *HN* V 79; Ptol. *Geogr.* V 15, 3.

²³ E.g. Vit. VIII 3, 8; Plin. *HN* V 68 f.; Mela I 64; Paus. I 14, 7; Ptol. *Geogr.* V 16, 2. 8; Euseb. *Onom.* s.v. Ἰαμνεία [106, 20 f.]; Ἰόππη [110, 24 f.]; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* VI 11; VII 15, 11; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* VIII 10, 1; *IGUR* II 590: Σύρος Ἀσκαλωνείτης Παλαιστεινή.

²⁴ BAITY 2000.

²⁵ Plin. *HN* V 75–79.

²⁶ The places which are directly said to be situated in Phoenicia (πόλις ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, πόλις τῆς Φοινίκης etc.) are Berytos (*BJ* VII 39), Botrys (*AJ* VIII 324), Caesarea Maritima/the Tower of Strato (*AJ* XV 333), Dora (*Vit.* 31), Sidon (*AJ* I 138) and Tyre (*AJ* XIV 290). Josephus states that Ptolemais-Akko is “a maritime city of Galilee” (*BJ* II 188) and a city “in Galilee” (*AJ* XII 350). Moreover, he mentions that Cleopatra sent her son Alexander “to Phoenicia” while she herself was besieging Ptolemais (*AJ* XIII 350).

²⁷ Ptol. *Geogr.* V 15, 4 f.: the coast land; V 15, 21: and the hinterland: Arca, Palae-Byblos, Gabala and Caesarea Panias; V 15, 27: the islands: Tyre and Arados.

(3) *Phoenicia* as a territory of the Roman province (map 3):

The third and last phase of the geographical development of the notion of *Phoenicia* is attested by sources dated up to the end of the 2nd cent. CE, which coincides with the administrative reform of the province of Syria conducted by Septimius Severus, and continuing until at least the end of Roman rule in the East (app. 194–626 CE). In that period the boundaries of the term changes greatly – *Phoenicia* is no longer thought to be a narrow coastal strip and now it reaches far inland. The southern limitation becomes even more apparent as the sources very often point out the city of Ptolemais or Mount Carmel, considering them to be a border point separating *Phoenicia* and Palestine or Judea²⁸. In this period *Phoenicia* includes places which were never before considered in any way to be Phoenician, e.g. Emesa, Heliopolis, Damascus or Palmyra²⁹ – it is noteworthy that in the previous phase these places were said to be situated in neighbouring regions³⁰. Therefore, one may see that after the institution of the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* the term *Phoenicia* corresponds to the territory of this administrative unit.

The analysis of the descriptions and attestations of the term *Phoenicia* shows that, in consequence, the close relation between the geographical and administrative aspect of the notion of *Phoenicia* in the Late Roman period (phase 3) makes the distinction between them almost impossible. To some extent it is so because of changes in the evidence itself, since for the Late Roman period we have a much wider range of sources than in earlier times. Moreover, the nature of the sources changes through the ages as well and, in consequence, they focus on provinces rather than lands.

The Greek and Roman intellectuals were actually aware of the changes in the geographical boundaries of the concept of *Phoenicia*. We see this in the remark of Eusebius, who states that in the past *Phoenicia* covered the land now called Palestine: “Now these Syrians would be Hebrews who inhabited the neighbouring country to *Phoenicia*, which was itself called *Phoenicia* in old times, but afterwards *Judaea*, and in our time, *Palestine*”³¹. Procopius also distinguishes the

²⁸ Euseb. *Onom.* s.v. Κάμμηλος ὄρος [118, 8 f.]; cf. Isid. *Etym.* XVI 16, 1; *Dig.* L 15, 1, 3.

²⁹ E.g. Emesa: Hdn. V 3, 2; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* IV 16, 22; *Vit. Const.* III 58, 1; Damascus: Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* IX 5, 2; *Onom.* s.v. Δαμασκός [76, 6–8]; *SEG* XXXIII 491: Δαμα[σκηνός τῆς] Φοινίκης; Heliopolis: Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* I 18; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* VII 15, 11; Emesa and Damascus: Amm. Marc. XIV 8, 9; Emesa and Heliopolis: Malalas XI 22 [280]; XII 26 [296]; XII 50 [314].

³⁰ For instance, according to Pliny, Damascus was located in Decapolis and both Caesarea Panias and Heliopolis were not assigned to *Phoenicia* (Plin. *HN* V 74: Damascus, Caesarea Panias; V 80: Heliopolis); Ptolemy, on the other hand, locates Emesa in Apamene, Damascus and Heliopolis in Decapolis and Palmyra in Palmyrene (Ptol. *Geogr.* V 15, 19: Emesa; V 15, 22: Heliopolis and Damascus; V 15, 24: Palmyra).

³¹ Euseb. *Praep. evang.* X 5, 2: Σύροι δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ Ἑβραῖοι τὴν γείτονα Φοινίκης καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Φοινίκην, μετέπειτα δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Παλαιστίνην ὀνομαζομένην οἰκήσαντες, ὧν καὶ μάλιστα οὐκ ἄλλοτρία φαίνεται ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων φωνή; transl. by E.H. GIFFORD (*EP*, p. 506).

extent of Phoenicia in the times of Moses and his own contemporary idea of that land³². The *Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium emphasise the fluctuations in the geographical boundaries as well by pointing out the divergences in the accounts of his sources – this is the case for e.g. Gabala, Gaza and Joppa. Stephanus states that Gabala was on the one hand called “a Phoenician city” by Hecataeus, but on the other hand his other source, Strabo, associates it with Syria instead³³. In the case of Gaza, Stephanus says that it used to be “a city of Phoenicia”, but now it is “a city of Palestine”³⁴. For Joppa, Stephanus juxtaposes the accounts of Philo of Byblos and Dionysius Periegetes, where the former considers the city to be “a city of Phoenicia” and the latter describes it as “a city of Palestine”³⁵. Therefore, as we can see, the Greeks and Romans seem to be conscious of the geographical evolution of the term *Phoenicia*.

3.2. *PHOENICIA* AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE TERM

The administrative meaning of *Phoenicia* under Roman rule becomes apparent in Early Roman times, when the sources mention it as an eparchy of the imperial cult, with the office of *Phoenicarch* as a head of this eparchy³⁶. However, it was the administrative reform of the province of Syria and the establishment of the Roman province *Syria Phoenice* by Septimius Severus that seems to have been an event which shaped the meaning of *Phoenicia* in Roman times³⁷. The motivation driving Severus to divide the province of Syria was most probably the desire to weaken the position of the governor of this wealthy and important province in order to avoid the risk of a civil war³⁸. According to the *Historia Augusta*, the idea of restructuring Syria had also been considered earlier on by Hadrian, who allegedly felt an aversion to the people of Antioch³⁹. Whether this story is true or not, Hadrian indeed seemed to display some interest in Phoenicia, its domestic affairs and its antiquities⁴⁰. The establishment of a province bearing the name of Phoenicia is sometimes thought to have been an act of “re-invigoration of Phoenician identity”, presumably inspired and promoted by the Severan dynasty, an imperial house of Phoenician-Punic descent. The apparent revival of the ties between some cities in Phoenicia and Punic Africa, as is attested by

³² Procop. *Bell.* IV 10, 15.

³³ *FGrH* I F 273; Strab. XVI 2, 12; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάβαλα [γ 3; 191].

³⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάζα [γ 13; 193 f.].

³⁵ Phil. Bybl. *FGrH* 790 F 38; Dionys. Per. 910; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰόπη [1 72; 333 f.].

³⁶ *OGIS* 596; *Gerasa* 188; *Cod. Iust.* V 27, 1; *Nov.* 89, 15; cf. SARTRE 2005: 59, n. 50; 399.

³⁷ Cf. MILLAR 1993: 121–123.

³⁸ MILLAR 1993: 122; SARTRE 2005: 135.

³⁹ *HA Hadr.* 14, 1.

⁴⁰ MACADAM 2001.

the epigraphic evidence in the case of Tyre and Lepcis Magna and the iconography of the coins issued by the Phoenician cities (mythological Phoenician-Punic references like the representations of Europa or Dido)⁴¹, may indeed confirm this view. From now on, the sources refer to this province, both the state and later on the ecclesiastic administrative unit, simply as “Phoenicia”⁴², or “the people of the Phoenicians” (ἔθνος Φοινίκων, *genus Foenicum*)⁴³ – this last term is particularly puzzling due to the fact that there is no terminological difference between “a people” and “a province”⁴⁴.

A more accurate way to name this province appears later, after its division into *Phoenicia Maritima* and *Phoenicia Libanensis*, presumably performed by Theodosius the Great⁴⁵, when the name of the province is very often followed by its specification⁴⁶. A very clear example of distinguishing these two provinces from each other is the *History of the Church* by Evagrius of Epiphanea (ca. 535–600 CE), who not only specifies the province he refers to, but also uses expressions like “each Phoenicia” or “two Phoenicias”⁴⁷, which clearly indicates the administrative context of his application of this term. Therefore, we can see that *Phoenicia* in its administrative context is attested not only in technical documents, which were preserved in considerable abundance at that time, like lists of the provinces of the Roman Empire and law codes⁴⁸, but also very often in prose writing, which is certainly less formal in nature. In consequence, if we keep in mind the geographical evolution of the term *Phoenicia* and the fact that in the Late Roman period it covers the territory of a Roman province, the only clearly traceable context of this term in the evidence is the administrative one. Therefore, the notion of Phoenicia as a geographical and cultural region seems to be somehow pushed out of the Graeco-Roman imagination by the administrative meaning – in the Late Roman period it is possible to identify only the administrative aspect of *Phoenicia*.

⁴¹ HALL 2004: 93 f.

⁴² E.g. Dio Cass. LXXXVIII 35, 1; Amm. Marc. XIV 8, 9; XXV 1, 2; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* II 4, 7; VI 38, 1–3; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* V 10; *IGR* IV 374; *I.Tyr* II 21; *I.Tyr* II 23.

⁴³ Hdn. II 7, 4; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* III 55, 1; IV 43, 2; *De laud. Const.* 8, 5; *IGLS* XV 369 (Najran, Roman period, uncertain date, epigram): ἔθνος Φοινίκων; *IGLS* XVII/1 194 (Palmyra, 2nd cent. CE, epigram): Φοινείκων τάγος; *AE* 2000, 1500 and 1503 (Berytos or Byblos, the vicinity of Caesarea Pania, 362/363 CE): *Foenicum genus*.

⁴⁴ Cf. ISAAC 2011: 495.

⁴⁵ Malalas XIII 37 [345].

⁴⁶ E.g. Malalas VIII 30 [211]; XI 22 [280]; XII 26 [296]; XII 50 [314]; XIII 37 [345]; XIV 29 [367]; XVIII 16 [435]; XVIII 26 [441]; Procop. *Aed.* II 11, 10; V 1, 2.

⁴⁷ Evagr. *Hist. eccl.* III 33 [131]; IV 34 [184]: Φοινίκη Πάραλος; III 34 [134]; VI 5 [225]: Φοινίκη Λιβανησία; III 36 [135]; VI 2 [223]: Φοινίκη ἐκατέρω; II 18 [92]: δύο Φοινίκαί.

⁴⁸ E.g. *Latercul. Veron.* 1; *Notit. dignit.* 1, 43; 1, 89; 2, 10; 2, 18; 22, 3; 22, 9; 22, 19; 22, 25; 32, 1–52; Hierocl. *Syneg.* 715, 5–716, 9; 717, 1–7; Georg. Cypr. 967–983; 984–996.

3.2.1. THE NAME OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE *SYRIA PHOENICE*

Since this newly established province included old Phoenician cities such as Tyre, Sidon, Berytus etc., it seems to be obvious that the district's name referred to this fact. However, as was demonstrated above, *Syria Phoenice* also comprised the lands beyond Phoenicia itself. MILLAR states that

the use of this term [*Phoenice*] can have been intended only as a historical reminiscence, emphasising the importance of the cities of Phoenicia. This newly devised province was not confined to areas which anyone would previously have thought of as “Phoenician”, for the “border” between it and Syria Coele ran all the way from the Mediterranean across to the Euphrates⁴⁹.

The question one may ask is why such an extensive province received such a name – is it only “a historical reminiscence”? The creation of the province *Syria Phoenice* had a tremendous impact on the meaning of *Phoenicia* and its geographical shape by extending *Phoenicia* further to the East, but it is far from certain whether the naming of the district in this way by the Romans was a reason for or a result of this semantic extension. In other words, we should ask what prompted the Romans to re-introduce the name of Phoenicia as the name of a province which in fact goes beyond Phoenicia's original geographical and cultural boundaries.

The evidence is meagre, although there is an interesting remark which deserves consideration – Justin the Martyr (ca. 100–165 CE)⁵⁰, whose life and activity precedes the administrative reform of Septimius Severus, states that “Damascus was, and is, in the region of Arabia, although now it belongs to what is called Syrophenicia”⁵¹. Not much later, a very similar statement appears twice in the writings of Tertullian, although it occurs in a slightly different form: “and Damascus, on the other hand, used formerly to be reckoned to Arabia before it was transferred into Syrophenicia on the division of the Syrias”⁵² – which may indicate that the author is making a reference to the division of Syria by Septimius Severus. However, the similarity between these remarks in Justin and Tertullian seems to suggest that at this point Tertullian did not rely on contemporary ideas of the shape and extent of *Phoenicia* (as the province *Syria Phoenice*), but rather on the earlier concepts regarding this notion. Therefore, these passages,

⁴⁹ MILLAR 1993: 122.

⁵⁰ Cf. FREND, EDWARDS 2012.

⁵¹ Justin. Mart. *Dial.* 78, 10: ὅτι δὲ Δαμασκὸς τῆς Ἀραβικῆς γῆς ἦν καὶ ἔστιν, εἰ καὶ νῦν προσενέμηται τῇ Συροφαινική λεγομένη, οὐδ' ἑμῶν τινες ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται; transl. by A. ROBERTS, J. DONALDSON (*ANF* I, p. 238).

⁵² Tert. *Advers. Jud.* 9, 12; *Advers. Marc.* III 13, 8: “et Damascus Arabiae retro deputabatur, antequam transcripta esset in Syrophenicem ex distinctione Syriarum”; transl. by A. ROBERTS, J. DONALDSON (*ANF* III, p. 162).

despite some obscurities, indicate that the extension of the notion of *Phoenicia*, presumably a simplification of the term *Syrophoenicia*, is not related only to the institution of the Roman province and that it precedes Severus' reform. This issue deserves some further investigation.

3.2.2. SYROPHOENICIA

In order to fully discuss this semantic extension and the transformation of the term *Phoenicia*, we should perhaps turn our attention to the notion of *Syrophoenicia*. The word “a Syrophoenician” is attested in the evidence as late as the Early Roman period⁵³. It is highly doubtful whether the word “Syrophoenician” should be considered simply as an analogy of the word “Libyphoenician” and a specification introducing the distinction between the Phoenicians in the East and those in the West. For instance, the Gospel of Mark, which introduces the first example of this word in the preserved corpus of texts, needs hardly any differentiation at this point, for it obviously does not deal with the Punic West. It is more probable, then, that the term “Syrophoenician” is rooted in the local Near Eastern context and one may suspect that the origins of *Syrophoenicia* reach back to Hellenistic times. Since the term is composed on the basis of the duality of *Syria* and *Phoenicia*, it is tempting to connect it with the earlier concept displaying the very same feature, namely the term *Syria and Phoenicia* (Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, Κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη), an official name of a Hellenistic province (governed by *strategos*; in later sources this province is called *eparcheia*) applied in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid administrative systems. The name of this province is widely attested in the contemporary epigraphic material⁵⁴, official documents⁵⁵ and literary evidence⁵⁶. It is noticeable that the same name was applied in the Septuagint in order to render the Oriental notion of *the Land Across the River* (Akkadian *Ebir-Nāri*, Aramaic *Abar Naharā*) – an official name of a unit in the administrative system of the Near Eastern empires comprising the Transeuphratene⁵⁷. We see that while the First Book of Esdras keeps the exact translation of the Aramaic expression *Abar Naharā* by πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, the Second Book of Esdras renders it by the terms Συρία καὶ

⁵³ For the *Syrophoenicians* in ancient literary texts, see Mark 7, 26; Plin. *HN* VII 201; Lucian *Deor. conc.* 4; Eunap. *VS* XVI 2, 2 [496]. The term is parodied by Athenaeus, when he calls Ulpian of Tyre a *Syroatticist*: Ath. 126 F; 368 C.

⁵⁴ E.g. *I. Tyr* II 18; *OGIS* 230; *SEG* XXIX 1613; LVII 1838.

⁵⁵ *C. Ord. Ptol.* 21 f.; cf. AUSTIN 2006: 456–458 [n° 260a–b].

⁵⁶ In the second book of Maccabees a governor of *Syria and Phoenicia* (ὁ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης στρατηγός) occurs for several times: *LXX 2 Macc.* 3, 5; 4, 2; 4, 4; 8, 8; 10, 11. We also learn about the inspection of the cities of Coele Syria and Phoenicia performed by the Seleucid governor: *LXX 2 Macc.* 3, 8.

⁵⁷ DANDAMAYEV 1996.

Φοινίκη or Κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη. The same application can be found in Josephus, when he deals with the Persian and Hellenistic times⁵⁸. In the ancient literature, this term used to be abbreviated in various ways as a *pars pro toto* simplification of a larger entity – Polybius, for instance, very often does not bother to apply its full name and refers simply to Coele-Syria⁵⁹; Lucian, on the other hand, in his story on the calumny of Apelles, says that Theodotus was a governor of Phoenicia⁶⁰ (while Polybius calls him a governor of Coele-Syria⁶¹). It is possible, then, that the term *Syrophoenicia* could be just another simplification of the official name of the Hellenistic province.

It is also noteworthy that various authors dated to the Early Roman period (preceding the institution of the province *Syria Phoenice*) refer to this land by combining the names of both regions – in Diodorus we find a peculiar designation in the case of Akko, which is described as “Ake of Phoenician Syria” (Ἄκη τῆς Φοινίκης Συρίας)⁶²; on the other hand, Appian, who, while dealing with the geographical division of Syria, refers to Phoenicia several times as *Syria Phoenicia* (Συρία ἢ Φοινίκη), where *Phoenicia* clearly modifies *Syria*⁶³. Therefore, it is noticeable that these texts, most likely reproducing their Hellenistic sources, display the duality of the term *Syria-Phoenicia*, which is attested here in the geographical meaning. The appearance of this duality in the non-administrative context suggests that the term *Syrophoenicia* may be just another variant of the geographical notion combining these two entities. The term is certainly imprecise, but somehow explains the extension beyond the traditional boundaries of *Phoenicia* itself. In a honorific inscription commissioned in app. 102 CE, Tyre claims to be not only a metropolis of Phoenicia but also a metropolis of the cities of Coele-Syria (μητροπόλις Φοινείκης καὶ τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων)⁶⁴, which can perhaps be considered to be a reference to the concept of *Syrophoenicia*.

Due to the scarcity of the evidence, it is difficult to trace the course of the development of the term *Syrophoenicia*. However, the sources mentioned above provide some information, which perhaps allows us to create some sort of a general

⁵⁸ Joseph. *AJ* XI 89. 101. 127. 129. 138. 167; XII 175. XII 224.

⁵⁹ In Polybius' work the expression *Coele-Syria* is much more frequent than *Coele-Syria and Phoenicia* (*Coele-Syria and Phoenicia*: III 2, 8; V 66, 6; V 67, 11; V 87, 6; *Coele-Syria*: I 3, 1; II 71, 9; III 1, 1; III 2, 4; IV 2, 11; IV 37, 5; V 1, 5; V 29, 8; V 31, 1; V 34, 6; V 40, 1–3; V 42, 6; V 42, 9; V 48, 17; V 49, 5; V 58, 2–4; V 59, 2; V 61, 3; V 63, 4; V 67, 4–7; V 68, 2; V 87, 3; V 105, 3; XIV 12, 3; XXVII 19, 1; XXVIII 1, 1; XXVIII 17, 7; XXVIII 20, 7). Polybius refers to *Coele-Syria* even when he describes the course of the campaign waged in the direct vicinity of the Phoenician cities: V 68.

⁶⁰ Lucian. *Cal.* 2.

⁶¹ Polyb. V 40, 1.

⁶² Diod. XIX 93, 7.

⁶³ App. *Syr.* 251; 271; *Mith.* 499; 580.

⁶⁴ *I. Didyma* 151.

outline of this process. The creation and organisation of the Hellenistic kingdoms introduced the notion of *Syria and Phoenicia* as an administrative term designating a Ptolemaic and later on a Seleucid province. Although the Hellenistic kingdoms and their institutions declined, the notion itself could last as a geographical term and appear in variety of ways in an abbreviated or simplified form – *Syrophoenicia*, for instance. It is also necessary to state that the similarity of the terms and the names of these administrative units does not have to indicate that they covered exactly the same territory. Despite the lack of the organisational continuity between the Hellenistic province of *Syria and Phoenicia* and the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice*, the notion of *Syrophoenicia*, by including the duality of Syria and Phoenicia, would provide a pattern for the Romans for naming their own province, now comprising an entity that goes beyond the geographical boundaries of Phoenicia itself. The official name *Syria Phoenice* was also simplified and the final form it acquired, both in administrative and literary use, was *Phoenicia*. This hypothetical transition could be illustrated thus:

PERIOD	NAME AND ITS VARIANTS	MEANING
Hellenistic	Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη	Hellenistic province
	Κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη	
	Κοίλη Συρία	v. s. (simplification)
	Φοινίκη	
Hellenistic – Early Roman	Συρία ἢ Φοινίκη	geographical region
	Συροφοινίκη	
Roman (after 194 CE)	Συρία Φοινίκη	Roman province
	Φοινίκη	v. s. (simplification)

In consequence, the evidence discussed above may indicate that naming a new administrative district *Syria Phoenice* was not an invention of the Romans, but rather an adoption of an existing notion and reference to a historical name of a greater geographical entity corresponding more or less to the territory of this new province. The name had been shaped earlier in the Hellenistic and Early Roman times and was still in use under Septimius Severus. The fact that the official Latin name of the Roman province is *Syria Phoenice* and not *Syria Phoenicia*⁶⁵ perhaps implies an even stronger influence of the Greek term and a reliance on the previous Hellenistic name of the region. In other words, the act of adoption of the name *Syria Phoenice* for the Roman province may be not

⁶⁵ MILLAR 1993: 122.

a “historical reminiscence” referring to Phoenician cities like Tyre or Sidon and their past, but perhaps a reference to a greater notion unifying both Syria (or at least some portions of Syria) and Phoenicia, a notion of Hellenistic origins.

Another important issue associated with the term *Syrophoenicia* is its relation with the notion of *Syrophoenicians*, which may be thought of as an ethnic identity. Indeed, next to the mythological figures who are described in such a way, like Cadmus, who is called “a Syrophoenician merchant” by Lucian⁶⁶, there are historical individuals who share this designation. Sources dated to Roman times attests individuals who either are recognised as the *Syrophoenicians* by others or recognise themselves as such – the Gospel of Mark mentions a Greek woman, Syrophoenician by race⁶⁷; there are also several epitaphs from Africa of people bearing ordinary Roman or Greek names (e.g. Aurelia Claudia Alexandra, Domitia, Salutius, Dionysodorus), who are said to be *Syrophoenicians*⁶⁸. However, the scarcity of information these inscriptions provide prevents one from answering the question of who exactly these people were. Nevertheless, the problem of Syrophoenician identity deserves further investigation in relation to the extension of the boundaries of the notion of *Phoenicia*. This leads us to the general issue of Phoenician identity in Roman times.

4. PHOENICIANS IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Since in Roman times the administrative aspect of the notion of *Phoenicia* seems to become dominant, we could ask the question: who is a *Phoenician* in the Roman period? Unfortunately, our sources do not provide much information concerning the ethnic and cultural identity of the people inhabiting Phoenicia in that time – the literary texts are scant and the people mentioned in the epigraphic evidence are usually described by their civic identity; references to their ethnicity only appear very rarely. In the case of the Phoenicians, the identification of such a person is also difficult because of the ambiguity of the words φοινίξ and *phoenix*, which, as a proper name, can occur not only as a designation of ethnicity, but also as a first name, a nickname and, during the Roman times, a Roman cognomen *Phoenix*. Therefore, only a very limited number of individuals in Antiquity could possibly be defined as *Phoenicians* because of their ethnicity. For instance, PRAG points out only six uncertain examples of such individuals mentioned in the epigraphic evidence dated to the Hellenistic period⁶⁹. The establishment of the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* and later on other administrative units of similar names makes that problem even more dif-

⁶⁶ Lucian. *Deor. conc.* 4.

⁶⁷ Mark 7, 26.

⁶⁸ *AE* 1987, 1123; *IAM* II 544. 582. 583.

⁶⁹ PRAG 2006: 21–24.

difficult to solve, since there is no certainty whether the designation *a Phoenician* refers to the individual or collective ethnic identity or only to the fact of an association with the province and its territory. This difficulty is clearly noticeable if we consider who is actually described in such a way in the evidence. Several examples of Phoenicians can be given: Porphyry of Tyre⁷⁰; Proclus, a governor of the province. *Phoenice*⁷¹; Severianus of Emesa, a military commander⁷²; Rhodon, a governor of Alexandria⁷³; Eusebius of Emesa, a bishop⁷⁴; Tyrannion the Grammarian⁷⁵; Chrysogonus, a pupil of Libanius the Rhetor⁷⁶; and Heliodorus of Emesa⁷⁷. Even in the case of Porphyry, the best known man among these individuals, his indigenous Phoenician origins or identity are not certain. One may suspect that at least some of the people listed above can be called *Phoenicians* only because of their association with the province, as in the case of Eusebius of Emesa, whose birth place was Edessa⁷⁸, Emesa being only a city he lived and worked in for some time, or in the case of Proculus, a governor of the province *Phoenice*, who is said to have come from Lycia in the very same epigraphic text that calls him “a Phoenician in the prime of youth” (πρωθήβης Φοῖνιξ).

The most important case is, however, a remark by Herodian, who states that Julia Maesa, the sister of the empress Julia Domna, was “Phoenician by origin” and she came from the city of Emesa “in Phoenicia”⁷⁹. This information is of great significance if we take into account Herodian’s description of Elagabalus, whose cults and habits are explicitly called *Phoenician*⁸⁰. Moreover, the alleged *Phoenician* element of Elagabalus and his family’s culture is attested solely by Herodian – other sources, like Cassius Dio or the *Historia Augusta*, while discussing his reign, rather emphasise his Syrian background instead⁸¹. Herodian’s portrait of Elagabalus is discussed by BOWERSOCK, who considers this description as independent and reliable regarding some details, although unfortunately

⁷⁰ Schol. in Lucian. *Peregr.* II [216, 13]; Troph. 12; Ioan. Philopon. *De aet.* 6, 8 [145]; Dav. *In Isag.* 4, 1 [91, 24]; 4, 2 [92, 4 f.].

⁷¹ SEG VII 195; LIX 1671 (Berytos, 4th cent. CE, epigram): [Proclus] Φοῖνιξ[ιξ]?, YON 2009: 306–309.

⁷² Procop. *Bell.* IV 23, 6.

⁷³ Procop. *Anec.* 27.3.

⁷⁴ Theodoret. *Eran.* 3, 73 [249]; *Haeretic. fabul. comp.* prol. [340]; 1, 26 [381].

⁷⁵ Sud. s.v. Τυραννίων [τ 1185].

⁷⁶ Liban. *Epist.* 1208.

⁷⁷ Heliod. *Aeth.* X 41, 4.

⁷⁸ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* II, 9.

⁷⁹ Hdn. V 3, 2: Μαῖσα ἦν τις ὄνομα, τὸ γένος Φοίνισσα, ἀπὸ Ἐμέσου καλουμένης οὕτω πόλεως ἐν Φοινίκῃ.

⁸⁰ Hdn. V 3, 4; V 5, 9 f.; V 6, 4; V 7, 9.

⁸¹ Cf. *HA Opil.* 9, 1–2; *Heliogab.* 1, 6; 7, 3; 33, 2; Aur. Vict. 23, 1; Dio Cass. LXXIX 30, 2 f.

he does not pay attention to this particular problem⁸². The case of the Emesene Phoenicians – who were very numerous, as we can see – deserves special attention because, in the epigraphic sources, people from Emesa living abroad in this period tended to identify themselves as Syrians⁸³ – it is noteworthy that the designation *a Syrian* is simply far more frequent in the epigraphic evidence and is applied by individuals from various regions of the Roman Near East, even inhabitants of old Phoenician cities like Tripolis⁸⁴.

It is also noticeable that in Roman times the designation *a Phoenician* sometimes applies to people who are associated neither with the province of Phoenicia nor the territory of Phoenicia as a geographical notion. Although such cases are very rare, it is possible to adduce the example of Apsines the Rhetor (ca. the 3rd century CE), who is said to come from Gadara; Philostratus, a friend of his, refers to him as *a Phoenician*⁸⁵. He is not the only *Phoenician* from this city. There is also the case of Menippus the Cynic (3rd cent. BCE), who is also called *Phoenician* by Diogenes Laertios⁸⁶. Other sources, however, state that he came from Gadara⁸⁷. It is important to stress that Gadara was never thought to be situated in Phoenicia, since the texts mention it as a city in Decapolis, Palestine or even Assyria (here an equivalent of Syria), as in a poem by Meleager of Gadara, who calls his own hometown “Attica in the land of the Assyrians”⁸⁸. On the other hand, some scholars suspect that there were some Phoenician communities in that city in the Hellenistic period, and therefore there is perhaps a possibility that there were some reasons to ascribe Phoenician origins to both Menippus and Apsines⁸⁹. It is noticeable then that some literary sources from Hellenistic and Roman times, although extremely rare and of questionable value, mention people who are called *Phoenicians* even though they are not directly associated with Phoenicia proper.

The examples discussed above show how difficult it is to interpret Phoenician identity in the Roman period – the designation *a Phoenician* can be applied not only to people who come from the old Phoenician cities or to people who are associated with the province of Phoenicia, but even to those who come from abroad. This last case invites some supplementation – there is some scarce evidence displaying the alleged influence of the Phoenicians and Phoenician culture deep into the mainland,

⁸² BOWERSOCK 1975.

⁸³ *AE* 1965, 126; *SEG* XXII 353; Σύρος Ἐμεσηνός; *CIL* III 3301: “natione Surus domo Hemesa”.

⁸⁴ *IG* XII/7 257: Σύρος Τριπολίτης.

⁸⁵ Sud. s.v. Ἀψίνης [α 4735; 208]; Φρόντων [φ 735; 1106]; Tzetz. *Chiliad.* VIII 695; Philostr. *VS* II 33, 4 [628]; cf. O’ROURKE 2005: 37–41.

⁸⁶ Diog. Laert. VI 99 f.

⁸⁷ Strab. XVI 2, 29; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάδαρα [γ 9; 193].

⁸⁸ Cf. Plin. *HN* V 74; Ptol. *Geogr.* V 15, 22; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάδαρα [γ 9; 193]; Hierocl. *Syn.* 720, 3; *Palestina Secunda*; Meleagr. 2 GOW–PAGE = *AP* VII 417.

⁸⁹ For the presumed Phoenician influences in Gadara, cf. COHEN 2006: 282–286.

even beyond the frontiers of the Roman province of Phoenicia itself: according to Uranius (app. 300 CE)⁹⁰, and perhaps Philo of Byblos, the name of the city of Nisibis in Mesopotamia was derived from the Phoenician language (the word for *stelae*)⁹¹. The fact is, however, that in the reference to the account of Philo, Stephanus gives only a translation of the name without a clear indication if Philo did consider the name Nisibis to be Phoenician – it is Uranius who actually provides this information. In fact, modern scholars assume that the etymology of the name of Nisibis, as the word for *pillars*, is Aramaic (*aramäische Volksetymologie*)⁹². It is impossible, therefore, to state why the forementioned sources ascribe it to the Phoenician. Moreover, the city of Eddana on the Euphrates is said to be “a Phoenician colony” (κατοικία Φοινίκων)⁹³. Sometimes it is supposed that this remark may refer to the reign of Odenathus, the ruler of Palmyra, which in this period is after all a city in the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* and “the Phoenicians” in this context should be understood as the Palmyrenes. But because of the fact that we know virtually nothing about the timeframes of the source of this remark, it is only a mere guess. Nevertheless, the extension of what is considered to be Phoenician, despite the fact that most probably it is not associated with Phoenicia in the modern understanding, is noticeable.

At this point we should come back to the notion of *Syrophoenicia* and *Syrophoenicians*. Keeping in mind the fact that a wide variety of people can be identified as Phoenicians in the Roman period, one may derive this phenomenon from the very same roots as in the case of the extension of the notion of *Phoenicia* – the transformation of the Hellenistic term *Syria and Phoenicia* into a geographical notion designating a greater entity going beyond the Phoenician coastland, and its later adoption as the name of a new Roman province. The case of Emesa is again of great interest. The city of Emesa and its dynasty certainly sought a way to integrate with the ruling class of the Graeco-Roman world. It is sometimes suspected that in this case we could possibly have an example of a social phenomenon when a certain newly-founded community formulates its collective identity on the basis of the self-attribution of ancient and noble descent. The adoption of the claim to these alleged Phoenician origins by the Semitic people of Emesa could be, perhaps, an attempt to produce some sort of a foundation myth which would allow this community to participate in the universal Graeco-Roman world “on equal terms” – the Phoenicians are in fact the only Semitic people so deeply connected with Greek culture from its very beginning. The perception of the Phoenicians and the general attitude toward them

⁹⁰ RETSÖ 2003: 491–493.

⁹¹ Phil. Bybl. fr. 6 ATTRIDGE–ODEN; *FGrH* 675 F 30 ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νισίβις [v 65; 476 f.].

⁹² For the Aramaic folk etymology of the name of Nisibis, see STRECK 1999: 186; KESSLER 2006: 777.

⁹³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐδδανα [ε II; 260]; EDWELL 2007: 71, n. 34; 230.

in Classical culture is a complex problem. The fact is, however, that they could refer to their antiquity, their long-lasting ties with the Greek world and their kinship with this world. Due to the role the Phoenicians played in Greek mythology, they could also claim their ancient kinship with the Greeks, which is attested in the epigraphic evidence as early as the Hellenistic period. For instance, in a letter addressed to the citizens of Delphi, the Tyrians call them their kinsmen (συγγενεῖς)⁹⁴. The Sidonians, on the other hand, could present their city as a metropolis of Thebes⁹⁵. Furthermore, in Graeco-Roman perception, the Phoenicians were held in high regard because of their cultural achievements (the invention of the alphabet, etc.) and their mastery in craftsmanship or maritime exploration – the Phoenicians are very often praised by Classical authors⁹⁶. The high position of the Phoenicians in the Graeco-Roman imagination could explain why the Phoenician or pseudo-Phoenician identity could have been possibly attractive for some Eastern communities⁹⁷, and why the term “a Syrophenician”, a term presumably designating a member of an Eastern community comprised by the notion of *Syrophenicia*, could be displaced by the term “a Phoenician”.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Although the evidence is extremely limited, the analysis of descriptions and attestations of the term *Phoenicia* provided by Graeco-Roman testimonies shows that this notion is differently defined by various sources. This invites a diachronic approach to the problem – its application allows us to notice that the notion of *Phoenicia* changed greatly through the Roman period. The sources attest the evolution of its range and meaning and it is possible to distinguish two major stages of this process: (1) the geographical development; and (2) the transition from the geographical into the administrative meaning.

The first aspect of the evolution is the geographical, which can be discussed in three phases: (1) some early sources dated to the beginning of Roman rule over the East describe Phoenicia as narrow coastal strip in Syria spreading from Arados almost as far as Egypt. This way of understanding Phoenicia seems to correspond to the earlier perception of this land, which takes its origins from Persian and Hellenistic times. Sometimes it is also reproduced by later texts when they deal with the ancient past of Phoenicia; (2) the texts from the 1st and the 2nd cent. CE still consider Phoenicia to be a coastal land, but its range along the coast is displayed in quite a limited form. The northern limit remains pretty much the same, while the extreme

⁹⁴ SEG II 330: Τύρου τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου ἢ β[ουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Δελφῶν τῆ] | βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμῳι τοῖς συγγεν[έσιν χαίρειν.]; cf. ALIQUOT 2017.

⁹⁵ IAG 41.

⁹⁶ Cf. MAZZA 1988.

⁹⁷ LEWIN 2014: 113 f.

southern part, which in the previous phase were included in the notion of *Phoenicia*, ceased to be thought as such. The southern border of *Phoenicia* for now is in the vicinity of Mount Carmel, while the cities further to the south are associated with other regions, like Palestine; (3) after the establishment of the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* (194 CE), the sources attest a significant change in the boundaries of the notion of *Phoenicia*, which now include not only the range along the coast land, but also the territories deeper into the mainland which had never before been considered to be Phoenician. It seems that this extension occurs due to the identification made in our sources of the geographical term *Phoenicia* with the administrative unit. In consequence, *Phoenicia* begins to include cities like Heliopolis, Emesa, Damascus and Palmyra. Therefore, one may conclude that the differences between the boundaries of *Phoenicia* occurring in various descriptions of that land do not necessarily show that the literary sources of the Roman period have a “vague idea of what, and where, *Phoenicia* actually was”, as it has sometimes been claimed⁹⁸. These differences should be rather understood as evidence of an evolution of the concept of *Phoenicia*, an evolution taking place in Classical culture and the Graeco-Roman perception of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East.

Secondly, due to the terminological ambiguity, the establishment of the province of *Syria Phoenice* introduces a difficulty in distinguishing the geographical and administrative sense of *Phoenicia* in the ancient sources. The application of the administrative meaning of the term occurs not only in official texts like lists of the provinces or institutions of the Roman empire, but also in literary texts, which makes the confusion concerning the nature of the notion of *Phoenicia* even more noticeable. At this point, only the administrative aspect is clearly traceable, since it is possible to identify it through the connection with a dignitary of the district (statements like “a governor of *Phoenicia*” or “a province of *Phoenicia*”). Therefore, one may ask: what is the relation between this apparent transition in the notion of *Phoenicia* from the geographical to the administrative meaning and the extension of its geographical boundaries, and moreover, is the geographical extension of the term *Phoenicia* and the correspondence between *Phoenicia* and the province of *Phoenice* a result of the administrative reform by Septimius Severus?

To some extent, this paper argues something opposite. The remark from Justin the Martyr, which is dated to the time before the administrative reform of the province of *Syria*, stating that Damascus was associated with *Syrophoenicia*, indicates the existence of a geographical or cultural notion comprising in its nature both *Syria* and *Phoenicia* and covering the area deep into the mainland – a notion preceding the establishment of the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* but sharing these two important features, namely the duality of name and a proper semantic content. This observation leads to the notion of *Syrophoenicia*, which perhaps should be considered to be a derivative of the name of the Hellenistic

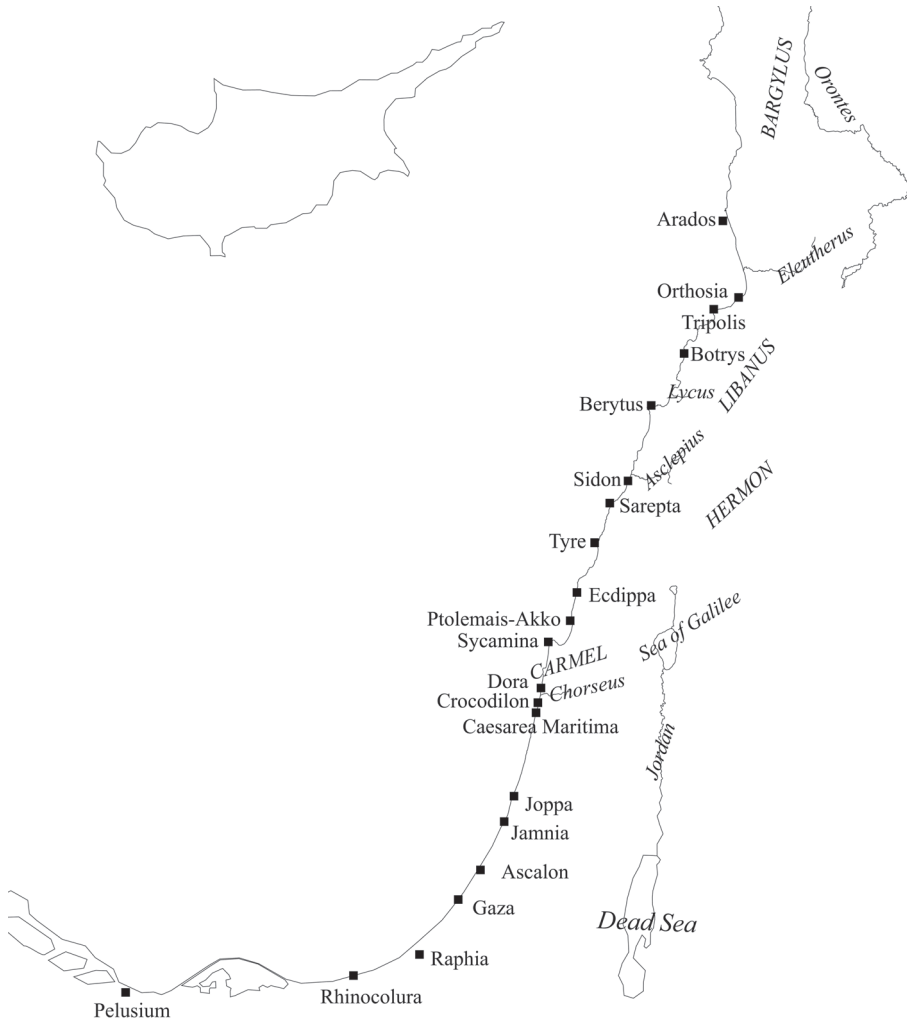
⁹⁸ QUINN 2018: 56.

province *Syria and Phoenicia*. The connection between these two terms is highly probable if we keep in mind two things: firstly, the official name of the Hellenistic province was frequently abbreviated in literary use and very often occurred in a simplified form; secondly, the sources dated to the period between the decline of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the institution of the Roman province of *Syria Phoenice* attest geographical notions which strongly resemble the Hellenistic term *Syria and Phoenicia* and its simplified forms because of the *Syria-Phoenicia* duality. This seems to suggest that the official name of a Hellenistic province, even though the province itself no longer existed, was transformed and preserved as a geographical term which would go beyond Phoenicia proper. A term like that was later re-used by the Romans in order to provide a name for their newly devised province. The evidence suggests that when naming the new province covering the land of Phoenicia and some other regions on the Syrian mainland, the Romans did not invent its name on their own, but rather exploited an earlier name of the geographical concept of *Syrophoenicia* – a concept of duality attested by various sources and most probably originating in Hellenistic times from the name of the Hellenistic province of *Syria and Phoenicia*. The geographical extension of Phoenicia into the mainland, which is so noticeable in Roman times, could perhaps have its origins in the complex entity of Syria-Phoenicia. It is also important to state that the similarity of particular administrative terms does not have to indicate that they have to cover strictly the same area.

The issue cannot be discussed in separation from the problem of Phoenician identity in Roman times. As it has been displayed above, the evidence attests a number of individuals described as “the Phoenicians” at that time. It is not certain, however, what their association with the indigenous Phoenician population and the old Phoenician cities like Tyre or Sidon was – some people were called that way only because of their association with the Roman province, while some people had no connection with Phoenicia at all. It is noteworthy, however, that in the sources there are a substantial number of Phoenicians from the city of Emesa, a city which began to be considered Phoenician only after the establishment of the Roman province. Keeping in mind the importance of the notion of *Syrophoenicia* and the extension of the concept of *Phoenicia*, one may conclude that it could have an impact on local identity. Indeed, the evidence mentions the people identified as the Syrophoenicians. The creation of the province of *Syria Phoenice* and the later simplification of its name in the form of *Phoenicia* may further shape the way the inhabitants of the province were addressed – some newly founded Near Eastern communities might have sought opportunities created by the process of integration into the Graeco-Roman world by adopting the convenient identity of the Phoenicians, an Eastern people of ancient and noble descent, closely related to the Graeco-Roman world.

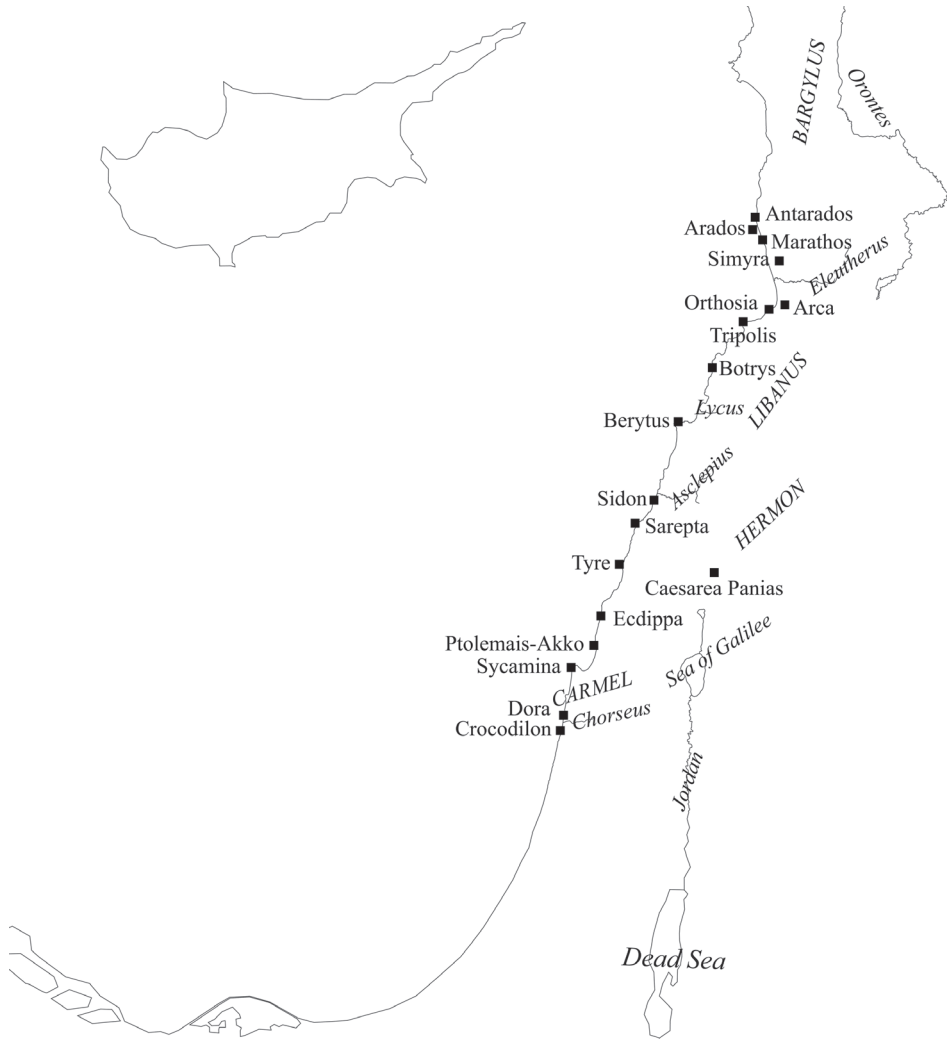
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MAPS*

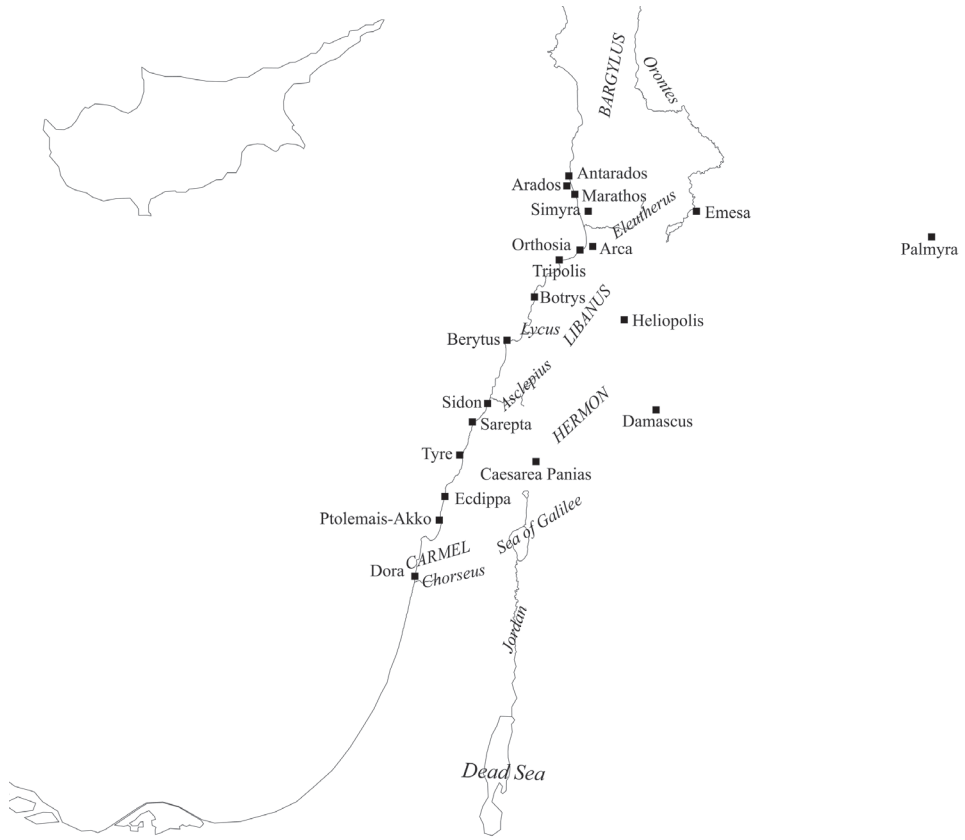


Map 1. Phoenicia in the Early Roman period (64 BCE – 1st cent. CE) according to Strabo (phase 1).

* The maps have been prepared on the basis of the *Barrington Atlas*.



Map 2. Phoenicia in the Roman period (1st–2nd cent. CE) according to Pliny and Ptolemy (phase 2).



Map 3. Phoenicia in the Late Roman period (app. 194–636 CE) according to various sources (phase 3).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AE*: *L'Année Épigraphique*.
ANF: *The Anti-Nicean Fathers*.
Barrington Atlas: R.J.A. TALBERT (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton 2000.
BNP: Brill's *New Pauly*.
C. Ord. Ptol.: M.-T. LENGER (ed.), *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Bruxelles 1964.
CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
EAH: R. BAGNALL *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Malden, MA 2013.
EncIr: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
EP: E.H. GIFFORD (ed.), *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis I–IV*, Oxonii 1903.
FGrH: F. JACOBY (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin–Leiden 1923.
Gerasa: C. B. WELLES, *The Inscriptions*, in: C.H. KRAELING (ed.), *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938.
I.Didyma: A. REHM (ed.), *Didyma II: Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958.
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I.Tyr II: J.-P. REY-COQUAIS (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr*, Beyrouth 2006.
IAG: L. MORETTI (ed.), *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma 1953.
IAM 2: M. EUZENNAT, J. MARION (eds.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2: Inscriptions Latines*, Paris 1982.
IG XII/7: J. DELAMARRE, (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae*, fasc. 7: *Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum*, Berlin 1967.
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IGR: R. CAGNAT *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, vols. I–III, Paris 1902–1906.
IGUR: L. MORETTI (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Roma 1968–1990.
KAI: H. DONNER, W. RÖLLING (eds.), *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, vols. I–III, Wiesbaden 2002.
*OCD*⁴: S. HORNBLLOWER, A. SPAWFORTH (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 2012.
OEANE: E.M. MEYERS (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, New York–Oxford 1997.
OGIS: W. DITTENBERGER (ed.), *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vols. I–II, Lipsiae 1903–1905.
RLA: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

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INTERTEXTUAL STRATEGIES AND PROBLEMATISING LOVE IN HELIODORUS' *AITHIOPIKA*

by

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ABSTRACT: In this study, I focus on the analysis of the intertextual references identified in the seventh book of Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* (VII 9, 5) and Sappho's so-called Hymn to Aphrodite (1 V.). This textual relationship has so far not been considered by scholars, yet both the theme of unrequited love and the roles of the characters, as well as the structural analogy and the lexical parallels, point to the work by Sappho as deliberately exploited inspiration for the passage of Heliodorus' novel discussed here. Then, I consider the role of this intertextual relationship in the context of the broader intertextual system in the *Aithiopika*. This system includes the story of Demainete in the first book of the *Aithiopika* (I 9–17) and Euripides' *Hippolytus*. By comparing the story of Demainete, Arsake, Phaedra and Sappho, we gain a perspective from which the issue of problematising love becomes evident, and the reader is encouraged to a deeper reflection on this problem. This is essential because when analysing the scope and function of the love theme in the plot of the *Aithiopika*, one must conclude that it is surprisingly limited.

Intertextual references, broadly interpreted as quotations, stylisation and various types of references to texts by previous authors¹, constituted permanent elements in the practice of ancient writers. The fact that they are present in the texts of ancient Greek novels is therefore not surprising. In particular, references to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are so numerous and explicit that Giuseppe ZANETTO (2014: 400) even wonders whether the borrowing of patterns and situations from the Homeric epic should be regarded as factors defining the novel as a genre². Depending on

¹ The way of understanding the phenomenon of intertextuality remains to some extent an open issue. Following GŁOWIŃSKI (1992: 102) my assumption is that, for a given reference to be considered intertextual, three conditions have to be met. First of all, the relationship between the hypotext and hypertext must be intended by the author. Secondly, the relationship must be consciously addressed to the reader. Finally, it has to constitute the structural or semantic element of the text. A slightly different approach is presented by MORGAN, HARRISON (2008: 218): viewing the intentionality of the author of the hypertext as a problem of secondary importance, it is the reader's activity that is considered constitutive for the phenomenon of intertextuality. This difference of opinions, however, is of little significance for the following discussion.

² Yet another possibility is provided by ZANETTO (2014: 401). Following his idea, literary works of the archaic period are not the points of reference for the authors of novels in the strict sense.

the perspective adopted, the function of the aforementioned references may be viewed differently. From the reader's perspective³, the identification of subsequent elements of the literary collage probably intensified the experience of aesthetic pleasure fundamentally related to the contemplation of a literary work. From the author's perspective, incorporating text into traditional literary works functioning in a given cultural space could elevate the text to the level of genres appreciated by critics at that time⁴. It seems, however, that the encounter between the author and the reader with similar skills of erudition in the intertextual space was at times part of a subtle play of associations. Carefully programmed by the writer, it was aimed at broadening the horizon of interpretation in relation to individual elements of the world presented in the novel.

A passage of Book Seven of the *Aithiopika* by Heliodorus (VII 9, 5) provides an example of an intricate web of references to Euripides' tragedy about Hippolytus and Phaedra, Heliodorus' self-reference to the earlier part of his own novel (I 9–17), and also associations leading to Sappho's so-called *Hymn to Aphrodite* (1 V.)⁵. Scholars have already become interested in the first two of

It is rather the archetypal system of images and stories embodied in the archaic epic, which reemerge in the Graeco-Roman Empire in response to new social and intellectual challenges, that constitutes this point of reference. The wide range of allusiveness of all Greek novels is also emphasised by DOULAMIS (2011: XI f.). In his opinion, this phenomenon is largely due to the conventions characteristic of the Roman period.

³ In a discussion on intertextuality, one must naturally focus on the implied reader of the novel and the reading skills this reader has. This problem has been a source of controversy for many years – the ongoing discussion was aptly summed up by HÄGG 2004; see also WESSELING 1998. Undoubtedly, one should emphasise the evolution of views expressed by scholars. Apart from the image of a “broad” reader, with limited reading skills (PERRY 1967: 98 f., 117), an educated reader of novels with the highest social class background is increasingly being presented. Equipped with an extensive personal textual encyclopedia, this reader can successfully detect the intertextual and metaliterary signals and various textual strategies encoded by the author (HOLZBERG 2006: 55 f.). WESSELING (1998: 75 f.) concludes that in the case of novels by Longus, Tatius, Heliodorus and even Chariton we encounter so-called multi-level writing, as these authors play a game with different types of readers. Given this situation, ancient novels seem to meet the requirements of a specific type of texts, which ECO (2002: 234 f.) refers to as “valuable bestsellers” (*bestseller di qualità*). These texts appeal to a wide range of readers – even if these readers cannot distinguish and understand all of the subtle aesthetic elements incorporated by the author. At the same time, an educated reader with high aesthetic qualifications is able to detect satisfactory, innovative contextual and formal solutions.

⁴ MORGAN, HARRISON (2008: 219) presents the following view: “to us it is clear that this last-born in the litter of classical genres was forever self-consciously labouring to legitimise itself, and that its appropriation of other authors and forms is better understood as the negotiation of the respectable position within a self-validating literary tradition”.

⁵ The range of potential associations and identifications based on the aforementioned intertextual references is far from exhaustive. For instance, it seems possible to make a connection between the passages of Heliodorus' novel discussed here and a scene from Chariton's novel. In this scene, the Persian king Artaxerxes tells his entrusted eunuch Artaxates about his loving passion for the protagonist, Callirhoe (VI 3, 1–8). Analysing both the nature of the content that is introduced, the system of roles, and the situation of the characters involved (leaving the issue of sex reversal aside), one

the aforementioned textual relationships by suggesting some analyses and interpretations⁶. However, the possibility of a relationship between the scene taking place in Arsake's bedroom and Sappho's poem has not yet been considered. Consequently, no discussion of the implications of this type of relationship has been undertaken⁷. Yet it seems that it may be regarded as an interesting example of the formation of a relationship between an educated reader and Heliodorus' novel. Above all, Sappho's voice is an important element in the palimpsestic structure of the intertextual references. If interpreted correctly, this structure provides for the extension of the interpretation possibilities in the passage of the *Aithiopika* under discussion.

The following discussion will thus focus on the analysis of the references identified in Book Seven of Heliodorus' novel (VII 9, 5) and Sappho's Aphrodite hymn (lines 15–28). In the second part of the discussion, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that these references are part of an intertextual structure strictly programmed by the author. Its primary function is to provoke an educated reader to focus on the issue of love, which is treated relatively superficially in the scheme of the fiction. Before proceeding to the core of the discussion, it seems reasonable to briefly recall the interrelations between passages of Heliodorus' novel and Euripides' tragedy identified so far.

HELIODORUS AND EURIPIDES

The scene under discussion from the *Aithiopika* takes place in Memphis, in the bedroom of the Persian satrap's palace. It is in these surroundings that his wife, Arsake, suffers from her insatiable passion recently ignited at the sight of the beautiful Theagenes. Concerned about her condition, Kybele – her slave/nurse – joins in the action as she tries to discover the cause of Arsake's sickness. As previously mentioned, it is legitimate to make a connection between the plot involving Arsake and Euripides' *Hippolytus*⁸. The similarity of the fictional motif may serve as the basis for the association of both texts: a married woman, involved in a power relationship with a younger man, is passionately in love with him. Rejected by the young men, both Phaedra and Arsake cannot accept their

can see parallels when comparing Artaxerxes and Phaedra, Arsake and Sappho on the one hand and Artaxates, Euripides' nurse, Heliodorus' Kybele and Aphrodite in Sappho's song on the other. As no relevant content to the issue of problematising love in the *Aithiopika* is introduced by this reference, this issue will not be engaged with in the present discussion.

⁶ See, for instance, PAULSEN 1992: 68, 85–88; MORGAN 1989: 112; HAYNES 2003: 111.

⁷ Other intertextual references to Sappho's works in Heliodorus' novel have been identified by ZANETTO (2014: 408). The description of Charikleia as she lights up all space around herself like the full moon (III 6, 3), is perceived as an allusion to the famous poem by Sappho about the full moon (fr. 34 L.–P.).

⁸ MORGAN 1989: 112; PAULSEN 1992: 68; DOWDEN 1996: 278; DWORACKI 2000: 229, n. 9.

refusal. Born out of insatiable love passion, their desire for revenge, regardless of any self-destructive consequences, will ultimately lead them to a tragic end. The personal traits of the young men also appear to be similar: their virginity is clearly manifested, and their attitudes towards the emotions declared by Phaedra and Arsake are uncompromising.

Starting with a general association, a closer analogy can be discovered by comparing particular passages of the two texts: the aforementioned passage from the *Aithiopika* (VII 9, 5) and the first episodion of the tragedy by Euripides (lines 170–524). The type of characters involved in the plot and the nature of the communicative situation provoke the reader to discover intertextual relationships. The roles of the heroines – the queen and her attentive nurse – are identical: for a long time both Phaedra and Arsake remain silent and avoid telling the truth about the nature of their “sickness”⁹. By asking inquisitive questions, the Nurse and Kybele eventually provoke a confession. The issue of the relationship between these texts, as indicated by the mode of action adopted by both nurses, has not yet been undertaken: they consider spells and magic as the best method to deal with lovesickness. In the tragedy by Euripides, the Nurse concludes (478 f.):

εἰσὶν δ' ἐπωιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριον /
φανήσεται τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου

There are incantations, and words that charm:
something will turn up to cure this love,

(transl. by D. KOVACS)

However, Kybele talks about using magic to directly affect the object of Arsake's affection (VII 9, 5):

οὔδεις οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀλῶναι θελγήτροις

there is no heart so hard that it is proof against my spells¹⁰.

As illustrated in the passages quoted above, this behaviour involves the use of love magic, indicated by means of similar expressions: the adjective θελκτήριον in Euripides corresponds to the noun θελγήτροις in the *Aithiopika*. Both are related to the verb θέλω, whose semantic range is centred on depriving the mind of clarity

⁹ In the tragedy by Euripides the Nurse refers to the ailment that afflicts her mistress as νόσος, believing that there is suitable medication for the sickness – φάρμακον (*Hipp.* 479). Responding to the promise made by her elderly nurse, who declares that she will win the favour of Theagenes, Arsake from Heliodorus' novel says: Εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ποιήσεως, Κυβέλιον φίλτατον· δυεῖν δι' ἐνός μοι γενήση νόσων ἰατρός, ἐρωτός τε καὶ ζηλοτυπίας (VII 10, 6); Kybele's role in this context is compared to that of a doctor who can cure two diseases simultaneously: love and jealousy. Medical imagery is very common in Greek erotic discourse.

¹⁰ All quotations from the *Aithiopika* are provided following the translation by J.R. MORGAN.

and on deception and temptation. The way in which the plot unfolds, both in the tragedy and in the novel, indicates that the anticipated result is to be achieved not by the use of mysterious substances¹¹ or magic procedures. It is rather the deceptive art of persuasion and the use of “charming” words (λόγοι θελκτήριοι), as well as arguments that may seem impossible to be ignored, that should serve this purpose. As it turns out later, these arguments and the very art of love persuasion in both cases prove to be ineffective and have no impact on the emotions and decisions made by Hippolytus and Theagenes respectively. However, they bring about a deadly threat to the young men – Arsake’s passion, in the same way as Phaedra’s love, turns into an unbridled desire to punish the objects of their affection.

A reader exploring the maze of intertextual associations realises that the passage of the *Aithiopika* being analysed is not the first one in which Heliodorus refers to the story of Phaedra. The frame of this plot also constitutes the basis for the life story of a secondary character – Knemon. Scholars agree that the relationship between the plot concerning Knemon and Eurypides’ tragedy is even clearer than in the story of Arsake and Theagenes¹². In this case we are dealing with a complete narrative analogy: the story revolves around the stepmother’s love for her stepson, his rejection, and then revenge manifested as false accusations against the young man in front of his father. The author clearly aims to focus the attention of every reader on Knemon and the reference to Euripides. The implied audience are not only readers with sophisticated literary knowledge, but also those mainly interested in the primary, literal level of the text. This is manifested by making the heroine, who is in love with her stepson, explicitly call the young man Hippolytus (I 10, 2).

The issue of the possible implications for the interpretation of this dual reference to Eurypides’ tragedy will be discussed later in this paper. What needs to be emphasised at this point is only one basic issue. Making a reference to the same text at two different stages of the plot and with regard to two different characters excludes the possibility of any random associations. Moreover, this increases the likelihood of the reference being noticed by the reader of the novel.

¹¹ Although the Nurse claims to have some means by which she can enchant love (φίλτρα μοι θελκτήρια ἔρωτος, lines 509 f.), this narrative line is discontinued. It should be added that among Greek novelists we know of today only Achilles Tatius evokes the motif of winning someone’s love through magic substances: an Egyptian soldier, in love with the protagonist, resorts to a trick to give her a love-inducing mixture. However, the dose is too strong, causing the girl’s madness, which subsides after she takes an antidote (IV 16 f.). Special love magic, which was allegedly the speciality of women from Thessaly, is mentioned by yet another heroine of Tatius’ novel, Melite (V 22, 2 f.). On the basis of Greek magic texts preserved in papyri and tablets, WYPUSTEK (2001: 251) provides a sample list of the ingredients used by the Greeks to prepare magic substances – φίλτρα, enhancing the effects of love spells. These substances include, for instance, a brew from a boiled scarab, boar’s bile, Attic honey, and a whole range of plants that are hard to unambiguously identify nowadays.

¹² MORGAN (1989: 112), however, notes aptly that the heroine’s nurse, who plays such a significant role in Euripides’ tragedy, does not appear in the Demainete episode.

HELIODORUS AND SAPPHO

The way in which a reference is made to the *Hippolytus* thus provokes the reader of Heliodorus' novel to closely examine the potential of the intertextual multiple voices echoed in the background of the scene taking place in Arsake's bedroom. Upon careful observation one can capture the subsequent correlations, which relate the passage of the novel under discussion to Sappho's poem. Both the nature of the relationship between the ruler and her nurse/confidante, as well as the structural analogy and the lexical parallels, point to the work by Sappho as deliberately exploited inspiration for the passage of Heliodorus under discussion.

The above conclusion can be made by comparing passages from both works. In both cases, the theme (unrequited love) and the nature of the communicative situation between the heroines are very similar. Overcome by passion, the woman (Arsake – Sappho) remains silent as to the object of her affection. However, it is her nurse/assistant (Kybele – Aphrodite), empowered to act directly, who verbalises the true cause of her protégée's suffering. Consequently, she seeks to discover the identity of the person who was the direct cause of the lovesickness and anticipates the further course of events. What is at least puzzling, and even suggests direct reference to Sappho's literary works, is the fact that Heliodorus clearly emphasises Kybele's identity – the slave/nurse of the Persian ruler comes from the island of Lesbos (VII 12, 6)¹³.

Much as the theme and the roles of the characters provide clearly identifiable parallels, even after a cursory reading, an analysis of the literal wording of both passages is needed for the discussion of the syntactic and lexical relations. The third person narrator in the *Aithiopika* quotes the following statement made by Kybele (VII 9, 5):

“Τί ταῦτα”, ἔλεγεν, “ὦ δέσποινα; τί σε νέον ἢ καινὸν ἀλγύει πάθος; τίς πάλιν ὀφθεις τὴν ἐμὴν διαταράττει τροφίμην; τίς οὕτως ἀλαζῶν καὶ ἔκφρων ὡς τοῦ κατὰ σὲ τοσοῦτου κάλλους μὴ ἠττήσθαι μηδὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἠγεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἐράσιον ὁμιλίαν ἀλλὰ νεῦμα τὸ σὸν καὶ βουλὴν ὑπερφρονεῖν; Ἐξεῖπε μόνον, ὦ γλυκύτατον ἐμοὶ παιδίον· οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀλῶναι θελγήτροις· ἔξεῖπε καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἀνύουσα τὰ κατὰ γυνώμην. Ἔργοις δὲ οἶμαι πολλάκις τὴν πείραν εἴληφας”.

¹³ MORGAN (1989: 112) also considers Kybele's background as non-accidental, although he treats it generally as a symbol of the heroine's involvement in "immoral" love. The reference to Sappho's literary works is undoubtedly the basis for the association of Lesbos with a negatively perceived form of passion. As the extant references demonstrate, at the time of the creation of Greek novels, an ambiguous aura accompanied the love writings of the poet. Though regarded as brilliant, these poems were viewed as praising love that was not always considered ethical: for instance, the Ovidian Sappho explains that her love of girls from Lesbos was not wicked: "quas hic sine crimine amavi" (Ov. *Her.* 15, 19), nevertheless this type of emotions was the source of infamy: "Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae" (*ibidem*, 201); for the perception of Sappho's literary works in the first century of the Roman Empire, see SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION 1993: 134–142.

...she asked: "What is the matter, mistress? What is this new pain that makes you suffer so? Whom has my baby seen that causes her such heartache? Who could be so presumptuous or so deranged as not to capitulate before your beauty or not to consider union in love with you to be very bliss? Who dares disregard your will and pleasure? You have only to tell me, my darling child; there is no heart so hard that it is proof against my spells. You have only to tell me, and you will your heart's desire in an instant. My past achievements have given you proof enough of my abilities, I think".

The poetic persona in Sappho's poem evokes the words of Aphrodite herself (1, 15–28 V):

ἦρε' ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
 δηῦτε κάλημμι
 κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
 μαινόλαι θύμωι· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω·]· σάγην ἐς σὺν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ
 Ψάφφ', ἀδικήει
 καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
 αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
 αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλῆσει
 κωὺκ ἐθέλοισα.
 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
 ἐκ μερίμναν, ὅσσα δὲ μοι τέλεσσαι
 θῦμος ἱμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὔτα
 σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

...asked what/ was it had troubled me this time, what/ caused me to call once more?/
 What could it be that I wished for/ in my unruly heart? "Whom shall I persuade/
 back again into your love, Sappho?/ Who does you wrong today?/ If she hides now,
 she will soon seek;/ if she scorns gifts, she soon will give;/ if she despises, yet will
 she love/ even reluctantly!"/ Come again, now, release me from/ this inescapable
 care! Grant/ all that my heart desires and stand/ as comrade-at-arms with me!

(transl. by PIPPIN BURNETT 1983: 245)

Before proceeding to the core of the discussion, two issues that differentiate the narrative situation in the passages under discussion need to be mentioned: the time of the plot and the dependence on higher narrative levels. In the Heliodorus passage, the plot is presented in an uncomplicated manner¹⁴. Kybele's statement is quoted as direct speech. The reader follows the events from the perspective of an auctorial narrator, who consistently maintains a temporal distance from the plot and reports the events in chronological order. Sappho's poem, on the other hand, is an elaborate, sophisticated game, in which the relationship between the

¹⁴ Looking at the entire novel, however, Heliodorus' method of narration should be viewed at least as complex. MORGAN (1989: 99) defines it as hermeneutic in the first five books, and as proairetic in the subsequent ones; EFFE (1975: 154) talks about personal and auctorial narration; SWAIN (1996: 106) describes Heliodorus' narration using the terms "snakes and ladders"; see also CIEŚLUK 2008: 159 f.

present, the past, and the future¹⁵ remains very close, and their chronological distance is at times suspended. One of the devices that the poet employs to maintain the relevance of the events is changing the way of quoting the words used by the goddess. Aphrodite's statement, as reported speech (lines 15–18), which is subsequently shifted into direct speech (lines 18–24), may produce the illusion of the simultaneity of the time of the narration and the plot for the reader¹⁶. This eliminates the temporal distance and the course of the action as if it were “before the eyes” of the reader¹⁷. Much as the competences of the acting subject are attributed to the goddess of love (Aphrodite asks what she should do, whose love to invoke), there is a clear tendency to focus on the perspective of the poetic persona, defined *expressis verbis* as *Sappho*.

Undoubtedly, the aforementioned differences point at the divergent objectives assumed by the poetess and the novelist. However, it seems legitimate to claim that parallels of structure and vocabulary can be observed in both statements. Let us compare the most significant elements that are explicit in the passages quoted above:

Heliodoros	Sappho
ἔλεγεν	ἦρε'
Τί ταῦτα	ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα
τί σε νέον ἠκαινὸν ἀλγύει πάθος	κῶττι/ δηῦτε κάλημι/ κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι/ μαινόλαι θύμωι
τίς πάλιν ὀφθεις τήν ἐμὴν διαταράττει τροφίμην	τίνα δηῦτε πείθω/ ·]· σάγην ἐς σὸν φιλότατα
τίς οὔτως ἀλαζῶν καὶ ἔκφρων	τίς σ', ᾧ/ Ψάπφ', ἀδικήει

¹⁵ In the passage being discussed, Sappho introduces, for instance, verbs that correspond in their grammatical form to the aforementioned temporal dimensions: ἦρε, θέλω, ἀδικήει, φεύγει, διώξει, δώσει, etc. ZIELIŃSKI (2006: 222) perceives this unity of time as an expression of confidence in the goddess by the poet.

¹⁶ The terms “time of narration” and “time of the plot” are usually used with reference to temporal relations in epic works, and sometimes in drama. However, the originality of Sappho's Aphrodite hymn is attributed, among other things, to the introduction of dramatic (a scene of an epiphany) and narrative (the story of an epiphany) elements into her lyrical passages. Thus there are grounds for the use of the aforementioned terms to express temporal relations in Sappho's poem. The “time of narration” is the time when the poetic persona tells the story of an epiphany, which also refers to the future, whereas the “time of the plot” refers to an epiphany occurring in the past.

¹⁷ The effects of the strategy outlined above are aptly summarised by BURNETT (1983: 246 and 253): “somehow the song persuades anyone who listens that he has not only overheard Sappho at prayer but has also – quite illogically – heard Aphrodite's voice as well” and: “The reminding section comes next, and it is here that the poem's own trickery begins, its purpose being to bring a past miracle into the present and to persuade the audience that they are witnessing it”. See also ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 222.

The statements made by both heroines in both cases were introduced using past forms of the verbs, whose meanings (ask/speak) point at the desire to establish verbal contact. These verbs introduce a series of interrogative sentences, starting with a form of the pronoun *τίς* or *τί/ὅτι*. The parallel character is also evident in the scope of the questions: first about the nature of the suffering (*τί [...] πάθος – ὅτι [...] πέπονθα*), and then about the identity of the person whose reluctance should be considered as the cause of anxiety, and therefore of the harm experienced by the heroines (*τίς [...] διαταράττει – τίς [...] ἀδικήει*). The negative connotation of the term “anxiety” (*διαταράττει*), and therefore its legitimate use in the category of harm/guilt (*ἀδικήει*) found in Sappho’s work, is expressed by the nicknames defining the object of the emotions, who appears to be overly confident and devoid of reason (*τίς οὕτως ἀλαζών καὶ ἔκφρων*). The essence of guilt is fully explained in the next subordinate consecutive clause: *ὡς τοῦ κατὰ σὲ τοσοῦτου κάλλους μὴ ἠττηῆσθαι μηδὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν σὴ ἐράσμιον ὀμιλίαν ἀλλὰ νεῦμα τὸ σὸν καὶ βουλὴν ὑπερφρονεῖν*. Insensitivity to Arsake’s beauty, as well as opposing her will and the rejection of her erotic advances, are unfair. The way the object of Sappho’s emotions acts is identical. According to the words of Aphrodite expressed later, the object of her passion runs away (*φεύγει*), rejects the gifts (*δῶρα μὴ δέκετ’*), and simply does not love (*μὴ φίλει*) (lines 21–23)¹⁸. One also cannot fail to notice the fact that in both texts the nature of these questions is obviously apparent, as both Aphrodite and Kybele know the answers as well as the identity of the new objects of affection of their protégées¹⁹.

Another theme which can be considered analogous in both texts is also introduced by the aforementioned passage. The interlocutors have not the slightest doubt regarding the course of future events and the effectiveness of the methods they adopted:

Heliodorus: οὐδεις οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀλῶναι θελγήτροις
Sappho: καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,/ αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ’, ἀλλὰ δώσει,/ αἱ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει.

According to Kybele, no man is strong enough to oppose their (Kybele’s and Arsake’s) actions. Aphrodite, on the other hand, anticipates the outcome of her actions as a radical change in the attitude of the object of the emotions. The object of the emotions, contrary to his past actions, will be the one to make advances, bring gifts and give love. The suggestion to use love magic may also be viewed

¹⁸ The meaning of *dike* in the context of principles that govern love relationships is explained by BURNETT (1983: 256).

¹⁹ KRISCHER (1968: 12–14) points to the analogy between Aphrodite’s apparent ignorance expressed in Sappho’s poem and omissions typical of epic works. These are found in scenes such as the conversation between Achilles and Thetis, when the mother asks her son about the reason for his sadness, even though she is fully aware of what it is; see ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 219.

in both cases as similarities. Although we find no direct lexical parallels in the words of Aphrodite to the term θελγήτροις used by Kybele, it has often been suggested that the way in which conditional sentences in Sappho's poem are arranged mirrors the structure and character of magic formulas²⁰. It also seems that the essence of the magic effect declared by the goddess, as demonstrated above with reference to Heliodorus' novel and Euripides' tragedy, comes down to the irresistible power of persuasion, which is evidenced by the form πείθω found in line 18²¹. The ultimate goal of this peculiar type of persuasion is to fulfill the desires of the women in love: Kybele encourages her mistress to pursue her will (οὐκ ἄν φθάνοις ἀνύουσα τὰ κατὰ γνώμη), whereas Aphrodite concludes that the object of Sappho's emotions will submit to her, even against his will (κωῦκ ἐθέλοισα), thus fulfilling, *mutatis mutandis*, Sappho's will.

Other lexical parallels enhance the impression of the compatibility of these two passages. For instance, the desire of both authors to emphasise the repeatability of the situations encountered by both heroines can be clearly seen. It is for this purpose that Sappho employs the form of the adverb αὔτε 'again, once more' (lines 15, 16, 18) (δηῦτε resulting from the merger with the emphatic particle δῆ)²². A similar context can be found in the words of the poetic persona addressed to the goddess (line 25), asking her to also come with help now – καὶ νῦν. Based on both premises, a conclusion may be implied that this is not an isolated situation. Heliodorus achieves a similar effect through the use of the attributes νέον ἢ καινόν to modify the verb πάθος (a new and other emotion) and the adverbs: πάλιν, when Kybele asks who raised Arsake's interest at first sight, and πολλάκις, when she brings up the argument of often being able to deal with similar situations. Confirmation of this aspect of multiplicity is found in the response subsequently given by the heroine (VII 10, 1). Stating that she had been hurt as never before (ὥς οὐπω πρότερον), Arsake expresses her doubts regarding Kybele's ability to provide help that would be as effective as it had been in many similar situations from the past (πολλὰ δὴ πρὸς σοῦ καὶ πολλάκις εὔπαθοῦσα ἐν ὁμοίαις ταῖς χρείαις).

The multiplicity of personal and possessive pronouns found in these short passages also seems not to be coincidental. The forms of the pronoun σύ (σε) and of the possessive pronoun σός (σὴν and σόν) are used twice by Kybele. Moreover, to emphasise the bond between her and Arsake, the forms of the possessive pronoun ἐμός (τὴν ἐμὴν [...] τροφίμην; γλυκύτατον ἐμοὶ παιδίον) occur twice. Finally, the possessive pronoun ἡμέτερος (ἡμετέροις θελγήτροις) is introduced to highlight common interests and activities.

²⁰ BURNETT (1983: 254 f.) points to the similarity between Sappho's language and the formulas of magic papyri, quoting previous findings on this subject. See also DANIELEWICZ 1999: 124 f. and ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 212–216, particularly the discussion of the theses by PETROPULOS (1993).

²¹ Similar statements are made, for instance, by BURNETT (1983: 255): "Her magic, after all, is a heightened form of persuasion".

²² See DANIELEWICZ 1999: 131 f.

In Sappho's poem the situation proves to be more complex due to the strategy of using reported and direct speech discussed above. The assignment of pronouns to the poetic persona or the goddess respectively is not as obvious as in the case of the heroines in the passage from Heliodorus' novel. The fact that the forms of the pronoun ἐγώ, used three times, apply to Sappho (μοι – lines 17, 25, 26) does not mean that the forms with the meaning “you” or “your” should refer to the goddess. On the contrary, the forms of the personal pronoun σύ and of the possessive pronoun σός were once again used twice with reference to the poetic persona (σάν, σέ – line 19), and only the form σύ in line 27 points to Aphrodite.

The pronouns frequently used in both texts (seven times in Heliodorus and six times in Sappho) undoubtedly emphasise the bond between the heroines. The way these pronouns are employed by the authors, however, makes it possible to point at subtle differences between the relationships under discussion. Kybele's statement is entirely focused on Arsake, whereas in Sappho's poem there is more partnership in the relationships between the heroines. This is due to the fact that these pronouns emphasise the significance of Aphrodite's actions (σύ δ' αὐτὰ/σύμμαχος ἔσσο – lines 27 f.) as well as the causal nature of the emotional state and desires of the poetic persona.

To conclude this part of the analysis, one should also note that on the syntactic level both passages feature similar rhythm. As stated previously, it is defined by interrogative sentences that prevail in the structure of the first part of these statements, followed by imperative sentences supplemented with the forms of vocatives. In the Aphrodite hymn, imperative forms can be found five times, with three of them occurring in the last stanza: ἔλθε (line 25), τέλεισον (line 27) and ἔσσο (line 28). In this passage there is also a vocative ὦ Ψάπφ' (lines 19 f.). It is also worth noting that in the previous lines the forms of the vocative addressed to the goddess appear three times (lines 1, 2, 3).

In the passage from Heliodorus, as in Sappho's poem, three command forms can be found: the verb ἔξειπε is used twice and we also come across the phrase οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, whose function can also be attributed to that of an attenuated command. This is accompanied by two forms of the vocative, both referring to Arsake: ὦ δέσποινα, ὦ γλυκύτατον ἐμοὶ παιδίον.

It seems that it is the imperative and exclamatory phrases that contribute to the pleading-beseeking tone shared by both passages. As regards Sappho's poem, this tone appears to be natural. This is due to the fact that the context constituting the background for the entire work is that of a prayer. Though formally sophisticated and incorporating nonreligious content (focused on the poetic persona), the structure of the prayer is fully compliant with that of a religious plea to the gods known from the oldest examples surviving in the text of the *Iliad*²³. The scene from the *Aithiopika*,

²³ See a comparative analysis of Sappho's song with the passages of the *Iliad*: Diomedes' prayer to Athena, V 115–120 (CAMERON 1939: 3; cf. comments by DANIELEWICZ 1999: 123 and

devoid of any religious connotations, also resembles a prayer (as suggested by the aforementioned analogies)²⁴. Consequently, the events taking place in the palace bedroom appear to be deeply ironic.

The essence of Heliodorus' strategy involves the shift and the division of the traits and competences of Aphrodite (from Sappho's poem) between the heroines of the novel, with an almost complete elimination of the functions of the poetic persona. This is not clear when looking only from the communicative perspective, since the sender–receiver situation is similar in both cases: Aphrodite and Kybele ask questions and describe the entire situation, whereas Sappho and Arsake remain silent for a while as they are overcome with suffering from unrequited passion. Upon closer analysis, the parallel perception of Arsake and Sappho is superficial, as Arsake manifests definite autonomy in comparison with the traits of the heroine of Sappho's poem. In the context of the entire work, her role is confined to the act of calling and pleading for help from the goddess, who can possibly fulfill Sappho's will at her own discretion (ὄσσα δὲ μοι τέλεσσαί/ θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον; lines 26 f.), and assume the role of an ally standing by her side (σὺ δ' αὖτ' ἀ/ σύμμαχος ἔσσο; lines 27 f.). The situation of the poetic persona is therefore strictly defined. Confined to suffering, Sappho is hurt and remains passive. Although Sappho expresses her will, it is the goddess who is totally in control and able to act effectively.

Arsake, just like Sappho, suffers, and the suffering is the only element that both protagonists share. Unlike her lyrical counterpart, Arsake does not ask for help, but she is the target of Kybele's pleas. Feeling desire, she is also the only person who can satisfy this emotion, while the nurse only makes efforts to convince Arsake to use her own powers. In Sappho's world, on the other hand, the *sine qua non* condition for the fulfillment of the desires expressed by the poetic persona are Aphrodite's activities and the power she possesses. The Persian ruler, in the context of the passage under analysis, is definitely the highest authority and relieving her love pain can only be achieved through her will and activity. However, it is not only the possession of causal powers that makes Arsake similar to Aphrodite. Following the description provided by the old nurse, Arsake can be attributed with two basic areas of domination

ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 201) and Achilles' prayer to Thetis, I 352 ff. (KRISCHER 1968: 12–14; cf. comments by DANIELEWICZ 1999: 123 and ZIELIŃSKI 2006: 219).

²⁴ Kybele's statements, in the same way as the statements in Sappho's poem, feature a framework arrangement of exclamatory-imperative forms: the statement begins with the invocatory ὦ δέσποινα, whereas in the final part, related to the plea, we find the following imperative forms: ἔξειπε and οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις. One can venture an opinion that, to a certain extent, the entire statement made by Kybele is constructed in accordance with the scheme of a prayer. This is due to the fact that the use of interrogative phrases in the middle of a sentence can be regarded as a kind of a sanction combined with *hypomnesia*. They indirectly evoke the argument of erotic *dike* – the type of justice which requires the object of affection to accept the offered favours (τίς οὕτως ἀλαζών καὶ ἔκφρων ὡς τοῦ κατὰ σέ τοσοῦτου κάλλους μὴ ἠττήσθαι μηδὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἠγεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἐράσμιον ὀμιλίαν). *Hypomnesia* is embodied by suggestions found in the expressions: νέον ἢ καινὸν πάθος, πάλιν and πολλάκις, indicating the repeatability of this type of past love experience.

inseparably related to the goddess: beauty and erotic passion (τίς οὕτως ἀλαζῶν καὶ ἔκφρων ὡς τοῦ κατὰ σέ τοσοῦτου κάλλους μὴ ἠττηῖσθαι μηδὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἐράσμιον ὀμιλίαν).

Thus Heliodoros, adapting the formal style of the passage under discussion from Book 7, provokes the reader to recall the work by Sappho, while reversing the traits and competences of the protagonists. He also abandons the effect of self-ironic distance, which was so spectacularly created by Sappho²⁵. Arsake is presented as an imposter of the rank which is attributed to Aphrodite in the poet's song. We are witnessing an attempt to assign a superior role to Arsake in matters of love and beauty. This also applies to the ability to achieve absolute effectiveness with regard to objectives of erotic passion. Travestyng the words from Sappho's work, it could be said that Kybele asks Arsake for her to "stand on her own side and be an ally to herself".

Given the context of the communicative system, Kybele plays a role seemingly similar to the function of the poetic persona in the Aphrodite hymn, as she is the person requesting Arsake's help, just as Sappho addresses her pleas to the goddess. However, the newly discovered analogy is deconstructed by the request, thus associating the nurse with Aphrodite. It is Kybele, just like Aphrodite, who asks questions regarding the object of passion and she is convinced, to the same extent, about the effectiveness of possible actions. She openly talks about what is suggested in the statement made by the goddess – the use of love magic. Besides Arsake, the old nurse also somehow "becomes" Aphrodite. However, because of her insistence on the immediate fulfillment of a sexual desire, her role is reduced to that of a procurer, a caricature of the goddess. Thus the motivation of both heroines in Heliodoros' novel is brutally revealed.

This distribution of the functions of the goddess between Arsake and Kybele seems significant enough to be regarded as an interpretive factor – an indicator defining the perspective of the intertextual relationship created by Heliodoros. The reader, who can perceive the allusiveness of the scene in Arsake's bedroom, realises that it is in fact a kind of a distorting mirror for the images and the content found in Sappho's poems. The image of Aphrodite created by Sappho and reflected in this mirror becomes the image of a proud ruler and her accomplice, the procurer, both totally subjected to passion. The outlined caricature is so distinct that consequently both situations can be viewed as opposites. The religious affirmation of divine power, clearly traceable in Sappho's work despite its literary sophistication²⁶, is contrasted with the prideful belief in the absolute power of will and beauty of the barbarian ruler.

²⁵ DANIELEWICZ 1999: 123.

²⁶ The complexity of Sappho's songs is convincingly discussed by BURNETT (1983: 246): "though it is not an implement of cult, neither is this a purely secular song; instead it is a thing rare among the Greeks, the poetic expression of a personal religious faith".

Taking into account the above conclusions, at least three functions of the analysed intertextual relationship can be identified. Undoubtedly, the negative traits attributed to Arsake, who is a conventional oppositionist for the protagonist in this context, are enhanced²⁷. The intertextual relationship also plays a significant role in the broader ideological perspective of Heliodorus' novel. It manifests a clear cultural opposition found in the *Aithiopika* between the barbaric element, with the Persians as its primary embodiment, and the world of Hellenic values ultimately represented by both protagonists²⁸. Thirdly, and most importantly, creating the impression of Arsake's divine omnipotence is not insignificant for the reader and the reader's assessment of the situation encountered by the protagonists. The fact that the heroine is immoral, and at the same time almost as powerful as the goddess, undoubtedly makes the situation more dangerous. Consequently, the threat for Charikleia and Theagenes is further exacerbated. Given the above facts, one should thus conclude that Heliodorus uses the intertextual reference as a sophisticated way to create tension and affect the reader's emotions.

It is time to return to the issues mentioned at the beginning of this discussion. We shall consider the role of this intertextual relationship in the broader intertextual system in the *Aithiopika*. This system also includes the story of Demainete in the first book of the *Aithiopika* and the tragedy by Euripides. Of particular interest are the conclusions reached by John MORGAN from the analysis of the semantic potential of the Demainete – Arsake – Phaedra system. MORGAN (1989:

²⁷ For instance, HAYNES (2003: 112) emphasises that Arsake's lack of rationality and the force of her passion translate into a loss of self-control. This is in sharp contrast with the exceptional composure manifested by Charikleia. The opposition of the protagonist and the antagonist is in line with the classification of female characters in Greek novels suggested by JOHN (2003: 172). She distinguished four categories of women characters: protagonists, antagonists, close friends, and mothers; similarly EGGER (1988: 45). Also HAYNES (2003) adopts this classification with minor modifications and views it as one of the ordering criteria for the entire discussion.

²⁸ Despite the apparent obviousness, the problem of the opposition between the barbarians and the Hellenes, and consequently the meaning of Hellenism in Heliodorus, is undoubtedly more complex. The approach presented by scholars can often be radically different. For instance, SWAIN (1996: 118), in the analysis of the *Aithiopika*, identifies the traditional, ethnocentric dividing line between "us" and "them", the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, BOWERSOCK (1995: 49 and 53) states the following: "we see the traditional opposition of Greek and barbarian brilliantly turned upside down in the *Aethiopia*" and: "The old standard of Hellenism broke down in the second and third centuries, and in doing so it made way for a new kind of Hellenism, an ecumenical Hellenism that could actually embrace much that was formerly barbaric. Heliodorus is a memorable example of this". WHITMARSH (1998: 124), in turn, adopts a totally different perspective in the analysis of the problem of the "genealogy of Hellenism", placing it in the broad context of various "corrupted" genealogies found in Heliodorus. Focusing on the literary implications of this phenomenon, it is perceived first and foremost as the author's desire to reconfigure and refresh the literary tradition. Despite deep controversies, there is no doubt that, among several nations that appear in the *Aithiopika*, it is the Persians who are in cultural contrast to the Greeks. As rightly noted by HAYNES (2003: 140), this contrast is always particularly visible in the case of female characters, this time in Arsake.

112) concludes that the role of the Phaedra motif (and Phaedra is a model character for both of Heliodorus' heroines) is to invite the reader to make a link between both episodes of the *Aithiopika*. However, the aim of this comparison is to create positive anticipation of the dangerous adventure in Arsake's palace. Thus the reader can be confident that, just as in the case of Knemon, the protagonists will also avoid dangers and evil will be punished²⁹. The intertextual relationship interpreted in this way would thus provide a positive, emotional counterweight to the tension and uncertainty resulting from the plot getting more complicated. The revealed Sapphic reminiscences yet introduce a new aspect to these deliberations. One can clearly see the emotional dissonance of the reader, who, through the interpretation of the intertextual scheme, becomes entangled in two radically different suggestions for the development of the plot. On the one hand, a happy ending to the adventure in Arsake's palace is suggested by the analogies to the story of Demainete and Knemon. On the other hand, the awareness of the almost divine power of the Persian ruler suggested by the allusions to Sappho's poem channels the reader's emotions in a completely different direction and emphasises the seriousness of the threat and uncertainty as to the happy ending of the story. Taking into account references to the Aphrodite hymn thus leads us to a different conclusion than the one formulated by MORGAN. Due to the intertextual relations, the reader is forced, despite the expectations arising from the nature of the genre, to doubt the positive variant of the development of the plot and to admit the possibility of further serious complications, or even the death of one of the protagonists³⁰. Thus the novelist implements tactics which keep the reader in a state of permanent tension and uncertainty. The intertextual scheme, instead of calming the reader's emotions down, rather intensifies them.

PROBLEMATISING LOVE

It seems, however, that the scope of the system of references discussed above is even broader, and the premises for its determination are deeply grounded in the ideological scheme. By comparing the story of Demainete, Arsake, Phaedra and Sappho at the same level, we gain a perspective from which the issue of problematising love becomes evident, and the reader is encouraged to a deeper reflection on this problem.

This assumption could be regarded as paradoxical given the fact that the *Aithiopika* is considered as a type of a Greek novel in which explicit erotic

²⁹ MORGAN 1989: 107.

³⁰ The likelihood of the death of the protagonists plays a significant role in the plot of most novels, and it also serves to generate tension and to keep the reader's attention. Undoubtedly, Achilles Tatius is a master in this respect, as he does all he can to make the next "deadly" adventures of his protagonist most probable.

content is one of the factors that define the genre³¹. For this reason, constructing a complex system of intertextual references to further emphasise the obvious, main theme of the story, would constitute thematic redundancy. In such a situation, the role of the intertextual scheme would be limited exclusively to an aesthetic literary game for the educated audience. Upon closer reflection it may be concluded that the possible impression of redundancy in Heliodorus' presentation of love by Heliodorus is due to the reader's presuppositions shaped by literary experience rather than the actual techniques employed by the author. When analysing the scope and function of the love theme in the *Aithiopika*, one must conclude that it is surprisingly limited. This type of thesis, though mentioned previously³², has not yet been fully investigated in the literature on the subject. Consequently, at least several premises have to be presented in its support.

The love theme is definitely not the most important tool for organising the plot and generating tension. This is mainly evidenced by the significant disparity between the scope of the use of the theme under discussion in individual parts of the novel. Love can be regarded as an important theme for the construction of the plot only in the first five books. Here the story of the meeting and falling in love of the protagonists is presented *ex post* and several situations pose a real threat to the stability of the relationship between Charikleia and Theagenes. However, these soon come to a positive solution. Consequently, the reader's attention focuses on a totally different issue: the main mystery is not whether and when the protagonists will overcome the threats to their love, but how the story will emerge from the maze of additional narrations with a similar theme. The author creates a complex web of intermingling stories. The themes that utterly involve the reader also include: the story of Knemon and Kalasiris, supplemented with smaller narratives about the sad fate of Charikles, love's vicissitudes of Nausikles and Thisbe, and finally the story of Thyamis. Although each of these stories features a love theme, it is clearly marginalised due to the

³¹ When it comes to formulating a more precise definition of the genre, which includes Heliodorus' novel, we are faced with a terminological *varietas*. Depending on the adopted assumptions, the *Aithiopika* is most frequently classified as an idealising novel – *idealisierender Roman* (as opposed to the comic-realistic novel); see, for instance, HOLZBERG (2006), although other classifications can also be found. WHITMARSH (2011: 1, n. 1), instead of classifying novels into idealising and comic-realistic ones, introduces the distinction between a romance and a novel. According to the latter concept, Heliodorus' text should be classified as a *romance*, defined as “heterosexual erotic narratives of travel and return”, although at the same time it belongs to a broader category of ancient *novel*, also including works that are not focused on erotic themes. Regardless of the approach adopted, scholars emphasise the constitutive significance of the love story for building the action and the ideological message of this type of works; see, for instance, ANDERSON (1982: 7): “But it is the pair of lovers which forms the central focus of the ideal novels”.

³² This fact is sometimes admitted by scholars in a general way. For instance, ANDERSON (1982: 37) states that in the *Aithiopika* one finds very little room for the conventional love *topoi* and that Heliodorus is interested in so many other things, thus leaving very few options for *artes amatoriae* available.

aforementioned formal solutions. The reader is effectively distracted by the accumulation of internal narrations, which are used for the consistent delaying of the plot related to the protagonists. In turn, the reader's attention is shifted to the aforementioned reconstruction of the fate of the main characters, particularly to that of the female protagonist³³. It is only in the final part of Book Five that the process can be regarded as complete.

In Books Six through Nine, the love theme plays an even smaller role. It appears only twice: in the context of Arsake's passion for Theagenes (and Achaimenes' love for Charikleia) and for a short time in the final part of the novel, when her real father, the king of the Ethiopians Hydaspes, has to accept her beloved one. The major part of Book Eight and the entire Book Nine must be viewed as totally independent of the love story.

This surprising "economy", which points to the inferior role of the erotic motif, becomes clearer when we compare the *Aithiopika* with other novels. In the works of Chariton, Xenophon, Longus and Achilles Tatius, the emotions of protagonists constitute the starting point and the target of the plot, and all of the presented content is clearly related to the prevailing love theme. In the first three of the aforementioned texts, the story of the protagonists' emotions not only provides the narrative framework for the entire text, but there is also a clear gradation of its significance in comparison to similar stories related to the secondary characters. The role of the latter stories is definitely episodic. Only in the case of the *Leukippe and Kleitophon* does the author play a sophisticated game with the reader: the protagonist is absent for a longer period of time, which suggests the possibility of her death and consequently the introduction of a new heroine³⁴. Much as the plot is complicated, the reader of Tatius' work is not even for a moment in doubt that love is the main organising theme for the entire novel: as such it is problematised *expressis verbis* in the very introduction (I 2, 1–3). Moreover, all of the theoretical deliberations are devoted to this issue, and it is the driving force for the plot and the fundamental reference point for all the actions undertaken by the protagonists. Heliodorus' conscious desire to reduce tension around the love theme is also evidenced by other measures. The author suggests his plan in a direct manner, by excluding deities related to the love theme from the plot: Eros and Aphrodite³⁵, who are replaced by the trinity

³³ The problem of an unambiguous classification of Charikleia and Theagenes as protagonists, encountered by the reader, is also noted by MORGAN (1989: 103): "...the reader, passionate for meaning, is less concerned with how the story of Theagenes and Charikleia will end than with how it began, or even who they are". According to the scholar, this effect is fully controlled by the author, whose aim is to sustain the reader's uncertainty and confusion; for this topic, see also CIEŚLUK 2012a: 326–329.

³⁴ For the suggestion implied in Tatius' novel that Leukippe can be replaced by the young widow Melite, see HAYNES 2003: 104; WHITMARSH 2011: 164; CIEŚLUK 2012b: 47–53.

³⁵ Aphrodite and Eros are mentioned only at the beginning of Charikleia and Theagenes' love story, when the heroine's foster father, Charikles, is worried about his daughter: "But Eros and

of Apollo – Isis – Helios³⁶. Equally importantly, any possible ethical dilemmas the reader may have related to the evaluation of love passion and the possibility of its inclusion into the practice of social life are quickly dispelled. He uses the character of a wise priest, Kalasiris, for this purpose. Calming down Charikleia, who is terrified by her condition, he assures her that all the dangers that love passion may entail can be channeled through marriage (IV 10, 6). Given this assumption and the heroic character of the protagonists, which is clear from the very outset, the reader is reassured that Charikleia and Theagenes will not give in to their passion prematurely. Consequently, they will remain faithful to each other even if the price is their lives, regardless of the threats that may stand in their way from time to time³⁷. However, in other novels, for instance those by Longus and Achilles Tatius, the love theme provides for the possibility of an intense game with social norms. According to these norms, girls are expected to maintain premarital chastity, while men must achieve and deepen their emotional self-control. The reader of these novels follows the subsequent adventures with anxiety and growing curiosity remaining, for the major part of the plot, intrigued as to the behaviour of the protagonists when exposed to erotic pressure. Another ethical dilemma was created with regard to the fate of Callirhoe – a heroine of Chariton’s novel, who unintentionally became engaged in a double marriage. It is for the reader to assess whether the decision made by the heroine to choose the young, impetuous first husband instead of the other one – the stable and positively characterised Dionysius – was right. A reader of Heliodorus’ novel is completely unfamiliar with any such dilemmas.

Another premise which points to the marginal character of the love theme is the exceptionally superficial treatment of the motif of the protagonists’ separation. Charikleia and Theagenes experience most of their adventures together, and they are separated only for a few days. The author only suggests the possibility of long-term separation when Charikleia receives a message about plans to send Theagenes to Persia to the court of the Great King. It seems that this information can be regarded rather as a kind of indirect message on the part of the writer to emphasise his awareness of the applicable literary convention. However, the writer is clearly not

Aphrodite and all nuptial revelry she curses to damnation” (II 33, 5); in another section Kalasiris explains to Charikleia that “Love is the greatest of the gods, and stories are told that on occasion he masters even gods” (IV 10, 5); finally Charikleia demands an oath from Theagenes that during the journey he will respect her virginity – the hero takes an oath “by Pythian Apollo, by Artemis, by Aphrodite herself and her Erotes” (IV 18, 5 f.). In the further part of the adventures of the pair the two deities, typical of the novel, no longer play any role; see ALPEROWITZ 1992: 36–38; POLASZEK 1998: 146–149; CIEŚLUK 2008: 164.

³⁶ Undoubtedly, the role of Helios in the *Aithiopika* is privileged; Heliodorus’ strategy, which significantly expands the powers of the sun god, is discussed in detail by ALTHEIM (1942: 13–20); see also CIEŚLUK 2008: 161–167.

³⁷ In the same fashion, see MORGAN 1989: 108.

interested in putting his protagonists and their love to the test. This is evidenced by the fact that no such situation ever occurs during their separation. A certain analogy to such a solution can only be found in the novel by Longus. Due to the pastoral nature of the novel, the theme of the journey was avoided and thus the fictional role of the separation motif was reduced to the minimum. However, Longus finds his own way to maintain tension around the love theme. Absolutely oblivious to the matters reserved for Aphrodite, the protagonists, with their desires and ignorance, are the primary threat to the moral and ethical order of the world depicted in the novel³⁸. In Chariton, Xenophon, and Tattius long-term separation provides for multiple, potentially limitless multiplications of danger, which both protagonists have to face on their own. The final reunion of the couple defines the actual end of their adventures and the entire novel³⁹.

Thus, the different way in which the love theme is used, indicating its partial marginalisation, should not go unnoticed by the reader of the *Aithiopia*. The love theme is absent from large parts of the text. Whenever Heliodorus focuses on this issue, he avoids creating more profound, long-term tension. This should be considered as a result of well-thought through tactics. It is a kind of suggestion for the reader to view the *Aithiopia* as a literary riddle, with the conventional love theme probably playing an instrumental role. Its role may be to highlight the aesthetic and formal qualities of the text, as well as to provoke the reader to consider other themes, outside the convention of the genre, which could function as “non-erotic” content⁴⁰.

This conclusion seems to be in contrast with that reached by John MORGAN (1989: 112). Having thoroughly analysed the issue of eroticism in Heliodorus' novel, MORGAN concludes that love, presented from a broad philosophical and ethical perspective, is the essence of the text under discussion. In fact, what remains arguable is whether love is the main object of interest for the author of the novel, as suggested by MORGAN. It may also be argued that, in line with

³⁸ It should be emphasised that the ignorance and the funny erotic indolence of Daphnis and Chloe were used by the writer not only in the negative context (as a threat); paradoxically, it proved to be beneficial: it protected the protagonists against premature “initiation into the mysteries of Aphrodite”, which allowed for the preservation of the main ethical and social pillars of the world presented in Longus' novel; see CIEŚLUK 2010: 47.

³⁹ The discussed scheme is fully consistent with the concept of the Greek novel formulated by Mikhail BAKHTIN. He defines the texts under discussion as adventure novels of ordeal. Here the function of an organising factor is attributed to the motif of the ordeal, both in terms of the composition and the ideology. This ordeal primarily refers to the virtues and mutual fidelity of the protagonists, while the love theme becomes the axis for the main plot of the novel; see BAKHTIN 1981: 87 ff. Adopting this perspective, the uniqueness of the *Aithiopia* is even more clearly emphasised. As has been mentioned previously, two themes are treated marginally by Heliodorus: love and the accompanying ordeal.

⁴⁰ This approach is shared by many scholars of Heliodorus, as they identify and reflect upon various issues (for instance, philosophical issues: SANDY 1982b; DOWDEN 1996; religious or political and religious aspects: MERKELBACH 1962; ALTHEIM 1942).

the analysis presented there, its aim is to focus the reader's attention on some other issues. However, it is indisputable that Heliodorus presents love in a more profound and original way than his predecessors, for instance, through the use of intertextual references for this purpose.

One may conclude that the erotic theme in the *Aithiopika* is exploited in a surprisingly limited manner. Having reached such a conclusion in view of the aforementioned intertextual context of interpretation, the tactics used by Heliodorus may seem a kind of a paradox (this term in many respects defines the literary world of the *Aithiopika*). In fact, the love theme is only seemingly marginalised. Although the author minimises the role of the love theme in the plot, the meticulous scheme of intertextual references is governed by this very theme. Aphrodite, who is absent from the novel, is introduced through the "back door" by references to the leading, active role played by the goddess in Euripides' tragedy and Sappho's poem. It should be emphasised that the verb "introduce" used above may be understood literally. In fact, in both of the aforementioned works the goddess appears not only as a theme, but directly as a character⁴¹. Her role is that of an acting subject, an actual holder of the irresistible, omnipotent power, which is the source of unbearable suffering for the women having a love experience. Thus Aphrodite and the issues related to her are shifted by the author from the level of the plot to the level of aesthetic reflection. This is aimed at provoking the reader, in an explicit and sophisticated manner, to problematise the issue of love. The reader should do it independently, through the identification and contemplation of references to works from the literary canon.

In conclusion, it must be noted that the love theme is deprived of its primary role due to its partial exclusion from the plot. However, this does not mean that its role is drastically diminished in the ideological scheme of the text. On the contrary, it seems that this was employed to make the love theme a discursive issue. By gradually discovering the intertextual relations, an educated reader no longer focuses exclusively on the plot of the novel. The reader is inspired to further investigate the unconventional treatment of such a conventional theme.

Intertextuality proves to be an important element in Heliodorus' novel, both at the formal and ideological levels. As demonstrated in the first part of this discussion, references to Euripides' tragedy and Sappho's poem, viewed from the perspective of the relation between the text and the reader, enhance the reader's involvement. This is due to the emotional dissonance generated by uncertainty as to the development of the plot and the fate of the protagonists. Having analysed the topic of the love theme, it may be concluded that the aim of the scheme of intertextual references is to supplement the issue of eroticism. Moreover, it may even reveal its meaning in a broader context. Intertextuality perceived in this

⁴¹ A synthetic discussion on the nature of the epiphany of Aphrodite in Sappho's poem is presented by DANIELEWICZ (1999: 124).

way perfectly blends into the wealth of techniques⁴² employed by Heliodorus to motivate the reader to consider various topics, including those outside the erotic themes. Ken DOWDEN clearly states that readers of Heliodorus' novels are "speculators about the reasons of things"⁴³. This comment, made by the scholar in the context of the philosophical and religious implications of the *Aithiopia*, perfectly defines the general image of the reader postulated by the writer.

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⁴² It may be assumed that the tendency to provide an alternative explanation of the observed phenomena is, for instance, of a similar type; for this topic, see an exhaustive account by MORGAN 1982: 229; also WINKLER 1982: 122; DOWDEN 1996: 276 f.; SANDY 1982a: 188. BARTSCH (1989: 47) discussed the "hermeneutic activity" in Heliodorus. ANDERSON (1982: 39) emphasises the significance of the ambiguity in the text by Heliodorus: "sophisticated equivocation is an essential part of his literary texture", noting at the same time: "And he is more interested in contriving his equivocations than in resolving them". MORGAN (1988: 99) claims that the author stimulates his reader to consider and understand facts by shifting from the proairetic to the hermeneutic mode of narration.

⁴³ DOWDEN 1996: 276. The scholar notices, however, that Heliodorus provides for yet another image of his readers. Those are the readers whose reactions are anticipated by the internal reactions of the audience following, for instance, the events taking place in Meroe in the final part of novel. DOWDEN defines them as simple and direct, stemming from the limited awareness of a wider process that can be identified in Heliodorus' work; for this topic, see also BARTSCH 1989: 79.

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VICTORIA *VEL* VICTORINA AND HER CAREER
ACROSS THE CENTURIES IN EARLY MODERN
AND MODERN NUMISMATIC LITERATURE.

A CASE STUDY ON THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CULTURE*

by

AGATA A. KLUCZEK

ABSTRACT: The article recalls what was established by researchers in reference to Victoria, the mother of emperor Victorinus, and mentioned in the ancient literary sources, the *Liber de Caesaribus* by Aurelius Victor and the *Historia Augusta*. These works present Victoria, *augusta* and *mater castrorum*, as a woman who was politically engaged in the events in the *Imperium Galliarum* in the 3rd century. The ancient tradition exerted an influence upon the modern authors of the numismatic corpora. Above all the remark of an early *scriptor* about coins issued with a portrait of Victoria on them proved particularly inspiring. By taking her as a point of departure, but also by engaging creatively with the details of Victoria's biography which emerge from the reading of ancient texts, the early modern writers created the figure of Victorina in their works. She was supposed to issue her own coins, but she was also commemorated on various monetary types and honoured by consecration coins.

PROLOGUE

Memories of Victoria, a Gallic heroine who operated in the Gallic empire (*Imperium Galliarum*) during the times of Postumus (M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus, 260–269), Marius (M. Aurelius Marius, 269), Victorinus (M. Piavonius Victorinus, 269–271) and Tetricus (C. Esuvius Tetricus, 271–274), assumed various forms¹. Without doubt the fragmentary knowledge about her which was preserved in ancient tradition was conducive to this.

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¹ For information about the *Imperium Galliarum*, cf. LAFAURIE 1975: 853–1012; KÖNIG 1981; DRINKWATER 1987; KOTULA 1992: 30–37; LUTHER 2008: 325–341.

Anne DE LESELEUC, in the historical novel entitled *Le secret de Victorina*, based on available ancient accounts and freely developing her own *licentia poetica*, builds the plot focused on the life of Victorina, set against the political background of the western lands of the Roman empire². The protagonist was born in Bordeaux to an aristocratic family, but was familiar with the Eternal City that she admired as a woman of provincial origin. She was a relative of the Gallic emperor Postumus and a friend of the Palmyrene ruler Zenobia, and she gradually developed her career. A spouse of Valentinus, who was killed by the invaders from the other side of the Rhine, she subsequently stood at the side of Postumus and the legions supporting him. She manifested great merit in fights against the barbarians and against the *bagaudae*. She became an *adiutrix* of the emperor. As a result, she was called Victoria, an ideologically significant name which could be a source of concern for the authorities in Rome. It made Victorina/Victoria a Gallic heroine...

The fate of Victorina/Victoria as she is depicted in the novel, with her individual experience, human feelings and desires, is intertwined with the *macro*-history of the Roman state. After all, her fate was set against the background of events which occurred in the tumultuous period of the 3rd century. Moreover, the sources depicting this period of Roman history still provide a base for the reconstruction of various biographies, including such spectacular ones as Victorina/Victoria.

VICTORIA SIVE VITRUVIA IN THE ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

Victoria – or Vitruvia – was mentioned only by Sex. Aurelius Victor in the *Liber de Caesaribus* and by the author of the *Historia Augusta* (HA), who enlists her among *Tyranni Triginta*³. She was active in the period of the crisis of the 3rd century. She was mother of Victorinus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33, 14; HA *Tyr. trig.* 5, 3; 6, 3; 7, 1; 24, 1; 31, 1) and grandmother of Victorinus junior (HA *Tyr. trig.* 31, 1). She was also thought to be a relative of Tetricus (HA *Tyr. trig.* 24, 1: *adfinis*). She declared her grandson Victorinus *caesar*. However, he was killed shortly thereafter (HA *Tyr. trig.* 6, 3)⁴. She also initiated the ascension to positions of authority in the *Imperium Galliarum* of a number of other pretenders. Among them there were Marius (HA *Tyr. trig.* 5, 3), Tetricus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33, 14; HA *Tyr. trig.* 24, 1; 31, 2) and the son of the latter, Tetricus junior (HA *Tyr. trig.* 5,

² DE LESELEUC 2003. For a different proposal of a novel featuring Victoria as one of the protagonists, see SCHMIDT 1987.

³ *Nomina* – Victoria: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33, 14; HA *Tyr. trig.* 7, 1; 25, 1; 30, 23; HA *Claud.* 1, 1; Vitruvia: HA *Claud.* 4, 4; Vitruvia vel Victoria: HA *Tyr. trig.* 5, 3; 6, 3; Vitruvia sive Victoria: HA *Tyr. trig.* 31, 1; Victoria sive Vitruvia: HA *Tyr. trig.* 24, 1.

⁴ He was declared a *caesar* by his father or by his grandmother: HA *Tyr. trig.* 7, 1.

3; 24, 1; 25, 1). She herself was honoured with the title of *augusta* (*HA Tyr. trig.* 5, 3). She also came to be called a *mater castrorum* (*HA Tyr. trig.* 5, 3; 6, 3; 25, 1; 31, 2). She was affluent (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33, 14). She did not live long, being supposedly killed during Tetricus' reign (*HA Tyr. trig.* 31, 4). Indeed, she played an impressive role in the Roman state – as the mother of an emperor and the one who created *augusti* and *caesares*. The significance of Victoria in the West was compared to the role of Zenobia, a Palmyrene female ruler, in the East (*HA Tyr. trig.* 30, 23; *HA Claud.* 4, 4)⁵.

Victoria's life quickly turned into legend. As was demonstrated by Tadeusz KOTULA in one of his studies, the colourful details featured in the *HA* obfuscated the modest reality which is suggested in the form of a single mention in the *Liber de Caesaribus*. Victoria's role in the creation of successive Gallic rulers and her personal titles, which are recorded in the literary sources, have no equivalents in both epigraphical material and numismatic data. Hence it is so difficult not only to find any confirmation of Victoria's titles and merits ascribed to her in Roman history, but also to definitely prove her historicity⁶. In this regard we may therefore confine ourselves to the interpretations and conclusions of T. KOTULA and the critical evaluation of data concerning Victoria. The only source of reliable information is a brief mention in the *Liber de Caesaribus*, whereas the data in the *HA* remains either uncertain or false⁷.

Nevertheless, numismatic specimens occupy an important place in the legend which accreted around the figure of Victoria. Recorded by a *scriptor* in the *HA*, they subsequently became a peculiar part of the early modern tradition about Victoria. In the present study, I indicate the meanders of her "life" featured, first of all, in works of numismatic research, especially the ones which date back to the early period of the development of numismatics (16th–19th cent.). However, as I do not intend to indicate the complete corpus of such works, preference will be given to those which in an exceptional way determined the successive stages of Victoria's career as one of the principal figures in the *Imperium Galliarum*⁸.

⁵ The praise of Victoria in contrast to the criticism of Gallienus: *HA Tyr. trig.* 31, 1 and *HA Claud.* I, 1 f.; cf. LAFAURIE 1975: 862.

⁶ KOTULA 1990: 368. Cf. BARNES 1972: 176; CHASTAGNOL 1994: 857; PASCHOUD 2011: 196 f.

⁷ KOTULA 1990: 361–369 (with earlier bibliography): there are no grounds for the acceptance of the alternate names Victoria and Vitruvia, the latter is featured only in the *HA*. One may assume that she was the mother of Victorinus and an affluent figure. Her titles *mater castrorum* and *augusta* are not confirmed by epigraphical evidence. The statement of Zenobia about Victoria remains the stuff of literary anecdote. Her initiative and role in the ascension of Marius and Victorinus remain uncertain; as far as Victorinus junior is concerned, other sources do not mention him. One should rather deny Victoria the initiative of elevating Tetricus junior to the caesarship. She participated in the advancement of Tetricus, which is attested by *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 33, 14. Cf. ELMER 1941: 74; HANSLIK 1958: 2071 f.; LAFAURIE 1975: 864; KÖNIG 1981: 60 and 158–181; DRINKWATER 1987: 35–40; LUTHER 2008: 335 f.

⁸ I do not engage with the question of the authenticity of the numismatic specimens which are described in particular works. Their authors frequently referred to specimens which were familiar to

THE BIRTH OF VICTORIA *VEL* VICTORINA IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

After centuries of oblivion, Victoria emerged in the early 16th century, when Johann HUTTICH placed her among the ancient figures in the *Imperatorum Romanorum libellus*, published in 1525⁹. He based his account on the detail-rich biography of Victoria contained in the *HA*. This work, which is preserved in medieval manuscripts and which was read and commented upon in the 14th–15th century, had already been published numerous times in that period (*editio princeps* 1475)¹⁰. It is in such a context of the popularity and the recognition of the value of the *HA* that one should place HUTTICH's inclusion of references to Victoria in the section devoted to the *Imagines tyrannorum*. She appeared there as a *mater castrorum* under the name Victoria *vel* Victorina. The latter name directly leads to the figure of emperor Victorinus. Although J. HUTTICH did not establish a direct link between these two figures, his references to Victoria (Victorina) – which was original in reference to the tradition of literary sources – seem to be a mutation of the accounts of the ancients about Victoria's affinity with Victorinus. However, J. HUTTICH repeated all the information about her participation in Tetricus' attainment of the imperial purple and of Tetricus the Younger's receiving of the caesarship¹¹.

The introduction of the information about the numismatic specimens of the mother of Victorinus which was drawn from *HA* was also important. The early *scriptor* wrote the following in her *vita* (*HA Tyr. trig.* 31, 2 f.): “Insignita est praeterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se diceret matrem. Cusi sunt eius nummi aerei, aurei et argentei, quorum hodieque forma extat apud Treviros”. This account was more or less reliably echoed in early modern literature. It served as a foundation for commentaries about the coins of Victoria/Victorina, about her monetary representations and *tituli*, and about her memory preserved in numismatic specimens. J. HUTTICH noted the following in the *Imperatorum Romanorum libellus*: “Victoria vel Victorina [...] Quae mater castrorum est dicta, in cuius memoriam nummi cusi sunt, diu durantes apud Treviros”¹². The significance of the original piece of information was paraphrased. In the place of coins issued by Victoria, there is the introduction of numismatic specimens which commemorated her. HUTTICH's work does not feature graphical representations of these *nummi*. His

them, among them either to erroneously interpreted ancient numismatic specimens or, in the majority of cases, the products of the early modern period.

⁹ HUTTICH 1525. For Johannes/Joannes HUTTICHUS (c. 1480–1544), see BABELON 1901: 93–95; BERGHAUS 1992: 43–64; CUNNALLY 1999: 197 f.

¹⁰ CALLU 1992: LXXXII f.; LEWANDOWSKI 2007: 410–412.

¹¹ HUTTICH 1525: 43v.

¹² *Ibidem*.

brief note about Victoria was merely graphically supplemented by a simple ring which remains empty, which suggests that it was impossible to seek support in the image of a specimen of a coin (fig. 1).

Some illustrative material was soon created. It was the work of an antiquarian and numismatist, Guillaume ROUILLÉ. In his *Promptuaire des medalles* of 1553 (a Latin edition, *Promptuarium iconum insigniorum a seculo hominum*, was published in the same year), word and image occupy an equal amount of space in the description of the ancient figure¹³. Victoria *seu* Victorina was therefore mentioned in commentaries devoted to those Gallic usurpers, to the extent to which it was described by ancient Roman writers. Victorinus' mother was also described in a relatively comprehensive *commentaire*, in which she received separate treatment. All in all, ROUILLÉ collected biographical notes dispersed in various *loci* of the lives of rules and usurpers in the *HA*, although he basically did not go beyond them¹⁴. In reference to Victoria, he also repeated the following: “fut par les gens de guerre appelee Mere du camp: ce qu'elle accepta, & ainsi se nomma. Elle feit battre monnoye d'aloÿ, d'argent & d'or”¹⁵. However, the novelty consisted in the “numismatic portrait” of the protagonist who was described. The medallion shows her bust *en profil*, which is identified by an inscription: VICTORIA AVG (fig. 2).



Fig 1. Page of HUTTICH 1525: 43v.

¹³ ROUILLÉ 1553. His work was published in a parallel manner in a number of languages: in French, in Latin and in Italian. For Gulielmus ROVILLIUS (c. 1518–1589), also, e.g., Rouille / Rovillé / Rouville / Rouillio, see BABELON 1901: 95–99; BERGHAUS 1995: 15 f.; CUNNALLY 1999: 96–104, 206.

¹⁴ ROUILLÉ 1553: 61, 69 and 72.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 72.



Fig. 2. Portrait of Victoria. ROUILLÉ 1553: 72.

The works of J. HUTTICH and of G. ROUILLÉ, despite the considerable differences which they manifest, adhere to a similar convention. One may classify these works within the group *libri di medaglie / Bildnisvitenbücher*, i.e. collections of biographies of well-known figures enhanced by monetary portraits, which had been popular since the appearance of the work of Andrea FULVIO: *Illustrium imagines* (1517)¹⁶. However, they occupied a marginal place in the discussion about the essence, peculiar nature and cognitive significance of numismatic specimens which was in progress at that time. Nevertheless, in both works the

numismatic specimens, both authentic ones i.e. those of ancient provenance and the ones which were created on the basis of the ancient ones or made up *ex nihilo* in subsequent periods, served as illustrations of the *hommes & femmes illustres* who were described with “portraits”. These figures, animated in these *quasi-monetary* representations, returned to the sphere of memory and acquired a peculiar immortality¹⁷. Therefore these representations did not have to be realistic

¹⁶ FULVIO 1517. This work comprises 204 chronologically arranged biographical notes, mainly of Roman emperors and their family members, illustrated by portraits on medallions. Cf. BABELON 1901: 91 f. and WEISS 1968: 185 f.: “The real aim of the *Illustrium imagines* was not, however, strictly numismatic, for it really set out to furnish an iconographic repertory, though derived whenever possible from numismatic sources. Thus each person included in it has a medallion with his or her portrait and a short biographical account underneath it [...]. On the other hand those of the imperial age were derived from contemporary coins, and when a coin was not available the space for the medallion was generally left blank”. A more comprehensive description of this trend is presented e.g. in GIARD 1980: 225–245 and 1993: 277–279; BERGHAUS 1995: 13–17; CUNNALLY 1999: 52–65 and 95–104; VEILLON 2008: 12; CHIAI 2013: 219–236; GUILLEMAIN 2013: 70–77; HELMRATH 2013: 397–399.

¹⁷ Cf. ROUILLÉ 1553: 4: “Auquel Promptuaire nous mettons en avant aux yeux les yeux: et aux faces les faces des hommes, et femmes qui depuis le commencement du monde on esté dignes de memoire. Lequel œuvre certes comme il a esté d’un labeur presque incroyable: ainsi esperons nous bien qu’il sera de fruct incomparable. Car les spectateurs de ce Theatre non seulement delecterons leurs yeux, et ne les paistront de vaine peinture: mais aussi rassasieront leurs esprits de la cognoissance tresdigne des choses, et personnes, tellement que comme par un miroir verront en presente contemplation ceux qui des longtemps ne sont plus en vie, estants par cest œuvre rappellez des basses tenebres, en nouvelle lumiere. Ils les regarderont presens par effigie, les entendront parlans pas l’escriture, contempleront leurs hauts faits par l’histoire, et rameneront les temps passez de toute memoire d’homme, iusque à leur siecle present”. In antiquity, one established the purpose and the result of describing famous people in a similar way by not only placing their names but also their representations, cf., e.g., Plin., *HN* XXXV 9–11: “Non est praetereundum et novicium inventum, siquidem non ex auro argentove, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum immortales animae in locis iisdem locuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit. Quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. [...]”

portraits or images based on originals. However, they evolved such an iconographical pattern and the style of medallions and ancient coins (*ex antiquis numismatibus*). Attention could be attracted by *imagines agentes*, which may have been enhanced by inscriptions. Along with those inscriptions, these *imagines* constituted an image of a hero who was invested with positive qualities, deeds and merits¹⁸.

THE “LIFE” OF VICTORIA VEL VICTORINA FROM JACOPO STRADA
TO ADOLF OCCO

Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, hoc est, impp. Rom. Orientalium & Occidentalium Iconum, ex antiquis Numismatibus quam fidelissime deliniatarum, was written and published by Jacopo STRADA, an antiquarian, collector and numismatist, in 1553¹⁹. Gallic Victoria is present there in a very interesting way. Referring to details presented in the *HA*, the work features some incomplete episodes from her life²⁰. Then the *Epitome* presents the numismatic history of Victoria in a number of ways. It mentions coins which “in cuius memoriam [...] cusi sunt, quorum forma apud Treuiros extat”²¹. It also gives a description of one of those *nummi*; STRADA notes a difficulty connected with the deciphering of a Greek (*sic*) inscription on the early and damaged specimens: “Numus hic æreus in altera parte imaginem refert aquilæ expansis alis fulmini insidentis. Inscriptio est Græcis characteribus, quæ tamen propter vetustatem cognosci non potuit”. There is an obverse monetary representation of Victoria. Her bust is enhanced by a *titulus*: IMP VICTORIA AVGVSTA (fig. 3)²².



Fig. 3. Portrait of Victoria. STRADA 1553: 151.

Imaginum amorem flagrasse quondam testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de iis volumine, M. Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fecunditati etiam septingentorum inlustriam aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercideri figuras aut vetustatem aevi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam dis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut praesentes esse ubique ceu di possent”.

¹⁸ The expressiveness of the representations and the emotions which they caused was pointed out by GIARD 1993: 278.

¹⁹ STRADA 1553. His work was also published in French. For Jacobus STRADA (Jacobus da Strada, Jacopo da Strada, etc; 1505/1515–1588), see BABELON 1901: 112–114; CUNNALLY 1999: 26–33 and 208 f.; HEENES 2010: 295–310.

²⁰ STRADA 1553: 149–152.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

²² *Ibidem*.

There is a striking similarity between the stylisation of Victoria and the representation of Zenobia, a Palmyrene female ruler, who was compared with the Gallic protagonist in the *HA*. This *nummus* will recur in subsequent periods in other numismatic corpora as a mark of the commemoration of Victoria in mintage. However, in STRADA's work, the reader's attention is attracted by a description of another coin from the group of numismatic specimens of two Postumi (*numisma Iunioris*):

Aureus hic numus in altera parte continet Aram, in qua est ignis iniectus. A dextra aræ parte est muliebris statua, longiore veste induta, dextra globum Imperatori ab altera aræ parte stanti offerens, sinistra schedam tenens. A tergo eius duo signa militaria Labarum & Aquila, sunt collocata. Imperator loricated & paludatus ab altera aræ parte stans, sinistra sceptrum gerit, dextra globum oblatum recipit. A tergo eius Tribunus militum adparet, cum tali inscriptione: VICTORIA MATRIS CASTRORVM. Infrà subscriptum: F. M. P. A.²³.

This description refers to the coins of Postumus the Younger, who was supposed to be the son of the founder of the *Imperium Galliarum*²⁴. Although ancient authors did not directly associate the figures of Postumi with Victoria, she was nevertheless a *mater castrorum*, who could metaphorically stand at the side of the rulers who were elevated due to her intervention. It is possible that in the numismatic specimen which is described, her significant role was symbolically transferred to the period of the first of the Gallic emperors, Postumus, for in the content of the *aureus* one exaggerated the role of Victoria, who was mentioned in the passages of the *HA*. Here one may perceive a style which refers to many pretenders who were described in the *HA* and who were represented in content-rich numismatic specimens described in STRADA's *Epitome* and in other early modern works. The *nummi* which were described were the product of the so-called Illustrator of the *Historia Augusta*. This artist operated in the first half of the 16th century. He based his work mainly on the content of the *HA*, which was popular at that time, interpreting it in a more or less faithful or creative manner. By being familiar with the episodes and anecdotes which enhanced the descriptions of the figures of the pretenders, he created numismatic specimens whose content constructed a version of the life and the reign of "tyrants", almost parallel to the message conveyed by the *HA*. Among the pretenders who were described either in the book *Tyranni triginta*, or in *Quadrigae tyrannorum*, e.g. Lollianus, Aureolus, Piso, Proculus, Trebellianus, Herodes, Herennianus, Saturninus, Bonosus and Timolaus, the Gallic Victoria was also featured in such a manner²⁵.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

²⁴ His presence in numismatic literature is discussed in KLUCZEK 2014b: 351 f. and 359–366 (with a further bibliography).

²⁵ See ESTIOT 2002: 218–225 (*Saturninus et alii*); ESTIOT 2014: 205–218 (*Proculus and Bonosus*); PASCHOUD 2011: 196; KLUCZEK 2017: 513–523. Cf. MISSERE FONTANA 2009: 159–170 (*Tyranni*). Cf. also GIARD 1974: 201 f.: "Les monnaies anciennes, ou plutôt les médailles, comme on disait alors,

Numerous convergences of numismatic slogans with the phrases or themes paraphrased from the *HA* attest that the “Illustrator of the *Historia Augusta*” based his numismatic production on the particular biographies from this collection. Therefore he drew inspiration *inter alia* from the *res fictae* which – apart from reliable and credible information – were provided by the author of the *HA*. As a result of this double invention – first ancient and then early modern – numismatic specimens which referred to the history of the pretenders of the 3rd century were introduced in early modern works. Doubts were repeatedly expressed as to the authenticity of these numismatic specimens. It was pointed out that they differed in terms of their iconography and inscriptions from other ancient coins which are known. For example, Antoine LE POIS (1525–1578), a doctor, a scholar and an antiquarian in one person, wrote the following in the context of STRADA’s work:

Là sont effigiez & portraits les Empereurs & Cesars Romains, avec description de leurs vies & actions principales, au dessous d’iceux. Mais ie crains fort qu’il n’y en ait quelques uns de supposez, estans le revers fort estranges, & quelquefois les inscriptions d’iceux esloignees de la façon d’escrire des anciens²⁶.

However, the products of the work of the “Illustrator of the *Historia Augusta*” were frequently considered to be authentic numismatic specimens. Many of the *nummi* of this early modern artist which were treated in this manner found their way into numismatic corpora of other authors in the 16th century. Also Hubert GOLTZ, in the *Thesaurus rei antiquariae* of 1579, made reference to numismatic specimens which represented content drawn from ancient literature²⁷. In the *Thesaurus*, Victoria appeared under the name Victorina²⁸. Her status was represented in the following manner: “Victorina Augusta, Castrorum Mater”, and *nummi* with inscriptions were also ascribed to her: AURELIA VICTORINA AUG., VICTORINA PIA FELIX AUG.²⁹

In Adolf OCCO’s work entitled *Impp. Romanorum Numismata a Pompeo Magno ad Heraclium*, also published in 1579, Victoria emerges merely from the accounts of the reign of her son, Victorinus, and the advancement of her

connaissaient une vogue considérable [...]. Faussaires, imitateurs et inventeurs l’avaient belle pour écouler leur production”. See BIMARD DE LA BASTIE 1739: XII (Préface de l’éditeur): “dans ce tems-là (*scil. c.* 1560), il y avoit près de 200 Cabinets dans lès Pays-Bas, 175 en Allemagne, plus de 380 en Italie, & environ 200 en France”. Cf. WEISS 1969: 180–202.

²⁶ LE POIS 1579: 2v–3. Cf. also AGOSTINI 1592: 9; BABELON 1901: 116; GIARD 1974: 192–211 (esp. 195); GUILLEMAIN 2013: 74.

²⁷ GOLTZ 1579. For Hubertus GOLTZIUS (1526–1583), see BABELON 1901: 102–105; DEKESEL 1988; DEKESEL 2005: 259–279; CUNNALLY 1999: 190–195; WREDE 2013: 91–100.

²⁸ GOLTZ 1579: 73.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

grandson³⁰. The following phrase sounds particularly significant: “Victorini f. Victoriae nepos, à patre & auia sub eadem hora qua Victorinus interemptus, Cæsar nuncupatus...”³¹. In the second edition of the work (1601), a numismatic note devoted to Victoria was greatly extended. With reference to H. GOLTZ, the *nummi* of Victoria *aut* Victorina herself were introduced (Vxor M. Aur. Victorini): “AVRELIA VICTORINA AVG. *alius* PIA FELIX AVG.”³². With reference, in turn, to the authority of Fulvio ORSINI (1529–1600) the *nummi* were described in a comprehensive manner with the following reverse:

[A. OCCO] ...ara ardens, & mulier, dextra orbem Imp. porrigens, à tergo signa aquila & labarum. Imp. loricatedus & paludatus, sceptrum gerens læva, dextra orbem, cui tribunus militum adest cum inscript. VICTORIA MATER CASTRORVM F. M. P. A.³³.

[F. ORSINI] ...pertinet aureum Victorini numisma, in cuius altera parte signata est ara ardens, & mulier dextra orbem Imperatori porrigens, ac sinistra volumen tenens; à tergo sunt signa, aquilæ & labarum, Imperatorque loricatedus & paludatus, sceptrum gerens læva, dextra orbem, cui tribunus militum adest cum inscriptione: VICTORIA. MATER. CASTRORVM. F. M. P. A.³⁴.

This reverse resembles an example from STRADA’s work. Nevertheless, in the works of OCCO and ORSINI, *aurei nummi* belong to emperor Victorinus. In further re-impressions and supplemented editions of the work of A. OCCO (1625, 1683, 1730), the figure of Victorina was recalled (for this version of the name was preferred), and the fragments which were devoted to her repeated the traditional references about her role as the mother and the grandmother of the Victorini³⁵. The descriptions of numismatic specimens which referred to her were also replicated. However, the ones which featured the theme of *mater castrorum* were replicated only in 1625³⁶. The descriptions of coins were featured in catalogues for a longer period of time: “AURELIA VICTORINA AUG., *aliis* PIA FELIX AUG.” (fig. 4)³⁷.

³⁰ OCCO 1579. For Adolphus OCCONUS (1524–1606), see BABELON 1901: 110 f.; CUNNALLY 1999: 202 f.; MISSERE FONTANA 2006: 297–354; KLUCZEK 2014a: 25–37.

³¹ OCCO 1579: 336.

³² OCCO 1601: 487 and 490.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 487.

³⁴ ORSINI 1595: 511. For more detailed information about the author, see DE NOLHAC 1884: 139–231; BABELON 1901: 105–110; CUNNALLY 1999: 203–205.

³⁵ OCCO 1625: 487–490. Here the merits in the elevation of the Tetrici were also recorded. MEZZABARBA 1683: 398 f.; ARGELATI 1730: 398 f.

³⁶ OCCO 1625: 487. Cf. p. 490: “Cusi sunt eius nummi ærei, aurei & arg. Tetrico imperante obijt. Mater Castrorum dicta”.

³⁷ OCCO 1625: 487; MEZZABARBA 1683: 399; ARGELATI 1730: 399.



VICTORINA, seu VICTORIA

Mater Victorini Aug. Filio, & Nepote interfectis Imperium in Gallis suscipit, Tetricoque participat. (1)

(2) COSS. Ovinus Paternus II. Marinianus.

A.U.C. 1021.
Christi 208.

AURELIA VICTORINA AVG. alius PIA FELIX AVG. Goltzius.

(3) IMP. VICTORIA AVG. Caput Galeatum.
* J. L. Aquila expansis alis. Strada f. 150.

Fig. 4. Coin of Victorina seu Victoria. ARGELATI 1730: 399.

“FEMME DE BON ESPRIT & DE GRAND SENS, MAGNANIME & GENEREUSE”, I.E. A GLOSS ON THE NUMISMATIC SPECIMENS

Information about the deeds and features of Victoria emerged from a few biographies of emperors and usurpers contained in the *HA* and almost always continued to be an integral part of early modern works. In sections or longer chapters devoted to the Gallic female ruler, the image constructed from these pieces of information was equal to the numismatic specimens which were described. However, emphasis was sometimes placed differently. A commentary on the fates, merits and virtues of a unique personality which was supposed to be represented by Victoria became a testimony of the first order of her presence in early modern works.

In his *Commentaires historiques, contenant l'histoire generale des empe-reurs, imperatrices, cæsars et tyrans de l'Empire romain* (1644) Jean TRISTAN (1595?–1656) went beyond a simple enumeration of the inscriptions and themes featured on numismatic specimens. However, the numismatic specimens also became important for this author because the inscriptions which are featured on them furnished an argument in favour of the acceptance of the alternative version of the name Victoria/Victorina (“...VICTORINA, & en l’vne AVRELIA VICTORINA AVG, comme en l’autre VICTORINA PIA FELIX AVG”). Both forms of the name were popular in the Roman world, as was concluded by TRISTAN on the basis of epigraphical testimonies³⁸. According to him, the *im-peratrice* Victoria became the sister of Postumus – which was supposed to be confirmed by epigraphical data. This may, in turn, account for the first alliance

³⁸ TRISTAN 1644: 202. Also “deux Inscriptions de Monnoyes rapportées par Goltzius” became an argument for him.

of the Gallic ruler with one of the successive ones: Victorinus³⁹. TRISTAN lauded the qualities of the spirit and the valour of Victoria (“elle estoit femme de bon esprit & de grand sens, magnanime & genereuse”), and her contribution to the Victorini (“Piauuonius Victorinus, & Lucius Aurelius Victorinus”), the son and the grandson, as well as to Tetricus. Her greatness was recognised even by Zenobia, with whom she was supposed to share power over the entire world. In a long passage in the *Commentaires historiques*, a faithful echo of praises directed toward Victoria/Vitruvia by ancient authors may be identified⁴⁰.

An encomiastic description of the Gallic protagonist was also repeated by Guillaume BEAUVAIS (1698–1773) in his *Histoire abrégée des empereurs romains et grecs, des impératrices et des césars, des tyrans et des personnes des familles impériales* (1767). According to his portrayal, Victorina/Victoria was gifted with virtues to the greatest extent; she gained the trust of military troops, the title of *augusta* and the title of *mater castrorum*, as well as the following:

Cette Princesse qui paroissoit plus qu’humaine, ne concevoit que des desseins hardis: suivant le portrait qu’on nous a laissé de Victorine, elle portoit sur son front cette fierté tranquille qui annonce des avantages quand on attaque ses ennemis: elle exécutoit ses entreprises avec succès, & conduisoit presque toujours ses soldats à des victoires assurées⁴¹.

She brought about a situation in which her sons Victorinus, Marius, Tetricus became *augusti*, whereas her grandsons Victorinus junior and Tetricus junior became *caesares*. She left the political stage in uncertain circumstances. According to some she died *naturales ob causas*, according to others – and here G. BEAUVAIS creatively developed an alternative provided in the *HA* – it was emperor Tetricus, envious about her authority over the military and desirous of wielding power individually, who sentenced her to death⁴². This did not change the fact that according to this author Victorina/Victoria gained immortal fame⁴³.

“IN CUIUS MEMORIAM NUM(M)I AUREI, ARGENTEI & ÆREI CUSI SUNT”

Let us return to the coin issued in order to commemorate Victorina with an image of an eagle on the reverse, which was introduced in STRADA’s catalogue (cf. fig. 5)⁴⁴.

³⁹ TRISTAN 1644: 201; cf. p. 163; he sought a connection between Postumus and Victorinus in the inscription. Cf. MAZOCHIUS 1521: 144v.

⁴⁰ TRISTAN 1644: 201 f., 223 and 233.

⁴¹ BEAUVAIS 1767: 63 f.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 64 f. Cf. *HA Tyr. trig.* 3I, 4.

⁴³ BEAUVAIS 1767: 63.

⁴⁴ STRADA 1553: 152. Cf. ESTIOT 2002: 222, n^{os} 13 and 224. See also STRADA 1615: 150 f., n^o 209: IM[P] VICTORIA AVG, the helmeted bust of Victoria / eagle with wings spread. Cf. MISSERE FONTANA 2009:



Fig. 5. Coin of Victoria. STRADA 1615: 150, n° 209.

The description of this piece was developed by a Milanese scholar, Francesco MEZZABARBA (Mediobarbus, 1645–1697) in his *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata* (1683):

IMP VICTORIA AVG. Caput Galeatum.
Aquila expansis alis⁴⁵.

He supplemented this piece of information with a graphical representation of the monetary obverse, which presents Victoria's bust. Then a Bolognese antiquarian, Filippo ARGELATI (1685–1755), placed the following description and image of the coin in a later edition of the *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (published in 1730)⁴⁶. Such mentions were then repeated by others. They included Anselmo BANDURI (1670–1743), the author of the *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum a Traiano Decio ad Palaeologos Augustos* (1718). He expressed certain objections as to the data which was provided by his predecessors and he classified the specimen in the category: "Nummus incerti metalli ac moduli"⁴⁷. In the *Supplementum ad Banduri Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum* (1791) Girolamo TANINI provided a more accurate description of the *nummus*:

166, n. 212. Cf. coins of the Ostrogoths probably struck in the times of Theodoric and Athalaric (c. 493–534): INVICTA ROMA, bust of Roma, wearing a crested helmet / eagle with wings spread; WROTH 1911: 102 f., n^{os} 6–18, pl. XIII 2–8; cf. DI PAOLA 2002: 149; OVERBECK 2005: 159 f.

⁴⁵ MEZZABARBA 1683: 399.

⁴⁶ ARGELATI 1730: 399. For more detailed information about the author, see LUPPI 1889: 287–293; MISSERE FONTANA 2000: 159–215.

⁴⁷ BANDURI 1718: 324 and n. 1. Cf. pp. 399, 407, 446, 458 f. and 469, also about Victoria in the context of the elevation of Tetricus and Tetricus junior.

IMP VICTORIA AVG. Caput Victorinae galeatum.
 CONSECRATIO. Aquila alis expansis fulmine insistens; in exergo S C⁴⁸.

He also indicated that it was a “numus aereus tertiae formae”, which additionally provides evidence about an apotheosis which Victorina acquired owing to Tetricus’ will. After all, this would be an argument for the idea that this ruler could not have killed the *augusta*, but that she died a natural death⁴⁹.

In the work entitled *Doctrina numorum veterum conscripta* (1797) a Jesuit scholar, Joseph Hilarius ECKHEL (1737–1798), ascribed the type CONSECRATIO to two different obverses. The first one – with the inscription IMP VICTORIA AVG – was the same specimen which had been described as *singularis nummus* since the middle of the 16th century (“museo d’Ennery”), the second one – with the inscription IMP VICTORINA AVG – was a new specimen (“museo Pembrock”). However, ECKHEL expressed certain doubts as to the authenticity of these specimens, having written the following:

Si verum est testimonium Trebellii narrantis in haec verba: *cusi sunt ejus numi aerei, aurei, et argentei, quorum hodieque forma exstat apud Treviros*, non desperandum de aliis ejus numis, quos olim proferat tempus, tametsi mirum, ejus vix unum alterumve circumferri, et quem major pars vix genuinum credet, cum tamen aliorum ejus aevi Galliae tyrannorum abundant numi⁵⁰.

However, this opinion should be treated as exceptional. Other editors uncritically featured these coins to their catalogues⁵¹. Théodore Edmé MIONNET (1770–1842) described them in the relevant volume of the work entitled *De la rareté et du prix des médailles romaines* (1815), but also in later editions of this book⁵². John Yonge AKERMAN (1806–1873) repeated this piece of information⁵³. Thus, until the middle of the 19th century, numismatic literature featured descriptions of consecration coins, whose creator was the previously mentioned “Illustrator of the *Historia Augusta*”. A hint was contained in the life of Victoria in the *HA* in the form of a mention about her coins (*eius nummi*). Nevertheless, as we know,

⁴⁸ TANINI 1791: 125.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ ECKHEL 1797: 454. The author evinced criticism toward the sources. He preferred the name Victorina, for only one codex preserves the reading Vitruvia. He quoted the content of the inscription: “DIS. MANIBVS / L. VICTORINI. VICTORIA / PISSIMA. VICTORINI. VXOR. etc.”. See also pp. 437, 450 and 452 f. For more detailed information about the author, see BABELON 1901: 187 f.; VEILLON 2008: 96–100.

⁵¹ Cf. BEAUVAIS 1767: 65: “RRR, en P.B. il y en a une véritablement antique, dans le Cabinet de M. d’Ennery, avec la tête casquée & la Légende IMP. VICTORIA AUG. au revers CONSECRATIO. L’aigle les ailes éployées sur la foudre...”.

⁵² MIONNET 1815: 302; also 1827: 76 and 1858: 76. On him see BABELON 1901: 197–202.

⁵³ AKERMAN 1834: 68.

it was J. HUTTICH who already interpreted it as information about *nummi* which were issued *in memoriam*.

Some ascribed the consecration of Victorinus to the initiative of Victoria herself. Such an argument was expressed by A. BANDURI in the commentaries on the coins DIVO VICTORINO PIO / CONSECRATIO and DIVO VICTORINO PIO / CONSACRATIO⁵⁴. In this context, he also recalled the piece of information provided in the *HA* that, after the death of emperor Victorinus and his namesake son, a tomb was erected for them on which the following epitaph was placed: “Hic duo Victorini Tyranni siti sunt”⁵⁵.

“SOUS LES TRAITS DE VICTORINE”

Henry COHEN (1806–1880) explained the presence of Victoria in mintage in yet another way. In a brief historical commentary featured in the work entitled *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (1861), he accepted the contribution of Victoria in the advancement of the emperors: first of Victorinus, then Marius and Tetricus⁵⁶. He had the original idea that one may not rule out the existence of allusions to Victoria in a series of Victorinus' gold coins, whose obverse iconography presents original single or double busts. According to H. COHEN, Victoria was stylised to represent the goddess Victory, as depicted on the *aurei* of the VICTORIA AVG type (fig. 6)⁵⁷, and Roma, as depicted on the reverses of the ROMAE AETERNAE type⁵⁸. The reverses of the *aurei* of the VOTA AVGVSTI type “sous les traits de Victorine” showed Diana, her bust being juxtaposed with the bust of Apollo, and to the latter one the properties of Victorinus junior were accorded⁵⁹. It is also possible that Victorina's

⁵⁴ BANDURI 1718: 312 and n. 2; 319 and n. 1. Cf. VAILLANT 1743: 14; ECKHEL 1797: 452. Cf. commemorative *antoniniani* CONSACRATIO: ELMER 1941, n° 715; SCHULZKI 1996, D. Vict., n° 1; cf. LUTHER 2008: 336.

⁵⁵ BANDURI 1718: 312. See: *HA Tyr. trig.* 7, 2. The information about the epitaph was made up, cf. CHASTAGNOL 1994: 842 f.

⁵⁶ COHEN 1861: 62 and 75; COHEN 1886: 85 and 90. On him, see BABELON 1901: 218 f.; AMANDRY 1980; VEILLON 2008: 107–109.

⁵⁷ COHEN 1861, Vict. et Victorine?, n° 2: IMP VICTORINVS PIVS AVG, busts of Victorinus and Mars / VICTORIA AVG, bust of Victorina? (or Victory); n° 1: IMP VICTORINVS AVG, bust of Victorinus / VICTORIA AVG, bust of Victorina? (or Victory). Cf. SCHULTE 1983, Vict. n° 10 (*aureus*): IMP VICTORINVS PIVS AVG, busts of emperor and Mars / VICTORIA AVG, bust of Victory; n° 11–12: IMP VICTORINVS AVG, bust of emperor / VICTORIA AVG, bust of Victory.

⁵⁸ COHEN 1861, Vict. p., n° 60: IMP VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of Victorinus / ROMAE AETERNAE, bust of Roma “sous les traits de Victorine?”. Cf. SCHULTE 1983, Vict., n° 16 (*aureus*): IMP CAES VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of emperor / ROMAE AETERNAE, bust of Roma.

⁵⁹ COHEN 1861, Vict. p., n° 83: IMP VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of Victorinus / VOTA AVGVSTI, busts of Apollo and Diana (“sous les traits de Victorine?”); and COHEN 1886, Vict. p., n° 137: VOTA AVGVSTI, busts of Victorinus junior? (“sous les traits d'Apollon”), and Diana (“sous



6. Coin of Victorinus. COHEN 1861: 76, n° 1.

bust with a helmet on her head was represented as one of the elements of reverse iconography on coins of the LEG IIII FLAVIA P F type⁶⁰.

It is a set of *aurei* in which Victorina would be concealed anonymously – “sans son nom” – in the reverse representations of the coins of her son Victorinus. H. COHEN himself explained that, indeed, it was risky to introduce another figure to the catalogue of numismatic protagonists, for in the given case the point was about an *augusta* and a famous figure⁶¹.

Subsequently, such an interpretation of representations was accepted by an expert in the coinage of “Gallic” rulers, Jean Joseph Antoine Marie DE WITTE (1808–1889). According to him, the allusions to Victoria could have been featured in the series of Victorinus in the form of the representations of the goddess Victoria (VICTORIA AVGVSTAE)⁶² and Roma (ROMAE AETERNAE)⁶³. Victoria herself also could have issued coins. On her own initiative – or on the initiative of Tetricus the Elder – coins were created with a portrait of Tetricus I on the obverses, whereas the reverses featured the image of Postumus or Victorinus as well as their titles. Thus the creators of the *Imperium Galliarum* were commemorated⁶⁴.

* * *

les traits de Victorine?”). Cf. SCHULTE 1983, Vict., n° 27 (*aureus*): IMP VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of emperor / VOTA AVGVSTI, busts of Apollo and Diana.

COHEN 1861, Vict. p., n° 84: IMP CAES VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of Victorinus / VOTA AVGVSTI, busts of Apollo and Diana (“sous les traits de Victorine?”); and COHEN 1886, Vict. p., n° 138: VOTA AVGVSTI, bust of Roma (“sous les traits de Victorine?”) and Diana. Cf. SCHULTE 1983, Vict. n° 24 (*aureus*): IMP CAES VICTORINVS P F AVG, bust of emperor / VOTA AVGVSTI, busts of Roma and Diana. Cf. also BRENOT 1972: 255–258.

⁶⁰ COHEN 1861, Vict. p., n° 37. Cf. VAILLANT 1743: 15: Pallas. Current identification: Africa – DE WITTE 1868: 100, n° 36; ELMER 1941, n° 715 and SCHULTE 1983, Vict., n° 33 (*aureus*).

⁶¹ COHEN 1861: 75; cf. COHEN 1886: 85.

⁶² DE WITTE 1868: 113, n° 90, 114, n° 91.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 110, n° 77 and 78.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 175, n° 1 and 2. Cf. RIC V 2, Tetr. I, n° 197–199 (*quinarius*).

The case of Victoria/Victorina reflects the reception of ancient forms both by the representation of content drawn from ancient literature and by the copying of ancient artefacts. The expression of this reception had to do with the creation of numismatic specimens which refer to Victoria/Victorina, and also the interpreting of the content of authentic Roman coins in the context of the figure of the “Gallic” female ruler⁶⁵. As far as the rank of Victoria and her significance in the *Imperium Galliarum* is concerned, her biography, which was built on such monetary types, was basically convergent with what emerged from ancient literary sources. By taking this data as a point of departure, in an original way but adhering to the stylisation of the figure which was taken over from the antiquity – the titles of Victoria were enhanced and her *nomina* were even supplemented. She became not only Victoria *mater castrorum*, but also Aurelia Victorina Augusta, Victorina Pia Felix Augusta, Imperatrix Victoria/Victorina Augusta. On the basis of the information drawn from the work of Aurelius Victor and creatively treated passages from the *HA*, the career of Victoria/Victorina experienced rapid growth, especially from the middle of the 16th century. There is a consensus among researchers with reference to suppositions that the first erroneous pieces of information about Victoria could have originated as early as antiquity, due to the representation of the goddess Victoria in reverses of imperial coins of the VICTORIA AVG type⁶⁶. The reverse inscription written in the form of an abbreviation may be resolved in the following way: *Victoria Aug(usti)*, i.e. the *victoria* of an emperor (*augustus*), or *Victoria Aug(usta)*, i.e. the goddess Victoria Augusta. One may also decipher – erroneously or intentionally – the abbreviation as Victoria Augusta, i.e. a female ruler by the name of Victoria who bore the title of *augusta*⁶⁷. After all, those who assumed power in the Imperium could announce their status *inter alia* by issuing their own numismatic specimens (*HA Tyr. trig.* 26, 2; 31, 3; *HA Quadr. Tyr.* 2, 1–3). This in turn solidified the belief in the existence of the coins also of our Victoria. This was demonstrated by examples selected from numismatic corpora. It was Robert Knight MOWAT (1823–1912), who based his work on the account of the *HA*, who initially expressed an opinion that in the period of Constantine the collection of numismatic specimens was familiar, and then he expressed the hope that authentic specimens, heretofore unknown, could be unearthed⁶⁸. Nevertheless, the Gallic *augusta* Victoria was gradually eliminated from numismatic catalogues⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ See, for example, *aurei* CONCORDIA MILITVM (SCHULTE 1983, Mar., n^{os} 3 and 4), cf. BANDURI 1718: 325; VAILLANT 1743: 18.

⁶⁶ KÖNIG 1981: 160; KOTULA 1990: 364. Cf. MENADIER 1914: 19–23. For the inspiration possible *vide supra*: note 44 (bronzes of the Ostrogoths).

⁶⁷ CHASTAGNOL 1994: 857 f.

⁶⁸ MOWAT 1895: 165 f.

⁶⁹ A sceptical position in reference to the alleged portrait of Victoria in the series of coins of Victorinus was assumed by P.H. WEBB, *RIC* V 2: 326 f. and 382. This possibility, as a piece of trivia drawn

The example of Victoria vel Victorina demonstrates the extent of the permanence which could be represented by early numismatic specimens as carriers of ideas. On the one hand, the content of ancient coins reflected, obviously to a varying extent, the current problems of the period of the issuers, therefore they may enhance our knowledge of this early world. On the other hand, the association of coins with authority and the identified principles of the emission of said coins could provide (in the modern period) grounds for a peculiar understanding of the antiquity and also, by the creation of numismatic specimens which were thematically dependent on ancient texts, an appreciation of ancient tradition.

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THE GREEK NAME OF CINNABAR

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ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the Greek word for ‘cinnabar, vermilion’, namely κιννάβαρι(ς) / τιγγάβαρι. After a short introduction regarding the earliest occurrence of the mineral in the Greek world and its earliest description provided by Theophrastus of Eresus, the author discusses all Greek forms and derivatives of the word. Linguistic data coming from Oriental languages is then examined, i.e. Ancient and Modern Persian, Arabic, Saka Khotanese, Chorasmian, Gāndhārī Prakrit, Armenian and others. The following conclusions are drawn from this study: (1) the name of cinnabar is a *Wanderwort* which was used across a wide area and for a long period of time; (2) the word was probably borrowed into Greek in the late Archaic period; (3) it did not originate from an Iranian language, but from another Oriental language, perhaps used in Asia Minor near Miletus or on the eastern coast of the Black Sea; (4) the Greek forms with τιγγ- are earlier than those with κινν-.

The mineral termed cinnabar (or cinnabarite) is a mercury sulphide (HgS) of red, brownish-red or bright scarlet colour. It was used in antiquity both as a source of mercury and of vermilion, a common red pigment¹. The earliest certain evidence for the Greeks applying cinnabar comes from the 6th century BC². At that time some artists used it as a pigment on stone statues (e.g. the Phrasikleia Kore, dating back to the third quarter of the 6th century BC) and wooden panels (the famous Pitsa panels, dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC)³.

The oldest description of cinnabar in ancient sources falls at the end of the 4th century BC. It appears in the treatise *De lapidibus* (*On Stones*) written by

¹ On cinnabar and vermilion, see first of all GETTENS, FELLER, CHASE 1972.

² There is also a small amount of evidence for cinnabar from the Bronze Age, but we should not draw any far-reaching conclusions on its basis. See BRECOULAKI 2014: 7: “Even though some evidence for cinnabar in the Aegean exists (traces have been found in Euboea, Naxos, Chios, Samos and Thasos), so far it has turned up only in extremely small quantities and mainly in waterborne secondary contexts”; furthermore, she states that “cinnabar is completely unknown throughout the entire vast corpus of Aegean wall-painting, despite the famous ‘thalassocratic’ and the intensive trade with the East” (p. 6 f.).

³ See CALEY, RICHARDS 1956: 194; BRECOULAKI 2014: 15 f.

Theophrastus of Eresus (sections 58–60)⁴. As regards deposits of the mineral, the author delivers the following information:

γίνεται δὲ καὶ κιννάβαρι τὸ μὲν αὐτοφυῆς τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐργασίαν. αὐτοφυῆς μὲν τὸ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν σκληρὸν σφόδρα καὶ λιθῶδες, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κόλχοις. [...] τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐργασίαν ὑπὲρ Ἐφέσου μικρὸν ἐξ ἑνὸς τόπου μόνον. ἔστι δ' ἄμμος ἣν συλλέγουσι λαμπυρίζουσαν καθάπερ ὁ κόκκος...

(58; ed. E.R. CALEY, J.F.C. RICHARDS)

There is also a natural and a prepared kind of cinnabar. The cinnabar of Iberia, which is very hard and stony, is natural, and so is the kind found in Colchis. [...] The prepared kind comes from one place only, a little above Ephesus. It is a sand that shines brightly and resembles scarlet dye...

(transl. by CALEY, RICHARDS 1956: 57)

Setting aside the question of the two kinds of cinnabar⁵, we learn about three places from whence the Greeks obtained the mineral in Theophrastus' times. Some problems of interpretation arise in the case of the geographical name Ἰβηρία, but presumably CALEY and RICHARDS (1956: 195 f.) are right while writing in their commentary as follows:

Pliny, who is quoting from Theophrastus at this point, translates the Greek place name Ἰβηρίαν (Iberia) as *Hispania* (Spain), and those who have commented on this passage in the *Natural History* seem to have assumed generally that Pliny was correct in his translation. [...] But it is actually very doubtful whether the cinnabar deposits on the Iberian Peninsula were known, except perhaps locally, as early as the time of Theophrastus, and still more doubtful whether the Greeks obtained cinnabar from that source. [...] Hence Theophrastus probably meant the other ancient country known by the name of Iberia, a country corresponding to the eastern part of the present Transcaucasian Georgia. Colchis, mentioned here along with Iberia, was situated along with the eastern shore of the Euxine south of the Caucasus, and was therefore a country corresponding to the western part of the present Georgia.

The Greek name for cinnabar which has been adopted, via Latin *cinnabaris* f., into many languages of the world (English *cinnabar*, German *Zinnober*, French *cinabre*, etc.), occurred for the first time in the Classical period. All forms and derivatives attested in the sources can be divided into two groups. Words beginning with κινν- belong to the first group, i.e. κιννάβαρι, -εως / -ιος n. 'cinnabar,

⁴ Other ancient descriptions of the features and usage of cinnabar are attested much later, in some texts from Roman times, namely in *De materia medica* (*On Medical Material*) by Dioscorides (V 94; ed. M. WELLMANN), *Naturalis historia* (*Natural History*) by Pliny (XXXIII III–123; ed. H. BACKHAM), and *De architectura* (*On Architecture*) by Vitruvius (VII 8 f.; ed. F. GRANGER).

⁵ On this issue, see CALEY, RICHARDS (1956: 193 f.) who deny the suggestion that an artificial preparation of cinnabar already existed in antiquity and claim that “the real difference between the two kinds was in their mode of occurrence: in some places cinnabar was found in a pure enough state to be used directly, but in others it was mixed with extraneous matter from which it had to be separated”.

vermilion' (from the 5th/4th cent. BC)⁶, κιννάβαρις, -εως m. 'id.' (4th cent. BC)⁷ and κιννάβαρις f. 'id.' (5th or 6th cent. AD)⁸. Moreover, there are the derivatives κινναβάρινος, η, ον 'like cinnabar, like vermilion' (from the 4th cent. BC)⁹, κινναβαρίζω 'to have the colour of cinnabar' (1st cent. AD)¹⁰, and κινναβαάριον n. 'an eye-salve' (2nd cent. AD)¹¹.

It is also worth noting that κιννάβαρις (m. or f.?) is attested in the Roman period as a plant name. It appears in Pseudo-Dioscorides' appendix to the book *De materia medica*, i.e. in the so-called *Recensio Vindobonensis* (commonly abbreviated as *RV*), where it stands as an equivalent for the plant name ἐρυθρόδανον n. 'common madder (*Rubia tinctorum* L.)'¹². What is important is that the Greeks used this plant to produce a red dye.

The second group are variants that have τιγγ- at the beginning, namely τιγγάβαρι n. 'cinnabar, vermilion' (from the 5th/4th cent. BC)¹³, as well as the adjective τιγγαβάρινος, η, ον 'like cinnabar, like vermilion' (5th/6th cent. AD)¹⁴. Besides, in some later sources the form τιγγάβαρυ n. 'cinnabar, vermilion' is attested (from the 2nd cent. AD)¹⁵, which seems to be secondary. Perhaps we should explain it as a transformation made under the influence of native words such as βαρύς, -εῖα, -ύ 'heavy'.

⁶ E.g. Ctes. fr. 1b, 1α, 1β, 45, in: *FGrH* 688 (ed. F. JACOBY); Hp. *Mul.* I 92 (ed. É. LITTRÉ); Arist. *Met.* 378 a (ed. F.H. FOBES). The genitive κινναβάριος is attested in Hdn. III 2, p. 767, l. 7 (ed. A. LENTZ).

⁷ Anaxandrides fr. 15 in: *PCG*, vol. 2 (ed. R. KASSEL, C. AUSTIN).

⁸ Hsch. α 1023' (ed. K. LATTE): ἄδδαν· τήν κιννάβαριν; Hsch. ψ 4 (ed. P.A. HANSEN, I.C. CUNNINGHAM): ψάδδαν· ἡ κιν<ν>άβαρις (in the manuscript: κιννάβαρες); the first lemma is considered to be corrupted.

⁹ Since Arist. *HA* 501 a (ed. P. LOUIS).

¹⁰ Dsc. V 76, I and V 105, I (ed. M. WELLMANN).

¹¹ Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, in: Claudii Galeni *Opera omnia*, vol. XII, p. 786, l. 5 (ed. C.G. KÜHN).

¹² Ps.-Dsc. III 143 RV (ed. M. WELLMANN).

¹³ Diocl. Com. fr. 10, in: *PCG*, vol. V (ed. R. KASSEL, C. AUSTIN); Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.*, vol. I, p. 310, 30 (ed. M. VAN DER VALK): καὶ ὅτι ἐν ῥητορικῶ Λεξικῶ εὔρηται μίλτω συμμιγνύμενον τὸ κιννάβαρι. φησὶ γάρ· τιγγάβαρι τὸ κιννάβαρι Ἀττικοί. Διοκλῆς· «ἡ μίλτος οἶμα καὶ τὸ τιγγάβαρι». καὶ πάλιν· τιγγάβαρι καὶ μίλτος ἀναμειγμένη, οὗ τὴν ἐργασίαν φασὶ πρῶτον εὔρεϊν Καλλίαν Ἀθηναῖον. See also Ael. Dion. τ 17 and Paus. att. τ 29 in: *ERBSE* 1980. Moreover, cf. a corrupted form transmitted in Phot. τ 277 (ed. Ch. THEODORIDIS): τι{α}γγάβαρι· τὸ κιννάβαρι. Διοκλῆς.

¹⁴ Damascius *Vita Isid.* (ap. Photium) fr. 203, l. 23 (ed. C. ZINTZEN).

¹⁵ Hdn. III 1, p. 354 (ed. A. LENTZ): κιννάβαρι, ὅπερ Ἀττικοὶ τιγγάβαρυ; Theognost. *Can.* 730, p. 120 (ed. J.A. CRAMER): κιννάβαρι, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τιγγάβαρυ. Cf. Heracleon in Hsch. τ 844 (ed. P.A. HANSEN, I.C. CUNNINGHAM): τίγγα· Διοκλῆς ἐν Μελίτταις. Ἡρακλέων δὲ οὐ διελῶν τιγγάβαρυ (this is a conjecture; in the manuscript: ὅτι βαρὺ) τὸ κιννάβαρι[ν] λέγει; τίγγα is no doubt a corrupted form, so it should be emended to τιγγάβαρι or τιγγάβαρυ.

Regarding the etymology of the Greek κιννάβαρις / τιγγάβαρι, the earliest attempt is to be found in the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville (6th/7th cent. A.D.). His explanation is connected with the popular view that cinnabar is formed from dragon's blood¹⁶. Accordingly, Isidore tries to juxtapose the word cinnabar with the word dragon:

Cinnabarin a dracone et barro, id est elephanto, cognominatum. Aiunt enim draconum esse sanguinem dum implicant elephantos. Ruunt enim beluae et dracones obruuntur, quorum fusus cruor terram inficit, fitque pigmentum quidquid solo tinxerit. Est autem pulvis coloris rubri.

(XIX 17, 8; ed. W.M. LINDSAY)

Cinnabar (*cinnabaris*) is named from *draco* (gen. *draconis*, 'dragon') and *barus*, that is, 'elephant', for they say that it is the blood of dragons, shed when they entwine themselves around elephants. The elephants charge, and the dragons are overpowered, and the gore they shed dyes the earth, and a pigment is produced from what has stained the soil. It is a red-coloured powder.

(transl. by BARNEY *et al.* 2006: 380)

In modern times, there is a widely held opinion that this word is rather a borrowing from an Oriental language. However, scholars usually provide no linguistic data that could truly support this view. That is why the existing etymological dictionaries of Greek limit themselves only to general statements such as "Fremdwort aus unbekannter orientalischer Quelle" (FRISK 1960–1972: I 855); "Mot d'emprunt, d'origine probablement orientale" (CHANTRAINE 1999: 533); "Foreign word from an unknown (but probably Oriental) source" (BEEKES 2010: 700); δάνειο ανατολ. προελεύσεως (BABINIOTIS 2011: 677)¹⁷.

In some publications, especially older ones, we can find suggestions that the Greek word has connections to the Modern Persian or/and Arabic word for 'cinnabar, vermilion, red lead'¹⁸. Indeed, in Modern Persian some variants of this

¹⁶ See first of all Dsc. V 94 (ed. M. WELLMANN): ἔστι δὲ καὶ βαθύχρουν, ὅθεν ἐνόμισάν τινες αὐτὸ αἷμα εἶναι δρακόντιον – "It is also of a deep-color, wherefore some people thought that it is dragon's blood" (transl. by BECK 2005: 374).

¹⁷ Cf. also BOISACQ 1916: 457 ("Origine orientale imprécise"); HOFMANN 1950: 144 ("oriental. Fremdw."); ONION 1966: 176 ("of Oriental origin").

¹⁸ See PRELLWITZ 1905: 223 (Persian *zinjafr* without meaning); CHURCH 1915: 186 (Persian *zanjifrah* without meaning); SKEAT 1924: 110 (Persian *zinjarf*, *zingifrah*, *zingaf* 'red lead, vermilion, cinnabar'); KLEIN 1966–1967: 289 (Persian *shāngārf* 'red lead, cinnabar'); KNAPPERT 1972–1973: 302 (Persian *shāngarf* 'red mercury'). CANNON (1994: 172) connects the Greek word with Arabic *zinjaf* 'cinnabar'. In turn, IBRAHIM (1991: 158) believes that the Persian *šangarf* 'cinnabar, vermilion' came to Greek through the mediation of the Arabic *zunjufr* and *zinjaf* 'cinnabar', which is historically unacceptable. On the other hand, the considerations of HERZFELD (1938: 304) who derives the Greek word from Akkadian *šingabarū* are very important; see more in note 31. Moreover, cf. SCHRADER, NEHRING 1917–1929: II, 701 f.; BENVENISTE 1964: 22, n. 88. Cf. also the etymology proposed by JANSEN (1895: 1067), according to which the Greek κιννάβαρις should be connected with the Semitic word *qunābirā* 'graphite', interpreted by him as Nabatean.

name occur, hence STEINGASS (1892), in his *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, lists the following Persian lexemes: *šangarf* ‘cinnabar, vermilion, a slug’ (p. 763), *sīm-šangarf* ‘cinnabar’ (p. 718), *zinjarf* ‘red lead, vermilion’ (p. 624), *zinjaf* and *zinjifra* ‘red lead’ (p. 624).

Furthermore, STEINGASS provides other, so to speak, Persian-Arabic forms marked with the qualifier *a* which is explained as follows: “Where merely an Arabic element, either as member of a compound or as a formative, combines with the Persian, or where a word is common to both languages without proof positive to which it belongs originally, a small *a* has been prefixed” (p. VIII). There are three such forms: *singarf* ‘cinnabar’ (p. 700), *sinjarf* ‘cinnabar’ (p. 703), and *šanjarf* ‘cinnabar, vermilion’ (p. 762). As for the Arabic language, the dictionary by WEHR (1976: 383) gives two variants, i.e. *zunjufr* and *zinjaf* ‘cinnabar’. At any rate, the Arabic name for cinnabar is no doubt a loanword from Persian which has then been reborrowed again into Persian.

In passing, it is worth stating that the Turkish *zincifre* ‘cinnabar’ derives from the Modern Persian *zinjifra*, the former already being attested in the 16th century in the form of *zincifra* ‘id.’ (PELLIOT 1925: 254; ROCCHI 2007: 276). Moreover, the compound form *sīm-šangarf* was presumably taken over as *sibšinkir* ‘vermilion’ into Uyghur (see PELLIOT 1925: 253 f.), a Turkic language spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In turn, the Arabic *zinjaf* ‘cinnabar’ was borrowed into Swahili as *zinjifuri* ‘red ink’ (see KNAPPERT 1972–1973: 302).

Apart from the material existing in modern languages (but note that the term “modern” in the case of Persian and Arabic means a period beginning in the early Middle Ages), some forms can be quoted from older languages. One of them is attested in Old Persian on a royal inscription of Darius the Great. This is a foundation inscription from Susa known as *DSf* in which Darius talks about building his palace in Susa. The inscription is trilingual, i.e. in Old Persian (ed. KENT 1953: 142–144 and SCHMITT 2009: 127–134), Elamite (ed. VALLAT 1972: 8–11) and Akkadian (ed. STEVE 1974: 155–161 and 1987: 74–77). The Persian word we are interested in is *sinkabruš* (*DSf* 37 f.).

An equivalent of the Persian word in Elamite is the form *ši-in-ka₄-ap-ru-iš*, which is testified twice, namely in the same inscription (*DSf* Elam. 33) as well as in another inscription which is an adaptation of the same text (*DSz* 34; ed. VALLAT 1972: 10–13). As to the Akkadian version of the *DSf*-inscription, the counterpart of the Persian *sinkabruš* is partly damaged, but the reading *š[i-i]n-ga-[ab]-ru-ú*, i.e. *šingabrû* (*DSf* Akkad. 26) has commonly been accepted¹⁹.

What is important is that scholars connect the Old Persian *sinkabruš* and its Elamite and Akkadian counterparts with the Modern Persian names for

¹⁹ E.g. SODEN 1965–1981: 1103; CAD XVI, 200; HINZ 1973: 151; STEVE 1987: 75 and 77; CDA 338; TAVERNIER 2007: 36. Cf. SCHEIL 1929: 8 (*š[i-i]r-ga-ru-u*); STEVE 1974: 157 (*š[i-i]r-ga-ru-ú*); HERZFELD 1938: 15 and 303–305 (*š[i-i]n-g[a-ba]-ru-u*); FLEMING 1982: 82 (*sirgarru*).

‘cinnabar’ and ‘vermilion’. According to the *communis opinio*, this word has a slightly different meaning, namely a precious stone, usually interpreted as ‘carnelian’, a brownish-red mineral used as a gemstone²⁰. The meaning has been postulated on the basis of the linguistic comparison and of the context of the *DSf* inscription itself. The relevant passage in an English translation reads as follows (lines 35–40):

The gold was brought from Sardis and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The precious stone lapis-lazuli and carnelian (*sinkabruš*) which was wrought here, this was brought from Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought here.

(transl. by KENT 1953: 144)²¹

Furthermore, there are some forms from two Middle Iranian languages. The first language is Saka, known from written sources found in Chinese Turkestan. In one of its two dialects, i.e. Khotanese (used in the period c. 300–1000 AD), the adjective *saṃgūrūna* ‘vermilion-coloured’ is once attested (BAILEY 1979: 417). It occurs in a manuscript on paper (PELLIOT 2891)²² containing a versified text about a journey of a Buddhist monk. The relevant sentence in an English translation reads as follows: “conspicuous in my vermilion-coloured (*saṃgūrūna*) mantle I came among the men” (ed. BAILEY 1969: 80, no. 32, lines 20 f.; the translation of the sentence comes from BAILEY 1979: 417)²³. Concerning the suffix *-ūna-*, BAILEY (1979: 417) gives the following explanation: “The adjective *-ūna-* suffix is from *-auna-* [...], but here *-ūna-* is rather from *gūna* ‘colour’ as in *dajūna* ‘flame-coloured’”.

The second Middle Iranian language delivering material for the history of the name of cinnabar is Chorasmian, a medieval East Iranian language from

²⁰ The meaning ‘carnelian’ has been accepted by KENT 1953: 144 and 209; HINZ 1973: 151; STEVE 1974: 157; HINZ, KOCH 1987: 1158; STEVE 1987: 76 and 77; SCHMITT 1993: 274 (with a remark: “wenn es denn dieser Sinn ist”), 2009: 132 (with a question mark) and 2014: 243; VAISSIÈRE 2004: 21 f.; TAVERNIER 2007: 35 f. Cf. HERZFELD 1938: 303–305 (‘Zinnober’); BENVENISTE 1964: 22 (‘cinnabre’); BRANDENSTEIN, MAYRHOFER 1964: 142 (‘eine Edelsteinart’); SODEN 1965–1981: 1103 (‘ein roter Stein aus Sogdien’); BAILEY 1979: 425 (Old Persian: ‘vermilion’; Akkadian: ‘red stone’); FLEMING 1982: 82 (‘carnelian’ or ‘cinnabar’); *CAD* XVI, 200 (‘a precious stone, carnelian?’); *CDA* 338 (‘a red stone’); OLSEN 1999: 906 (‘a sort of precious stone’).

²¹ Cf. a German translation by SCHMITT 2009: 132: “Das Gold wurde von Lydien und von Baktrien (herbei)gebracht, das hier verarbeitet worden ist; der graublauwe Halbedelstein (Lapislazuli?) und der Karneol (?), der hier verarbeitet worden ist, – der wurde von Sogdien (herbei)gebracht; der dunkelblauwe Halbedelstein (Türkis), – der wurde von Chorasmien (herbei)gebracht, der hier verarbeitet worden ist”.

²² The manuscript contains two different texts: one in Chinese and one in Khotanese. Photos of it are available in the *Gallica*, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8302256h/f1.image>.

²³ On p. 447, BAILEY translates the sentence as “my dress conspicuous in vermilion, I came among the men”.

Chorasmia, a region situated on the lower course of the Amu Darya river. The most important source for this language is a bilingual Arabic-Chorasmian version of a lexicon called *Muqaddimat al-adab* (*Introduction to Literary Education*), written by al-Zamakhshari (1075–1144), a famous Muslim theologian and philologist (the manuscript with the interlinear Chorasmian text comes from the end of the 12th cent.; ed. BENZING 1968). In this text, two Chorasmian words for cinnabar are attested: *symšnkrf* and *šnkrf* (BENZING 1983: 587 and 599)²⁴. However, both forms seem to be borrowings from Persian (cf. the Modern Persian forms *sīm-šagarf* and *šangarf* listed above).

Presumably, a Middle Iranian name for cinnabar was borrowed into Gāndhārī Prakrit, another language known from written sources found in Chinese Turkestan (dating to the 3rd–4th cent. AD). An administrative document from Niya (no. 680), which is a list of sent or received textiles, mentions different kinds of silk (e.g. yellow or red). Among them, there are phrases: *sānapru giṃnita* (col. A, 3) and *sanapru giṃnita* (col. B, 2) which are interpreted as “vermilion silk-roll” (text and translation in BAILEY 1946: 781)²⁵. If the explanation is correct, we have here an adjective with the meaning ‘vermilion-coloured’.

One more word that should be recalled is the Classical Armenian *sngoyr* ‘paint, rouge’. The noun *sngoyr* is attested twice in the Bible text: *Ezek.* 23, 40 and *Wis.* 13, 14. The translation was done from the Greek, but only in the latter case do we find an exact one word counterpart, i.e. φῦκος n. ‘orcein (used as rouge)’ applied as an instrumental with the verb ἐρυθραίνω ‘to paint red’; in the former passage the original Greek text is more general, with the expression στιβίζεσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ‘to paint eyes (eyelids and eyebrows)’. It is generally agreed that this word is connected with the Old Persian *sinkabru-*, the Modern Persian *šangarf* etc. and it is treated as a Middle Iranian, strictly speaking, Parthian loanword²⁶. An intermediate form, which the Classical Armenian comes from, should be, as BENVENISTE (1964: 22) and OLSEN (1999: 906, no. 609) reconstruct, the Armenian **singaur-*, where *-au-* is a typical rendering of the Iranian *-af-* before a consonant, as well as the fact that the change of the diphthong *-au-* to *-oy-* is regular in early Armenian²⁷.

There is no doubt that the word for cinnabar must be interpreted as a classic example of a *Wanderwort* transferred from one language to another. It extended

²⁴ For the first word BENZING gives the meaning ‘eine Art Zinnober; eine Flüssigkeit von blauer Farbe’.

²⁵ Cf. BAILEY 1961: 482 and 1979: 417.

²⁶ See BENVENISTE 1964: 21 f.; BRANDENSTEIN, MAYRHOFER 1964: 142; OLSEN 1999: 906, no. 609; SCHMITT 2014: 243. Cf. BAILEY 1961: 482 and 1979: 417; TAVERNIER 2007: 35. Moreover, cf. HÜBSCHMANN (1897: 238, no. 580) who lists this word among Iranian borrowings, but without giving any explanation (he only rejects an improbable earlier suggestion); cf. BENVENISTE 1964: 22.

²⁷ Cf. BRANDENSTEIN, MAYRHOFER 1964: 142 (**singaura-* from **singabru-*).

across a wide area for a long period of time, as has been shown not only by the data listed above, but also by some forms from other languages used nowadays in East Asia. In Mongolian, a language belonging to the Altaic family, the noun *šinqu(n)* ‘vermilion’ (SCHARF 1981: 385 f.) is attested. A similar form occurs also in Manchu, an endangered Tungusic language spoken in Manchuria, namely *činuχun* ‘vermilion’ (SCHARF 1981: 385 f.)²⁸. On the one hand, these forms are so remote from the Iranian ones that it is difficult to talk about their direct dependence on each other, but, on the other hand, they are so close that random similarity cannot be taken into consideration²⁹.

The forms coming from the Far East are not very significant for the history of the Greek name(s), since the Iranian data is phonetically much closer. Of course, it does not mean that κιννάβαρι(ς) / τγγάβαρι is an Iranian loanword. Even if it derived from an Iranian form, the borrowing would be taken over not directly, but through another language. First of all, it is difficult to explain why the voiceless stops κ [k] and τ [t] appear as initial sounds in place of the Iranian voiceless fricatives s [s] or š [ʃ]. We do not know any parallel for such a phonetic realisation among Iranian loanwords in Greek³⁰. Probably the Greeks borrowed it from a language in which the same word had a stop or an affricate at the beginning³¹.

²⁸ Cf. PELLIOU (1925: 254 f.) who suggests that they are loanwords from the Modern Persian *šangarf* ‘cinnabar, vermilion’ (he does not exclude a mediation of Sogdian or ancient Uyghur). PELLIOU proposed the following reconstructions: the Mongolian *šinqu* (*šinqu* in his transcription) < **šinyu* < **šinyau* < **šinyaf* (the final *-r* would disappear) and the Manchu *činuχun* from the same **šinyu* + the suffix *-χun*.

²⁹ The existence of the forms in Mongolian and Manchu provokes the question of whether there is also some relevant data in Chinese, the most influential language in the history of East Asia. In the *Modern Chinese-English Technical and General Dictionary* (MCETGD) we can find two names for cinnabar: *dānshā* (p. 234) and *zhūshā* (p. 1747), where *dān* and *zhū* mean ‘red’ (p. 224 and 1724), and *shā* is a noun for ‘sand, powder, ore’ (p. 1110). First of all, the word *dān* is worth noting. Some important details about its history are to be found in the *Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* by SCHUESSLER 2007: 204. The author writes that its meaning in Old Chinese was ‘be red; vermilion, cinnabar’. The word was already attested in the older parts of the *Shījīng* (*Book of Songs*), composed during the Western Zhou period (c. 1050–770 BC). Concerning the pronunciation, the initial stop of the word was a voiceless *t-* in Later Han Chinese (1st–2nd cent. AD), in Middle Chinese (c. 600 AD) and probably in Old Chinese too. Moreover, SCHUESSLER notes that cinnabar “has in antiquity been a mineral from the ancient southern states Bā (Yúnnán) and Yuè (Zhèjiāng)”. Is it possible that the Old Chinese **tān* (a reconstruction according to SCHUESSLER) is the ultimate source of the Old Persian *sin-*, Greek κιν- / τγγ-, Mongolian *šin-*, Manchu *čin-* and so on?

³⁰ On the realisation of the Iranian fricatives in Greek, see BRUST 2008: XXXVII f.

³¹ At first glance, we could take into consideration the Akkadian form *šingabrū* with the transliterated *š* at the beginning. In the field of Semitic studies, this sign is commonly used to note a voiceless affricate (e.g. in Hebrew or Aramaic), but in Akkadian it is surely a fricative sound (see STEINER 1982: 90; cf. HUEHNEGARD, WOODS [2004: 230 f.] who assume for *š*, *z*, *s* the values of affricates in the post-Old Akkadian period, although they emphasise that in later dialects, i.e. in Babylonian and Assyrian, these sounds became fricatives). So, the form *šingabrū* is rather nothing more than an exact phonetic rendering of a Persian word. Cf. HERZFELD (1938: 304) who believes that the Akkadian *šingabrū* (according to him: *šingabarū*) is phonetically the closest form to the

However, on the basis of the Iranian material, we can draw some conclusions about the history of the Greek word. The most important fact is that the cluster -γγ- [ŋg] is closer to the Iranian -ng- [ŋg/ŋg] / -nk- [ŋk/nk] than -vv- [nn]. An analogical example of -γγ- from Iranian -ng- is χαυαράγγης m. ‘a Sassanid title of a high military official’ (6th cent. AD) which is derived from the Middle Persian personal name *Kanārang* (the title was held by the family Kanārangīyān)³². Another Oriental loanword with the cluster -γγ- is ζιγγίβερι n. / ζιγγίβερης m./f. ‘ginger’ (from the 1st cent. AD), whose counterpart is to be found in Pali *singivera-* ‘id.’³³.

Accordingly, the cluster -vv- [nn] is secondary and presumably evolved from -γγ- [ŋg] through progressive assimilation. Perhaps the presence of the velar stop κ [k] in the word-initial position is also somehow connected with this phenomenon, but it is difficult to say anything more certain in this respect. At any rate, if we assume that the Greeks borrowed the word for cinnabar only once (although we cannot completely exclude the possibility of two independent loans at different times and/or places), the form τιγγάβαρι should rather be treated as the primary one. This conclusion stands in contrast to previous opinions, according to which the form τιγγάβαρι developed from κιννάβαρι³⁴.

The linguistic data does not deliver an answer to the question of where and when the word was taken over by the Greeks. Some conclusions can be drawn on the basis of archaeological and literary evidence. We know that cinnabar as a pigment occurred in the Greek world as early as the second half of the 6th cent. BC. Therefore it is highly likely that the name itself was also already in use at that time, despite the fact that it is attested in the sources more than a century later (from the turn of the 5th and 4th cent.).

Concerning a hypothetical place of borrowing, we can rely on Theophrastus’ account, but, of course, we have to remember that there is a two century gap between his treatise, *On Stones*, and the earliest use of cinnabar by the Greeks. However, the deposits of cinnabar mentioned by Theophrastus might be old. If so, there are two possible regions in which the Greeks could have got to know the mineral and its name for the first time, namely Asia Minor, near Miletus, or the eastern coast of the Black Sea with such Greek colonies as Dioscourias

Greek κιννάβαρι / τιγγάβαρι (τιγγάβαρυ): “Die Griechen schreiben gewöhnlich κιννάβαρι n. oder κιννάβαρις m. [...], aber auch attisch τιγγάβαρυ n. Diese zweite Form, ob mit att. τ für σ, oder mit τ für θ aus akk. š [...], steht dem akk. *šingabarū* am Nächsten; in κιννάβαρι scheint eine Kompensation der Gutturale, eine Art Dissimilation vorzuliegen. Beide Formen aber führen, wohl durch Vermittlung, auf die akkadische, nicht auf die altpersische Form”; cf. VAISSIÈRE 2004: 22.

³² BRUST 2008: 664–666; POURSHARIATI 2008: 266–271.

³³ See BRUST 2008: 269–273; BEEKES 2010: 501.

³⁴ Concerning the alternation κινν- : τιγγ-, cf. JANSEN 1895: 1067 (“Die späte Form τιγγάβαρι ist ja bei der Herleitung mit zu erwägen; doch ist es wohl sicher, daß sie aus κιννάβαρι verderbt ist; der Übergang von κ zu τ ist ja in neueren Sprachen nicht so selten”) and BEEKES 2010: 700 (“perhaps *ki-* > *k'i-* > *tsi-* ?”).

(nowadays Sukhumi) and Phasis (nowadays Poti) which were founded during the late Archaic period.

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ARISTOTLE'S *TROCHOS* AND HYENA

by

KRZYSZTOF TOMASZ WITCZAK

ABSTRACT: In his work *On the Generation of Animals* Aristotle mentions and rejects an ancient folk belief that the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* L.) has two (male and female) sexual organs. Also he abandoned Herodorus' false opinion on a mystical animal named *trochos* (Gk. τρόχος). The identification of *trochos* is highly doubtful. It is suggested that the Greek term may denote the Asiatic spotted hyena (*Crocota crocuta* sp. *asiatica*), an extinct species of the hyena family, existing in prehistoric times in Europe and Asia Minor.

In his work entitled *De generatione animalium* (Gk. Περὶ ζώων γενέσεως) Aristotle rejected the opinions of people in ancient times about the striped hyena (Gk. ὕαινα) and an animal called τρόχος as being wild animals with two sexual organs, i.e. both the male and female pudenda.

Aristotle's text (*De gen. anim.* III 6; 757 a 3–4) runs as follows:

Εὐηθικῶς δὲ καὶ λίαν διεψευσμένοι καὶ οἱ περὶ τρόχου καὶ ὕαινης λέγοντες. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν μὲν ὕαιναν πολλοί, τὸν δὲ τρόχον Ἡρόδωρος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης δύο αἰδοῖα ἔχειν, ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος, καὶ τὸν μὲν τρόχον αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ὀχεύειν, τὴν δ' ὕαιναν ὀχεύειν καὶ ὀχεύεσθαι παρ' ἔτος. ὦπται γὰρ ἡ ὕαινα ἐν ἔχουσα αἰδοῖον· ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ τόποις οὐ σπάνις τῆς θεωρίας· ἀλλ' ἔχουσι αἱ ὕαιναὶ ὑπὸ τὴν κέρκον ὁμοίαν γραμμὴν τῷ τοῦ θήλεος αἰδοίῳ. ἔχουσι μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες καὶ αἱ θήλειαι τὸ τοιοῦτον σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀλίσκονται οἱ ἄρρενες μᾶλλον· διὸ τοῖς ἐκ παρόδου θεωροῦσι ταύτην ἐποίησε τὴν δόξαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις τὰ εἰρημένα.

Aristotle's text is given in both the English and the Polish translations below.

Much deceived also are those who make a foolish statement about the *trochus* and the hyena. Many say that the hyena, and Herodorus the Heracloteot says that the *trochus*, has two pudenda, those of the male and of the female, and that the *trochus* impregnates itself but the hyena mounts and is mounted in alternate years. This is

untrue, for the hyena has been seen to have only one pudendum, there being no lack of opportunity for observation in some districts, but hyenas have under the tail a line like the pudendum of the female. Both male and female have such a mark, but the males are taken more frequently; this casual observation has given rise to this opinion. But enough has been said of this.

(translated into English by PLATT 1910 [2007])

There is another silly and extremely wrong-headed story which is told about the *trochos* and the hyena, to the effect that they have two pudenda, male and female (there are many who assert this of the hyena; Herodorus of Heraclea [Pontica] asserts it of the *trochos*), and that whereas the *trochos* impregnates itself, the hyena mounts and is mounted in alternate years. In some localities, however, there is ample opportunity for inspection, and the hyena has been observed to possess one pudendum only; but hyenas have under the tail a line similar to the female pudendum. Both male and female ones have this mark, but as the males are captured more frequently, casual inspection has given rise to this erroneous idea.

(translated into English by PECK 1963: 317)

Także na temat borsuka (*Meles meles*, τρόχος) i hieny (ὑάνα) opowiadają naiwne i zgola bezpodstawne baśnie. Twierdzą mianowicie, że zwierzęta te mają dwa organy płciowe, męski i żeński. Wielu twierdzi to o hienie, a Herodoros z Heraklei o borsuku. Utrzymują, że borsuk zapładnia sam siebie, podczas gdy hiena pełni na przemian jednego roku rolę samca, drugiego – rolę samicy. Stwierdzono jednak na podstawie obserwacji, że hiena ma tylko jeden rodzaj organu płciowego. W niektórych okolicach nadarza się rzadka okazja zaobserwowania tego faktu. Hieny bowiem mają pod ogonem rysę podobną do organu płciowego samicy. Tego rodzaju znak mają zarówno samice, jak i samce, lecz najczęściej chwytają się samce [w czasie polowania]. Ta okoliczność dała pobieżnym obserwatorom okazję ułożenia rzeczowej legendy. Lecz już dość na te tematy.

(translated into Polish by SIWEK 1979: 140)

The Polish translation differs from the English ones in one important point. Paweł SIWEK recognises the animal called τρόχος, identifying it with the European badger (*Meles meles*, Pol. *borsuk* = E. *badger*), whereas the English translators believe that this animal cannot be identified and therefore they name it *trochus* or *trochos*, adopting only the Greek term.

In his work Aristotle rejected the folk beliefs referring to the hyena and an unknown animal¹, named τρόχος after Herodorus of Heraclea Pontica, an author from the 5th–4th century BC, who “wrote a *History of Heracles*, which seems to have contained a great variety of matters” (PECK 1963: 317, note d). The animal name in question appears in the accessible Ancient Greek dictionaries with the following semantics:

¹ PECK (1963: 316, note b) correctly indicates that “[t]his animal cannot be identified. It must be distinguished from the genus now called *Trochus*, which are shell-fish. No species of mammal is normally hermaphrodite”. It should be added that a similar Greek term, τροχός, refers to an extinct kind of the Mediterranean sirenian (or sea cow), as documented by Aelian (*NA* XIII 20). However, this name demonstrates a different (oxytonic) stress.

1. 'an animal' (cf. ABRAMOWICZÓWNA 1965: 368: 'jakieś zwierzę'; LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: 1829: 'an animal');
2. 'a kind of animal, especially badger' (DVORECKIJ 1958: 1651: 'бapcyк'; JUREWICZ 2001: 415: 'jakieś zwierzę, borsuk (?)'; see also WITCZAK 2013: 181, n. 28).
3. 'trochus' (cf. MONTANARI 2003: 2044: 'zool. troco').

It seems reasonable that Herodorus' and Aristotle's term *τρόχος* refers, in fact, to the spotted hyena (*Crocuta crocuta*, Pol. *hiena cętkowana*), whereas the Greek appellative *ῥαινα* refers to the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena*, Pol. *hiena pręgowana*).

The African spotted hyena was an exotic animal definitely less well-known to the Greeks, but it was registered in the ancient sources as *κοροκόττας*, *κροκόττας* or *κροκούττας* m. (LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: 998, Suppl. 187; MALINOWSKI 2003: 112 f.), and as *corocotta* in Latin (MORTA 2004: 52–55). The female spotted hyenas, which are somewhat bigger than the male ones, command the group, preserve male customs and additionally have their false genitals formed as the male hyena genitals².

The false male genitals of the female spotted hyena are treated as a curiosity in the world of mammals (KALETA 1998: 54). The Polish zoologist explains it as follows (*ibidem*):

Łechtaczka [samicy hieny cętkowanej] jest powiększona i wydłużona tak, że przypomina męskie prącie (może być nawet wprowadzona w stan erekcji), natomiast wargi sromowe zwinęły się i połączyły tworząc strukturę do złudzenia przypominającą worek mosznowy. Jeśli dodać do tego, że samice h[ieny] c[ętkowanej] są większe od samców (różnica w masie ciała wynosi ok. 7 kg), zrozumieć można, iż rozróżnienie płci u tego gatunku jest niezmiernie trudne.

The clitoris [of a female spotted hyena] is enlarged and elongated, so that it resembles a male penis (it can even achieve an erection), while the labia curled up and joined together creating a structure resembling a scrotal sack. If we add that female spotted hyenas are larger than male ones (the difference in body weight is about 7 kg), we can understand that it is extremely difficult to distinguish sex in this species (my translation).

² According to PECK (1963: 565 f.), "An important piece of research on the spotted hyena recently carried out in Tanganyika Territory by L. Harrison Matthews has established that externally the female of the spotted hyena closely resembles the male; it has a peniform clitoris, similar in form and position to the penis of the male, and scrotal pouches closely simulating those of the male. Indeed the male and non-parous female are indistinguishable externally. Matthews points out that Aristotle did not distinguish between spotted and striped hyenas: the legend 'relates to the spotted hyena, but Aristotle's refutation of it to the striped, the genital anatomy of which he correctly describes' (Matthews refers to the description in *H.A.*). Of 103 specimens collected by Matthews, 63 were males; this is a lower percentage than that given by the hunter with whom Aristotle discussed the subject: he found ten out of eleven were males, but these may have been striped hyenas". See also FUNK 2012; KATZ 2015.

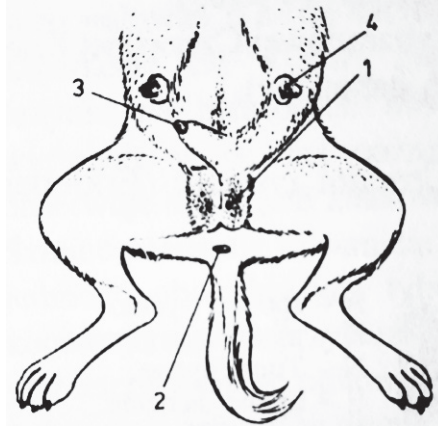


Fig. 1. False male genitals of the female spotted hyena.
 1 – false scrotum; 2 – anus; 3 – clitoris imitating male hyena’s penis; 4 – nipples.
 Source: KALETA (1998: 54).

People in ancient times did not know that the female spotted hyena has false male genitals. This may explain the folk belief that all hyenas (called ὕαινα and τρόχοι) have two sexual organs: the female one and the male one. On the other hand, spotted hyenas could be regarded, according to ancient (and modern African) folk belief, as being exclusively male, but changing their sex every second year.

It is a well-known fact that the European spotted hyena (*Crocota crocuta* sp. *Europaea*, Pol. *hiena cętkowana jaskiniowa*), an extinct species of the hyena family, existed in prehistoric times in Europe and Asia Minor. It cannot be ruled out that this (or a cognate) species survived in some residual areas of Asia Minor for a time in antiquity. Ancient literary works (written in Greek and Latin) indicate not only an Aethiopic (i.e. African), but also an Asiatic (especially Indic) distribution of the spotted hyena, which is usually called κροκόττας or κοροκόττας in Ancient Greek (see BRUST 2005: 364–368 for a discussion).

The spotted hyena is closely related to the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* L., Pol. *hiena przęgowana*), which was known as ἡ ὕαινα (hence Lat. *hyaena*). This name is traditionally and unanimously derived from Ancient Greek ὕς f. ‘pig’ by means of the female suffix -αινα (BOISACQ 1916: 996; HOFMANN 1950: 380; FRISK 1962: 952; CHANTRAINE 1977: 1161; BEEKES 2010: 1523). This etymology is, however, wrong, as the name in question is nothing other than a derivative from Luwoid **suwan-* ‘dog or a dog-like animal’, cf. Hier. Luw. *suwan(i)-* c. ‘dog, *Canis*’; Phrygian **φάνος* ‘hyena’ (attested as γάνος or γλάνος in Ancient Greek sources, beginning with Aristotle), Bithynian οὐανοῦς, acc. sg. οὐανοῦν f. ‘fox’, Gk. dial. σύας ‘dog’ (in the tongue of the Cretan Polyrrhenians) (WITCZAK 1995: 22 f.) < PIE. **k̑móns* m. f. ‘dog, *Canis*’ (gen. sg. **k̑móns*), cf. Hittite ^Lku-*ua-aš* c.

'hound-man', acc. sg. *ku-ua-na-an*, gen. sg. *ku-ú-na-aš*, glossed by the Sumerian ideogram ^{LU}UR.G17 'hound-man' (KLOEKHORST 2008: 505 f.). Thus the Ancient Greek name for 'striped hyena' is of Anatolian (Luwoid) origin and does not belong to the native vocabulary.

Also the Greek name ὁ τρόχος, which has no convincing etymology, seems to derive from an unknown oriental source, perhaps from the extinct Bithynian language (note that Herodorus of Heraclea Pontica³, who first used this word, originated from Bithynia) or perhaps an Anatolian tongue. Unfortunately, nothing is known of Bithynian vocabulary, whereas animal terminology is only partially attested in the ancient Anatolian languages (WEEKS 1985: 35–47). Is it possible to prove an oriental origin of the Ancient Greek term τρόχος? I am convinced that a definite source of the Greek loanword can be indicated.

A term similar to the Greek τρόχος 'a kind of hyena' can definitely be found in the Indo-Aryan language world, e.g. Skt. *tarákṣu-* m. 'hyena', also 'tiger', *tarakṣa-* m. 'hyena, wolf', *tarakṣuka-* m. 'hyena' lex., *tarkṣu-* m. 'hyena' lex. (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 439), Pali *taraccha-* m., *taracchi-* f. 'hyena'; Prakrit *taraccha-* m., *taracchī-* f. 'hyena'; Lahnda *tarakh*, dial. (Ju.) *tarkh* m.; Hindi *taras* m.; Gujarati *taras* m.; Marathi *taras*, *tarās* m. n. 'hyena'; Oriya (Bastar) *turukā* 'small tiger, leopard', *patara turuki* 'wolf, hyena'; Singhalese *tarasā* 'hyena' (TURNER 1966: 324, No. 5698). The Indo-Aryan term for 'hyena', *tarákṣu-*, is usually explained as a native (Indo-Aryan) compound denoting '[an animal] preying on cattle / Vieh überwindend', hence 'predator / Raubtier' > 'hyena, tiger / Hyäne, Tiger' (MAYRHOFER 1956: 479 f.; 1992: 628 with some reservations), cf. OInd. *tárati* 'to surpass, overcome; to acquire, gain' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 454) and *kṣú-* n. 'cattle' (in ṚgVeda 'food', according to MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 330). The development of the Indo-Aryan cluster **-kṣ-* to *-kh-* is already attested in the Middle Indic period, cf. Pali *makkhikā-* f. 'fly', Prakrit *makkhiā-* f. 'id.' < OInd. *máksikā-* f. 'fly, bee' (FAHS 1989: 32), see also Lahnda *makhī* 'fly' (TURNER 1966: 554, No. 9696).

The above-mentioned Indo-Aryan terms for 'hyena' correspond to Gk. Ion. τρόχος [*trokʰos*] m. 'a kind of animal, similar to a hyena' (cf. especially Lahnda *tarakh*, dial. *tarkh* m. 'hyena'). It seems to denote a (now extinct) Asiatic kind of 'spotted hyena, *Crocuta crocuta* var. *asiatica*', probably related to the cave hyena or the Ice Age spotted hyena (*Crocuta crocuta spelaea*). It cannot be excluded that Ctesias of Cnidus, who described India at the end of the fifth century BC in his work *Indica* (Gk. *Ἰνδικά*), was an intermediary in adopting an oriental (Indo-Aryan) term into the Greek language. Of course, the foreign (Middle Indic) term could easily be accommodated as a derivative of the Greek verb τρέχω 'to run, hurry'.

³ Heraclea Pontica was located on the south shore of the Black Sea, about 200 km east of the Bosphorus. It was a colony of Megara in the territory of the Bithynians, see PECK (1963: 316, note d).

My analysis can be concluded as follows:

1. The Greek term ὕαινα f. 'striped hyena, *Hyaena hyena* L.' represents a borrowing from an Anatolian Luwoid source, cf. Hier. Luw. *su-wa-n(i)*- 'dog' (< PIE. **k̑uon-s* 'dog'); Bithynian οὐανοῦς, acc. sg. οὐανοῦν f. 'fox'; Phrygian **ḫános* 'hyena' (attested as γάνος or γλάνος in the Ancient Greek sources). It has nothing to do with the Ancient Greek appellative for 'pig', cf. Gk. ὕς m. / f. 'pig', Lat. *sūs* m. / f. 'id.'

2. The Anc. Gk. τρόχος hardly denotes the European badger (differently KATZ 2015). It refers most probably to a species of the spotted hyena which lived in Asia Minor and India. It is possible that a northern species of the spotted hyena (now extinct) existed in some residual areas of Anatolia or the Near East Asia in ancient times. The Greek term in question also represents an oriental (probably Indo-Aryan) loanword. There are numerous terms for 'hyena' in Indo-Aryan languages, which are phonologically similar to the Anc. Gk. τρόχος, cf. OInd. *taráksu-* m. 'hyena', also 'tiger', Skt. *tarakṣa-* m. 'hyena, wolf', *tarakṣuka-* m. 'hyena' lex., *tarkṣu-* m. 'hyena' lex., Pali *taraccha-* m., *taracchi-* f. 'hyena'; Prakrit *taraccha-* m., *taracchī-* f. 'hyena'; Lahnda *tarakh*, (Ju.) *tarkh* m. 'id.'; Hindi *taras* m. 'id.'; Gujarati *taras* m. 'id.'; Marathi *taras*, *tarās* m. n. 'id.'; Oriya *patara turuki* 'wolf, hyena'; Singhalese *tarasā* 'hyena'.

3. Herodorus' opinion on the double (female or male) sexual organs of the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena*) and the Asiatic spotted hyena (*Crocuta crocuta* var. *asiatica*) resulted from the fact that the female spotted hyenas have false genitals imitating the male sexual organs.

4. According to Aristotle, "the males [hyenas] are captured more frequently" (ἀλίσκονται οἱ ἄρρενες μᾶλλον). In fact, the female spotted hyena was frequently thought by ancient hunters to be male, as she is usually larger and has false male genitals. If a captured female spotted hyena, wrongly recognised as a male, appeared to be pregnant, then the Greeks were likely to reach the wrong conclusion that all hyenas have two sexual organs and, if they want to, can change their gender.

5. It is highly probable that Herodorus of Heraclea Pontica repeated a misconception created by ancient hunters from Asia Minor. A similar folk belief exists today in Africa. Many tribes in Africa (especially South Africa) are convinced that hyenas change their sex every year.

6. Aristotle as a scientific investigator and an excellent zoologist correctly rejects Herodorus' folk opinion.

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A NOTE ON THE UNIDENTIFIED ANIMAL IN THE MARISA (MARESHA) TOMB FRIEZE*

by

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In the ancient town of Maresha (Greek Μάρισα) in Idumea, a Hellenistic Sidonian tomb was discovered in 1901 by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The tomb, dated to ca. 200 BC, revealed a unique painted frieze depicting exotic animals¹: elephant, African rhinoceros, oryx, griffin, boar, giraffe, bull, lion, panther (in a hunting scene), manticore, lynx, porcupine, Indian rhinoceros², unidentified animal, onager, hippopotamus, crocodile, ibis and two fish. However, one animal remains elusive (fig. 1). This unidentified animal is small, hoofed, has a short tail and a slightly elongated snout. It has large ears and eyes (only one is visible as it is depicted in profile) but its most conspicuous feature is the large tuft between its ears.

PETERS and THIERSCH (who discovered the frescos) attempted to identify this animal as a wolf on the basis of a partial inscription, which, also, according to them reads as ΙΥΙ.Α and could be a trace of ΑΥΚΟΣ³. JACOBSON follows their argumentation, stating that the animal resembles a dog⁴, while MEYBOOM identifies

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¹ J.P. PETERS, H. THIERSCH, S.A. COOK, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Marêshah)*, London 1905; D.M. JACOBSON, *The Hellenistic Tomb Paintings of Marisa*, Warminster 2007; S. MUCZNIK, *An Exotic Menagerie in Tesserae: The Mosaic Pavement of Lod/Lydda*, *Liber Annuus LX* 2010, pp. 319–340.

² JACOBSON (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 34) also classifies this creature as an “unidentified animal”, but its single horn clearly points to it being an Indian as opposed to an African rhinoceros (depicted in the frieze with two horns standing behind an elephant).

³ PETERS, THIERSCH, COOK, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 27.

⁴ JACOBSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 34.

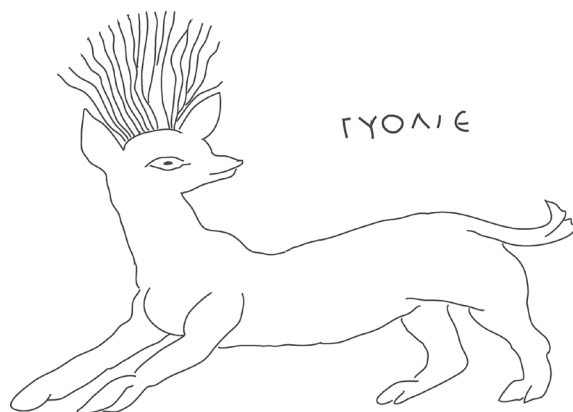


Fig. 1. Dik-dik in the Marisa frieze, 2nd c. BC, drawing by the author



Fig. 2. Female dik-dik, source Wikimedia commons, accessed on 7.12.2018 at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madoqua_kirkii_-_female_\(Namutoni\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Madoqua_kirkii_-_female_(Namutoni).jpg)

the animal as a feline (lynx or caracal)⁵, although a lynx is depicted elsewhere in the frieze. The animal's features, however, point towards it being the dik-dik antelope (in particular the *Madoqua kirkii*, see fig. 2). Dik-diks are the world's smallest antelopes, with a very short tail and a large tuft on the crown of the head. The male has small horns that can be hidden in their tuft, while female dik-diks do not have horns at all, which suggests it is a representation of the female dik-dik.

⁵ P.G.P. MEYBOOM, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina: Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*, Leiden–Boston 1995, p. 286, n. 23; E. RICE (*The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983, p. 87) considers the animal to represent a lynx.

As for the inscription that originally bore the animal's name, it looks more like ΙΥΟΛΙΕ⁶ rather than ΙΥΙ.Λ (as suggested by PETERS and THIERSCH), which, however, does not clarify its identification. There is a Greek word which might be related to this word, namely the noun ἴουλος⁷. It was used to describe a corn-sheaf which in fact resembles the dik-dik's tuft. *Ioulos* was also used to designate the first growth of whiskers or a beard, to which the dik-dik's tuft can be compared⁸. The interpretation of this inscription neither confirms nor prevents the creature being identified as the dik-dik. There is however, a Greek word that can be associated with the dik-dik: the mysterious δίκτυς that appears in Herodotus' account of Libyan fauna (Hdt. IV 192, 2).

κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιαύδε [...] καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαιναί καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες.

Among the nomads there is nothing like that, but other animals such as [...] foxes, hyenas and porcupines and wild rams and *diktys* and jackals and panthers and *boryses* (transl. by the author).

In Herodotus' passage, *dyktys* has been identified as a sort of jackal due to its juxtaposition with this animal⁹. This is consistent with Hesychius, who translates *diktys* as "an *iktinos* from Laconia" (δίκτυς· ὁ ἰκτῖνος, ὑπὸ Λακόνων) which is either a "kite" or a "wolf". However, identifying the animal on the basis of its placement in Herodotus' list cannot be trusted, as the list does not follow any particular order since, in the next sentence, crocodiles are listed followed by ostriches, while *diktys* appear between wild rams and jackals. In the context of Libyan fauna, the zoonym *diktys* evokes the name dik-dik. This contemporary zoonym is of African origin and has been used there for centuries, since it most likely derives from the sound made by those small antelopes¹⁰.

⁶ G. MALINOWSKI, *Agatarchides. Dzieje: O Azji i O Europe; fragmenty historii powszechnej; O Morzu Czerwonym; traktat historyczny o krajach południa*, Wrocław 2007, p. 578; MEYBOOM, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 45. There are more options of reading the inscription, such as ΓΥΟΛΙΕ, ΓΥΟΝΕ, ΓΥΟΝΘ, ΓΥΟΙΘ, ΡΥΟΛΙΕ, ΡΥΟΝΕ, ΡΥΟΝΘ, ΡΥΟΙΘ, however none can be satisfactorily explained.

⁷ Although the inscription has υο instead of ου, other inscriptions of animal names provide unusual forms too, such as ΟΝΑΓΡΙΟΣ instead of ὄναγρος, ΛΥΝΞ instead of λύγξ, ΠΑΡΔΑΛΟΣ and ΠΑΝΘΗΡΟΣ instead of πάρδαλις and πάνθηρ which are unorthodox versions of the zoonyms, perhaps present in the Greek lower classes or written by someone for whom Greek was a second language.

⁸ It was also a name for a bug woodlouse.

⁹ D. ASHERI, A. LLOYD, A. CORCELLA, *A Commentary on Herodotus. Books I–IV*, Oxford–New York 2007, p. 715; W.W. HOW, J. WELLS, *A Commentary on Herodotus: With Introduction and Appendixes*, Oxford 1928, vol. I: *Books I–IV*, p. 402.

¹⁰ J.D. SKINNER, *The Mammals of the Southern African Sub-Region*, Cambridge 2007, p. 693.

The dik-dik's habitat has been in the region of Eastern Africa, including contemporary Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia¹¹. These regions were explored during the elephant hunts initiated by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, which resulted in his great procession in Alexandria (described by Callixeinus, Ath. V 197 C–203 B) that included a parade of exotic animals¹², and both the hunts and the parade are clearly evoked in the Marisa frieze. This Sidonian city played a role in Ptolemaic trade in the 3rd c. BC¹³ while the family buried in the tomb could have dealt with trading animals for the Ptolemies¹⁴. The frieze presents a variety of living creatures that could be encountered in the Levant, Arabia, Egypt and Africa and that were already known (e.g. felines), or were only discovered by the Ptolemaic expeditions (e.g. the giraffe).

There were many exotic species encountered and brought by Ptolemaic hunters, some of which have been recorded in the treatise *On the Red Sea* by Agatharchides of Cnidus, some are mentioned in the description of the great parade of Philadelphus, while others have been depicted in ancient art¹⁵. Not all of the animals have been so far clearly identified from the Greek zoonyms or artistic depictions. The dik-dik definitely falls into this category. These small antelopes do not avoid human settlements¹⁶ and were even captured and kept as pets by locals¹⁷. As such, they could easily have been encountered by Ptolemaic hunters and taken to Alexandria. The dik-dik's image on the Sidonian tomb is testimony that Ptolemaic exploration of African fauna was more extensive than we are currently aware.

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¹¹ B. GRZIMEK, M. HUTCHINS, *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopaedia*, vol. 12: *Mammals I*, Detroit 2004, p. 59.

¹² The procession is discussed in detail by RICE (*op. cit.* [n. 5]), and referred to by H.M. HUBBELL, *Ptolemy's Zoo*, CJ XXXI 1935, pp. 68–79.

¹³ JACOBSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 14, 44.

¹⁴ MUCZNIK, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 323, n. 22.

¹⁵ Especially in such works as the Palestrina Mosaic (MEYBOOM, *op. cit.* [n. 5]) and the Papyrus of Artemidorus (C. GALLAZZI, B. KRAMER, S. SETTIS, *Il Papiro di Artemidoro (P. Artemid.)*, Milano 2008).

¹⁶ GRZIMEK, HUTCHINS, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 69 f.

¹⁷ J. BODDY, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan*, London 1989, pp. 289 f.

SOME REMARKS ON *STROUTHOPHAGOI* TRIBES*

by

MAJA MIZIUR-MOŹDZIOCH

Ptolemaic hunting expeditions for African elephants resulted in the discovery of previously unknown animal species¹ and also facilitated contact with local indigenous tribes. Ancient ethnographic descriptions referred to the *thaumasia* (marvels) of foreign cultures, their eating habits and struggles in obtaining their nutrition² underlining thereby differences between them and the “civilised” world. Stories regarding remarkable animals and people not only amused the ancient Greeks and Romans, but also made their way into Mediaeval folklore, such as the description of Blemmyes tribe, who, according to Pliny (*NH* V 46), did not have heads – their faces were instead placed on their chests. The existence of this tribe, nowadays identified with the Beja people, is confirmed by Christian writers. Their peculiar appearance can be explained by their use of ornamented shields or chest armour that when seen from a distance could be perceived as a face placed on a chest. Such misperceptions upon approaching the exotic and new could be the reason why many of these accounts seem fabulous and fictitious³.

The earliest expeditions resulting in marvellous stories are known to us due to the extant testimonies of Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote in the 2nd c. BC and detailed the exploration of the Red Sea region conducted by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the 3rd c. BC, including descriptions of its fauna and the customs of its inhabitants. Among the inhabitants he described a tribe of *Strouthophaogoi* (Ostrich Eaters) and their hunting methods.

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¹ See e.g. the list of exotic animals brought to Alexandria at the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in Ath. V 197 C–203 B = *FGrH* 627 F 2.

² S. BURSTEIN, *Agatharchides of Cnidus. On the Erythraean Sea*, London 1989, pp. 25–27.

³ J.B. FRIEDMAN, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Syracuse 2000, pp. 23 f.; H. BARNARD, *Additional Remarks on Blemmyes, Beja and Eastern Desert Ware*, Egypt and the Levant XVII 2007, pp. 23–31.

Some *Strouthophagoi* hunt with bow and arrows, while others hiding themselves under ostrich pelts put the right hand inside its neck and wave them just like the ostriches move their necks; whereas with the left hand they pour seeds from the pouch hanging by their side; and with this bait they drive the animals into gorges: there, lying in wait, they strike them with hewn wood; and they dress in ostrich skins and make their beds with them. Aethiopians called *Simoi*, armed with oryx horns, fight with the *Strouthophagoi*⁴.

(*ap.* Str. XVI 4, 1 = GGM 57; transl. by the author)

Agatharchides, who follows the character of earlier ethnographic writings (hence the name “Ostrich eaters”) according to BURSTEIN composed his descriptions around an “idea that cultures were bundles of discrete customs maintained by the force of tradition”⁵ and focused on their manner of obtaining food⁶, all of which is well reflected in the *Strouthophagoi* hunting habits. He recorded these customs as they seemed most unusual for the Greeks. The idea of men dressing up and imitating an ostrich in order to catch one may seem unrealistic but, as with the description of the Blemmyes, is based on reality. In fact this passage is the first written testimony describing a Neolithic custom known otherwise from pictorial representations in the Nile Valley.

Recently discovered Neolithic petroglyphs (dated to around 4000 BC) found on the Hill of the Wind near Aswan⁷ depict a scene that could be interpreted as having been created especially for the purpose of illustrating this fragment of Agatharchides’ work, had they not been made some 3,800 years earlier. The carving depicts two men with an ostrich between them. The man on the right is shooting a bow, whereas the man on the left is wearing an ostrich mask and holding both his hands upraised.

A similar hunting custom is represented on a Predynastic period palette (ca. 3100 BC) which is now in Manchester Museum (no. 5476; fig. 1). In this



Fig. 1. Ostrich hunting, Manchester Palette, 3100 BC, no. 5476; drawing by the author

⁴ The description of the *Strouthophagoi* tribe based on Agatharchides is also quoted by Photius (Phot. 453 A) and Diodorus (Diod. Sic. III 28). The passage in Strabo’s *Geography* is the only one that details the peculiar hunting method, but, according to BURSTEIN (*op. cit.* [n. 2], p. 100, n. 4), it can certainly be attributed to Agatharchides.

⁵ BURSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 26.

⁶ BURSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 27.

⁷ Research conducted by Professor L. MORENZ from the University of Bonn, <https://www.uni-bonn.de/news/078-2017>, accessed on 9.7.2018.

scene, a man is pursuing three ostriches, but no weapon is visible. The man, however, has his hands raised in some sort of a dance. A peculiar detail emerges upon analysis of the hunter's face, which is not human, but is bird-like and thus he can be interpreted as an "ostrich-man". Moreover, to the right side of his silhouette there is a small pouch-like bag, while his gait seems to imitate an ostrich's movements⁸. The Manchester palette probably depicts the part of the scene described by Agatharchides in which the hunter baits the ostriches by pouring seeds from a pouch and then pursues them into a gorge. Perhaps such a gorge was located near the Hill of the Wind. The ostrich-man and the hunting scene on the Manchester palette can moreover be explained by the function of such palettes, as they could be used for grinding malachite⁹, applying pigments to a cult image or for preparing face paint for hunters¹⁰. In this context, putting on the make-up could be compared to wearing a hunting mask¹¹.

Hellenistic explorers encountered a custom which had been practiced for several millennia before their times. Over two thousand years after the Ptolemaic exploration of the Red Sea, 19th century travellers and animal hunters rediscovered the *Strouthophagoi* tribes and described their customs. According to Carl HAGENBECK:

The Bushmen in South Africa hunt ostriches somewhat differently. They cover their heads and bodies with the skins of dead ostriches, so that when walking along they much resemble real ostriches. They can thus approach to within close distance of a flock and shoot the birds with their poisoned arrows¹².

HAGENBECK's memoirs show the continuity of the 6,000 year old Neolithic custom; however he does not specify the tribe, instead speaking generally of South Africa. This means that such a custom was practiced not only in the

⁸ K. CIAŁOWICZ (*Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration. Études de l'art prédynastique*, Kraków 1991, pp. 42 f.) interpreted the sheath as "l'etui phallique". Similarly, W. DAVIS (*Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art*, Berkeley 1992, pp. 72–74) wrote of it as a "belt with penis sheath", but in light of Agatharchides' account the phallic interpretation can be rejected.

⁹ W.M. CROMPTON, *A Carved Slate Palette in the Manchester Museum*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* V 1918, p. 60.

¹⁰ T.A. WILKINSON, *What a King is This: Narmer and the Concept of the Ruler*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* LXXXVI 2000, pp. 27 and 74. However, no traces of pigment are preserved on this or other similar palettes; see CROMPTON, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 60; DAVIS, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 74.

¹¹ On the Oxford palette, a hunter is wearing a canine mask and playing a flute, WILKINSON, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 27.

¹² C. HAGENBECK, *Beasts and Men*, London–New York 1912, p. 272. Also, contemporaries of HAGENBECK as well as a number of Victorian travellers documented Bushmen hunting ostriches in disguise (e.g. R. MOFFAT, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London 1842, pp. 64 f.).

regions of Sudan and Ethiopia, but was also known below the equator. It seems that the application and meaning of this ritual varied to some extent from tribe to tribe or region to region and evolved over time, but a part of its meaning and origins can be explored.

There is certainly a connection between some tribal shamanic beliefs and this hunting technique. According to MORENZ (comparing the carving with rituals of San People), the carving on the Hill of the Wind is a representation of some kind of shamanic hunting dance¹³. The San (referred to as Bushmen) were traditionally a hunter-gatherer society that originally inhabited South Africa speaking a dialect that belongs to the Khoisan language group¹⁴. The following myth repeated by the Khoisan language tribes has been recorded:

The ostrich had a fire on which he cooked his food whilst the others ate food raw. One day he went to visit the people and they saw black spots on his legs. The people asked: "Where did you get those [burn marks]?" The people said, "We have to organize a dance together". When they danced the ostrich hid the fire under his arms and didn't stretch his wings. The people asked him "Why don't you stretch?" So he did and he forgot about the fire and a person stole it. The ostrich chased him and kicked the rock. That is why he only has three toes¹⁵.

In this myth (the San version of the Prometheus myth), the dance is related to stealing the fire from the ostrich. Thus the ostrich-dances described above could be re-enactments of a similar myth¹⁶.

The significance of this hunting method is strengthened by the use of an ostrich pelt and mask. In shamanistic beliefs, a process of shape shifting occurred when a man bore an animal pelt, thus transferring the qualities of the animal onto himself. This practice can also be recognised in Mycaenean boar-tusk helmets, which transferred the boar's strength and power onto the warriors wearing them, thus making them invincible. This process can even be traced in Homer's *Iliad*, where warriors wore wild animal skins (of lions and leopards) when going into battle¹⁷. This belief was also present among the Khoisan people,

¹³ L. MORENZ, <https://www.uni-bonn.de/news/078-2017>, accessed on 9.7.2018; IDEM, <http://www.livescience.com/58394-ancient-egyptian-rock-carvings-discovered.html>; IDEM, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-4345774/Neolithic-rock-carving-6-000-years-ago-Egypt.html>.

¹⁴ R. SHAH, *How the Ostrich Lost his Fire and Other Stories*, 2013.

¹⁵ C. LOW, *Birds and KhoeSān: Linking Spirits and Healing with Day-to-Day Life*, Africa LXXXI 2011, pp. 301 f.

¹⁶ In Pharaonic Egypt the ostrich dance was performed by the birds to honour the sun-like pharaoh; also its feathers held cultic importance. See e.g. L. DAUTHEVILLE, *Danse d'autriche en l'honneur du pharaon*, Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale XX 1922, pp. 85–89 and P. BEHRENS, *Strauss, Straussenei, and Straussenfeder*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI* (1986), coll. 72–82.

¹⁷ Ch. MORRIS, *Animals into Art in the Ancient World*, in: L. KALOF (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in Antiquity*, Oxford 2007, p. 189; DAVIS, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 189.

according to whom animal qualities (strengths and abilities) were transferred to those people who wore or carried their parts (teeth, claws, skins); sniffing and rubbing them also had the same desired effect¹⁸. The ostrich is not a “war” animal, but Agatharchides also wrote that the *Strouthophagoi* used ostrich pelts as clothes and moreover that they fought wars against the neighbouring tribe of *Simoi*. Since the ostrich was known for its speed and ability to escape, perhaps the ostrich pelts served a similar purpose, allowing the wearer to escape the weapons of the enemies (made of gazelle horns). Herodotus records (Hdt. IV 175) that a Libyan tribe of Macae when going into battle wore ostrich pelts for protection. It is quite likely that this protection were shields made of ostrich skin. Such shields are confirmed for the Tuaregs, nomads inhabiting regions such as the Sahara, Algeria, Niger and Nigeria¹⁹. This fact not only verifies Herodotus’ words, but also is yet another confirmation for the credibility of Agatharchides’ description of the *Strouthophagoi*.

Contrary to the Blemmyes tribe the *Strouthophagoi* seem to have been described accurately, however their custom and its significance were undoubtedly not understood by the Ptolemaic explorers. There are more issues that could be studied further in the context of the ostrich-hunting dance: regarding the history of the hunter-gatherers, the evolution of their traditions and their migration; regarding its symbolism among the Khoisan tribes, or regarding its appearance in Egyptian art from the Predynastic through the Pharaonic periods. The ethnographic account by Agatharchides provides us with a valuable testimony as it connects the archaeological finds and modern descriptions of similar customs, giving an insight to their continuity in African societies.

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¹⁸ Low, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 302.

¹⁹ H. CURRIE, *Ostrich-Skin Shields*, RhM CV 1962, pp. 283 f.; D. ASHERI, A. LLOYD, A. CORCELLA, *A Commentary on Herodotus. Books I–IV*, Oxford – New York 2007, p. 700.

David Stuttard (ed.), *Looking at Antigone*, London: Bloomsbury, 2018, 247 pp., ISBN 978-1-3500-1711-5, £85.00*.

“Humane and sensitive translation with a stellar cast of insightful minds” (Michael SCOTT), “speakable translation” (Niall W. SLATER), “a rich resource for both readers and performers” (Pat EASTERLING), “an accessible and informative resource” (Mary LEFKOWITZ). These are observations that any reader can find on the blurb of the volume. Generally speaking, it is hard not to agree with them.

The first thing that came to my mind while reading this volume was its admirable concept of combining a translation of Sophocles’s *Antigone* with a collection of essays written by leading academic scholars that deal with a variety of issues concerning this play, which is one of the most popular, “influential and thought-provoking” ancient Greek tragedies (as is rightly written in the blurb and reinforced in the volume itself) and the most frequently performed worldwide. However, I do not fully agree with Michael SCOTT’s opinion that this volume offers “new and exciting journeys into the rich texture of the play”. Definitely they are “exciting”, as *Antigone* is such a multi-layered piece of tragedy, and the texture of the play is rich and influential indeed, but I am not entirely certain that what the contributors propose is “new” (especially in the “fresh; not previously experienced or encountered; novel or unfamiliar; different from the former or the old” meaning of the word; at least for me, but I have to admit that this is one of my favourite ancient plays and the one that I once thoroughly studied while writing my PhD thesis), except perhaps for some ideas on incest, ecology and the environment, Ismene and the worldwide reception of *Antigone* that I was unfamiliar with. I would rather agree with Mary LEFKOWITZ’s opinion that the volume is “informative”, as it brings together the most popular and most commonly discussed themes of *Antigone*: the clashing natures of the leading characters, their relations with other minor characters in the play, the problem of religion and law, and the role of the gods. The fact that a brand new volume (again) on *Antigone* has been produced proves that these are still “thought-provoking” and disturbing issues.

There are twelve papers in the volume, preceded by the introduction and followed by the translation, both given by David STUTTARD. In the introduction, STUTTARD raises issues concerning the background of the drama, among which he recalls the Athenians’ memories of monarchs and tyrants as those who should be resisted. He also discusses the possible date of the first performance, opting for Sophocles’ experience as a general on Samos being the catalyst for writing the tragedy and thus for *Antigone* being a reflection of the political debate being held at that time in Athens. This connection may be incomprehensible for the modern (common) readers or audience, but the fact remains, as later in the volume Helen FOLEY puts it when discussing modern performances, that “the performance [or, we may add, any other adaptation, re-imagination or re-writing] of an apolitical *Antigone* seems virtually impossible”. At the same time, however, STUTTARD (like other contributors to this volume) rightly draws the reader’s attention to the fact that some of the original issues no longer resonate with the modern public, while at the same time other that were considered controversial for the 5th century Athenian audience do speak to its modern counterpart, as for example the question of status, position and the role of a woman in society. This is undoubtedly one of the values of the book – to clearly distinguish historical and modern perspectives on issues raised by the play, to draw the reader’s attention to the “culturally determined” (as Alex GARVIE

* This review was prepared in London during the scholarship I was given by the De Brzezic Lanckoroński Foundation. I am very grateful to the Foundation for making my stay in London possible.

rightly put it in his paper) interpretations of *Antigone* and the assumed different reactions of the Athenian public to the play.

It has to be noted, however, that issues raised by the contributors sometimes overlap. Taking into consideration the deeply interwoven structure of *Antigone*, it is probably necessarily the case, as it is hard to distinctively separate issues raised by Sophocles. But it is also due to the idea of the book, about which David STUTTARD writes in the preface: "As with other volumes in this series, I have allowed authors great freedom to choose those aspects of the play on which they wished to write, and most were relatively unaware of the content of each others' chapters. Inevitably, there is the occasional small overlap between some chapters, with which I have not interfered...". That is why I prefer reading the contributions as complementing each other and I suggest doing so (in fact, some of them should be read in pairs), especially as different chapters raise and emphasise various issues, acknowledged by some scholars and not seen or not regarded as that important by others. Looking from that perspective we get an interesting academic dialogue on *Antigone*, proving how much there is still to discuss and from how many angles this play can be analysed and interpreted.

Therefore, Alex GARVIE (in a response to Christine SOURVINOU-INWOOD's paper on *Antigone*¹) discusses episodes in the play in order to give some hints to the question posed in the title "Antigone: Right or Wrong?", but concludes, rightly in my opinion, that Sophocles rather wanted to raise relevant questions than to give precise answers. This paper definitely should be read together (a wish in fact expressed by the editor in a footnote) with the next chapter in the volume entitled "Antigone as Others See Her" by Alan H. SOMMERSTEIN, as they both discuss Antigone's deed and reach similar conclusions.

Brad LEVETT ("Assessing the Character of Creon") presents the idea of how the same principle or value can come into a conflict when regarded by different people. He mainly concentrates on the ambiguity of Creon's character, whose "stubborn nature and an inability to carefully disentangle ethical obligations" are "central to Creon's downfall".

Ruth SCODEL ("Antigone's Change of Heart") discusses the once fairly controversial lines of the fourth epeisodion (which today are no longer considered spurious) and attributes the change of Antigone's standpoint by the end of the play, when she appears for the last time, to the changed situation (meaning, as Antigone understands it, that the fame she was expected to gain after her death is uncertain) and a desire to defend her rationality.

Hanna M. ROISMAN ("The Two Sisters") thoroughly discusses the role and input of a minor character, Ismene, to the understanding of Antigone's character. She claims that Antigone's clash with her sister "reveals the intricacies" of the major figure. This interest in Ismene, expressed not only by ROISMAN, but also by Alex GARVIE and Robert GARLAND, seems to be a good thing, as it attracts the readers's attention to the often neglected, minor characters of the play, their role in the play's structure and meanings, and their tragedy as well..

In the paper "Images and Effect of Incest in Sophocles' *Antigone*", Sophie MILLS argues that both Creon and Antigone destroy their families because they confuse "categories through flawed perception", which is part of their closer (in the case of Antigone) and broader (in Creon's case) heritage of Oedipus' family bonds. Thus, Creon confuses "the rights and wrongs of leaving a corpse unburied", people with animals, and the dead with the living (which disrupts the natural order Rush REHM discusses in his paper). Antigone, for her part, confuses the nature of love, as she seems to love Polyneices, her dead brother, more than Ismene and Haemon, and the nature of motherhood, as her reaction towards her dead brother shows.

The previously-mentioned Rush REHM in his interesting paper ("*Antigone* and the Rights of the Earth") discusses what we might call the ecological aspect of the play. He writes: "Time and again, Greek tragedy evokes the interdependence of human and civic wellbeing and the health of the

¹ *Sophocles' Antigone as a "Bad Woman"*, in: F. DIETEREN, E. KLOCK (eds.), *Writing Women in History*, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 11–38.

grain-bearing soil". He poses an interesting (even controversial) question: "It may seem obvious that tragedy acknowledges the earth and calls attention to its importance. But does this awareness translate into the idea that the earth possesses 'rights'?" He reminds that: "Although fifth-century Athenians did not conceive of the natural world *per se* sacred, they did recognize that their lives depend on that world and worked towards placating and harnessing its power". Thus, he discusses the role of sacred, undefiled places (which escape Creon's control) that "evoke divine presence and power" as well as the role of Hades. All of them are much more powerful than Creon's decree and in fact the power of nature (the earth) takes its revenge as Creon abuses his position.

The next paper, written by Stephen ESPOSITO and entitled "Revealing Divinity in Sophocles' *Antigone*" should be read together with REHM's chapter. ESPOSITO discusses the role and intervention of "higher natural and cosmic powers" in the play, with which Antigone's deed is somehow related. In his opinion, this intervention is obvious enough although not overwhelming, and is seen for the audience rather than for the actors on stage. In a way, this one should also be read together with the above-mentioned paper by Ruth SCODEL, as it presents a different perspective of reading the fourth episodion of the play.

Robert GARLAND's chapter, "Religion in *Antigone*", enters into a dialogue not only with ESPOSITO's paper, but also with other in the volume. He argues that the play is about "religious obligations and the interpretation of religious law" by human beings and thus the crucial cause of the tragedy is human error, without any evidence of the gods "working behind the scenes".

Ioanna KARAMANOÛ ("Euripides' Reception of Sophocles' *Antigone*") discusses Euripides' dialogue with Sophocles' *Antigone*, in the *Phoenissae* and extant fragments of his own *Antigone*, and the way he re-uses and re-figures the older play. She argues that Euripides' treatment of the story is deeply imbued with Sophoclean elements.

The last two papers in the volume deal with the modern reception of Sophocles' play. They prove how influential a play *Antigone* still is. Helen FOLEY ("The Voices of *Antigone*") presents how the "clashing voices" of Antigone and Creon resonate in different performances, adaptations and new versions of the play prepared in different situations in various places around the world. She discusses examples from South America and Africa in which the leading themes are deaths, disappearances and losses under regimes or dictatorships; from Mexico with leading themes concerning missing sisters and daughters; from Japan and Italy dealing with the difficult past of the countries; and from Istanbul raising the question of human rights. Betine VAN ZYL SMIT, for her part ("Antigone Enters the Modern World"), discusses how the myth of Antigone is re-shaped and re-imagined by modern creative artists and how Antigone became a "fearless champion of traditional piety and family loyalty, a bold rebel, defying tyrannical rule". Because of the huge number of performances based on Sophocles' play and hence the impossibility of presenting a thorough overview in one paper, after an overall review of re-interpretations of *Antigone* over the centuries, emphasising the first performance in Potsdam in 1841 and Jean Anouilh's *Antigone* in 1944, she narrows her chapter mainly to two: *The Island*, created by Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, which deals with the question of resistance against an oppressive state (this part of the paper may be considered a continuation of Helen FOLEY's one) and *Antigone in Molenbeek* by Stefan Hertmans, which "responds to the contemporary crisis of cultural and religious conflict in Europe and the modern world", presenting one of the most pressing problems, that of families involved in religious conflicts in multi-cultural Europe.

Recalling the "new" question from the beginning of my review, I found it interesting and relevant as well that, disturbing a person as she is (and the contributors do not oversimplify her character, which I have to admit is of great benefit to the volume), no one claims that Antigone is wrong and that Creon's decree not to bury Polyneices is right. Underlining the ambiguity of Antigone's nature, behaviour and deeds, and the even less attractive features of her character that may incite divergent responses, a reader gets a character that is greatly deepened and enriched and definitely much more interesting. At the same time, however, I found it surprising that so few words in the volume are said about Antigone's σωφροσύνη. Instead, what seems to be underscored is her intuitiveness and emotionality. The contributors also seem to agree that the principle of "cardinal importance" of the play is

the fact that any dead deserve burial and thus the main issue that triggers the tragedy is the question of the inflexibility and the headstrong nature of the two main individuals, who are “clashing voices”, as Helen FOLEY puts it, that cannot communicate with one another and cannot back down.

The translation by David Stuttard is considered “humane and sensitive”, “speakable”, “performer-friendly, accurate and easily accessible” (adjectives from the blurb). As with others concerning the volume, it is hard not to agree with that, although I think many would say that it is too easy and too speakable.

David STUTTARD himself is the founder of the theatre company Actors of Dionysos and has so far edited three *Looking at* volumes for Bloomsbury: *Lysistrata* (2010), *Medea* (2014) and *Bacchae* (2016). In the “Introduction: *Antigone*, A Play for Today?” he clearly exposes his ideas on translation, especially, I think, from the perspective of a theatre director who is aware of the performative dimension of any stage play (and there is no doubt that Greek dramas were devised to be performed on stage) as well as its need to be immediately comprehensible for and communicative with the audience. This is an idea with which many modern translation studies’ scholars would agree². He writes, to quote it in full:

From what has gone before, it can be seen that there is much about Greek tragedy and the culture that created it, that is alien to the modern world. To appreciate its dramatic impact requires active translation – not just the translation of the text for those who do not read classical Greek, but the translation of ideas and values rooted in fifth-century BC Athens to the context of the modern world. Inevitably these acts of translation involve both compromises and, in some instances, changes to the original meaning. Sometimes these can be nuanced, sometimes whole scale, but every translator must to a greater or a lesser extent impose their own interpretation.

It goes without saying that every translation is an interpretation conditioned by its own time and many circumstances that create the “horizon of a translator” as Antoine BERMAN once put it³. Also, that any drama from the past, in one way or the other, needs to be adapted, re-imagined and re-fashioned for the modern world⁴. Translation of an ancient drama is a tricky business: this is a play from the past which we (and I do not mean classical scholars) probably have no key to anymore; this is a poetry of lines we do not have in modern languages; this is a piece of theatre that is usually considered to be literature meant to be read (and not staged in the first place; in fact any translator has to respond to this now commonly accepted twofold nature of drama)⁵. Therefore, to use the quotation from J.M. WALTON, the “real issue in translating [...] plays from ancient Greek, is of restraint and

² In fact J. Michael WALTON claims that “for the most part, the ‘better’ translators are those who were aware of the nature of a dramatic script, and the manner in which it accommodated visual image, dramatic rhythm and performance potential, in addition to their having a solid knowledge of the source language” (*Translating Classical Plays. Collected Papers*, New York 2016, p. 22).

³ A. BERMAN, *Pour une critique des traductions: John Donne*, Paris 1995, pp. 64–83; cf. J. BRZOWSKI, *Stać po stronie tłumacza. Zarys poetyki opisowej przekładu*, Kraków 2011; L. VENUTI, *The Translator’s Invisibility. A History of Translation*, London–New York 1995.

⁴ Cf. J. ZIOMEK, *Projekt wykonawcy w dziele literackim a problemy genologiczne*, in: IDEM, *Powinowactwa literatury. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1980, p. 117; J. BALMER, *What Comes Next? Reconstructing the Classics*, in: S. BASSNETT, P. BUSH (eds.), *The Translator as Writer*, New York 2006, pp. 184–195; WALTON, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 11.

⁵ Scholars agree that it belongs both to the realm of literature (as it apparently has an established verbal form and undeniable intrinsic worth) and to the realm of theatre (as there is the whole dimension of performance to be added and potential meanings which are created, established and re-established during the performance).

licence, or, if you prefer, faithfulness to or freedom from the original"⁶. Every translator of a work from the past finds himself/herself in a difficult position and thus the decision whether (s)he should foreignise or domesticate the translation. STUTTARD's priorities⁷, in my opinion, are put on words that should be spoken by an actor and listened to by the audience rather than read by a reader, in my opinion. Therefore, he refrains from rendering ancient metric verses and all the peculiarities of the Greek language into English (the translation is in prose, but the parts written in other than iambic trimeter verses are given in a changed layout and lowercase lettering) as well as sometimes from Sophocles' grandeur in order to save the clarity of meanings and directness of the play's dialogues and poetry. At the same time, however, he does not conceal or soften the disturbing features either of Antigone or of Creon that make this tragedy.

For example, the famous opening lines of the play are rendered as follows:

Ismene! Sister! Blood of my blood! Has Zeus – wait! Tell me! Can you think of any punishment that Zeus is not inflicting on us two, the last survivors, for the sins of Oedipus? Pain, torment, shame, dishonour – we've experienced them all. And now? Now?

Have you heard of this new edict that they're saying the General's just broadcast to the city and the people? Do you know anything about it?...

Don't you know that sanctions more appropriate for enemies are being imposed on our own family?

Clearly the dominant feature⁸ of his translation is the comprehensibility and accessibility for the modern public⁹. I can easily imagine that some of his choices may be disputable or controversial, but on the other hand, any drama has its "right to revision of emphasis in a new time and under different sensibilities and preoccupations"¹⁰. In any case, translations are volatile, so for those who do not think this translation is good enough, all that remains is to wait for a new one.

To conclude, this volume is worth much attention and should be highly esteemed. Sophocles' *Antigone* is still a challenge, still raises relevant questions, still resonates with us and our modern world, even if we have different experiences and we read and understand this piece through different lenses than the Athenians from the 5th century BC. I do believe that this play together with its complexity and multi-dimensionality will provoke further questions and new versions in future years as well¹¹. So probably (and hopefully) this is not the last volume dedicated to this beautiful and excellent tragedy, as it is still thought-provoking and influential a play.

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⁶ WALTON, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 139.

⁷ Cf. P. WOODRUFF, *Justice in Translation: Rendering Ancient Greek Tragedy*, in: J. GREGORY (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, Malden–Oxford 2005, pp. 490–504.

⁸ Cf. A. BEDNARCZYK, *W poszukiwaniu dominandy translatorskiej*, Warszawa 2008; S. BA-
RAŃCZAK, *Ocalone w tłumaczeniu. Szkice o warsztacie tłumacza poezji z dołączeniem małej antologii przekładów*, Poznań 1992.

⁹ Scholars of culture-oriented approaches to translation studies claim that adapting to the current norms and conventions guarantees acceptability in the receiving culture, cf. G. TOURY, *The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation*, in: IDEM, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 1995, pp. 53–69; T. HERMANS, *Translation and Normativity*, in: Ch. SCHÄFFNER (ed.), *Translations and Norms*, Clevedon 1999, pp. 50–71.

¹⁰ J.M. WALTON, *Found in Translation: Greek Drama in English*, Cambridge 2009, p. 193.

¹¹ As every "reading of a play will vary from age to age, from culture to culture, from reader to reader, and from performance to performance", S. AALTONEN, *Time-Sharing on Stage*, Clevedon 2000, p. 37.

Andrea Falcon (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aristotle in Antiquity*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016 (Brill's Companions to Classical Reception 7), 512 pp., ISBN 978-90-04-26647-6, €182.00.

Comprising twenty three essays on Aristotle's ancient *Nachleben* arranged in a largely chronological sequence, the massive volume edited by Andrea FALCON constitutes an exhaustive guidebook to the survival of Aristotelian philosophy (not to mention Aristotle the philosopher) from the Hellenistic era to the late Neoplatonist period. To achieve its purpose, it necessarily combines the study of interactions between Peripatos and other philosophical schools with enquiries into the individual reworkings of the Aristotelian legacy. This in turn means that while the exposition is governed by a simple unifying principle, the volume is also possessed of certain variety. Thus, the chapters vary in character: one finds systematic enquiries into the largely fragmentary legacy of Stoic and Epicurean thinkers, forays into biographic and doxographic traditions, considerations of the more extensive testimonies of Cicero and Galen, or, for that matter, brief overviews of the prolific output of the Neoplatonists Philoponus and Simplicius. Taken together, the essays reflect the multifaceted nature of individual authors' engagement with Aristotelian thought, portraying diverse and sometimes contrasting attempts to organise the known *corpus* (Andronicus, Iamblichus), to counter the individual arguments of the philosopher (Plotinus), or, to reconcile the thought of the *palaioi* (Porphyry, Simplicius). They also reflect the importance and the fertility of the Aristotelian legacy, which – as abundantly illustrated in the volume – came to exercise an impressive sway even over philosophers openly adverse to the philosopher's ontological or cosmological concepts.

After the brief introduction focused on problems of periodisation and, hence, on the internal organisation of the work, the collection opens with a section on the Hellenistic posteriority of the Stagirite (pp. 11–75). Beginning with D. LEFEBVRE's outline of the fortunes of Aristotle's own school ("Aristotle and the Hellenistic Peripatos", pp. 13–34), the section discusses the Epicurean and Stoic engagement with Aristotelian thought (F. VERDE, "Aristotle and the Garden", pp. 35–55; Th. BÉNATOUÏL, "Aristotle and the Stoa", pp. 56–75). LEFEBVRE seeks to revise the traditional view of the Lyceum's philosophical and institutional decline by providing a much more nuanced image of the immediate successors of the great Stagirite. In his account, their focus on history, politics, and psychology is reflective of more general, continuous striving to continue and develop the master's immense legacy. Meanwhile, VERDE and BÉNATOUÏL aim to reconstruct the nature of largely lost philosophical debates of the Hellenistic era: starting from the accounts of Cicero (in the *De natura deorum*, *De officiis*, and *De finibus*) they attempt to reconstruct the interaction between Aristotelianism and the two Hellenistic schools as manifest in the respective fields of physics, logic, and ethics. The resulting image of Hellenistic reception is striking due to the relative lack of interest in logic and 'hard' ontology, i.e. subjects at the heart of many later enquiries, and for the focal importance of Aristotle's lost works.

As for the next section, no less than twelve chapters focus on what is quite rightly defined as the post-Hellenistic rather than the imperial reception of Aristotle: these are divided into studies of the straightforward Aristotelian tradition (from Andronicus to Alexander), of Aristotle's reception beyond the latter (from Antiochus to Plotinus) and are supplemented with two chapters outlining the Stagirite's presence in doxographic and biographical literature. Made for the sake of clarity, the Peripatetic/non-Peripatetic division works beautifully, allowing the reader to appreciate both the continuity and the vagaries of reception in different philosophical contexts.

As for the Peripatos, the overview begins with M. HATZIMIKALI's review of the importance of Andronicus ("Andronicus of Rhodes and the Construction of Aristotelian corpus", pp. 81–100) and continues with two studies on first-century Aristotelian thought (A. FALCON, "Aristotelianism in the First Century BC", pp. 101–119, and G. TSOUNI, "Peripatetic Ethics in the First Century

BC: The Summary of Arius Didymus”, pp. 120–137). The first reflects on the actual nature of Andronicus’ contribution to Aristotelian reception (the traditional tale of the rediscovery of long-lost and hitherto unknown manuscripts of the esoteric writings being nowadays generally rejected), recognising the importance of the Rhodian’s organisational principle (logical writings at the very beginning of the corpus). The chapter’s importance lies largely in the revision of many persistent myths concerning Aristotle’s presence at the turn of the eras and in its attempt to locate the actual novelty and merit of Andronicus’ work. By contrast, the respective chapters by FALCON and TSOUNI centre on the actual presence of Aristotelian thought as well as on its interactions with other late philosophical currents of the first century AD, thus contributing to the overall vision of the cultural and intellectual climate of the era. While FALCON devotes more or less equal space to all three divisions of philosophy, TSOUNI’s focus (as duly indicated in the title), rests firmly on a very specific case of reception, namely Arius’ ethical doxography. The work in question is of particular interest due to its heavy contamination by Stoic influences: manifesting themselves in both the language and the conceptual framework, these influences reveal the mechanisms of assimilation and appropriation as well as points of dissent and controversy.

Finally, the last chapter of the subsection focuses on possibly the best known Aristotelian of the imperial era, and the iconic exegete of corpus, namely Alexander of Aphrodisias (C. CERAMI, pp. 160–179). In emphasising his contributions to metaphysics and logic, CERAMI makes a convincing case for a re-evaluation of Alexander’s standing within the history of philosophy. Highlighting the originality of the essentialist interpretation and the importance of the *nous thyrathen* theory, the scholar stresses the revolutionary nature of Alexander’s contribution while hinting at the sway it exercised over the next centuries of Aristotelian interpretations. In her opinion, Alexander’s philosophical innovations put him on a par with those of the Neoplatonist Plotinus, the view which reinforces the Aphrodisian’s importance within the history of philosophy: not only the greatest Aristotelian of the imperial era, he also stands out as an innovator and reformer of theories of substance, soul, and mind.

Starting with the Academic Antiochus of Ascalon and, the overview of Aristotle’s reception beyond his faithful successors, the other subsection concludes (chronologically speaking) with the pivotal figure of Plotinus. As for Antiochus, John DILLON provides a short, but highly illustrative outline of problems related to the issue of Aristotelian presence in the thought of the Ascalonian as it is attested in Cicero (“The Reception of Aristotle in Antiochus and Cicero”, pp. 184–201). Drawing on the earlier work by BARNES¹, DILLON highlights the gap between the Aristotle known to the Arpinate and the Aristotle known today – he also emphasises the need for extreme caution in approaching the subject of Antiochus’ acquaintance with the great philosopher of Stageira. Next comes A. ULACCO’s account of the Pseudo-Pythagoreans and their attitude toward the Aristotelian tradition (“The Appropriation of Aristotle in Ps.-Pythagorean Treatises”, pp. 202–217): in contrast with the former essay, it is physics that comes to the fore in her study. It is within this particular context that issues such as the creation/eternity of the world, the structuring of the cosmos, the number of elements, and the nature of movement are of paramount importance (which in turn emphasises the sway of the *Physics*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *On the Heavens*, and *Metaphysics Lambda*). In turn, A. MICHALEWSKI (“The Reception of Aristotle in Middle Platonism: From Eudorus of Alexandria to Ammonius Saccas”, pp. 218–237) outlines some important features of Middle Platonist reception: the ontological interpretation of the *Categories* proposed by Eudorus, the impact of the hylomorphism on Plutarch’s physical theories in the *De generatione animae* or *Quaestiones Platonicae* 8, debates on the sense of *genetos*, or Alcinoüs’ noetics in the *Didascalicus*. Regardless of the necessary conciseness, her contribution provides not only an

¹ J. BARNES, *Roman Aristotle*, in: J. BARNES, M. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Philosophia Togata II: Plato and Aristotle at Rome*, Oxford 1997, pp. 1–69.

excellent starting point for any further exploration of Aristotelian presences, but also a brief insight into the very nature of Middle Platonism as such.

Given the sheer size (not to mention the focus) of his literary output, it seems logical that a separate chapter is devoted to the study of Galen. A brief sketch of Aristotle's presence in this particular author is provided by R.J. HANKINSON ("Galen's Reception of Aristotle", pp. 238–257). The very importance of soul–body relations for many medical theories, such as the theory of temperaments, results in the strong interest the Pergamene had in hylomorphic theory; yet, his attitude toward Aristotle (and Aristotelian thought in general) is complicated by his strong rejection of any claim to the hegemonic position of the heart, an assumption central to Aristotle's concept of human life.

Plotinus' complex relationship with the Aristotelian legacy (while accepting many fundamentally Aristotelian terms, he disagreed with the great Stagirite on a number of important metaphysical issues such as the theory of substance, the theory of the cosmos, etc.) is briefly outlined by S. MAGRIN ("Plotinus' Reception of Aristotle", pp. 258–276). Developed against the background of the STRANGE–CHIARADONNA² debate, her argument demonstrates the need for a nuanced and careful approach to the text of the *Enneads*, insisting that a correct assessment of Plotinus' reception of Aristotelian thought needs to account for the entirety of Plotinus' legacy instead of focusing on its ontological aspect. Thus, while CHIARADONNA's work remains the most detailed exploration of *Enneads* VI 1–3, MAGRIN's essay not only provides the basic outline of the issue and existing interpretations, but also points toward the possible weaknesses of existing studies.

The subsection closes with two chapters devoted to the reception beyond the straightforward philosophical tradition, namely Aristotle's biographical tradition (T. DORANDI, "The Ancient Biographical Tradition on Aristotle", pp. 277–298) and the philosopher's presence in doxographic sources related to the Aetian *Placita* (J. MANSFELD, "Aristotle in the Aetian *Placita*", pp. 299–318). Relying on the recently concluded study of the Aetian collection³, MANSFELD's study reflects the thoroughness of the respective investigation, providing a glimpse of Aristotelian thought as present in a wider cultural context – given the didactic character of the doxography, it is only natural to assume that for some less assiduous members of the public Aristotle would be known primarily through *Placita*-like sources. As for the biographic tradition, DORANDI does an admirable job of not only numbering the existing sources, but also accounting for their complex character. Limited by historical truth, but subject to multiple pressures stemming from rhetorical as well as philosophical demands, and riddled with questions of authenticity, the biographical genre remains particularly challenging study matter – and in the case of Aristotle, the situation is compounded by the scarcity of actual historical data.

Focused on late antiquity, the third and final section of the volume (pp. 319–479) comprises eight essays and provides the reader with a competent overview of Aristotle's reception in Neoplatonic thought from Porphyry to Simplicius, as well as an introduction to the problems related to the primarily didactically oriented philosophical output of Themistius. At the very close of the collection, two chapters dealing respectively with the Latin reception and the presence of Aristotle in Early Christianity provide an insight into the foundations of Aristotle's afterlife in the Latin Middle Ages.

While R. CHIARADONNA ("Porphyry and the Aristotelian Tradition", pp. 321–340) highlights Porphyry's somewhat cunning elimination of the major obstacle on the way to the full union of Plato and Aristotle, Jan OPSOMER stresses the importance of Pythagoreanism (or 'Pythagoreanism') in the parallel efforts of Iamblichus. In his study ("An Intellectual Perspective on Aristotle: Iamblichus

² R. CHIARADONNA, *Sostanza movimento analogia. Plotino critico di Aristotele*, Napoli 2002 (Elenchos Suppl. 37); S.K. STRANGE, *Plotinus, Porphyry and the Neoplatonist Interpretation of the Categories*, ANRW II 36, 2 (1987), pp. 955–974.

³ Up to now, the project, coordinated by J. MANSFELD and D.T. RUNIA has produced the four volumes of *Aetiana. The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer* (Leiden 1996–2018).

the Divine”, pp. 341–357), he emphasises the importance of Iamblichus’ decision to attribute major concepts of his philosophy to Pythagoras, which on one hand demotes Aristotle to a minor position, but on the other allows a Platonic philosopher certain freedom in exploiting Aristotelian concepts. After these two strongly philosophical chapters, A. ZUCKER’s essay on Themistius (pp. 358–373) provides a somewhat welcome change of pace: his focus lies at least in part on more formal aspects of the Themistian paraphrasis⁴. It also strives to account for the apparent duality of the scholar’s intellectual legacy (speeches vs. philosophical works), which considerably widens the perspective and serves to provide the reader with an excellent introduction to Themistius’ intellectual and didactic activities.

Returning to ‘hard’ philosophy, P. D’HOINE discusses a further shift in the reception as attested in the surviving writings of Syrianus and Proclus (“Syrianus and Proclus on Aristotle”, pp. 374–393). In emphasising the importance of the former, he highlights the original nature of his re-interpretation of the *Metaphysics*, which appears to have had a formative influence on the reception of Proclus. The essay clearly shows that despite the better fortunes of the Lycian’s writings, the surviving works of his teacher (most importantly his commentary on *Metaphysics* M) are of far more interest to the study of Aristotle’s reception, providing an important background to the later theories of Simplicius and the school of Athens⁵. Next, M. GRIFFIN (“Ammonius and the Alexandrian School”, pp. 394–418) outlines the approach to the Aristotelian legacy attested in the known teachings of the philosophical school of Alexandria (from Hermeias to ‘Stephanus’), paying particular attention to its two best known representatives i.e. Ammonius (with his alleged betrayal of his true philosophical vocation, interestingly manifested by limiting his teaching to the writings of Aristotle) and Olympiodorus. Then, an outline of the Simplicius–Philoponus controversy concerning Aristotle is provided by P. GOLITSIS (“Simplicius and Philoponus on the Authority of Aristotle”, pp. 419–438): as an enquiry into the late Neoplatonic debate on the generation of the world gained some momentum with the re-evaluation of Philoponus’ physical theories⁶, the attitude these two disciples of Ammonius display with respect to Aristotle becomes a reflection of an impressively vast spectrum of philosophical problems.

As it was with the previous section, the two final chapters of this one, tracing first the reception of the Stagirite in the Latin-speaking world and his presence in the works of Early Christian writers, appear somewhat separate from the others. Ch. ERISMANN’s discussion of the Latin reception (“*Aristoteles Latinus*: The Reception of Aristotle in the Latin World”, pp. 439–459) demonstrates, to some degree, how closely the two traditions are linked, with the *Categories* becoming a focus of translatory and interpretative effort in the Latin world. Meanwhile G. KARAMANOLIS (“Early Christian Philosophers on Aristotle”, pp. 460–479) begins by stressing the major shift occurring in the Christian reception of the Stagirite: from general condemnation and absence in the earlier period to the widespread use from the late antiquity onward (Boethius, Philoponus, Scholarius). Starting with Clement of Alexandria and concluding with the Cappadocian Fathers, he provides

⁴ It is worth noting that the generic issues of paraphrasis are of considerable interest to ZUCKER, cf. his *Qu’est-ce qu’une paraphrasis? L’enfance grecque de la paraphrase*, Rursus-Spicae VI 2011 (URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/rursus/476>; DOI: 10.4000/rursus.476; consulted on 5.8.2018).

⁵ When reading D’HOINE one is frequently reminded of the somewhat bitter observations on the survival of exegetical literature made by Silvia FAZZO in her *Aristotelianism as a Commentary Tradition*, in: P. ADAMSON, H. BALTUSSEN, M.W. STONE (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Latin and Arabic Commentaries*, vol. I, London 2004, pp. 1–19.

⁶ Cf. R. SORABJI, *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, Ithaca 1987 (2nd edn. London 2011); F. DE HAAS, *John Philoponus’ New Definition of Prime Matter*, Leiden 1997. One also notes that GOLITSIS himself is the author of the much more detailed *Les commentaries de Simplicius et de Jean Philopon à la Physique d’Aristote. Tradition et innovation*, Berlin–New York 2008.

a basic introduction to what of necessity is a much larger issue (witness, e.g., the problems related to the presence of Aristotelianism in the eastern confines of the empire, i.e. among the Syrians).

To summarise: despite the necessary conciseness of the individual essays (one notes the impressive discipline manifested by the near identical length of all the contributions), this well edited volume manages to furnish a comprehensive and up-to-date overview of Aristotle's afterlife from the third century BC to the sixth century AD, while at the same time providing the reader with basic tools for further research. Though paying particular attention to the 'other', 'lost' visions of Aristotle, it illustrates the slow emergence of what became a towering figure in Western philosophy – the author of the *Organon* (and most prominently the *Categories*) and the *Metaphysics*. This is not exactly the honey-tongued Aristotle celebrated by Cicero: it is, however, a product of centuries of scholarly debate, whose form owes much to the editorial efforts of Andronicus, to the essentialist Alexander, and to the conciliatory Porphyry; it is also, in a manner of speaking, the Aristotle whom Western culture knows best. It is precisely its portrayal of this formative process that makes this volume worth reading in its entirety. While the individual essays provide either introductions or overviews of more particular problems, the internal arrangement of the volume and the discipline of the exposition resulted in a convincing, multifaceted portrayal of the dynamics of reception as well as the various factors that influenced the 'final' result.

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