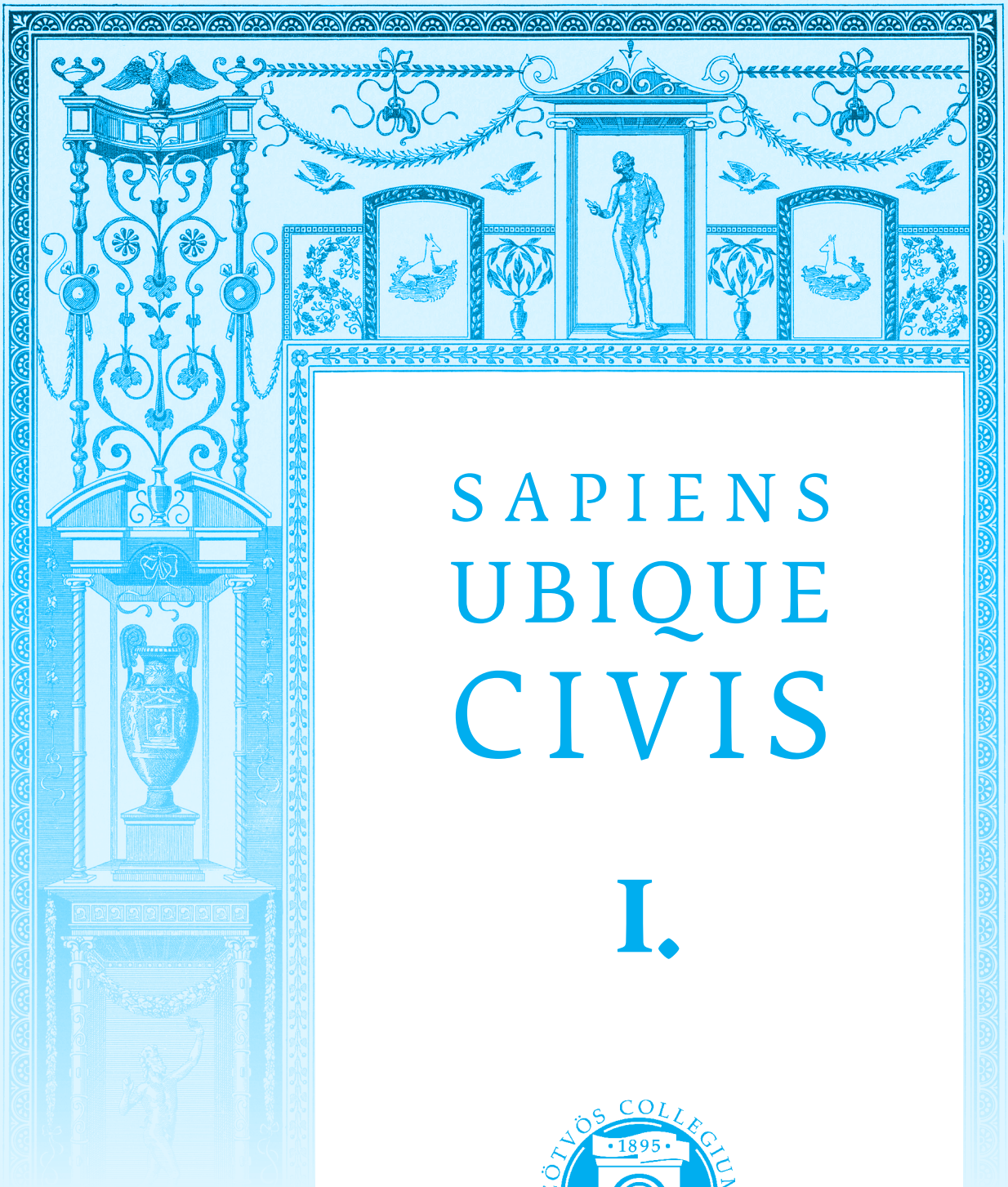

SAPIENS UBIQUE CIVIS

I.

ELTE ELTVÖS COLLEGIUM 1895 Szabadon szolgál a szellem

UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL AND NEO-LATIN STUDIES
&
ELTE EÖTVÖS JÓZSEF COLLEGIUM

SAPIENS UBIQUE CIVIS
I.

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SAPIENS UBIQUE CIVIS
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JÁNOS NAGYILLÉS

Sapiens ubique civis – Preface

Our volume publishes nine of the presentations given at the *Sapiens Ubique Civis VII* conference – an event that took place in 2019 and was the seventh in a series of conferences organised for doctoral and post-doctoral students by the Department for Classical and Neo-Latin Studies of the University of Szeged. As the spectrum of the current selection will also reveal, it is traditional for the academic forum of this conference not to be organised around a certain topic but, rather, to provide visibility to the studies conducted by the doctoral students. This way we can assure that all participants present the materials that they have been the most invested in.

At the conference, presentations are followed by lively and productive discussions that often enrich the perspectives offered by the presenter. During the three-day event presentations were given by a total of 47 young researchers coming from 9 countries and various doctoral programmes. This great number of almost half a hundred participants shows that there is still interest in the academic research of classical studies, of ancient languages and especially of Latin and its use as a mediator language; and that the next generation of scholars is currently in the making at various doctoral programmes.

There is good reason to feel optimistic: researches in antiquity are persisting despite the decline of humanities classes. This can also be attributed to the fact that, next to presentations about ancient culture, the conference also featured talks about late antiquity, the medieval period, and early modern history, what is more, the influence of classical texts lent itself to analysis up until contemporary history. The organisers of the conference would like to express their gratitude to the Faculty of

Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Szeged for sponsoring the academic event and to the Eötvös József Collegium of ELTE and its director, László Horváth, for publishing this volume as part of the institute's acclaimed scientific series.

Our intention is to find new channels to organise and implement the conference regardless of the pandemic, and in 2021 to resume the tradition that has been temporarily discontinued due to uncertainties surrounding the global health situation.

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DAVID PRESTON

Empedocles' Big Break: Pre-Socratic Cosmology and The Big Bounce

This paper endeavours to demonstrate that certain strands of ancient and modern cosmological thought are not as dissimilar as one might initially believe. In doing so, it will examine two accounts of the fundamental nature and origin of the universe – one put forward in the 5th century BCE by the Pre-Socratic Empedocles, and one favoured by a faction of 21st Century CE physical cosmologists. After said parallels are highlighted, there will be some speculation on how Empedocles may have arrived at such conclusions two and a half millennia ago, followed by a defence of him being classified only as an ancient poet.[1]

Keywords: Empedocles, Pre-Socratic cosmology, Big Bounce, Ancient Science

Hands up – who's heard of Empedocles? If the answer is 'not me' then the chances are you've spent your life doing something more productive than scrawling through dusty pages of Diels-Kranz's *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. If the answer is 'somewhat', you might be a recovering philosopher (or classicist) with a vague memory of a tale about a madman jumping into a volcano interrupting your slumbers as you dosed through a first-year Ancient Philosophy lecture. If your answer is 'but of course, who hasn't?', then – like me – you probably need to get out a little more. Indeed, people like 'us' – by which I mean those who spend their lives studying Pre-Socratic Philosophy – spend much of our time espousing its virtues, relevance, and practicality in relation to 21st centu-

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Gergő Gellérfi and Dr János Nagyillés (University of Szeged) for their feedback when this paper was presented as a keynote at the *Sapiens Ubique Civis* conference in August 2019. I would also like to thank Dr. Mia Hughes (Imperial College London) for her patience and lucid responses to my countless annoying questions on physical cosmology.

ry thinking, but this often falls on deaf ears—even within academic discussions. Aside from the occasional nod given in the general direction of Plato and Aristotle (and, increasingly, the Stoics), Ancient Philosophy largely continues to be viewed as something perhaps necessary to study as a starting point on a 'History of Ideas' module, but its perceived usefulness and practicality ends around there. Thales, for example, holds the distinction of being classified as the first 'philosopher' due to him challenging the traditional theological narrative with his claim that everything came not from the gods, but from water.[2] Owing to him positing a natural source as the origin of all things, Thales might be seen more as a proto-scientist than a philosopher, something which leads him to be treated as too much of a scientist for the philosophers, but too much of a philosopher for the scientists. This is a sentiment echoed recently by Steven Weinberg, Nobel laureate in Physics, who claims that "the early Greeks had very little in common with today's physicists. Their theories had no bite. Empedocles could speculate about the elements, and Democritus about atoms, but their speculations led to no new information about nature—and certainly to nothing that would allow their theories to be tested. It is better to think of them not as physicists or scientists or even philosophers, but as poets".[3]

It isn't difficult to understand why opinions like those of Weinberg's arise; Pre-Socratic philosophy can be abstract at best and downright bonkers at worst, yet they were grappling with the same problems many philosophers and scientists are today, these being the fundamental nature and origin both of our universe and existence itself. The accessibility of their ideas, however, are often hampered by the dense poetic style they are delivered through, and this might unwittingly cause one to classify them simply as folk or pagan beliefs held by an ancient people which should be handled accordingly – similar to how one might approach Homer's myths of creation or Hesiod's *Theogony*. While such texts might have *historical* value, some mistake their value to be limited purely to this – insights to be gained into the mindset of a people of the

[2] WEINBERG (2015: 15).

[3] Arist. *Metaph.* 1, 983b.

past, but which can have no bearing on or relevance to practical conjectures in philosophy or science.

The following paper, then, will undertake to demonstrate that certain strands of ancient and modern cosmological thought are, in fact, not as dissimilar as might initially be thought. To do this, it will examine two accounts of the fundamental nature and origin of the universe – one put forward in the 5th century BCE by the Pre-Socratic Empedocles, and one favoured by a faction of 21st Century C.E physical cosmologists, this being the 'Big Bounce' model. Here, I must stress that I do not mean to endorse Big Bounce (or for that matter Empedocles) as the most credible of the numerous competing theories currently in dialogue among members of the scientific community; this is something which is rightfully left to our more learned colleagues in physics departments. My aim is more sedate; namely, to highlight some curious parallels between the two theories, offer some light conjecture on how Empedocles may have arrived at such conclusions two and a half millennia ago, and defend him from being classified only as a poet.

What is Big Bounce Theory?

Big Bounce Theory came to prominence in scientific literature in the late 1980s, with the term first coined by Priester and Blome in 1987.[4] In the simplest of terms, it provides a solution to the perennial question asked of Big Bang Cosmology, this being 'What happened before the Big Bang?', by proposing that the cosmos came from the collapse of a previous universe. Big Bounce theorists propose that prior to the Big Bang, there was a contracting universe with space-time geometry that otherwise is similar to that of our current expanding universe.[5] As gravitational forces pulled this previous universe inward, it reached a point at which the quantum properties of space-time caused gravity to become repulsive, rather than attractive. "Using quantum modifications of Einstein's cosmological equations, we have shown that in place of a classical Big Bang there is in fact a quantum Bounce," says Abhay Ashtekar, Eberly Professor of Physics at Pennsylvania State University. "We were

[4] BLOME–PRIESTER (1987: 83–89).

[5] ASHTEKAR–PAWLOWSKI–SINGH (2006).

so surprised by the finding that there is another classical, pre-Big Bang universe that we repeated the simulations with different parameter values over several months, but we found that the Big Bounce scenario is robust."[6]

To simplify, according to general relativity the universe was once condensed into a single point (singularity) which was infinitely dense. The expansion of matter from this singularity is what we know as The Big Bang. What causes the matter to 'blow out' is still a matter of conjecture – cause and effect gets murky when dealing with the first moment of time; all that can be determined and needed to be understood for the sake of this paper is that it simply started flying apart. It can also be determined that the reason everything doesn't get 'sucked' back in to the singularity's gravitational pull is due to dark energy, an unexplained force counteracting gravity, which is responsible for accelerating the expansion of the universe.[7]

This helps us understand the universe in its present state – an ever-expanding mass of matter resulting from an infinitely dense singularity. What happens after this continues to be speculated on by theoretical physicists. One such possibility is a 'Big Freeze', which holds that the expansion of the universe will continue forever. The universe will cool as it expands, eventually becoming too cold to sustain life/energy. An alternative proposed by Roger Penrose is conformal cyclic cosmology which suggests that, owing to the expansion of the universe, particles will be separated so far from each other that they will no longer have mass.[8] If there is no mass in the universe, then there can be no time. If there is no time, then there can be no distance. If there is no distance or time, we cannot tell the difference between something infinitely large or infinitely small and so scale is lost – in both the linear and physical sense. In a universe with no scale, there can be no distinction between a

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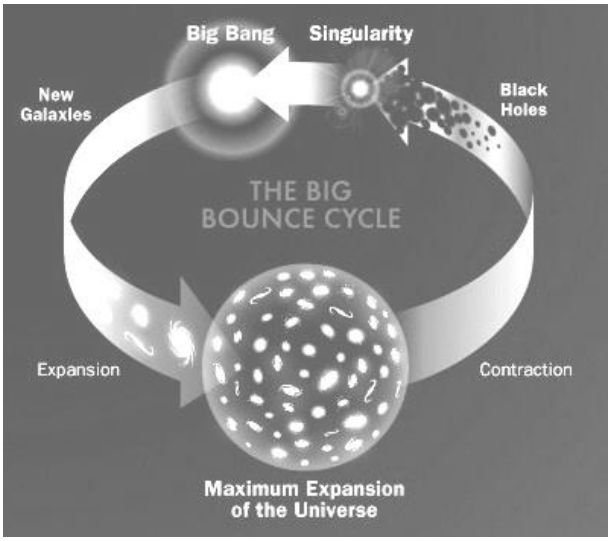
[6] ASHTEKAR–PAWLOWSKI–SINGH (2006).

[7] Though dark energy is responsible for the current acceleration of the universe's expansion, it might not necessarily be responsible for its initial expansion. In the summer of 2020, however, a field which is responsible for both the initial expansion and current expansion was hypothesised in two articles. What we call dark energy would be a manifestation of this field. Cf. ILJIAS et al. (2020) and COOK et al. (2020).

[8] PENROSE (2006: 2759–2762).

huge universe and a tiny one, and so another Big Bang occurs. For my purpose, I wish to draw attention to Big Crunch Theory, which holds that dark energy will decrease over time, leading to the expansion of the universe eventually decelerating. Gravity gains the upper hand in the tug-of-war between the two, and its increasing influence causes the universe to collapse back in on itself. This brings us to the 'Big Bounce' and the view that our current universe was formed from an older collapsing universe, as demonstrated by the graphic below:



The Big Bounce model, then, entails a 'traditional' Big Bang from a singularity, with the expansion (driven by dark energy) forming galaxies. As the expansion continues to a maximum point, the force of dark energy begins to wane, allowing gravity to re-exert its pull causing the universe to contract and collapse back into a singularity, which will eventually result in another Big Bang, before another Big Crunch, and then another Big Bang etc. This cycle is infinite and in turn allows for infinite previous incarnations of our universe. Once again, it should be reiterated here that this paper does not aim to promote the virtues of Big Bounce over competing theories, nor is its author's opinion on the matter in any way relevant. Nor is it needed to dwell further on the intricacies or complexities of the theory—all that is needed here is for the reader to now have a general sketch of Big Bounce Theory to compare against Empedocles' system. With this in mind, I turn to Empedocles.

Empedocles of Acragas (c490 BCE-c440 BCE)[9]

Like the other Pre-Socratics, determining anything we can be certain about Empedocles' life is tricky business, since most of what we know of his life is written by later doxographers and is embellished accordingly. We are however, blessed to have more in Empedocles' own hand than we do any other Pre-Socratic. The ancient doxographers credited a variety of works to him, but his extant fragments can all be ascribed to two poems: *Purifications* and *On Nature* – the former dealing with religious speculations and the latter physical.[10] From these fragments we can determine he was a native of Acragas,[11] beloved to Pausanias,[12] and viewed himself as intellectually superior and godlike to his fellow Sicilians, who he felt spent much of their life in a dream-like state rather than focussed on truth.[13] At times, he seems more shaman than philosopher, with tales of him bringing people back from the dead and wearing gold diadems and bronze sandals abound.[14] Perhaps most memorable, however, are the stories surrounding his death. While the finer details differ in the varying accounts, the common narrative involves him leaping into Mt. Etna to demonstrate his divinity.[15]

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[9] All fragments cited follow the DIELS-KRANZ. All are cited in English using MCKIRAHAN and CURD's 2011 translation..

[10] The tradition that these are in fact two separate poems rather than part of one whole longer piece has been repeatedly challenged in recent centuries. Since this is only tangentially relevant to the discussion at hand, I choose to omit any discussion on it here. Instead, I direct the curious reader to Catherine OSBOURNE's (1987: 27–50) thorough analysis of the problem.

[11] DK 31B112.

[12] DK 31B1; *cf.* B5.

[13] Cf. DK 31B113, B2, B112.

[14] DK 31A1.

[15] *Ibid.;* Heraclides claims Empedocles simply disappeared during the night after a divine voice accompanied by a bright light was heard calling him from the sky. Hippobotus claims that after bringing a woman back from the dead, he went to Mt. Etna and jumped in to confirm what people were saying about him – that he was a god. Lucian's account in the *Icaromenippus* has a more satirical twist; rather than being consumed by the flames, Empedocles was carried to the moon by an eruption where he apparently lives to this day.

Parmenides v. Empedocles

Absurd tales aside, Empedocles' position in the Western philosophical canon is justified by him being the first to posit on idea of an *element* in his response to Parmenides of Elea's monism. Parmenides had argued that the first principle underpinning existence (i.e. what exists or 'what-is') is a single, unified, unchanging, unmoving, eternal whole.[16] It must be single, as for it to be otherwise there must be a point where it is punctuated by 'what-is-not' or non-existence. Non-existence, however, cannot exist, thus rendering such an idea absurd. Nor can it change, as to do so would involve it changing into something it currently is not, but since 'what-is' encompasses all that exists, it can not change into something it is not, as this would require it to change into 'what-is-not', but since 'what-is-not' can not exist, 'what-is' cannot change into it, as something cannot change into something non-existent, only into something that exists or 'is'. It is the same logic that renders 'what-is' unmoving, as to move would require it to move into something 'what-is-not', yet one can't move to a non-existing location, nor can be there space where nothing (including space itself) exists. Finally, its eternality is necessitated by the thought that for 'what-is' to come into being, it would necessarily have to come from 'what-is-not'. Existence arising from sheer non-existence, however, is also absurd; as Lear reminds Cordelia: "Nothing can come of nothing"[17]. Since it can not have been generated, nor can it die – only things which come into existence can cease to be; for something to end it must first begin. While logical, such a system makes a mess of our everyday worldview; subscribing to a system which questions the reality of anything involving plurality, change, time, etc. seems a little too counter-intuitive to be feasible.

The Roots

While Empedocles agreed with Parmenides on the eternality of 'what-is' and the impossibility of 'what-is' arising from 'what-is-not',[18] he took issue with the monistic nature ascribed to it by Parmenides. Rather than

[16] Cf. DK 28B8.

[17] *King Lear* I, i, 92.

[18] Cf. DK 31B8, B12, B13, B7.

it being a single substance, Empedocles argued that existence could be reduced to four core elements or 'roots':[19]

- Earth (also referred to as Hera).
- Water (also referred to Sea/Rain/Nestis).
- Air (also referred to as Zeus/Aither).
- Fire (also referred to as Sun/Hades/Aidoneus/Hephaestus).

Everything in existence for Empedocles consists of a particular compound of these elements. This allows for change, as an entity is created when some or all of the elements mix together and is destroyed when the mixture is dissolved, with the elements then rearranged into different new compounds.[20] The roots, however, are eternal, and cannot be further reduced beyond themselves or destroyed.[21] All are equally important and, like Parmenides' One, never came into being nor will cease to be. Empedocles describes the creation of the Earth to exemplify his cosmogony:

> "Earth came together by chance in about equal quantity to these, Hephaestus and rain and all-shining Aithēr, anchored in the perfect harbors of Cypris, either a bit more or a bit less of it among more of them. From them blood came into being and other forms of flesh."[22]

Similarly, bone is two parts water and four fire mixed inside the earth:

> "Pleasant earth in her well-made crucibles obtained two parts of bright Nestis out of the eight, and four of Hephaestus, and white bones came into being"[23]

When a human 'dies', then, their physical being is not obliterated, merely the elements forming its compound dissolve and move on to a different place in the cosmos.[24] Empedocles gives allegorical titles to the roots

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[19] DK 31A33, B6.
[20] DK 31B21: 315–21.
[21] DK 31B17: 261
[22] DK31B98.
[23] DK 31B96.
[24] DK 31B17: 231.

(e.g. Nestis, Hera, Aidoneus), and while this hints at their vitality, it may even suggest their ability to create consciousness.[25] While the elements are responsible for forming compounds, Empedocles also posits two opposing forces in an eternal tug-of-war as the energy which causes the roots to move about in the first place. These are 'Love' (also referred to as Aphrodite, Cypris, or Harmony) and 'Strife' (also referred to as Anger, Wrath, or Discord), the former named so for its unifying nature, the latter for its destructive. Under the influence of Love, the roots are 'glued' and 'fitted' together, while under Strife they are torn apart.[26] To equate this to something more relatable, here we might think about the roles of gravity and dark energy in modern physical cosmology. Despite his allegory of Love and Strife as two painters being able to paint anything imaginable with only four pigments suggesting otherwise,[27] it should be noted that this merely serves to aid the digestion of his theory to his contemporary audience; Love and Strife are mechanical forces, rather than sentient beings in conscious battle with each other.[28]

Empedocles' Cosmology:

> "I will tell a double story. For at one time they grew to be only one out of many, but at another they grew apart to be many out of one."[29]

For present purposes, Empedocles' cosmology is best mapped out in stages which follow a Big-Bounce-like model.

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[25] DK 31A33, B6.

[26] DK 31B96.

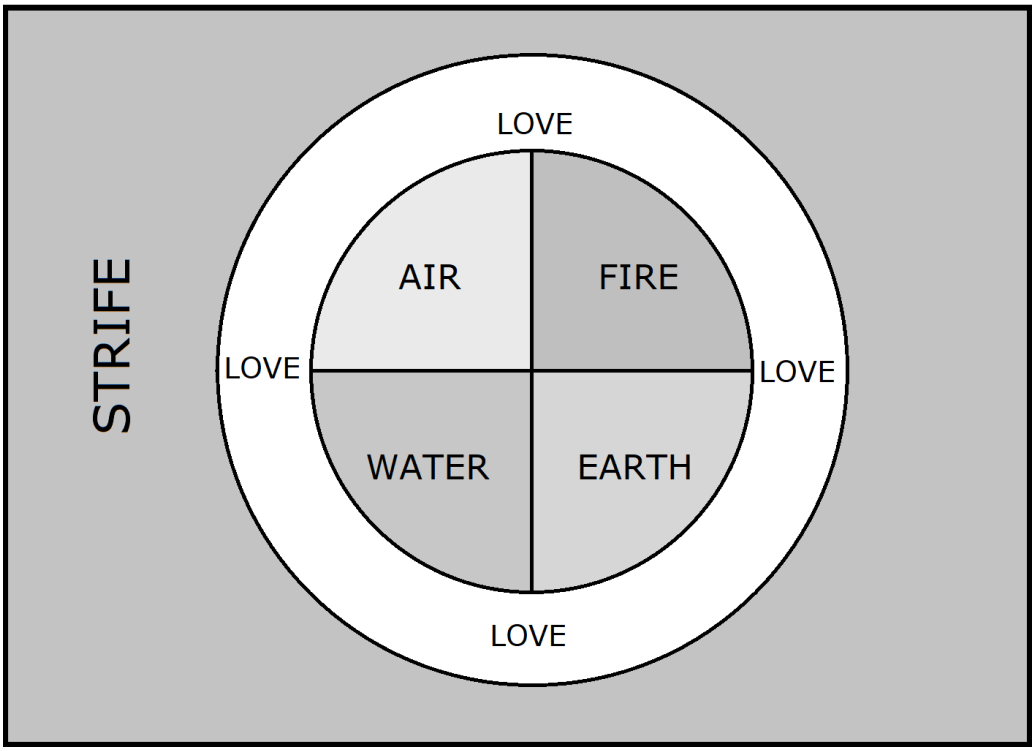
[27] DK 32B23.

[28] Empedocles is rather ambiguous on the existence of metaphysical deities. At times, he follows Parmenides (DK 28B1) and the epic poets by claiming his message is not his own, but one which is being channelled through him by a god (B23). Elsewhere in B23, he claims that "trees and men and women, and beasts and birds and fishes nurtured in water, and long-lived gods highest in honors" are formed from the roots mixing, which would imply that there is nothing beyond his universe. In a fragment discussing the transmigration of the soul (DK 31B115), however, he implies that the punishment for murder – wandering the earth for thousands of years in thousands of different incarnations – is "an ancient decree of the gods". Whether one can be redeemed and achieve communion with these gods, however, remains unclear.

[29] DK 31B17: 248–249.

Stage One – Love in domination (life not possible).[30]

"But I shall return to that path of songs that I recounted before, drawing off this account from another one. When Strife had reached the furthest depth of the vortex, and Love comes to be in the middle of the *kosmos*, at this point all these things come together to be one single thing, not at once, but willingly combining, different ones from different places."[31]



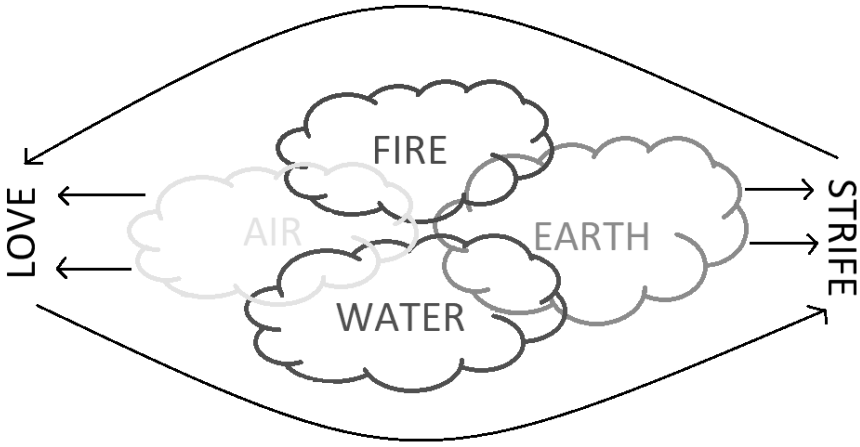
Here we have the stage where Love is in complete domination. The roots are enclosed and unified under its complete influence. Strife is pushed to the extremities. Since there is no tension between the two forces, the elements cannot mix to form compounds. Thus, a cosmogony is not possible. In terms of Big Bounce theory, this would be the singularity of the Big Bang. Eventually, Strife begins to regain some control

[30] As the cycle is infinite, there is obviously no 'beginning', 'first stage', or point in the cycle which supersedes the others in importance. In terms of Empedocles, my choosing to start here is trivial, and I only do so for ease of comprehension.
[31] DK 31B35.

and exert its force on the elements, loosening the hold and causing the elements to seep out.

Stage Two – Contention between Love and Strife (Life Possible)

> "As when painters decorate votive offerings— men through cunning well taught in their skill— who when they take the many-colored pigments in their hands, mixing in harmony more of these and less of those, out of them they produce shapes similar to all things, creating trees and men and women and beasts and birds and fishes nurtured in water and long-lived gods highest in honors. So let not deception compel your mind (phrēn) to believe that there is from anywhere else a source of mortal things, all the endless numbers of things that have come to be manifest, but know these things distinctly, having heard the story from a god."

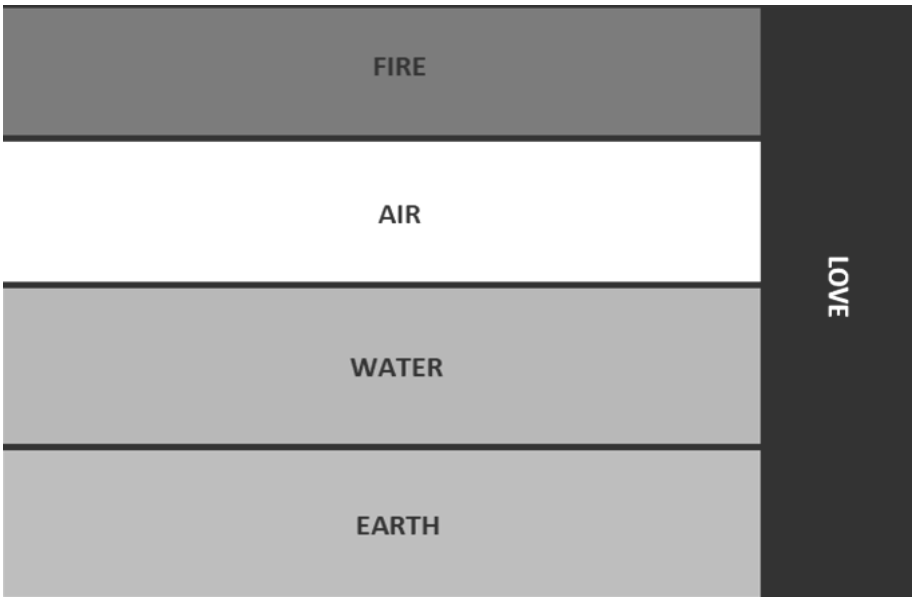


Here we have the following stage. The influences of Love and Strife on the elements are in full contention. This tension between the two – Love pulling one way and Strife the other – allows the roots to mix with each other to form "all things",[32] from celestial bodies to life. Empedocles' system suggests that we are currently in this stage of the cosmological process.

[32] DK 13B23.

Stage Three – Strife in Domination (Life not possible)

"Under Strife they are all apart and have separate forms."[33]

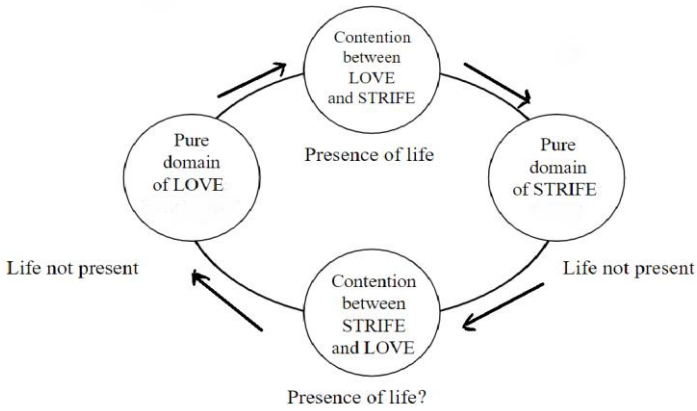


At this stage of the cycle, Strife is in complete domination. Love this time is banished to the extremities. The elements have completely separated from each other, and, being unable to mix, life is not possible. In terms of Big Bounce, this would be equivalent to maximum expansion.

Stage Four - Love begins to exert influence resulting in another contention:

> "And these never cease continually interchanging, at one time all coming together into one by Love and at another each being borne apart by the hatred of Strife. Thus in that they have learned to grow to be one out of many and in that they again spring apart as many when the one grows apart, in that way they come to be, and their life is not lasting, but in that they never cease interchanging continually, in this way they are always unchanging in a cycle."[34]

[33] DK 31B20: 314.
[34] DK 31 B17: 232-236; cf. B36.



After Love has brought the elements back into contention, the former process happens in reverse, similar to a Big Crunch, before reverting back to Stage One and repeating the cycle *ad infinitum*. Whether or not life is present or possible during Stage Four is contested and will be discussed shortly, but for the moment it should be noted that Empedocles believes we are in Stage Two. In short, he views the constant clamour among humans combined with their obsession with eating meat as a sign that Strife is gaining control (though whether meat eating and warring are a symptom or cause of this remains unclear).[35] For Empedocles, then, the history of the universe consists only a quarter of the cycle in the above graphic – from the domain of Love on the left to the contention in the top centre. A full cycle represents the birth and death of the universe. If 'Love' is swapped out for 'Gravity' and 'Strife' for 'Dark Energy',[36] Empedocles' system maps on to the structure of Big Bounce Theory with surprising ease. Both follow a pattern of expansion and collapse facilitated by opposing forces. Both require a contention between the two to necessitate life, with life being absent when there is a gross imbalance of influence. Both posit that we are roughly a quarterway through the cycle, and both allow for the cycle to be infinite.

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[35] Cf. DK 31B121, B124, B136.

[36] Or, more precisely, the hypothetical field that could be responsible for dark energy, which drives the expansion phases of the Big Bounce model. Cf. fn. 7 above.

Cosmogony – Double or Single?

Empedocles hints at the possibility of a cosmogony occurring during Stage Four when he tells us that "double is the generation of mortal things, and double their decline. For the coming together of all things gives birth to one [namely, generation and decline] and destroys it, and the other is nurtured and flies away when they grow apart again."[37] To even begin to fathom, however, how such a 'reverse-cosmogony' could unfold seems absurd, and ultimately leads to bar-stool speculation on Benjamin Button-like scenarios. The problem arises from our attempting to grapple with the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics, which holds that the total entropy (measured disorder) of an isolated system can only increase or stay the same over time. This is the only law in physics that is not reversible and that distinguishes past from future – if you watch a video of cup smashing, you'll know from the increase or decrease in entropy if the video is playing in reverse or not as opposed to, say, a video of a pendulum (in which entropy would stay the same). This also fits well with Big Bang cosmology – we can see entropy increase as the universe expands. It is when we flip this model and look at a Big Crunch scenario that we begin to see some problems, as speculating on any form of order arising in such a scenario would violate the 2nd Law. Stephen Hawking, however, proposed that in the Big Crunch the 2nd Law would reverse, with entropy decreasing and negentropy increasing.[38] This increase in order makes the possibility of a cosmogony during the process less incredible and may lend at least some credence towards Empedocles' hinting of one during the 'crunch' stage of his cycle.

Concluding thoughts

Classifying the Pre-Socratics as nothing more than poets, Weinberg chastises them for their lack of faith in empirical evidence, claiming that 'today we test our speculations about nature by using proposed theories to draw more or less precise conclusions that can be tested by observation. This did not occur to the early Greeks, or to many of their successors, for a very simple reason: they had never seen it done…their speculations led to no new information about nature — and certainly to nothing that would allow

[37] DK 31B17: 232-23.

[38] HAWKING (1988: 15).

their theories to be tested'.[39] Indeed, both Parmenides and Empedocles do warn us to be judicious of our senses, with Empedocles claiming he arrived at his conclusions via *a priori* reasoning alone.[40] This is a claim, however, I find a little dubious; Empedocles certainly needs and uses empirical evidence to justify his arguments. His claim, for example, that we are venturing into the domain of Strife is based on him comparing what he believed to be the previous 'Golden Age' of the Greek World with the clamour and discord of the age in which he was writing. He saw this increase in entropic events as evidence that Love was losing its power to Strife, something he claims is evident from empirical observation (increase in war, etc.). The growing prevalence of meat-eating is used as further evidence; in the 'Golden Age' (so Empedocles thought) people were satisfied with a simple plant-based diet,[41] whereas in the 5th Century BCE "A father lift[ed] up his own dear son who [had] changed form, and, praying, slaughter[ed] him, committing a great folly.... But he, refusing to hear the cries, slaughter[ed] him and attend[ed] an evil feast in his halls. Likewise a son seizes his father and children their mother, and tearing out their life, devour the dear flesh."[42] Empedocles here supports metempsychosis – a belief common in Pythagorean and Orphic circles at the time – and the idea that one should refrain from eating animals and certain vegetables[43] as they might contain the souls of previously departed humans. While certainly not verifiable through empirical testing, such a theory requires more than a priori reasoning alone (observing different animals and vegetables, etc). His theory of the cosmos being created from the mixing and dissolving of the eternal roots must also have been based on his observations of the world. Consider the death of a person; rather than ceasing to be entirely, the matter of which they are composed dissolves and finds a different place in the world; they are buried in the ground and eventually become food for the worms and nutrients for the soil. The worm becomes food for the bird, the bird becomes food for the fox, and so forth. Empedocles is stating that

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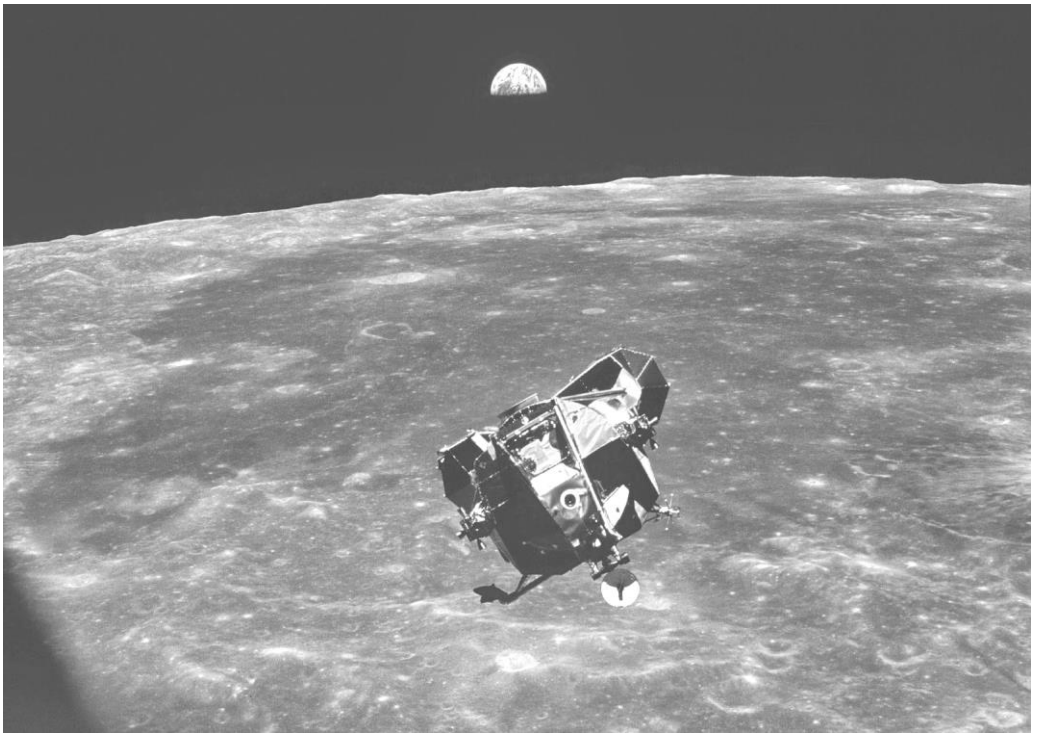
[39] WEINBERG (2015: 15).
[40] Cf. DK 28B7, 31B2, 31B3.
[41] DK 31B128, B30.
[42] DK 31B137.
[43] DK 31B141.

there is nothing present in the universe in its present state that was not present at its beginning, nor will there be at its end which is not present now. One here might be reminded of the below picture taken by Michael Collins of Buzz Aldrin and Neil Armstrong departing the Apollo in the Lander for the moon's surface. The picture is occasionally wheeled out by general interest science magazines/websites which like to point out that Collins is the only person who has ever existed and who ever will exist who is not in the frame of the photo.[44]



Like Empedocles' roots, matter cannot be created or destroyed, and so the materials of which every person who has ever existed (bar Collins) consisted of are still in the frame of the photo in one form or another (or, perhaps, just beyond it on the Apollo itself). Moreover, the materials which will make up every person born in the millennia to come are also in the frame, which again recalls Empedocles:

[44] Most recently in *The Vintage News:*
https://www.thevintagenews.com/2019/05/05/micheal-collins/.

> "From these all things that were and are and will be in the future have sprouted: trees and men and women, and beasts and birds and fishes nurtured in water, and long-lived gods highest in honors. For there are just these things, and running through one another they come to have different appearances, for mixture changes them."[45]

Why, then, do we find these parallels between Empedocles and modern cosmology? While the similarities are notable, is it implausible to conjecture that both are using similar methodology? For this, Empedocles' motivations must be revisited. Owing to their proximity, it isn't incredulous to suggest that Empedocles would have been familiar with Parmenidean thought (either directly or indirectly). He agrees with Parmenides on the eternality and indestructability of 'what-is'. He is unable, however, to reconcile Parmenides' monism with his everyday experience of change, plurality and motion; to accept these as anything but given seems too counter-intuitive. Thus, he must create a system which a) allows for the eternality and indestructability of its core fabric and b) allows for change, motion, etc., and c) accounts for the world as we know it. It seems the only available option to Empedocles was to scrap monism in favour of pluralism, which allows for the existence of many things, the interaction of which allows for a cosmology. Based on what he was working from, and the challenges he faced, constructing an eternal cyclical universe comprised of basic elements which account for all things and can be seen in action in our everyday world seems a logical step. The reason he settles for four specific elements is speculative, but it was certainly not arbitrary. Like his Milesian predecessors, it is likely he conducted an empirical investigation using the tools he had at his disposal, through which he concluded that everything could be reduced to one of the four roots, but that the roots could not be reduced any further than themselves. The opposing forces of Love and Strife not only explain the cause of the roots mixing, but also the passage of time.

Owing to this, it seems unfair to disqualify Empedocles as a scientist on the grounds that his theories weren't/couldn't be 'tested'. The problem lies in how we interpret 'test'. Modern physicists test their evidence

[45] DK 31B21.

with the tools they have at their disposal – these not only being a plethora of equipment, but also over a millennium of scientific research and scholarship to work with or compare against. These were tools which Empedocles obviously did not have, but to tax him on this is unfair, as he still had to test his theory against the (albeit in comparison sparse) evidence available to him. To suggest he didn't would be to suggest that he came up with such an intricate system out of the blue, which seems rather incredulous. Caution should also be shown in discounting him owing to the fact that his system can be shown to be false, as the same criticism could be applied to numerous figures in the history of modern physics, and also might imply that current methodologies in physics are unfalsifiable. Yet Empedocles remains resigned to the annals of Pre-Socratic philosophy, where, unless Lucian was correct, he seems doomed to remain.

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ARMIN UNFRICHT

Guilt and Atonement? Communal Disasters and the Creation of Hero-Cults in Ancient Greece

In Greek Antiquity, communal suffering and misfortune was often interpreted as resulting from divine or supernatural ill-will. In some accounts, it is a wrathful heros *who is the cause, and a cult has to be instituted in order to appease him and possibly gain a powerful ally. In this article, I focus on narratives where the hero receiving a cult in this fashion is a historical figure. Specifically, I analyze the different elements of these narratives in regards to how they characterize and frame the hero and his relationship towards his community, focusing especially on the function of the collective disasters and afflictions in these tales.*

Keywords: *heros*, heroization, hero cult, athlete cult, Greek religion, Greek mythology, oracles, *loimos*

> "It is common for some divine sign to foretell, when great ills are meant to befall cities or nations" (φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ᾽ ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσεσθαι)[1]
>
> Herodotus (6, 27, 1)

There are countless accounts from Greek Antiquity, in which a *polis* struck by disaster resorts to religion in search of the reason which brought about the misfortune, as well as a means to overcome it. Within this broad pattern, there are a number of narratives about such afflic-

[1] Unless noted otherwise, the translations are by the author.

tions being caused by a wrathful dead *heros*,[2] who has to be appeased through the erection of a cult in his honor. BOEHRINGER (1996: 37) coined this specific type of the Ancient Greek Hero-Cult the "*loimos*-heros". The term *loimos* (λοιμός), which is usually translated as "plague" or "pestilence", is very broad and can stand for a wide variety of disasters, which befall a community as a result of divine or supernatural ill-will. The infertility of both humans and livestock, epidemics, droughts, as well as civil strife or military defeats could all be referred to under the name *loimos*.[3]

The *loimos*-hero concept has been called into question, mainly by CURRIE (2005: 127–128), who argued that in some of the cases in which Boehringer identifies a *loimos* as the motive for a heroization[4], the grounds on which he does so seem unconvincing. Furthermore, he points out that a legend proclaiming a *loimos* the reason for the creation of a cult is not necessarily an indication that it was also the historical cause.[5] While I agree with Currie, I would still hold that there is a heuristic merit to applying the *loimos*-hero concept, if the *loimos* is under-

[2] As per usual when dealing with aspects of the Greek hero-cult, the terminology used in the ancient source material often remains unclear and leaves a lot of room for interpretation. Only in rare cases are the cult subjects singled out as *heroi* (or another epithet indicating heroic status, such as for example κτιστής, σωτήρ or εὐεργέτης) in a direct manner. More often, their heroic or superhuman status is indirectly implied by formulations indicating the hero-like, or sometimes even god-like, honors they receive – in other words: the cult surrounding them. Consequently, the mention of a continuous and official cult in the source material is the primary indicator for speaking of a *heros*, even though the figure in question might not be explicitly referred to as such.

[3] PARKER (1996: 257) with references.

[4] By using the terms "heroization" or "heroized", I am referring to a dynamic process, over the course of which a figure is turned into a *heros*.

[5] CURRIE (2005: 128). The example CURRIE gives here is that of Oibotas of Dyme (Paus. 7, 17; 6, 3, 4 and 8). Because his countrymen didn't pay him any honors after his victory at the sixth Olympiad (756), he cursed them, with the result that no Achaian could win in Olympia. The Achaians eventually lifted the curse by establishing a cult for Oibotas, and they were finally able to win again during the 80th Olympiad (460). CURRIE correctly states that the Achaians (he wrongly speaks of "Argives", but his argument does still apply) had won several times during this time-span, including a victory in 496 by Pataikos of Dyme – the very same town Oibotas was from –, which curiously is also recounted by Pausanias (5, 9, 1–2).

stood as having a specific narrative function, namely to frame the hero and his relationship towards his worshippers. When perceived in this way, the questions whether a *loimos* directly caused an oracular consultation and subsequent cult-creation or not, and whether it can be considered the historical motive for the heroization, become considerably less important.

In this article, I will focus on cases where the hero-figures, in whose narratives a *loimos* is a central element, were – from a modern understanding – historical individuals. For the most part, this involves athletic victors and (renowned) soldiers, which will form the core of the cases that will be analyzed. A *loimos* also forms a part of several narratives surrounding *oikist*s. There, however, the oracular request results in a colonization enterprise rather than the creation of a cult – even though a posthumous founder cult could be instituted later on.[6] Because of this, the *oikist*-cult will not be part of this analysis, since I will restrict myself to cases where the oracular response advises towards the immediate heroization of an individual.

Within the narratives of the *loimos*-type, the sequence of events leading to the establishment of a hero-cult is often very similar. The overall pattern is largely analogous to the four phases of what TURNER (1995) called "social dramas": Such dramas start with a violation against the social rules and order (1), which leads to a collective crisis (2). This is followed by a coping-phase (3). In this phase, those members of a community, which are especially interested in the restoration of the *status quo ante* (usually people of high social status, such as officials and priests), look for and initiate coping mechanisms, in order to potentially mend the holes in the social fabric. Such mechanisms could be judicial proceedings or religious means, such as divination or oracles to identify the hidden cause of a social conflict, cleansing or healing rituals, sacrificial rites etc. The social drama either ends with the – oftentimes only temporary – (re)conciliation of the arguing parties (4a), or with the acknowledgement of insurmountable differences (4b) and the subse-

[6] BERNSTEIN (2004: 32–42) with references.

quent spatial removal of a part (or more) of the former community (e. g. a defeated party or disagreeing minority moving somewhere else).[7]

Applied to the *loimos*-hero structure, these phases would look as follows: mistreatment of the future hero (both during his lifetime or posthumously) or a representation of him by a community, leading to a religious pollution (μίασμα) or curse (ἄγος) (1), followed by a *loimos* (2). This (or alternatively, a miraculous sign) results in the community consulting an oracle shrine (in the vast majority of cases Delphi), which comes up with a diagnosis of the cause and a potential remedy (3). The last phase would be the appeasement of the hero through the institution of a cult in his honor (4a). Phase 4b would be applicable to a number of colonization-narratives, but as mentioned above, this is not my concern here.[8] It should be noted that this model is only an ideal type, and some of the examples provided in this article do not adhere to this structure, displaying considerable aberrations and different causal chains. Additionally, instead of a *loimos*, we sometimes find a more general disaster or misfortune, which does however serve an identical or at least similar purpose within the story.

As will be seen, the literary accounts in question are an amalgamation of historical and mythical elements and are laden with different *topoi* (reoccurring motives, themes and patterns). It is evident that these narratives are not "historically accurate" in a modern sense – meaning that the information given is matching the factual sequence of events as far as it can be reconstructed by us. The "fact or fiction"-question is a different issue, however. The main question for me is to what extent the analysis of the components of these legends allows for conclusions in regards to underlying belief systems and social values.[9]

I will argue that these narratives should not be seen as "factually historical", but rather as "structurally historical", meaning that they do

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[7] TURNER (1995: 11–12; 108–113). For a similar model of the mechanisms behind transgressions of social taboos and their atonement see HERTZ (2007: 273–278 [= conclusion by M. MAUSS]).

[8] For such a phase model of reoccurring elements in legends concerning Olympic victors see BENTZ–MANN (2001: 232–233). Cf. BOEHRINGER (1996: 40).

[9] CURRIE (2002: 25); PARKER (1996: 271–272); GEHRKE (2014: 112).

not reflect actual events, but are – precisely because of their overt incorporation of popular folkloristic themes – nevertheless expressive of contemporary experiences. When using the word "experience" in this context, I am referring to how Turner conceptualized the term: an "experience" is incomplete, as long as it has not been "expressed" in some way.[10] It is through this expressive act that meaning is ascribed to experiences. To "experience" thus means "to live through", "to remember" and to "move forward".

In this sense, the narratives (as well as the monuments and rituals connected to it) which are part of a hero-cult can be described as performed and re-created experiences, in which meanings are produced and the (original) experience is shaped into an adequate aesthetic form. Heroic narratives thus are dynamic socio-cultural systems, which change their form and meaning over time and reflect collective interests, aims, ideals and ambitions. It is in this way that I think these narrative structures process and negotiate Greek belief systems and practices, and conversely, how analyzing the themes and symbols of these myths is a way to inform us about them. Heroic narratives will therefore be viewed as a "social meta-commentary", through which a community is telling stories about itself.[11] Starting from this understanding, my main point of inquiry will be to ask how these narrative structures, especially the *loimos*-element, reflect and (re)negotiate the role of the hero within the community in which he is worshipped.

The *loimos* and the fallen enemy

The first case studies I will analyze in regards to the heroizing and characterizing function of their narrative elements, in particular the *loimos*-motif, will be taken from a group which Visser called "enemy heroes".[12] As the name suggests, this hero-type consists of former enemies, who were either killed in battle or afterwards, but were nevertheless worshipped as heroes later on by their former adversaries. Three short examples will suffice to exemplify the overall structure of these tales:

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[10] TURNER (1995: 25).

[11] TURNER (1995: 30–31).

[12] VISSER (1982: 403).

Phokaian captives at Agylla (a), Onesilus of Salamis (b) and Cimon of Athens (c).

Ad (a): Herodotus (1, 167) relates how the inhabitants of Agylla (Caere in Etruria) stoned Phokaian prisoners of war to death in the aftermath of the Battle of Alalia (c. 535). Following this incident, humans and animals who passed the place became crippled, disfigured or paralyzed. At last, the Agyllaeans sent envoys to Delphi to ask for a possible remedy. The Delphic oracle responded that they should honor the deceased with sacrifices, agonistic events and chariot races (καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι), which they perform, according to Herodotus, to (t)his day (τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι).[13]

The aforementioned pattern (unfair treatment of a future hero – or heroes, in this case – resulting in a curse or pollution; *loimos*; crisis and oracular consultation, remedy in the form of the creation of a hero-cult) is very obvious. The Etruscans are depicted as sinners, who violate an unwritten Greek code of conduct by murdering prisoners after the battle was already won.[14] Furthermore, stoning was a particularly disgraceful way of executing someone. It was not a legal or normal method of execution, but an impulsive act of outrage by the populace or a crowd, only permissible when the person executed was guilty without question. The act of stoning could also cause pollution on the part of the executioners.[15] As a result, the guilty Agyllaeans are struck with a *loimos* and are forced to ask for help from a Greek oracle.[16]

Ad (b): In 497, Onesilus, brother to the king of Cyprian Salamis, led a revolt against the Persian rule of the island. In the ensuing war, he besieged Amathus, a multicultural city of Greek, Cypriot and Phoenician influence, which had remained loyal to the Persians. When the Persians arrived with a strong force to re-capture the island, Onesilus was killed

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[13] Cf. FARNELL (1921: 362); FONTENROSE (1968: 97–98); VISSER (1982: 404). For a similar tale, see Paus. 8, 23, 6–7.

[14] DUCREY (1968: 289–295).

[15] FEHLING (1974: 59–82); VISSER (1982: 404); Dem. 19, 66 (On the False Embassy); Thuc. 5, 60, 6; Paus. 8, 23, 6; Callim. *Aet*. 187 (Pfeiffer). Conversely, stoning could also be part of a scapegoat-ritual in order to purify a community. Cf. BURKERT (1979: 64–72).

[16] VISSER (1982: 404).

in a pitched battle. The Amathusians then beheaded his corpse and hung the severed head over their city gate. When the head became hollow, a swarm of bees settled in it and filled it with honeycombs. Concerned because of this, the Amathusians consulted an oracle and were told to bury the head and sacrifice to Onesilus annually as to a hero. Then they would be better off (Hdt. 5, 114, 2: ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἥρωϊ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καί σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι). The Amathusians, Herodotus (5, 115, 1) adds, still observed this practice during his time (Ἀμαθούσιοι μέν νυν ἐποίευν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ).

This case exhibits a different pattern and can serve to exemplify the limits of the *loimos*-concept: We are not told that the Amathusians suffered on account of their treatment of Onesilus' corpse, although there might be a hint in the oracle's prediction that they would do better in the future if they worshipped him as a hero, possibly implying that they were not doing very well at the time of the oracular consultation. We are, however, left without an explicitly mentioned *loimos* or misfortune. The oracular request is the result of a strange occurrence, namely bees creating a hive within Onesilus' severed head, rather than a *loimos*. What are the implications of this? There is a long and well-documented tradition of connecting the bee to mythology and religious ritual.[17] Essentially, the bee was regarded as a holy creature, which was linked to numerous deities, mostly goddesses. It was associated with chastity and sexual purity, which translated to purity in a religious sense.[18] Therefore, bees settling down in Onesilos' head can be interpreted as a sign that his corpse was not impure like that of regular human beings.[19] This would fit into a *topos* frequently found in hero-myths, namely that the bodily

[17] For a still valid overview on the literary sources see COOK (1895: 1–24). Cf. LAWLER (1954: 103).

[18] PARKER (1996: 77–78; 83); DETIENNE (1974: 56–75). In Semonides' (c. 7th/6th century BC) poem about the different types of women, the bee-woman is the only one characterized in a positive manner. Among other things, it is mentioned that she doesn't like to sit with other women and talk about sex, thereby pointing out her chastity.

[19] BOEHRINGER (1996: 45). Pliny the Elder (*NH*. 11, 8) mentions that bees won't land on dead flowers or carcasses (*fructibus nullis nocetur. mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus, insidunt*).

remains of a *heros* do not behave according to the rules of nature. Heroes quite literally losing their head is a popular motif not just in Greek, but in Indo-European Mythology in general. In such myths, getting one's head cut off is not impairing to the victim's potency and influence. Instead, it affirms or emblematizes the heroic status of the person.[20] In addition to their symbolic purity and their function as a marker for heroic qualities in this particular scenario, the coming of the bees could have carried an entirely different and less favorable meaning: In Roman sources, the appearance of a swarm of bees is usually viewed as a disconcerting event, denoting some future evil which is to beset a community.[21] If we allow ourselves to project this back onto the case at hand, the Amathusians could have been worried about the incident and hence decided to consult an oracle shrine in an attempt to avert a potential calamity. Beheading, just like stoning, was another practice, which was very much against the Greek code of conduct. It was considered low and bestial, something which only barbarians were capable of doing.[22] The Amathusians are thus characterized as barbaric and brutal, possibly as a result of their allegiance with the Persian enemy.

Furthermore, it is not stated from whence the people of Amathus received the oracular response. It would be tempting to assume a Delphic oracle, since Delphi is the "usual suspect", especially in cases like these, where the response is about the creation of a hero-cult, and we can even assert a link between the oracle of Delphi and the bees, which are after all the reason for the Amathusians resorting to an oracle.[23] But Herodo-

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[20] For example, in one version of the Orpheus-myth (Conon, *Narr*. 45), Thracian women dismember the hero's body and throw the different parts into the sea. After this, the land is stricken by a pestilence, and the consulted Delphic oracle orders the interment of the head. A fisherman then finds the still rosy-faced and singing head of Orpheus, which is then laid to rest and receives a cult. In another version (Philostr. *VA* 4, 14), the head washes ashore at Lesbos and begins to spout oracles. Cf. NAGY (1990: 200–202); PFISTER (1974: 516–517); BOEHRINGER (1996: 44–45).

[21] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 7, 59–80; Iulius Obsequens 43–44; 70; 72.

[22] Hdt. 4, 103; 9, 78–79; Plut. Per. 28, 2–3. Cf. VISSER (1982: 405–406).

[23] The Delphians said that the second temple of Apollo had been built by bees of beeswax and feathers (Paus. 10, 5, 9: δεύτερα δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τὸν ναὸν ἀπό τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν). Pindar (*P*. 4, 60) calls the Pythia the "Delphic bee" (μελίσσας Δελφίδος). Cf. LAWLER (1954: 103).

tus usually does specify when it is indeed Delphi which is being consulted.[24] The story of Onesilus is also interesting in the sense that it is not reported in temporarily far removed sources, but already in Herodotus, whose *historíai* are dated around the year 430.

Ad (c): A similar case is that of Cimon of Athens. Cimon died in 449 in the course of besieging Citium, another Cypriot city which had remained loyal to the Persian Empire. As with Onesilus, his death must have come as a relief to the besieged populace of Citium, so it is surprising to find that he was worshipped by them afterwards: Plutarch (*Cim*. 19, 4) – citing Nausicrates the rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates, as his source – relates that the people of Citium pay honors to a tomb of Cimon, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god had enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honor him as a superior being (ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀμελεῖν Κίμωνος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κρείττονα σέβεσθαι καὶ γεραίρειν).[25]

The phrasing makes it very clear that the misfortunes had befallen the Citiumians because they had not paid Cimon his just reverence. The deceased, in other words, made himself noticed and voiced his displeasure through the *loimos*. Again, it is not made clear which oracle was consulted. The circumstances surrounding Cimon's death are very unusual within *loimos*-narratives. Firstly, killing an enemy was normally not considered polluting, unless it was done under circumstances like the ones recounted in the previous two examples. Secondly, Plutarch (*Cim*. 19, 1) recounts two versions how Cimon met his end: Either of sickness while besieging Citium, or by a wound he received, of which he didn't die immediately, but rather bade those about him to take him to his ship and sail away at once, so as to conceal his death. Either way, it seems like the Citiumians had no way of knowing that Cimon had actually passed away. His corpse was then brought to Athens and laid to rest there, so his body was not theirs to bury either.[26] It certainly seems like

[24] See Hdt. 6, 27; 4, 150, 2–3; 4, 155, as well as the numerous other examples in this article. Herodotus (5, 42) even mentions an instance where Delphi is surprisingly *not* consulted.

[25] VISSER (1982: 406); ROHDE (1991: 178).

[26] For an extensive list of "doubled" graves of historical figures, see PFISTER (1974: 230–238).

Parker is in the right when saying that the occurrence of a *loimos* is sometimes "[…] an admonition rather than a punishment".[27]

The *loimos*-motif and the cult of athletes

The athlete-cult has been treated extensively[28], and it is not my intention here to give a full account and repeat what has already been said. I will thus again limit myself to three case studies – (a) Theagenes of Thasos, (b) Cleomedes of Astypalea and (c) Euthymos of Locri Epizephyrii. I will first give a brief account of the respective legends of these hero-athletes, and then follow it up with a comparative analysis, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.

(a) Theagenes of Thasos was a multiple Olympic victor (480 in boxing; 476 in pankration).[29]

According to Pausanias (6, 11), who provides the most detailed version of his life and deeds, the Thasians claimed that Theagenes was not fathered by Timoxenos, who was the local Heracles-priest, but rather that his mother had been visited by an apparition of Heracles. Theagenes showed great strength from early on, for instance, by carrying a bronze statue from the *agora* of Thasos to his home at the age of nine. He later became one of the foremost athletes in Greece, winning numerous victories in the disciplines of boxing and pankration. He also won a long-distance race in Phthia, which he took part in because he wanted to achieve such a victory in the homeland of Achilles, who was said to have been the fastest of heroes. After Theagenes' death, one of his personal enemies visited his bronze statue every night and flogged it as if he were punishing the athlete himself. One night, however, the statue put an end to this by falling on him and killing him. The statue was then charged for murder and thrown into the sea. Afterwards, the earth

[27] PARKER (1996: 272).

[28] For a list of heroized athletes and cults with numerous references see CURRIE (2005: 120–123). Other notable works on the hero-athlete include: FARNELL (1921: 361–365); MORETTI (1957); FONTENROSE (1968); VISSER (1982); DOUGHERTY–KURKE (1998); MANN (2001); BENTZ–MANN (2001); CURRIE (2002); LUNT (2009); KURKE (2013a); KURKE (2013b); POLIGNAC (2014).

[29] MORETTI (1957: no. 201; 215).

yielded no crop, and in their misery, the Thasians sent envoys to the Delphic Oracle. They were instructed to bring back the exiles, which brought no cure. So, they consulted the oracle again and were told that they had forgotten their "great Theagenes" (Paus. 6, 8, 11: Θεαγένην δ᾽ ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν ὑμέων). After this, a fisher caught the statue in his net and the Thasians set it up in its original spot. Pausanias then goes on to say that the Thasians sacrifice to him as to a god (νομίζουσιν ἅτε θεῷ θύειν), and that he knows of many other places, both among Greeks and barbarians, where images of Theagenes have been set up, who receives honors and cures diseases.

(b) Cleomedes of Astypalea was a pugilist who won an Olympic victory in 492.[30]

Again, Pausanias (6, 9, 6–8) is the main literary source. He relates a story, according to which Cleomedes killed his opponent during a boxing-match. Upon being convicted of foul play by the umpires he was deprived of his winning prize, as a result of which he went mad and returned home. There, he went to a school building, tearing down its roof and thereby killing about sixty children. The populace then tried to stone him to death, but he managed to take refuge in the sanctuary of Athena, where he hid in a chest. When the Astypaleans finally managed to pry the chest open, Cleomedes had vanished. Concerned because of this, they sent to the oracle at Delphi. The response by the Pythia was the following: "Cleomedes of Astypalea is the most recent of heroes; honor him with sacrifices as if he were no longer mortal." (ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεύς, ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ᾽ ἅτε μηκέτι θνητὸν ἐόντα).[31] Pausanias ends with saying that the Astypaleans have paid him honors as to a hero (τιμὰς ὡς ἥρωι νέμουσι) ever since.

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[30] MORETTI (1957: no. 174).

[31] By translating ὕστατος ἡρώων as "most recent of heroes", I follow FONTENROSE (1968: 74). Others have translated it as "the last of heroes" and went on to deduce that the Delphic Oracle meant to put an end to the creation of hero-cults, which is of course not what happened. Cf. FARNELL (1921: 365); ROHDE (1991: 179–180); PARKE–WORMELL (1956: no. 88); CURRIE (2005: 128).

(c) Euthymos of Locri Epizephyrii[32] won the Olympic games in boxing three times (484, 476, 472)[33]

Euthymos was said to be the son of the river god Kaikinos. After winning the boxing-event at the 74th Olympiad (484), he didn`t manage to win the next time around, because he was beaten by Theagenes. In the following Olympiad, however, he was victorious yet again. Upon his return to Italy, he fought the *heros* of Temesa. This hero was a former member of the crew of Odysseus, who, after they had landed at Temesa, had gotten overly drunk and raped a young girl, as a result of which he had been stoned to death by the locals. After this incident, the *daimon* of the man (ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα) haunted Temesa, killing everyone he came across. The people of Temesa then planned on moving elsewhere, but the Pythia forbade it, ordering them instead to propitiate the *heros* by building him a *temenos* and a temple, and to give him the most beautiful maiden as a wife each year (ἐκέλευσεν ἱλάσκεσθαι τέμενός τε ἀποτεμομένους οἰκοδομήσασθαι ναόν, διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην). This they did, and the Temesians did not suffer at the hands of the *daimon* any longer. Euthymos arrived in Temesa just as the maiden was about to be offered to the *heros*. Upon learning what was going on, he entered the temple, saw the maiden, fell in love with her and decided to save her, after she had sworn to become his wife if he would do so. Euthymos then awaited the appearance of the *daimon* and defeated him, whereupon the driven out *heros* disappeared by sinking into the sea. Euthymos himself, after hav-

[32] The case of Euthymos is paradigmatic for the omnipresent source problematic in regards to hero-cults: The literary source material is often scattered across several authors. It is unclear whether they recount local oral traditions, or depend on earlier literary works that were lost. It is assumed that Callimachus served as a source for Pausanias, who offers the fullest account of Euthymos' story and is often the prime informant for hero legends and cults of historical individuals. Callimachus used local historians as sources, and Pausanias' written sources include local historians as well, alongside poets. Ultimately, however, it is very rare that a literary source of Pausanias' work can be securely identified, so the question of dating hero legends often remains unsolved. Cf. CURRIE (2002: 27, n. 35; 36). For Pausanias' usage of sources, see VEYNE (1987: 115–123); HABICHT (1998: 96; 142–145).

[33] MORETTI (1957: no. 191; 214; 227).

ing freed the city from the *daimon*, wed the maiden and was said to have reached extreme old age. Pausanias also heard that he had escaped death and had departed from among men in a different fashion.[34]

Apart from Pausanias' version, there are other accounts, which add variations and additional pieces to the story: Euthymos put his remarkable strength on display from an early age, carrying a large stone, which the Locrians afterwards showed to visitors. His countrymen already honored him with two statues (one in Locri, one in Olympia) during his lifetime. At one point, both of those statues were hit by lightning on the same day, and it was this miracle which prompted the Locrians to consult the oracle at Delphi.[35] In the version of Aelian (*VH* 8, 18), the *daimon* is demanding tribute instead of a maiden's virginity. Euthymos then forces him to repay a greater sum than he had received. The author also offers an alternative ending of Euthymos' life. He walks down to the river Kaikinos (the river god who was reputed to be his father), and vanishes, just like the *heros* of Temesa had disappeared in the sea.[36]

Lastly, Pausanias also mentions a picture he saw: Among other things, it showed a *heroon*, the city of Temesa and the *daimon* whom Euthymos had defeated, "Horribly black in color, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf's skin thrown round him as a garment. The letters on the picture gave his name as Lycas."[37]

With Theagenes (a), the *loimos*-pattern defined earlier is quite apparent, even though there is an aberration in the sense that it is not himself who is being mistreated, but rather his statue, which serves as his

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[34] Paus. 6, 6, 4–10.

[35] Callim. frag. 98 (Pfeiffer); Strabo 6, 1, 5; Suda s.v. Εὔθυμος.

[36] FONTENROSE (1968: 80–81).

[37] Paus. 6, 6, 11 (trans. W. H. S. JONES–D. LITT–H. A. ORMEROD): χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθῆτα: ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα. Pausanias describes the painting as γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας, which could either be translated as "a copy of an ancient painting", or "a painting in the old style". Therefore, it does not help to determine its possible age. Cf. MÜLLER (1994: 825). Euthymos apparently was not shown in the painting, since Pausanias, when saying "the ghost that Euthymos cast out" (δαίμων ὅντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὔθυμος), is obviously identifying the *daimon* in the painting with the story of Euthymos he just related, rather than describing what is shown in the actual picture. Cf. CURRIE (2002: 28–29).

representation. The case of Cleomedes (b), however, does not follow this structure: Firstly, it is originally not his countrymen who treat him unjustly, but rather the referees at Olympia. Only after he goes mad and kills sixty schoolchildren do the Astypaleans react by trying to stone him. This detail could be important: As mentioned before, stoning was considered particularly ignominious and could have a polluting effect on a community. The legend could thus be interpreted in the way that the Astypaleans had sinned by trying to stone Cleomenes, and were now worried about divine punishment. His subsequent disappearance from the temple of Athena was a sign that the goddess favored him, and it is this miracle, which prompts the people of Astypalea to send envoys to Delphi. Secondly, the *loimos*-element is much less obvious or even lacking.[38] Boehringer suggests that the collapsing school was a sign of even worse things to come (a potential *loimos*), as it is in a passage found in Herodotus (6, 27).[39] But this still leaves us without an explicit *loimos* in the story at hand. The death of sixty schoolchildren is certainly a disaster, and it is arguable whether it could be considered a *loimos* according to the definition given in the beginning, but that would be stretching an already broad concept even further. Nevertheless, it will become clear from the following points of analysis, that Cleomenes' destruction of a school building, and doing his community great harm in the process, has the same function in the narrative as the *loimos* does in the other cases.

In the case of Euthymos (c), there are two separate storylines, which unite when the athlete, on his way to return to his native Locri, visits the nearby town of Temesa. Euthymos, unlike the other victorious athletes mentioned, does not cause his *polis* misery. Quite the contrary, the Locrians honor him with two statues which were erected already during his lifetime. Instead, we hear of the ghost of another hero, who beleaguers Temesa. This hero has different names in the accounts: Polites, Alybas or just ἄνθρωπος, δαίμον or ἥρως. The name Alybas is reminiscent of the noun ἀλίβας ("corpse", "dead body"). In addition, in the painting he is described as being black of color, which is befitting of a

[38] Cf. CURRIE (2005: 128).

[39] BOEHRINGER (1996: 42–43); cf. BOHRINGER (1979: 12).

spectre. This characterizes the dead hero as a βιαιοθάνατος, a dead being enraged because of its violent demise.[40] The Temesians present the most beautiful maidens to him annually, as an atonement for their crime.[41] There are also two oracular consultations, resulting in two heroizations: The first oracle response orders the Temesians to institute a cult for the wrathful *daimo*n. The second time, Delphi is questioned by the Locrians as a result of both statues of Euthymos being miraculously struck by a lightning bolt on the same day.[42] A lightning strike was as ambivalent as the heroes themselves – it could be a divine consecration or a punishment, with both resulting in the worship of the person who was thus "touched by the god".[43]

Statues also play a prominent role in the story of Theagenes: It is the removal of Theagenes' statue, which causes the *loimos*, and it is its return which provides the cure. One of Theagenes' feats of strength consists of lifting and carrying a bronze statue to his house, and his statues in Thasos and elsewhere were believed to possess healing properties.[44] The importance of statues is a common theme in legends surrounding Olympic victors. On the one hand, they are a factor in the conflict between athlete and community – either the statue gets mistreated, or the city denies the victor the erection of one.[45] On the other hand, the statue is the focal point of the hero-cult.[46]

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[40] Cf. Strabo 6, 1, 5 (δολοφονηθέντα […] γενέσθαι βαρύμηνιν). Cf. VISINTIN (1992: 68; 71; 75; 105); CURRIE (2002: 34).

[41] CURRIE (2002: 30–35) convincingly argues that additionally to his character as a wrathful spectre, the hero of Temesa was also a river deity.

[42] FONTENROSE (1968: 79).

[43] There are a number of examples from Greek Mythology, such as Asclepius, Semele or Kapaneus. Cf. SPEYER (1978: 1123–1125); BOEHRINGER (1996: 45).

[44] There are several accounts about the potential of statues to perform healing-wonders: Lucian mentions that the statue of Theagenes at Thasos and that of Polydamas of Skotussa at Olympia were said to cure fever (Luc. *Deor. conc.* 12: ἤδη καὶ ὁ Πολυδάμαντος τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ ἀνδριὰς ἰᾶται τοὺς πυρέττοντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ὁ Θεαγένους ἐν Θάσῳ). According to Athenagoras (*Leg.* 26), the statues of Proteus at Parion, as well as that of Neryllinos at Ilion (probably a contemporary of Athenagoras), worked healing wonders. Cf. FARNELL (1921: 425); KOSKENNIEMI (1994: 216).

[45] Such is the case in the Oibotas-legend (Cf. Paus. 7, 17, 13–14).

[46] BENTZ–MANN (2001: 233).

Another striking characteristic in the three examples given are the similarities and references to tales of mythical gods and heroes, particularly Heracles: Theagenes is rumored to be the son of Heracles, whereas his human father is the Thasian priest of Heracles. Furthermore, the incredible strength he displays from early childhood onwards, as well as his Olympic victories all bring him into vicinity of the god/hero. Additionally, we learn that Theagenes' ambition made him take part in a race in order to rival Achilles.[47]

The parallels of the Euthymos-myth to that of Heracles are equally striking: the prodigious feats of strength as a youth. The tale of Euthymos, being a visitor, challenging and defeating an immortal demon in combat in order to rescue a local woman is similar to that of Heracles and Alkestis. In Euripides' *Alkestis*, Heracles wrestles Thanatos, and Aelian (*VH* 8, 18) uses the verb διηγωνίσατο for the combat between Euthymos and the Heros of Temesa, which also refers to an athletic contest.[48] Furthermore, Euthymos was believed to be the son of the river god Kaikinos.

Cleomedes' madness and his murder of innocent children as a consequence, as well as his miraculous disappearance instead of a regular death are further parallels. Heracles went mad and killed his own offspring, and upon his death on mount Oita, he was translocated to the realm of the gods. His friends found no bones among the ashes of his funeral pyre. Afterwards, he was immediately worshipped as a hero, and several oracles, including Delphi, proclaimed him a god and ordained his worship.[49]

Both the importance of the statues of an athlete, as well as their closeness to heroes and divinities, are reflected in the archaeological material:

The heroization of Theagenes is the best-documented hero-cult for an athlete. Among other findings, excavators came upon two bases of

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[47] FARNELL (1921: 365); LUNT (2009: 383).

[48] FONTENROSE (1968: 81). It could also be compared to other Heraclean tales, such as Heracles and Hesione at Troy (Diod. 4, 42; Apollod. *Bibl*. 2, 5, 9).

[49] FONTENROSE (1968: 86); LUNT (2009: 384); Apollod. *Bibl*. 2, 6, 1–3; 7, 7; Diod. 4, 31; 37, 5–39, 4.

statues for Theagenes – one at Delphi, one at Olympia. There is also evidence for a statue and a cult-place on the *agora* of Thasos. Furthermore, a spot with a bench excavation has been suspected to be a *heroon*. Next to a thick layer of ash, excavators found a metal ring on the lower bench (for tying up animals?), which could point towards regularly conducted animal sacrifices.[50] Furthermore, a small stone treasury or deposit box bearing two inscriptions was uncovered at the site. The inscriptions, dating to the late first century BC and the first century AD respectively, regulate monetary offerings to the athlete and promise good fortune to the donor and his family. There is also other epigraphic material for Theagenes, namely three inscriptions, which list his many Panhellenic victories (found at Thasos, Olympia and Delphi). The inscriptions, as well as the statue base at Thasos, are dated to the early fourth century BC. The inscription from Delphi, which is the most complete of the three, highlights the gap between Theagenes and ordinary mortals by announcing his victories to "those on earth" (*epichthonion*).[51]

Theagenes' victories came in the first half of the 5th century BC (c. 490–470), so it seems that there was a distance of at least a little under a century until an elaborate cult was instituted for Theagenes at the center of his native *polis*.[52] This cult was then practiced well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The archaeological evidence for the Euthymos-cult consists of the base of a statue at Olympia, whose inscription states that Euthymos himself set up the statue for "mortals to observe" (βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν), implying that he belonged to a different race.[53] Also, five clay herms dedicated to Euthymos were discovered, all but one stemming from a sanctuary of the Nymphs at Locri Epizephyrii.[54]

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[50] POUILLOUX (1954: 62–64); MARTIN (1940/41: 163–165); SALVIAT (1956: 147–149); CHAMOUX (1979: 143–145); BENTZ–MANN (2001: 233–235).

[51] LUNT (2009: 383–384).

[52] POUILLOUX (1994: 206) is of the opinion that it took "one or two centuries" (un ou deux siècles) before Theagenes was recognized and worshipped as a healing divinity.

[53] Both MORETTI (1953: no. 13) and EBERT (1972: no. 16) date the inscription to around 470, shortly after Euthymos' victories.

[54] LUNT (2009: 382); CURRIE (2002: 29). One was found in the Locrian *apoikia* of Medma. Cf. COSTABILE (1991: 195–238).

The herms show a bull with the horned head of a young man standing on a pedestal. From the inscription on said platform (Εὐθύμου ἱερά), it seems clear that the theriomorphic figure must be a representation of Euthymos.[55] Because of this positioning of the bull-man, it has been suggested that the herms thus were referring to an actual free-standing statue of Euthymos. Additionally, the herms also show an altar and a basin as well as a small knife next to the bull, which point towards sacrificial offerings. Euthymos being portrayed in a tauromorphic manner brings him into the vicinity of river gods, most notably Acheloos, for whom such depictions are typical.[56] This correlates nicely with the legends surrounding him, where instead of dying, he disappears into the waters of the river Kaikinos, who is also said to be his father.[57]

Furthermore, the nymphs, in whose sanctuary at Locri most herms were found, are an important detail. Three nymph-heads are depicted at the top of each herm. Two other clay herms of slightly earlier date, which were found in the same location, show Acheloos in the form of a bull with an adult and bearded man's face with horns, standing at a *louterion* (water basin).[58] The nymphs and the *louterion* can be seen as pointing toward prenuptial rites, such as the bridal bath and the beautification of the bride. It seems therefore that the figure of Euthymos, presumably in his river-god aspect, played a role in such rites at Locri. Again, we can draw a comparison to the Euthymos legend: Pausanias (6, 6, 10) recounts how Euthymos marries the maiden he rescues from Temesa.[59] River gods acting as deliverers of young maidens from impending danger is a theme found in other myths as well. The most

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[55] COSTABILE (1991: 209).

[56] WEIß (1988: 139–148). Soph. *Trach*. 9–17 (trans. R. TORRANCE): "My suitor was the river Achelóüs, / who took three forms to ask me of my father: / a rambling bull once – then a writhing snake / of gleaming colors – then again a man with ox-like face" (μνηστὴρ γὰρ ἦν μοι ποταμός, Ἀχελῷον λέγω, / ὅς μ᾽ ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐξήτει πατρός, / φοιτῶν ἐναργὴς ταῦρος, ἄλλοτ᾽ αἰόλος / δράκων ἑλικτός, ἄλλοτ᾽ ἀνδρείῳ κύτει / βούπρῳρος). For the overlap between heroes and river gods, see CURRIE (2002: 33–34) with references.

[57] Ael. *VH* 8, 18; Paus. 6, 6, 4 and 10.

[58] COSTABILE (1991: 223, figs. 349–350); ARIAS (1987: 3–8).

[59] CURRIE (2002: 29–30).

prominent one is probably that of Daphne, who is saved from the frantic advances of the god Apollo by being turned into a laurel tree by her father, the river god Peneios.[60] Building on this, Euthymos could have been regarded as a protector of young women and brides-to-be.

Another example, in which the archaeological evidence can be compared to an athlete's legend is Polydamas of Skotussa, who won an Olympic crown in the discipline of pankration in 408. He was said to have wandered around the flanks of mount Olympus in search of a lion to kill barehanded, in order to emulate Heracles (Paus. 6, 5, 5).[61] Archaeologists found a portion of the statue base of Polydamas at Olympia, dating to the fourth century. It shows the lower part of a relief, on which Polydamas is grappling with a lion.[62]

What becomes clear is the interrelatedness of the narratives surrounding a hero and the characteristics of his cult. But the process of heroization and their comparison to legendary heroes did not start after an athlete was already dead. As the abovementioned statue-basis of Euthymos indicates, and as CURRIE (2005: passim) has shown by analyzing Pindar's odes, an athlete and his supporters could actively propagate a victor's heroic status already in his lifetime:

Pindar, whose odes were composed in the late sixth and early fifth century, often juxtaposes the feats of a victorious athlete with the achievements of mythical heroes. In this context, it is important to note that these odes were often remittance works, ordered and paid for by the very champion who was celebrated in and by the ode.[63] In addition, athletes were associated with Heracles by means of a particular victory song called *kallinikos*. This song, in which Heracles was addressed as *Kallinikos* ("glorious victor") three times, was sung in honor of an Olympic champion by those accompanying or welcoming him. It was not itself an *epinikian* ode, but rather a hymn to Heracles that was sung before an actual ode dedicated to the victorious athlete could be prepared.[64]

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[60] Ov. *Met*. 1, 540–551.

[61] BENTZ–MANN (2001: 229–30); FONTENROSE (1968: 87).

[62] MARANTI (1999: 102–103); LUNT (2009: 381).

[63] GEHRKE (2014: 23); KÖHNKEN (1971: passim); LUNT (2009: 386).

[64] Pind. *O*. 9, 1–4 (with scholion); Archil. frag. 119 and 324; LAWLER (1948: 254); LUNT (2009: 386).

To sum up, heroizations of historical athletes were dynamic processes between the athletic champions and their respective communities, which started already during an athlete's lifetime and continued throughout the duration of his cult.[65] While it is clear that Olympic victories alone did not suffice for receiving cultic honors,[66] there can be no question that they bore significant potential for a future heroization. It is striking that those Olympic champions who did receive a cult, achieved their wins mostly in combat-sport disciplines – Cleomedes and Euthymos were boxers, Theagenes was a pugilist and pankrationist, Polydamas was a pankrationist.[67] Athletic sports, and especially combat sports, with their physicality and nudity, were the most direct way to prove one's physical prowess and superiority. Impressive victories in such events naturally brought the victorious athletes closer to legendary heroes, especially Heracles, who was the archetype of the hero-athlete – after all, he was the legendary founder of the Olympic games, had won the first contest and three times overall. Consequently, the Heracles-legend functioned as the primary blueprint for the legends surrounding heroized athletes.[68] Historical figures were thus transformed – and did their best to transform themselves – into legendary heroes. Their actual deeds were reshaped alongside legendary models, and they were credited with imaginary feats and deeds, which were added to their illustrious biography.[69]

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[65] LUNT (2009: 385).

[66] For example, famous athletes like Milon of Croton (Paus. 6, 14, 6-7; Diod. 12, 9, 5-6), of whom many legendary tales were told, Astylos of Croton (Diod. 11, 1, 2) or Glaucus of Carystus (Paus. 6, 9–10; Aischin. 3, 190), seem to have received no cult. Cf. BENTZ–MANN (2001: 238–239)

[67] Other examples could be added: Euthykles won the pentathlon, of which wrestling was one discipline. See Call. frag. 84–85; MORETTI (1957: no. 180). CURRIE (2005: 121). Diognetos of Crete was a pugilist. Cf. MORETTI (1957: no. 181); FONTENROSE (1968: 89). Hipposthenes of Sparta was a wrestler. See Paus. 3, 15, 5–7; BOEHRINGER (1996: 56).

[68] It was of course not just athletes who modelled themselves after Heracles. He served as the paradigm for numerous historical figures throughout Greek and Roman history who were striving for immortality. The literature on this subject is vast. For a number of key works, see CURRIE (2002: 37) with references.

[69] FONTENROSE (1968: 87); BENTZ–MANN (2001: 228).

However, the question remains why athletes are portrayed in such a conflicting and oftentimes negative manner in the legends at hand – with the *loimoi* and misfortunes they cause being the most striking examples? Firstly, the models after which an athlete's narrative were shaped, such as the legends of Heracles and Achilles, also featured problematic episodes, which showed a hero's temper and volatile nature. As shown, Cleomedes of Astypalea does not just resemble Heracles in terms of valor and strength, but shares incidents of madness and murder with him as well. I find it safe to assume that the *loimos*-element, which is the most striking example of a hero's destructive potential, was added to the narratives surrounding an athlete posthumously. Disaster usually strikes after a hero has already died within the frame of the stories.[70] Secondly, most of the athletic champions that received a cult achieved their Panhellenic victories in the fifth century, and their characterization within the narratives reflects the social standing of the athlete during that time-period.

Athletes were very ambivalent figures when it comes to their relation to their *polis*. On the one hand, successful athletes could become identification figures and role models for their respective communities. They were representatives of their home state, and the close connection between athlete and *polis* is evidenced by the many inscriptions on the bases of athlete-statues or other votive offerings: The victors are always mentioned by name, patronym, the discipline in which they won and the name of their *polis*. In addition, the name of the *polis* was called out by the heralds during the ceremonies when the victor was crowned.[71] As a result, victorious athletes enhanced the collective prestige of a *polis* and strengthened the feelings of national identity and solidarity among the citizens of their home state. The honors, which were normally bestowed on returning victors, can thus be seen as a form of reciprocity for the benefits the *polis* had reaped from the athletic feat.[72] Athletic success and glory (*kleos*) could also be instrumentalized politically, and there are

[70] Cf. CURRIE (2005: 128).

[71] MANN (2001: 34). For a collection of the epigraphical material, see MORETTI (1953) and EBERT (1972).

[72] MANN (2001: 30–36).

many examples of athletic champions who enjoyed a successful military or political career after their victory.[73]

On the other hand, athletic activity and agonistic ethos had belonged to the "leisure class" of Archaic aristocracy, and it was something that stood against the priority of the community over the individual, the key ideology of the *polis*. Even if the *polis* profited from an Olympic victory, athletics was something inherently individualistic, and nowhere was the individualism and competitiveness of the aristocracy quite as strongly on display as in sports. There was, in the simplest terms, a tension between conformity and the pursuit of (individual) prestige and glory. In Archaic and early Classical times, participation in the Panhellenic games was almost exclusively an aristocratic privilege. It is only at the turn from the 5th to the 4th century that athletes of a different and less privileged social background start to appear. This was largely due to the amounts of time and money an athlete had to have at his disposal for the extensive training, and of course the travelling which the participation in athletic contests required.[74]

Taking part in a prestigious sporting event, and especially winning it, was – much like today – just as much athletics as it was politics. The stakes in this political game were especially high in the 5th century, where the friction between the aristocratic ethics of an individual pursuit of glory, and the subordination of individual interests into the collective was at its height.[75] This ambiguous standing of athletes is mirrored by the conflict-laden nature of the legends surrounding them.

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[73] After his athletic career, Theagenes engaged in politics and became a reformer in his native *polis*. Cf. EBERT (1972: 121). Other examples of the political potential of Olympic victories would be Dorieus of Rhodes (Thuc. 3,8,1; 8,35,1; 84,2), Cylon of Athens (Thuc. 1, 126, 3–5) or Alcibiades of Athens (Thuc. 6, 16, 2–3).

[74] MANN (2001: 36); BILINSKI (1961: 73–75); BILINSKI (1990); PLEKET (1974: 62–64); EBERT (1980: 73–75). The first document, which tells us about a *polis* paying for the training- and travel-expenses of an athlete is dated to around the year 300. See ROBERT (1967: 28–30).

[75] Nowhere is this dualism more apparent than in the accusations brought forth by Nicias and the retort given by Alcibiades in their respective speeches in front of the assembly on the eve of the Athenian Sicilian expedition (415–413). Cf. Thuc. 6, 12, 2; 6, 16, 1–3.

The zenith of heroizations of athletes in the 5th century coincides with the development of the genre of the *epinikion*, which had its beginning in the 6th century, reached its peak in the first half of the 5th century in the form of the works of Pindar and Bacchylides, and found its conclusion in the victory ode of Euripides for Alcibiades in the year 416.[76] *Epinikian* poetry was one way of negotiating with one's community, to defuse the tension that a victorious athlete's prestige and elevated status had caused. Pindar seems to have been keenly aware of the extraordinary status of an athletic victor, and the precarious standing within the *polis* which was a by-product of it:[77]

> "Five Isthmian victories lead my song forward, and one outstanding triumph at Zeus' Olympian games, and two from Cirrha [= Delphi] — yours, Megacles, and your ancestors'. I rejoice at this new success; but I grieve that fine deeds are repaid with envy."[78]

It is important to note that Megacles – to whose Pythian victory in the chariot race-event in the year 486 this ode was dedicated – had been ostracized earlier that same year. Therefore, I think it is not the envy of the gods – which is a very frequent theme in Herodotus' work, as well as in Greek tragedy – which Pindar is referring to, but that of the *demos* towards the behaviour and elitist morale of the aristocracy.

Conclusion

The case studies I provided display how heroized historical figures were continuously shaped and reshaped along the lines of a "mythical coordinate system" within the narratives that were created around them.[79] Pre-existing patterns and *topoi* within Greek mythology were adopted and connected to a historical individual's biography, thereby depersonalizing said person – meaning that their life story was gradually

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[76] GOLDEN (1998: 76–78) with references; DOUGHERTY–KURKE (1998: 131–133).

[77] KURKE (2013b: 257–262); LUNT (2009: 386).

[78] Pind. *P*. 7, 13–19 (trans. D. A. SVARLIEN): ἄγοντι δέ με πέντε μὲν Ἰσθμοῖ / νῖκαι, μία δ᾽ ἐκπρεπὴς / Διὸς Ὀλυμπιάς, / δύο δ᾽ ἀπὸ Κίρρας, / ὦ Μεγάκλεες, / ὑμαί τε καὶ προγόνων. / νέα δ᾽ εὐπραγίᾳ χαίρω τι: τὸ δ᾽ ἄχνυμαι, / φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ καλὰ ἔργα.

[79] Cf. BENTZ–MANN (2001: 228).

supplanted by, and assimilated to, that of legendary heroes like Heracles or Achilles – while simultaneously elevating them to a heroic status. As we have seen, athletes could initiate and participate in this process actively during their lifetime.

Different forms of media were used to frame and spread these narratives, such as statues, paintings, inscriptions or victory odes and songs. Furthermore, it is evident that they reflect certain views, notions and socio-political realities and experiences of the societies which created them and handed them down.[80]

Overall, heroic narratives surrounding historical figures seem to have served four interconnected purposes:

a. Providing an aetiological narrative for a specific hero-cult

b. Affirming the heroic status of the cult-subject (through the attribution of heroic qualities – both productive and destructive)

c. Defining the role of a *heros* and his cult within a set community

d. Educational and/or pedagogical transmission of social values, norms and ideals

By being removed from their human existence and transposed to the realm of gods and heroes, historical figures inherited likewise powers. They could work healing wonders and were helpers in battle.[81] Conversely, they also share their less amicable traits, and are generally portrayed as easy to anger, brutal and vindictive. As we have seen, a dead hero is a mighty being who demands worship and can cause great harm if neglected or slighted.[82]

In this sense, Greek heroes are the embodiment of the ambiguous nature of the "Sacred" as conceptualized by the Durkheim-school and the Collège de Sociologie: The world of the Sacred can be thought of as the realm of energies and forces, as opposed to the Profane – the world of substances and things. A "thing" is something solid and stable, whereas a force can have good or bad effects, depending on the circum-

[80] Cf. HÜBNER (1985: 64–66; 84).

[81] For example, Oibotas of Dyme was said to have fought in the Greek ranks at Plataia (479). Cf. Paus. (6, 3, 8).

[82] BURKERT (2011: 311); PARKER (1996: 272–273).

stances. This force is not good or bad in its essence ("good" or "bad" are hereby not conceived as ethical antagonisms, but as the two poles within the realm of the Sacred), but in the direction it takes or in which someone is trying to channel it within a specific act. Because of its potency and volatility, the Sacred evokes desire and fear at the same time. It can be a source both of immense blessing and great affliction.[83]

In my opinion, this twofold potential is nowhere more apparent than in the case of the *loimos-heros*. A *loimos* or collective misfortune caused by a supernatural being represents the most striking example for the destructive potential of the Sacred. It highlights a hero's potency and serves as a reminder and incentive to grant him the worship he is demanding.[84]

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[83] CAILLOIS (2012: 321–322).

[84] Cf. LUNT (2009: 385).

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Quirinus and his Role in Original Capitoline Triad

*This article is focused mainly on ancient Roman god Quirinus and his origin, character and role in the First Capitoline Triad of ancient roman religion. This article enumerates theories and views of Roman authors on the origin and character of Quirinus as one of the oldest members of ancient Roman pantheon. The available evidence from literary sources pertaining to Quirinus, his priests and festivals is also considered. Author of this article evaluates the similarities between Mars and Quirinus and their priests (*Salii *and* flamines*) and possible warlike competences of Quirinus – his connection to war.*

Keywords: First Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Salii, Flamines, Romulus, Numa

Introduction

The main focus of this article is the true character of the ancient Roman god Quirinus and his role in the Original Capitoline Triad. Since the literary evidence dated back to ancient Roman and Greek culture comes from a much later period of time – mostly from the 1st century BC and late Roman Empire – there are several general problems: Concerning their religion, even Romans themselves had forgotten the genuine purpose and origin of some of their archaic rituals and gods because of the several centuries long gap between the age of Roman Kings to the times of the end of the Republic and the reign of early Roman emperors, when most of the literary sources available for this era were written. Therefore, we should not consider everything a historical fact, but more likely an artistic recreation of a mythical history from the Roman perspective corresponding to the time it was written. We should also consider the purpose of each source text we use – whether to approach it as historical evidence or a philosophical treaty regarding the ideal conditions of things or whether the purpose of the text was to set a perfect example of Roman virtues based on the historical background.

First Capitoline Triad and Quirinus in ancient sources

The first Capitoline Triad consisted of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus and crowned the Roman pantheon from the times of Romulus to the reign of the Etruscan kings of Rome. Concerning Quirinus there are sources to be found containing a number of theories about his possible descent, character and role in accounts of several Roman and Greek authors.

Varro mentions in his artwork *De Lingua Latina*[1] that the *mons Quirinalis* was named either after the sanctuary of Quirinus that was situated there or that it was derived from *Quirites*, people of Sabine town of Cures, who had come to Rome with their king Titus Tatius and settled there. Therefore it is assumed that Quirinus might originally have been a Sabine protective god, as Jupiter was to the Romans and as Mars was to all the Italic tribes.

Livy mentions another possibility of the development of Quirinus in his Histories[2]. After the death of Romulus, Proculus Iulius, a member of a class dubbed *patres* at the time, saw the spirit of the deceased Romulus in his dream and was told that he, Romulus, became Quirinus, and if Romans worshipped him, he would lead them to power and dominance[3].

On this account, Romulus was deified after his death and assumed the place and name of Quirinus. This was a common view of Quirinus in Livy's times, most likely supported by Caesar and Augustus, who presented Romulus as their ancestor. Quirinus thus became the protective god of Roman citizens, who started dubbing themselves *Quirites* after their founder King. As Romulus and Remus were believed to be sons of Mars, and Mars was believed to be son of Jupiter and Juno, this

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[1] Varro *LL* 5, 51: *Collis Quirinalis, <quod ibi> Quirini fanum. Sunt qui a Quiritibus, qui cum Tatio Curibus venerunt ad Roma<m>, quod ibi habuerint castra.*

[2] Liv. 1, 16: *Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in contionem prodit. „Romulus" inquit, „Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundusque adstitissem petens precibus ut contra intueri fas esset, „abi, nuntia" inquit „Romanis, caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.*

[3] Liv. 2, 16; see last sentence in footnote nr. 2.

would mean that the First Capitoline Triad consisted of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus who were grandfather, father and son.

The third account is dated back to a much later period of Roman history and was written by Maurus Servius Honoratus, who, on the turn of 4th and 5th century AD wrote his commentary to Virgil's *Aeneid*[4]. There he wrote his comment on the verse *Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt.* He commented that Mars is dubbed *Gradivus* when he is furious (he who walks to the battle), and when he is calm, he is Quirinus. He also noted that there were two of his temples in Rome: one dedicated to Quirinus inside the City, being a calm guardian; the second one was situated outside the sacred borders of the City on Via Appia close to the gate and was dedicated to Mars Gradivus, a stout warrior marching into battle.

In the same commentary to Virgil's *Aeneid*[5] follows more information on the difference between Mars and Quirinus. The difference according to the author is that Quirinus was an aspect of Mars presiding over peace and safety, and who as such had his seat inside the City; Mars Gradivus on the other hand was presiding over war and had a more active role – as such he had his temple outside the City. According to these two notions of Maurus Servius Honoratus, there might have been a view of Quirinus being a protector of the City of Rome and its citizens, who as such had a temple inside the *pomerium*, the sacred border of Rome. Mars, on this same account, as a warrior god, who walked from the City into battle, had a temple outside. On that Georges Dumézil[6] commented in his *Archaic Roman Religion* (1970) that Quirinus and Mars represented two contrasting yet changing aspects of the same people. Because when Rome was in war, male citizens of Rome *(quirites)* entered into military service to protect their fatherland and so from the *quirites* by the means of military oath they became soldiers (*milites*).

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[4] Serv. *A.* 1, 292*: Mars enim cum saevit Gradivus dicitur, cum tranquillus est Quirinus. Denique in urbe duo eius templa sunt: unum Quirini intra urbem, quasi custodis et tranquilli, aliud in Appia via extra urbem prope portam, quasi bellatoris, id est Gradivi.*

[5] Serv. *A.* 6, 859*: Quirinus autem est Mars, qui praeest paci et intra civitatem colitur: nam belli Mars extra civitatem templum habuit.*

[6] DUMÉZIL (1970: 262).

When war ended, soldiers were honorably discharged from their oath and service and became citizens again.

Broader perspective – priests and festivals

Above-mentioned accounts can also be complemented with the accounts concerning certain priestly colleges of Rome. Some authors such as Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus[7] wrote about the reign of Numa Pompilius and his new religious institutions including the creation of *flamines*, personal priests of important gods. These *flamines* were divided into *flamines maiores* and *flamines minores*. Livy provided us with an account[8] on the *flamen Dialis*, who was of the highest respect. He was a personal priest of Jupiter, who was charged with keeping his rites, which originally belonged to the competence of the Roman king. To the *flamen Dialis* Numa added two other *flamines maiores* – the *flamen Martialis* and the *flamen Quirinalis*.

Among other new religious institutions of Numa was the College of *Salii Palatini*, which consisted of twelve dancing priests, who had their seat on the Palatine hill. Their college was later complemented by the decree of Tullus Hostilius[9] by another college of twelve *Salii Agonales* or *Salii Collini*, who had their seat in *mons Quirinalis*. Both colleges are attested and described quite extensively in Roman Antiquities by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[10]. The Salii were dressed in *tunicae pictae*[11], with

[7] D.H. 2, 64: *The first division of religious rites he assigned to the thirty curiones, who, as I have stated, perform the public sacrifices for the curiae. The second, to those called by the Greeks stephanêphoroi or „wearers of the crown" and by the Romans flamines; they are given this name from their wearing caps and fillets, called flama, which they continue to wear even to this day.*

[8] Liv. 1, 20: *Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino;...*

[9] Liv. 1, 27: *Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit salios...*

[10] D.H. 2, 70.

[11] Colourfully embroidered tunics.

iron breastplates over it, and maybe also in *toga trabea*[12] over the breastplate. They were armed with archaic shields called *ancilia* and spears and their ceremonial purpose was to leap-dance in a specific three-step rhythm during a festival in a procession through the streets of Rome while also singing the sacred songs[13] and carrying the shields and spears. To both of these colleges belonged the twelve sacred shields (*ancilia*) – according to myth one of the shields was an original shield of Mars sent to Earth from the Heavens and the rest were eleven unrecognisable copies made by Mamurius Veturius. Both colleges shared the duty of keeping these shields safe and well cared for.

Salii Palatini were devoted to *Mars Gradivus* (Mars, who walks into battle), and the *Salii Collini* to *Quirinus*. *Salii Palatini* were doing their part in March during the festival of *Tubilustrium* (on the 23rd of March). Their duty was to ritually begin the period of military campaigns in a new year – *ancilia movere*. *Salii Collini* were doing their part in the festival of *Armilustrium* (on the19th of October) and after that they put the arms and shields to winter sleep (*ancilia condere*) marking the end of the period of military campaigns in the year coming to end. In other words *Salii Palatini* of Mars Gradivus opened the period for war and military campaigns (from March to October) and *Salii Collini* of Quirinus ritually laid arms to rest and opened the period of winter peace under the vigilant watch of *Quirinus*.

Concerning the character of Quirinus, according to the aforementioned accounts, he was quite similar to Mars and to some extent connected to war, but in a different manner than Mars. After his connection with deified Romulus, Quirinus gathered more peaceful connotations – he became the protector of the City, the state and of all Roman citizens, who started to call themselves *Quirites* after him, the deified founder of their eternal city. With his function as the protector of the people of

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[12] According to D.H. 2, 70: „They wear embroidered tunics girt about with wide girdles of bronze, and over these are fastened, with brooches, robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call trabeae; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour."

[13] Liv. 1, 20: *Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.*

Rome were connected some parts of everyday life which he also protected in some manner through his personal *flamen*. The participation of the *Flamen Quirinalis* is attested at only three festivals other than the *Quirinalia* (festival of Quirinus). Two of them, the *Robigalia*[14] and the *Consualia*, were both agricultural festivals. The *Robigalia,* attested by Ovid, was being held on the 25th of April to protect the growing grain from harm by cereal rust[15]. In Ovid's Fasti a poetic prayer[16] of *flamen Quirinalis* to Robigo can be found, after which follows the description of the sacrificial offering of the blood and entrails of a dog (*catulus*).

The *Ludi Consuales* (or the *Consualia*) were two festivals held to honour the god Consus, a tutelary god of harvest and stored grain. According to Livy[17] and Plutarch[18], his cult and games were founded by Romulus – his *Ludi* were held on the 21st of August and Romulus used this as an opportunity to invite Sabines to the Games and to abduct Sabine women. Participation of *flamen Quirinalis* on this festival is attested by Tertullian[19] in his artwork *De Spectaculis.* According to this the *flamen Quirinalis* together with Vestal virgins made a sacrifice in the underground temple of Consus, which was unearthed only for the purpose and duration of the festival.

Romanian historian of religion Mircea Eliade[20] divided the gods of First Capitoline Triad according to their role, character and spheres of influence. Jupiter was without a doubt the sovereign god, the thunderer and ruler of heaven. But he didn't reign over war, which was in the competence of Mars, who represented for all Italics the warrior god. Quirinus was associated with peace, but most closely he was related to the assembly of Roman people (*co-virites* = *Quirites*). He was the god of the third function in the Indo-European tripartite division.

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[14] Ov. *F.* 4, 905–942.

[15] A fungal disease of grain ruining the affected crops.

[16] Ov. *F.* 4, 911–932.

[17] Liv. 1, 9.

[18] Plut. *Rom*. 14.

[19] Tert. *Spect*. 5, 7.

[20] ELIADE (1982: 123–124).

German classical philologist Georg Wissowa[21] held a different view. He divided the later cult of Quirinus as deified Romulus from the original archaic cult of *Quirinus pater*, whom he saw as the patron of the hill-community of the Quirinal Hill (similar to *Reatinus pater* being the patron of Reate). Wissowa suggested that because of the same character of both colleges of Salii and the mention of weapons of Quirinus[22], the genuine character of Quirinus may have been in the beginning very similar to Mars.

According to Wissowa, Quirinus was the youngest of the gods of the Triad and his *flamen* was of lowest rank amongst the *flamines maiores*. Quirinus was strongly connected to his seat on the Quirinal Hill. Varro wrongly counted the Roman community on the Quirinal Hill as being of Sabine descent, and also wrongly thought that Quirinus was a Sabine god. *Flamen Martialis* also played his ritual part in the service of some other smaller deities[23] during their festivals.

Wissowa placed the beginning of popular opinion that Quirinus was deified Romulus to the last century of the Republic. Augustus probably included Quirinus in this new meaning as the deified Romulus in the collective sacrifice to Vulcanus on Volcanalia (23rd of August). Wissowa also mentioned, that in old formulas to Quirinus there appeared *Hora Quirini*, about whom we know nothing but the name. Ovid[24] wrote a story in his *Metamorphoses* about Romulus' wife Hersilia, who was summoned after the death of Romulus to the Quirinal Hill by Juno and from there ascended to heaven, was dubbed Hora and was worshiped beside her husband, Quirinus.

Quirinus without a doubt had some connection to war and the military even though he might have held the more peaceful status of a protector than a warrior. We should consider our knowledge about him still as being limited and we should consider the scarcity of ancient accounts, their being from different times and their different levels of credibility. The true origin and character of Quirinus was quite a mystery for Ro-

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[21] WISSOWA (1912: 153–156).

[22] Verg. *Georg*. 3, 27: *Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini*.

[23] For example Larenta, Robigus and Consus.

[24] Ovid. *Met*. 14, 829–851.

mans and is still mysterious to us as we can see in the few selected different examples of what the great scholars of modern times had to say about this interesting Roman god.

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The Silent Revolution: The Roman Army between Polybius and Marius

Traditionally, Polybius' description of the Roman army in Book VI of his Histories is considered the de facto image of the mid-Republican Roman legions until the major changes introduced by the reforms attributed to Gaius Marius. However, there are several elements highlighting the fact that Polybius' description actually depicts a rather outdated military system, making it hard to accept it as an up-to-date portrait of the army by the mid-second century. By examining hints within the sources, this paper aims to proper examine the major variations that interested the Roman military system from the mid-third to the late second centuries and to highlight their overall impact.[1]

Keywords: Roman army, Roman Republic, Polybius, Gaius Marius, Roman military system

The Roman army was a very complex organization that had, in its ability to change and adapt to the necessities of war, one of its most striking characteristics and, arguably, one of the keys to its success.[2] From the earliest days when, as described by Keppie, it was little more than an armed band of few hundred men raiding neighbouring territories, the *exercitus*, throughout the long Republican period, experienced several radical transformations until 31. Then, following his victory at Actium, Octavian established a new standing army of professional soldiers, closing one phase of the Roman army's history and starting an entirely new one.[3]

[1] All the dates are BC unless indicated otherwise; all translations are from Perseus Digital Library with the exception of Valerius Maximus, *Memorable doings and sayings*, trans. by D. R. SHACKLETON-BAILEY, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U.P., 2000.

[2] Diod. Sic. 23.2: "…the Romans, so they asserted, were pupils who always outstripped their masters."; also see Plb. 6, 25 and BRAND (2019: 108-109).

[3] KEPPIE (1984: 14); on Augustus' reform of the Roman army, see Suet. *Aug*. 24.

This paper aims to examine a series of significant changes experienced by the Roman army during the period comprised between the mid-third and the late second centuries, emphasizing their long-term impact. These progressive transformations proved to be so important that they influenced the well-known Marian reforms as such contributing to structural changes in the late Republican army. However, despite such implications, these changes are presented in a very disjointed fashion in the sources and are not even as prominent as other well-known and attested episodes such as the manipular system or the already mentioned Marian reforms.[4] This overall lack of attention by the sources might be caused by the fact that their impact was considered limited only to the military and they did not seem to bring revolutionary transformations that affected Roman society as well. The manipular legions, after all, required a different recruitment system from the hoplite army inherited by the monarchy; thus, Roman society was re-organized in order to facilitate the levying of these new units. Marius, on the other hand, is credited with opening the legions to all citizens, including the *capite censi*, the poorest elements in Roman society excluded from military service up until that moment.

By looking at the evidence as a whole, this paper will show that, though slow, this was a progressive and organic transformation of the army dictated by the necessities of war, necessities that were different from those experienced by the Republic during its previous wars. From the mid-third century, after all, Rome started to wage war outside of peninsular Italy, and the development of a more complex military structure was thus inevitable.[5]

Between Polybius and Marius

Of great importance for this paper is Polybius' description of the Roman army in Book VI of his *Histories*, which is generally considered the de facto image of the mid-Republican military and the main reference regarding its structure and other key mechanisms – such as recruitment procedures,

[4] The manipular legion is mentioned in Liv. 8, 6–8, but more as a state of affairs by the mid fourth century.

[5] Plb. 1, 12 on Appius Claudius Caudex's forces landing in Sicily in 264: "That was the first time an armed force of Romans left Italy by sea…"

payment, etc. – until the major changes introduced by the reforms attributed to Gaius Marius from 107.[6] Polybius' description, however, suffers from one major issue: its chronology. While it is generally accepted that Polybius wrote during the mid-second century, he actually depicts a rather outdated military system, making it hard to accept it as an up to-date portrait of the Roman army.[7] Polybius, like other Greek military writers, offers a textbook description which does not take into account intermittent or real-life variations. The Roman army, between the mid-third and the late second centuries, experienced several important variations. Throughout this paper, I will emphasize these changes by bringing together the evidence scattered in different sources and, ultimately, suggesting that the army, by the mid-second century, was quite different from the one described by Polybius and actually closer to the one attributed to Marius.

The traditional structure and evolution of the Republican army can be summarised as follows: by the time of the siege of Veii (406-396), the hoplite phase, inherited from the monarchy, had reached its peak, although this has been debated by recent scholarship.[8] The next development involved the introduction of the manipular system, which required the adoption of new equipment and recruitment practices.[9] Though trying to date with confidence this conversion is quite challenging, it is possible to

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[6] Regarding the date of the reforms, both Sall. *Jug*. 86 and Plu. *Mar*. 9 place them right after he won his first consulship; Gell. 16, 10, 14 offers an alternative by suggesting that the reform of the recruitment system might have happened during the Cimbric War (maybe in 104, following the defeat at Arausio, so during Marius' second consulship), but then adds: "…or more probably, as Sallust says, in the Jugurthine War, to have enrolled soldiers from the *capite censi*, since such an act was unheard of before that time."

[7] RAWSON (1971: 13–15); also see BRUNT (1971: 627–628).

[8] RAWSON (1971: 13): "Literature and archaeology agree to make us believe that at some time in the archaic period the phalanx style of hoplite warfare was introduced to Rome, possibly from Etruria…"; also see GOLDSWORTHY (2003: 21–23) and RICH (2007: 17–18); on Rome not adopting hoplite warfare see ROSENSTEIN (2010), ARMSTRONG (2016: 111–112).

[9] Liv. 8, 8: "The Romans had formerly used round shields; then, after they began to serve for pay, they changed from round to oblong shields; and their previous formation in phalanxes, like the Macedonian army, became a battle line formed by maniples…" this passage is placed about 340, at the time of the Latin War. Also see KEPPIE (1984: 19).

suggest that it was a progressive transformation that took place between the late fifth and early fourth centuries. Diodorus suggests that the Romans were militarily influenced by their contacts with the Samnites.[10] Therefore, it might be possible to suggest the years between 390 – the Gallic raid – and 354 – first official contact between Romans and Samnites – as the transformation period, with the First Samnite War (343–341) as the potential terminus ante quem.[11] After all, Livy states that by the time of the Latin War (340–338) both Romans and Latins employed maniples as their tactical units, so they had to be relatively familiar with them.[12] The next major change highlighted by the sources are the reforms attributed to Gaius Marius who, in particular, is credited with having opened military service to all Roman citizens. This is considered a true revolution by the literary sources since, up until that moment, service in the army was based on the census rating of the individual citizens.[13] The so-called Marian reforms are believed to represent a major step toward the professionalization of military service, a process later completed by Octavian's military reforms and the creation of the Imperial army.[14]

Where does Polybius' description fit in this summary? As said, it is considered the main source on the Roman army during the mid-Republic before the changes of the late Republican period, but, at the same time, it suffers from a chronological issue. Therefore, suggesting a more plausible date for Polybius' account allows us to better understand the chronology of the crucial changes that the Roman army experienced during the mid-Republican period. Keppie argues that Polybius is describing the Roman army at the end of the Second Punic War, thus sug-

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[10] D.S. 23, 2.

[11] D.S. 16, 45, 7 and Liv. 7, 19 on the treaty of 354 between Romans and Samnites.

[12] Liv. 8, 8: "They knew that not only must section meet section in battle, the whole line of *hastati* face *hastai*, *principes* face *principes*…"

[13] Plu. *Mar*. 9: "…he immediately began to rise an army. Contrary to law and custom he enrolled large number of paupers…"; Sall. *Jug*. 86: "Meanwhile he himself enlisted soldiers, not in the traditional way from the propertied classes, but accepting whoever volunteered, generally from the headcount."; Val. Max. 2, 3: "This old tradition had been in force for a long time and was well established by then, but Marius abolished it by enlisting men without property as soldiers."

[14] See KEPPIE (1984: 146–147) and GOLDSWORTHY (2003: 50).

gesting that it maintained this structure, organization and strength until the Marian reforms.[15] Michael Dobson, on the other hand, suggests that the dating should be moved to the beginning of the Hannibalic War.[16] Neither suggestion is satisfactory, however, as they both clash with the evidence on the matter of the number of legions that composed the overall army. As Dobson himself remarks, it is clear that the four-legion system was definitely anachronistic by the mid-second century.[17] It is my suggestion, however, that there is evidence in the sources that this number was already outdated by the Second Punic War.

First of all, Livy states that in 218, at the beginning of the war, the Romans levied six legions and the number of legions recruited throughout the war would greatly increase from that.[18] Even by the end of the war, and for years after, the number of legions would not return to the supposed "standard" of four.[19] Second, Polybius himself offers contradictions to his own model. In the well-known description of Rome's manpower during the Gallic invasion of 225, he suggests that the Roman army fielded ten legions for a total of 52 300 citizens under arms, a considerably larger force than a traditional four legions army.[20] Next, the chronicle of the early years of the First Punic War might offers additional references to the abandonment of the four-legion system. In 264, consul Appius Claudius was sent to Sicily with a standard consular ar-

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[15] KEPPIE (1984: 33): "It is reasonable to take into account as reflecting the organization of the Roman army as it emerged from the struggle against Hannibal."

[16] DOBSON (2006: 55): "Consequently it can be suggested that the organisation of the Roman army described by Polybius in Book Six is essentially an account of the structure that the army had reached at the beginning of the Second Punic War."

[17] DOBSON (2006: 55): "The discrepancy of his source from his own period is also reflected by the description of the army and its encampment being essentially of a double-consular army of four legions with allies. Such an army seems to have ceased being the typical form of the Roman army during the Second Punic War."

[18] See Liv. 21, 17 on the legions in service in 218.

[19] Liv. 30, 41 reports that in 201 there still fourteen legions in service; the following year (200) the number of legions decreased to six (see Liv. 31, 8), but it increased to eight in 198 (see Liv. 32, 8).

[20] Plb. 2, 24 reports 22 000 Romans in consular armies (thus four legions of 5 500 men), 8 800 Romans (two legions of 4 400 men each) were deployed in Sicily and Tarentum, while 21 500 more stayed in Rome as a reserve (roughly four more legions).

my to support the Mamertines at Messana.[21] The following year (263), both new consuls, Marcus Valerius Maximus and Manius Otacilius Crassus, were assigned to Sicily, each at the head of a consular army.[22] Zonaras says that Claudius had left a garrison, so it would seem that in 263 the Romans had more than the traditional four legions in Sicily, thus showing that this conflict can be suggested as the start of the abandonment of the traditional manipular army described by Polybius.[23]

Therefore, I believe that Polybius is actually describing the final and most refined version of the manipular system and the army described in Book VI can be dated to the mid-third century.[24] Also, the First Punic War can be suggested as the starting point of the progressive transformation of the army that would be completed not by Marius, as is usually implied, but by Sulla. With a more plausible chronology of Polybius' description, it is then possible to emphasize the main elements of the Roman army that no longer apply by the mid-second century and how they had changed.

Next, I will highlight five major elements in which the Roman army of the mid-second century differed from Polybius' description and why they are important. Such elements allow to better contextualize the Roman army, understand its progressive transformation and appreciate how they paved the way to the armies of the late Republic. It is important to emphasize that most of these changes were not planned, but were dictated by the necessities of war – which had influenced most of the previous changes as well.

1. Number of legions

The number of legions is the main problem with Polybius' description. I believe it is hard to argue against the fact that by the mid-second century the four-legion army was clearly anachronistic. Dobson states that it was abandoned during the Second Punic War, though, as remarked earlier in

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[21] Plb. 1, 11.

[22] See Plb. 1, 16 and D.S. 23, 4.

[23] Zonar. 9, 4–5; Plb. 1, 17 adds that, following the successes of 263, the Romans reduced their forces in Sicily to two legions.

[24] RICH (2007: 18): "By the end of the fourth century the Roman army must have reached much of the form in which it was described for us by Polybius, a century and a half later."

the paper, it is possible to argue that episodes during the third century suggest an even earlier abandonment of this practice.[25] Furthermore, by looking at the sources, there should be no doubt that Rome, following its victory over Carthage, did not return to the previous military structure in terms of the number of legions annually recruited.

Livy's chronicle shows that the Republic, during the first half of the second century, often recruited eight legions, double the number suggested by Polybius, divided between the four consular ones, two for the Spanish provinces and two more deployed were needed. This number, after all, is mentioned by Livy at least on fourteen occasions between 200 and 167. By no means, however, should this be considered a new standard number of legions, because Rome did not have an official standard number of legions prescribed by law.[26] It is possible to highlight the unpredictability of Rome's recruitment by examining Livy's chronicle of the beginning of the century. By 201, the final year of the Second Punic War, there were still fourteen legions in service deployed between Cisalpine Gaul, various parts of Italy, Sardinia, Sicily and Spain.[27] In 200, this number was reduced to six until 198, when it was increased to eight, brought back to six in 197 and increased to ten in 195.[28]

The rest of the second century follows a similar pattern, due to the unpredictability of the necessities of war. There are, in fact, plenty of occasions when the number of legions either increased or decreased quite significantly. The loss of Livy's chronicle, of course, makes it harder to state definite numbers. However, without going into too much detail, it is still possible to suggest a general pattern for the rest of the second century. Between 167 and 150 there was a relatively low number of legions in service, followed by a strong increase between 149 and 146 (due to the Third Punic War). The number of legions remained relatively high until 133, which coincide with the destruction of Numantia and

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[25] DOBSON (2008: 103): "Such an army seems to have ceased being the typical form of the Roman army during the Second Punic War."

[26] NICOLET (1980: 98).

[27] Liv. 30, 1.

[28] On the legions in service see Liv. 31, 8 (200), 32, 1 (199), 32, 8 (198), 32, 28 (197), 33, 25 (196), 33, 43 (195).

the end of the Spanish Wars, and kept decreasing until 113. The final decade of the second century, on the other end, is characterized by a higher number of legions in service due to the intense military activity experienced by the Republic: the campaign against the Scordisci in the Balkans, the Jugurthine War in Africa and, of course, the Cimbric War.

The unpredictability of second century warfare, and the consequent fluctuating number of legions, can also be linked with the fact that Rome did not experience a difference between peace time and war time, at least not how that is understood today.[29] The Republic was always at peace and always at war at the same time, and the second century very well encapsulates this state of affairs: for the most part, peninsular Italy, the core of Roman territory, was at peace during the second century. The invasion of the Cimbri between 102 and 101 was the first time since the Second Punic War that an invading army had entered Italy. Central Italy, on the other hand, would not experience fighting until the beginning of the Social War in 91. The overseas provinces, on the other hand, often required troops, whose strength varied from garrisons to entire armies, but this also changed depending on the situation. Spain, of course, is the most emblematic example of this. Normally, Rome stationed two legions, one per province, as garrison; however, due to the endemic warfare of the second half of the second century, more and more legions were needed for the pacification of these provinces. Information on the deployment of legions during this time comes primarily from Appian's chronicle of the Spanish wars that, though vague at times, still offers an idea of the military efforts employed by Rome. There was more than one legion in Hispania Citerior from 143 to 133 and from 142 to 136 in Hispania Ulterior; potentially, up to five legions were deployed respectively between 136 and 133 (Citerior) and between 142 and 136 (Ulterior). Therefore, the year 136 is, perhaps, the most exemplary of this situation: the entire Roman army, that year, was made up by fourteen legions, ten of which were stationed in Spain (the other four were divided between Northern Italy, Macedonia and Sicily).

Therefore, by looking at the information in the sources, it becomes difficult to accept that, by the mid-second century, the Roman army was

[29] NICOLET (1980: 97).

still made up by the four legions system described by Polybius. After all, this de-regulated recruitment, together with the fact that multiple legions could be assigned to individual commanders, as it will be examined later, without a doubt facilitated the formation of the large armies of the first century. The Roman army would return to the concept of a standard number of legions only with Octavian's military reforms which arranged for a standing army of twenty-eight legions (reduced to twenty-five after Teutoburg).

2. Number of men per legion

This element is extremely important in order to properly understand the demographic impact of military service. It is well-known that Polybius states that a standard Roman legion was made up by 4 500 citizens (4 200 infantry and 300 cavalry) and was supported by an allied contingent (*ala sociorum*) of 5 100 men (4 200 infantry and 900 cavalry).[30] Therefore, in total, the Roman army described by Polybius, made up by four legions and as many *alae sociorum*, had the strength of 38 400 men (divided between 18 000 Roman citizens and 20 400 *socii*).

However, as said, Polybius is offering a textbook description of the Roman army and, consequently, ideal numbers. In reality, of course, the number of men per legions was extremely variable for various reasons. As remarked by Goldsworthy: "No army in history has managed to maintain all its units at their exact theoretical strength at all times. This is especially true on campaign, when units' strengths are continually eroded…"[31] and this reality became even more true from the mid-third century, once Rome started to become involved in large campaigns away from peninsular Italy. Also, there are different suggestions on the legions' ideal strength throughout the various literary sources. Livy, for example, stops using Polybius' figures in his chronicle by the late 180s; from that moment it seems that the number of Roman citizens in each legion was increased to 5 500 men.[32] At the same time, however, he does not mention the *socii*, so it is uncertain that they were affected by such a

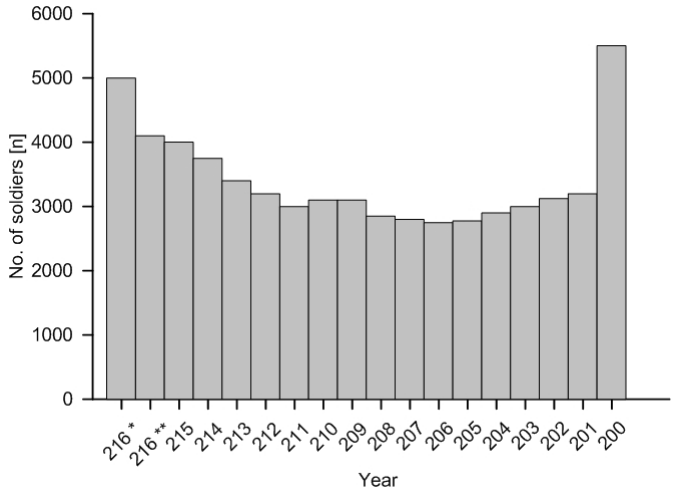
[30] Plb. 6, 20; Gell. 16, 4 on the *alae*.

[31] GOLDSWORTHY (1996: 12).

[32] Liv. 40, 36.

change as well. Finally, there is Appian (primarily due to his chronicle of the Third Punic War and the Spanish Wars), who, frequently throughout his various histories, employs the number 6 000 with regards to the strength of the legions. This, however, is rather problematic. It is important to remember that Appian was writing during the second century AD and it appears that he did not understand how the Republican army was organized, especially regarding the role of the allies. Though there are a couple of exceptions, he is extremely vague on the composition of the Roman army.[33]As a consequence, the numbers of men reported in his chronicle are never easy to read, and the same is true of the casualties. For the most part, Appian simply says Ῥωμαῖοι (Romans), so it is not sure whether he is talking about Roman citizens only, or also the *socii* or even auxiliaries.[34]

Most likely, the number of men per legion from the mid-third century onwards, was dictated by the necessities of war and because of this, was extremely variable. I believe that the Second Punic War best represents this pattern. The following graph shows the variations of Roman citizens in the legions estimated by Brunt from 216 (before Cannae, "216*", and after Cannae, "216**", in the graph) to 200:



[33] The *socii* are mentioned only twice throughout the chronicle of the Spanish Wars: App. *Hisp*. 11, 65 and 67.

[34] Spaniards were recruited by the Romans: see App. *Hisp*. 10, 58 and 11, 63; also see DYSON (1985: 196).

Brunt suggests that legions in service before Cannae were 5 000 men strong, but that same year, after the battle, the number of citizens in service decreased to 4 100 per legion.[35] This negative trend continued for the rest of the war until it reached the lowest point by 206 when, according to Brunt, the twenty legions in service counted on average only 2 750 Roman citizens, a massive drop from the standard Polybian number (4 500 per legion). From this point, the number of Roman soldiers in the legions slowly started to increase again (2 900 citizens per legion in 204), but never reached their supposed standard number for the rest of the war. However, Brunt estimates that in 200, right after the war, the standard manpower of each legion was increased to 5 500 men. The demographic implications of such a model are extremely relevant in investigating the impact of recruitment during the war, or, more in general, of Roman warfare. For example, by looking at the year 211, Rome had a massive army of twenty-five legions in service across the Mediterranean; in Polybian numbers, that would total as 112 500 citizens.[36] If, on the other hand, each legion actually counted 3 000 men, as suggested by Brunt, the overall strength of the army would decrease to 75 000 citizens, a significant difference when considering the impact of recruitment during this period of the war. Though very interesting, Brunt's model can be questioned by examining the sources. It is plausible that in 216, for example, with the exception of the stronger legions deployed at Cannae, the rest of the army consisted of normal legions of 4 500 men. At the same time, however, the three legions on the Spanish front were probably slightly weaker.[37] Also, in 210, while Brunt estimates that each

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[35] See BRUNT (1971: 418).

[36] Liv. 26, 1 offers the detail on the legions in service in 211, but has several omissions; it seems that there weren't many changes from the previous year, as most of the text is focused on extensions of commands, thus the total of twenty-five legions from 212 was maintained for 211 as well.

[37] Liv. 21, 17 says that Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio' army that landed in Spain was composed by two legions of 8 600 Romans and 15 600 allies. Liv. 22, 22 mentions that in 217 the senate, encouraged by Scipio's successes, sent 30 warships and 8 000 men to Spain. However, it is not clear how many of these were Romans and how many allies. Probably this force consisted of one legion plus *socii* under the command of Publius Scipio who joined his brother Gnaeus.

legion counted 3 100 citizens, Livy mentions legions that, after discharging veterans, had 5 300 Romans and 7 300 allies.[38] It appears, then, that there is no clear answer on this matter. Nevertheless, considering a combination of casualties, the defection of important allied communities, and the fact that Rome prioritized some fronts over others, it is plausible to suggest weaker legions.

Overall, there is no way to know how the actual strength of the legions varied not only during the Hannibalic War but throughout the second century as well. It is possible that consular legions, as they were the most important and deployed on the main fronts, were kept at standard strength, while others, especially those assigned to less important fronts or to garrison duty, might have less men or not receive reinforcements for longer periods of time.

3. Cohorts instead of maniples

As the hoplite formation was progressively abandoned between the late fifth and early fourth centuries, the Roman army of the Republican period, from a tactical point of view, was dominated by its successor, the maniples, until they were replaced in turn by the cohorts. While it is traditionally believed that this new formation was introduced by Gaius Marius, various sources suggest that cohorts were actually introduced before the Marian reforms, as early as the Second Punic War.[39] Although, at first, the passage from maniples to cohorts might be considered secondary, as limited exclusively to the army and its tactics, it also carried deep socio-economic consequences.

Technically, Livy uses the term cohort from his second book in an episode dated to 508, though this is clearly anachronistic.[40] The earliest reliable reference to a cohort in his chronicle is in 210.[41] Most famously, however, Scipio Africanus is supposed to have employed cohorts during his Spanish campaign. As remarked by Polybius: "Scipio with the three leading squadrons of cavalry from the right wing, preceded by the

[38] Liv. 26, 28.

[39] On cohorts being introduced by Marius see MATTHEWS (2010: 29–37).

[40] Liv. 2, 11.

[41] Liv. 25, 39.

usual number of velites and three maniples (a combination of troops which the Romans call a cohort), he advanced straight on the enemy…"[42] Because of this, Scipio is sometimes considered the commander responsible for introducing the cohort within the Roman army, though such a reading is slightly simplistic. It is more likely that Scipio employed battle formations and tactical variations that can be considered the basis for the cohorts. Such variations, due to their success and the necessities of war, became more and more common in the Roman army during the second century until they completely replaced the maniples by the final part of the century.[43] Furthermore, it is possible to interpret the previously discussed increase in the legions' manpower mentioned by Livy as suggesting the use of cohorts already by the late 180s, since they required more men then maniples.[44] Most likely, the Romans adapted their legions according to the requirements of each individual campaign and the individual enemy. During this period, these varied from the large, well-organized armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms to guerrilla warfare in Spain. Such a scenario is also supported by archaeological evidence. The army camps at Numantia offer indications for the coexistence of both maniples and cohorts, but also that the latter, progressively, replaced the former from the mid-second century.[45] This coexistence is further supported by Sallust who, in his account of the Jugurthine War (112–105), states that Roman soldiers were trained to change formation from maniples to cohorts when necessary.[46] For such manoeuvres to be possible, cohorts must already have been in regular use, further indication that they predated Marius.

Finally, Polybius' comment on cohorts during the Second Punic War should be considered as additional evidence for the outdatedness of the army's description in Book VI. After all, he shows awareness of cohorts being the tactical units of the Roman army, or, at least, that at the time

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[42] Plb. 11, 23; also see Liv. 28, 13 on cohorts being deployed in Spain in 206.

[43] See DOBSON (2006: 100) and KEPPIE (1984: 44) on the coexistence of maniples and cohorts.

[44] Livy 40, 36; also see BELL (1965: 409).

[45] See KEPPIE (1984: 63) and DOBSON (2006: 100).

[46] Sall. *Jug*. 51, 3.

both they and the maniples were being employed.[47] Despite this, his description only covers the old manipular army at a time when cohorts were, most likely, the army's main tactical units. This is reinforced by the last mention of maniples being used in the field coming in Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, only a few decades after Polybius was writing.[48]

As mentioned, cohorts not only implied larger legions or different tactics, but their earlier introduction and their progressive replacement of maniples also carried significant socio-economic implications. There are, in fact, two important factors to be considered: the progressive reduction of the property requirement for military service and the removal of the *velites*. As is well known, maniples were formed by different troop types (*velites*, *hastati*, *principes,* and *triarii*) with different equipment. Cohorts, on the other hand, did not have light infantry and were primarily formed by poorer soldiers who shared the same equipment, thus implying a stronger standardization.[49] Consequently, the production and distribution of military and non-military equipment on such a scale would have been possible only through state involvement.[50] These two factors are clearly connected with each other. Keppie, for example, argues that the reduction of the minimum census instigated the passage from maniples to cohorts, suggesting that the latter happened by the time of Marius.[51] As mentioned by the sources, the minimum census requirement for military service was reduced to 1 500 *asses* by the late

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[47] See Plb. 11, 23.

[48] Sall. *Jug*. 50, 1; 100, 2 and 103, 1 mentions light-armoured soldiers, probably *velites*; also, *Jug*. 50, 4 says: "…they were being wounded only from a distance and given no chance of striking back or engaging in hand-to-hand combat." so he is talking about Roman troops without long-range weapons, probably the *triarii* (as *velites*, *hastati* and *principes* were all armed with *pila*).

[49] See DOBSON (2006: 103).

[50] MATTHEW (2010: 34): "The merging of the maniples into cohorts removed the *velites* from the formation, and subsequently removed a large proportion of the legion's missile capabilities. To counter this loss, all legionaries were uniformly armed with sword (*gladius*), large shield (*scutum*) and javelins (*pila*). The removal of the spear as the principal offensive weapon of the *triarii* indicates that the uniform equipping and dependence on the gladius and scutum was an alteration made to suit close-contact fighting that would occur when engaged."

[51] KEPPIE (1984: 44).

second century, allowing poorer citizens to join the legions, before being abandoned altogether by Marius.[52] Keppie's logic, however, can also be applied to the earlier change to 4 000 *asses* reported by Polybius, thus suggesting an earlier introduction of cohorts.[53]After all, this is already a rather low minimum census requirement, roughly the equivalent of 4 *iugera* of property, and would have allowed the enlistment of poorer citizens who were unable to afford their equipment which now had to be standardized and (perhaps) provided by the state.[54] Then, by the 120s, when the property requirement was reduced to the aforementioned 1 500 *asses*, this issue became even more common. This, I believe, is well-portrayed by our main epigraphic evidence for the Republican army: the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus. Dated at least to 122, it shows a level of standardization of equipment well before Marius.

It is in fact reasonable to suggest that the Second Punic War provided a strong impetus for the standardization of military equipment and the subsequent state involvement in its production and distribution. This has been criticized by Daly who, more traditionally, suggests that the Marian reforms were responsible for triggering this process.[55] His argument, however, is mainly based on considering Polybius' description of the army as up-to-date in the mid-second century, which clearly it was not. The Hannibalic War, after all, caused a first major reduction of the census requirement for service (arguably more impactful than the

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[52] Cic. *Rep*. 2, 40; Gell. 16, 10, 10; Non. 228 L; on the census' reduction see GABBA (1973: 6–7); on Marius ignoring the minimum census, see BRUNT (1971: 406): "There is no other evidence […] that Marius had to pass a law to authorize his procedure. He simply exerted his imperium to enlist men whom it had not been the normal practice to enlist…" also see DOBSON (2006: 103) and RICH (1983: 323–330).

[53] Plb. 6, 19.

[54] See RATHBONE (2008: 308): "Because actual property values must have varied considerably, the Romans presumably had some notional scale of landholding in mind which corresponded to the cash figures, and minima of 100, 75, 50 and 25 *iugera* for the first four classes seem plausible to me, which would imply a notional 4 *iugera* for the fifth classis." Although ROSENSTEIN (2002: 190) argues: "No source informs us of the minimum number of iugera that a citizen would have had to have owned during the middle Republic in order to qualify as an *assiduus*. Quite probably no fixed figure existed…"

[55] DALY (2002: 211–212).

second) which, combined with the massive military demands of the conflicts, brought important changes to the Roman army's structure and organization that continued throughout the second century.

4. Ratio between citizens and allies

The traditional approach to this topic is that the allies were always more numerous than the Romans, a characteristic quite common among first century sources. Velleius famously emphasizes this issue, saying that by the time of the Social War: "The fortune of the Italians was as cruel as their cause was just; for they were seeking citizenship in the state whose power they were defending by their arms; every year and in every war they were furnishing a double number of men, both of cavalry and of infantry, and yet were not admitted to the rights of citizens…"[56] Other authors, such as Dionysius or Livy, seem to support this and suggest that this issue was already common by the early third century.[57]

Polybius, on the other hand, offers a different trend: each year the *socii* contributed to the army by sending their own forces which totalled the same number of infantrymen as the Romans, but three times as many cavalrymen. Overall, a legion was formed by 4 500 Roman citizens and supported by 5 100 allies, thus suggesting a 1:1.1 ratio instead of the 1:2 mentioned by other sources. Polybius' ratio is rather consistent: in his description of the mass recruitment in response to the Gallic invasion of 225 (although this is controversial), he states that the consular armies were formed by a total of 22 000 Romans and 32 000 *socii*, showing a 1:1.4 ratio. In both cases, while the allies still contributed to the Roman military effort more men than the Romans themselves, the difference is not as dramatic as portrayed by Velleius or Dionysius.

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[56] Vell. 2, 15.

[57] Liv. 10, 26 on the battle of Sentinum (295): "The force with which the consuls had taken the field consisted of four legions and a large body of cavalry […], whilst the contingents furnished by the allies and the Latin League formed an even larger army than the Roman army."; also see D.H. 20, 1 on the battle of Asculum (279): "…on the Roman side there were more than 70 000, about 20 000 of them being from Rome itself."; on the battle of Asculum also see Frontin. *Strat*. 2, 3, 21, but he does not make any distinction between Romans and allies.

Investigating the number of soldiers in service on a yearly basis is the only way to have a better idea on the actual ratio between Romans and allies during the period under investigation. After all, I believe that the literature claiming the allies always outnumbered the Romans was strongly influenced by pro-Italian propaganda from the time of the Social War. In reality, the ratio between citizens and *socii* in the army of the Republic was not as standardized as traditionally believed. The second century shows that it was actually rather variable, and changed often due to the necessities of war as well as political and tactical factors.

By examining yearly recruitment rates, at the same time, it is possible to suggest a trend that influenced the ratio between citizens and allies during the second century: at first, the number of allied troops actually increased. This was possibly caused by a sort of retaliation against those communities who defected during the Second Punic War following the events of 216. In 190, for example, Livy offers a detailed account of troops recruited and where these new soldiers were moved and stationed. In total, 25 600 Roman citizens and 46 800 *socii* were enlisted that year, thus suggesting a ratio of 1:1.8 in favour of the allies.[58]

Next, following the increase of Roman troops in the legions in the late 180s suggested by Livy, the ratio actually started to move towards parity. As mentioned in the previous section, this manpower increase might have been triggered by the potential earlier introduction of cohorts. Livy does not mention whether this affected the *socii* as well, though it is plausible. The levy of 178/177, for example, shows that a total of 27 500 citizens and 30 450 allies were recruited that year, with a

[58] Liv. 37, 2: the consular army in Macedonia (formed by two legions) was reinforced by 3 100 Romans and 5 200 allies. The other consul received two new legions (9 000 citizens) supported by 15 600 *socii*. Two city legions (9 000 Romans) and 15 600 allies were moved to Apulia-Bruttium while a new legion (4 500 citizens) and 10 400 *socii* was stationed in Etruria. Livy also mentions that the army in Sicily was reinforced by local recruitment of 2 100 men while the navy also received additional 1 000 marines and 2 000 soldiers. In both these cases, however, Livy does not mention the provenience of the recruits. Considering that provincial and naval recruitment during this period interested the allies for the most part, it is possible that most of these 5 100 extra soldiers were not Roman citizens. We cannot be sure and, in any case, this would not much change the overall ratio.

ratio of 1:1.1 still in favour of the *socii*, but with a rather marginal difference.[59] Livy's chronicle also shows that Roman soldiers, at times, actually outnumbered the allies. During the levy of 170/169, the first consul received the two Macedonian legions (which were stronger than usual: 6 300 Romans each with the same number of *socii*, so 12 600 citizens and 12 600 allies), the second consul two standard legions (11 000 citizens) supported by 10 600 allied troops, with the rest of the army consisting of four legions (22 000 Romans) and 17 000 *socii*.[60] Therefore, on this occasion, it is possible to see a ratio of 1.1:1 in favour of the Roman citizens.

With the end of Livy's chronicle, investigating the number of soldiers recruited during the second half of the second century becomes more challenging. As an example, it is possible to examine an episode in Appian's chronicle of the Spanish War, more specifically, the army raised by Fabius Maximus Aemilianus in 145 sent to Hispania Ulterior to fight the Lusitanians. Appian mentions that Aemilianus decided to recruit young men instead of the veterans of the Greek and African campaigns and asked for additional forces from the allies – one of the very rare instances in which Appian actually mentions them. By the time Fabius arrived in Spain, he had two legions for a total of 17 000 men under his command.[61] Unfortunately, while mentioning the allies, Appian does not provide any information on the composition of this force, so we can only speculate; as Aemilianus, according to Appian, asked the allies for 'additional forces', it is possible that the *socii* were slightly more numerous, though probably not by much. Of course, there was already an army in the province, though weakened by previous encounters with the Lusitanians, as Aemilianus was replacing Gaius Plautius, the previous unsuccessful commander. Appian simply mentions that he arrived in Spain with 11 300 men, but there is no mention on the composition of his force, so this may have further changed the

[59] See Liv. 41, 9: both consuls received two legions of 5 500 Romans each plus 12 600 allies, for a total of 22 000 Romans and 25 200 *socii* in the consular armies. Also, one more legion (5 500 Romans) supported by 5 250 *socii* was sent to Spain.

[60] Liv. 43, 12.

[61] App. *Hisp*. 11, 65.

already uncertain ratio of Aemilianus' army.[62] Finally, it is important to remember that the Romans also employed foreign auxiliaries during the Spanish Wars. Appian mentions the recruitment of other Spaniards under the treaty signed after Gracchus' campaign in 179, as well as reinforcements sent from Numidia.[63] This shows how difficult calculating the ratio between Roman citizens and Italian allies would become by the mid-second century, further indication that simply assuming that the allies were always double would be a major generalization.

Overall, the real issue regarding the ratio between Romans and *socii* is the fact that, despite their unquestionable military contribution and importance, the allies are not mentioned very often in the literary sources, making it hard to investigate their military participation more accurately. Polybius, while offering a more realistic ratio, still does not provide an accurate depiction of second century military service. Erdkamp has suggested that he did not make efforts to properly distinguish the Italians from the Romans since, to him, they were part of the same army.[64] An example of this could be the description of the plundering of a city and the ensuing division of the booty among soldiers: "…when this booty has been sold, the tribunes distribute the proceeds among all equally…"[65] From this, it appears that Roman and allied soldiers were treated in a rather equal fashion, thus clashing with Velleius' overly dramatic depiction of the allies' military condition by the time of the Social War.

Therefore, I would argue that, during the second century and up to the Social War, the ratio between Romans and *socii* was not standardized, but rather variable, as it was influenced by tactical and political factors. The constant double ratio suggested by later sources should be disregarded as an exaggeration caused by Italian grievances at the time of the Social War. More realistically, I believe it is plausible to suggest

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[62] On Plautius' army see App. *Hisp*. 11, 64.

[63] App. *Hisp*. 8, 43 on Gracchus; on the treaties also see DYSON (1985: 196). On Numidians see App. *Hisp*. 11, 67, as part of Servilianus' army (142), and *Hisp*. 14, 89 within Scipio's army at Numantia (134).

[64] See ERDKAMP (2007: 55).

[65] Plb. 10, 16.

that the ratio was closer to parity, though, quite often, the *socii* were slightly more numerous. This reflects the fact that they were more numerous than Roman citizens overall.

5. Number of legions assigned to commanders

The formula of two legions per consul described by Polybius is considered a staple of the Republican army.[66] It would seem, however, that by the mid-second century, this "rule" was not applied anymore, or, at least, it was bent according to the necessities of war. The cause, once again, was that the army of the Republic was actually not very regulated, but was strongly influenced by the necessities of individual campaigns. First, as said earlier, the Roman army did not have a legal limit to the number of legions it could field and the Punic Wars – the Second in particular – showed that the Republic could recruit as many as needed according to the military situation. After all, Rome had the manpower capabilities to field huge armies. Also, the Second Punic War showed that the Republic had the resources and infrastructure to sustain such an unprecedented military effort, though not flawlessly, as Rome often lacked funds (*inopia aerarii*) during the challenging years after Cannae.[67] At the same time, there was no regulation imposing a limit to the number of legions that could be assigned to an individual commander either. The formula of assigning legions to the consuls appears more as a tradition that dates back to the early Republic, when the army inherited from the monarchy was divided into two once Rome started to elect two consuls instead of having a king. The number of legions was progressively increased to four (the two per consul formula described by Polybius),

[66] Plb. 619: "On the appointed day, when those liable to service arrive in Rome, and assemble on the Capitol, the junior tribunes divide themselves into four groups, as the popular assembly or the consuls determine, since the main and original division of their forces is into four legions."

[67] Liv. 23, 5: "Are we to tell you we are lacking in cash, as if that is all we lack? Fortune has left us absolutely nothing that we can even supplement! Legions, cavalry, weapons, standards, horses, men, cash, supplies…"; see Liv. 23, 31 on the double taxation imposed in 215; also see Liv. 24, 18: "The workings of government were as vigorous at home as they were in the field. Because of the insolvency of the treasury…" and then he describes some measures adopted by the censors to gather money in 214.

most likely during the mid-fourth century, and remained the staple for a century, until the Punic Wars.[68] As argued earlier, the First Punic War marks the beginning of the silent revolution that would progressively, yet fundamentally, change the Roman army.

It is possible to argue that the deployment of larger legions can be seen as an early occurrence of assigning larger armies to individual commanders. The army with which Scipio invaded Africa during the Second Punic War (205–204) can be seen as an early example. Livy argues that, after preparations were completed, each of his two legions counted 6 500 citizens to which a similar – if not greater – number of *socii* should be added – for a total of, at least, 26 000 men.[69] This was a considerable larger force than a traditional Polybian consular army (two legions plus *alae*), which totalled 19 200 men. Appian, more conservatively, suggests that Scipio's army, in total, had 17 600 men, though, in true Appian style, does not mention any distinction between Romans and allies.[70] The stronger legions deployed for the Third Macedonian War (171) should be emphasized as well. Livy reports that the two legions sent to Macedonia were stronger than the rest of the army, with a total manpower of 29 400 men (divided between 12 600 Romans – 6 300 per legion – and 16 800 *socii*).[71] So, though reported as two standard consular legions, in the field these were stronger armies than were normally assigned to individual commanders. Thus, larger armies were already accepted in Rome by the late third century.

This pattern continued throughout the second century, to the point that there were commanders leading armies of five or even eight legions. More interesting is the fact that this is barely mentioned in the literary evidence. Granted, sources on mid-second century military activity are scarce, but it does not seem there was any outrage in Rome when a massive army of eight legions was sent to Africa against Carthage or by the fact that Scipio Aemilianus was besieging Numantia

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[68] Liv. 7, 23 mentions four legions already by 350.

[69] Liv. 29, 24–25.

[70] App. *Pun*. 3, 13.

[71] Liv. 42, 31 says that only the legions in Macedonia were stronger while all the others, including the other two consular legions, kept normal manpower levels.

with five legions.[72] It is likely that during the levy, legions were still assigned to their commanders in the customary fashion, two per consul. The key difference, however, was made by important cases of accumulation of troops. This became apparent during the Spanish campaigns, in particular the period between 141 and 133 in both provinces, and was repeated in other conflicts, such as the First Servile War in Sicily (135–132) or the campaigns against the Scordisci in the Balkans (114–101).

As said earlier, this might seem like a secondary issue, but it shows that commanders with very large armies were already accepted in Rome by the late third century and were becoming common by the mid-second century. By not having any form of legal directive, and by setting these precedents, the rise of the warlords and their large personal armies during the late Republican period became thus inevitable. Furthermore, when combined with the progressive politicization of the soldiers and the actions of Sulla, the assignment of larger armies to individual commanders is an element that surely had devastating consequences for the Republic.

Conclusions

As argued at the beginning of this paper, the Roman army started to experience a progressive, yet fundamental structural and operational transformation from the mid-third century. These changes, although apparently more limited to the army itself, and thus not properly emphasized in the literary sources, or mentioned in a very confused fashion, would actually have important socio-economic ramifications due to the army's influence on the rest of the Republican structure. By bringing together these changes, however, it is possible to argue that, by the mid-second century the Roman army was most likely closer to the one attributed to Marius and retained little of what was described by Polybius. Therefore, the more traditional picture of the army of the mid-Republican period (which, roughly, can be dated from the mid-fourth to the late second centuries) being structured and organized as described by Polybius until the reforms of Marius simply does not apply anymore.

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[72] App. *Pun*. 11, 75 says that Rome deployed an army of 84 000 men against Carthage; on Scipio's army in Spain see App. *Hisp*. 15, 92.

Polybius, after all, is describing the Roman army on the eve of the Punic Wars, conflicts that had a massive impact on Rome at all levels, including – and especially – the military. The victory over Carthage triggered the Republic's Mediterranean expansion for which the old manipular army simply was no longer enough. Naturally, because of the magnitude of the two Punic Wars and the new strategic needs of the Republic, the army had to change. Therefore, when Marius became consul in 107, the army, for the most part, was already structured as it supposedly was after his "reforms", thus questioning the overall importance attributed to those reforms. There is no doubt that his role has been greatly exaggerated by the literary sources, as he probably did not bring anything new to the army, but simply applied what was already common or, at best, simplified it. The recruitment of the *capite censi* is definitely the best example of this. Considering that, by this point, the minimum census for military service was so low that was basically irrelevant, Marius did what would have eventually happened regardless of his role: he ignored it. What is important is that he set the precedent.

In between these moments, the army experienced a silent revolution that continued for the rest of the mid-Republican period until it reached its conclusion with Sulla and the aftermath of his action in 88. From this moment, the Roman army entered into a new phase of its history, the semi-professional forces of the late Republic, that would be concluded only with the end of the Civil Wars. Following Octavian's military reform, a new, standing army of professional soldiers was formed, marking the beginning of a new phase of the history of the Roman army.

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SVETLANA IAKOVLEVA

Marcus Antonius' Campaign against the Pirates in 102 BC

The struggle between the Roman State and Mediterranean pirates is a problem in ancient history that has not been sufficiently studied. By analyzing events from the turn of the 1st century BC, the author provides information about the first serious military campaign, as well as the qualitative and quantitative Roman staff directed against the piracy in Cilicia. The author concludes that the problem of piracy was not solved and claims that Cilicia was established not as a province but as a military command aimed to resolve the situation in the Mediterranean Sea.

Keywords: Mediterranean Sea, Cilicia, ancient piracy, *lex de piratis*, Marcus Antonius, provincial system

At the end of the 2nd century BC numerous pirates began to damage the interests of both Rome and his allies in the Mediterranean.[1] The reason for this turn of events, as it is known, was the collapse of the political system of the Mediterranean after the defeat of the strongest states in the region by Rome – Carthage, Macedonia and the Kingdom of Seleucids – as well as the fall of the sea power of Rhodes[2] and the Ptolemaic power.[3]

The presence of pirates complicated trade communications significantly, by plundering trade caravans from Greece and Asia, hindering grain import from Africa, Egypt, Sardinia and Sicily, and capturing fa-

[1] ХЛЕВОВ [Hlevov] (2005: 323); МИШУЛИН [Mishulin] (1950: 116); SEMPLE (1916: 150–151); ЗЕЛИНСКИЙ [Zelinskij] (2002: 330).

[2] According to Strabo (14, 6, 9), Rhodes did not struggle with piracy for political reasons. But this statement should be considered more carefully (ORMEROD [1978: 203]; WIEMER [2002: 128–129]).

[3] БОКЩАНИН [Bokschanin] (1966: 22); МОММЗЕН [Mommzen] (1937: 130); ORMEROD (1978: 199); WIEMER (2002: 237).

mous noblemen. Moreover, due to the absence of control in the maritime space it could be extremely difficult for any state to organize potentially an effective military offensive or to repel the enemy.

The situation was highly complicated by the fact that the antipiracy actions did not have a clear and distinct purpose. The new enemies of Rome were neither Carthage nor the Kingdom of Mithridates. Scattered on the seas and coasts, the piratical bases, as well as their fleets, were so elusive in their nature that it was extremely difficult to hunt them. The number of their ships by that time had exceeded six hundred. As Appian wrote, "the war with them was not ordinary, had nothing natural, nothing solid or clear; it caused a feeling of helplessness and fear" (App. *Mith*. 95). Besides, the Roman government participated in the fight against pirates only partially, without giving any unity to their actions.

Cilicia became the main base of sea robbers (Plut. *Pomp*. 24)[4] because of its natural assets — nature conditions, according to Strabo, contributed in every way to the development of land and sea looting (Str. 14, 5, 6).

First evidence of the clash between Rome and the pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean region dates according to the sources to 102 BC. A significant fleet, consisting mostly of the ships of Rome-ruled cities and under the authority of the praetor Marcus Antonius invested with proconsular authority, was sent to Cilicia (Liv. *Per*. 68).[5] Most likely, his powers were granted not by a special law, but by the usual procedure in the Senate.[6] He was granted proconsular authority for 101 and 100 BC (Cic. *De Or.* 1, 82). However, there is no information on whether his powers traditionally applied to a specific limited space, or whether Marcus Antonius' imperium correlated with the authority of any nearby province governor.[7]

According to A. Sherwin-White, it is unlikely that the fleet was sent from Italy: it consisted of ships that were provided by such maritime

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[4] Мишулин [Mishulin] (1950: 117); Моммзен [Mommzen] (1937: 130).

[5] Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2005: 46); Magie (1950: 283); Моммзен [Mommzen] (1937: 130); Ormerod (1978: 208); Ormerod (1922: 35); Sherwin-White (1976: 4); Stuart Jones (1926: 167).

[6] Cary (1924: 163).

[7] Ehrenberg (1953: 116–117); Sherwin-White (1977: 69).

states as Rhodes and Byzantium. Marcus Antonius, who was commissioned to recruit sailors, organize a fleet and fight against pirates of the Cilician coasts, did this through the involvement of local forces in Asia Minor.[8]

The dominating point of view in historiography is that Antonius commanded a fleet sent against the pirates in Pamphylia and did not undertake operations on land (Liv. *Per*. 68). Pompeius Trogus also reports about naval warfare (*Prol*. 39),[9] but Cicero mentions that Antonius was detained in Athens during his trip to Cilicia as a proconsul (Cic. *De Or.* 1, 82) and his praetorian officer Gratidianus was killed in Cilicia (Cic. *Brut*. 45, 168).[10] In an inscription from Rhodes we find a mention of the name of Aulus Gabinius, the questor of M. Antonius and praetor of Cilicia. This suggests that Antonius operated against Cilicia both at sea and on land. Unfortunately, there is no information on the quantitative and qualitative composition of foot soldiers. The Roman fleet captured several ships and destroyed certain parts of the pirate bases;[11] the commander was named Creticus and celebrated a triumph.[12]

The creation of the province of Cilicia can be attributed to the result of Marcus Antonius' campaign. The province of Cilicia was established as a special military command in order to act against pirates whose nest was in that region. For almost 40 years (until Pompey the Great) certain areas of Cilicia did not correspond to the traditional idea/concept of a Roman province.[13] The territorial boundaries of the province were not strictly defined: according to the description of Strabo (14, 5, 1), Cilicia, lying on both sides of the Taurus, was divided into two parts: the Trachea ("rocky", "rough") and the Pediada ("plains", "fruitful"). However, this information does not allow us to establish the exact boundaries between the lands of the Cilicians and their northern neighbours.[14]

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[8] Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2005: 47–48); Sherwin-White (1976: 4).

[9] Cit. ex. Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2005: 47).

[10] Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2000: 295); Sherwin-White (1976: 8).

[11] Моммзен [Mommzen] (1937: 130).

[12] Magie (1950: 283); Ormerod (1978: 209).

[13] Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2005: 7); Егер [Eger] (1999: 555–556).

[14] Downey (1951: 151); Magie (1950: 266); Ormerod (1978: 209); Ormerod (1922: 35); Sherwin-White (1977: 70); Sherwin-White (1976: 5).

Most likely, Cilicia itself was not a part of this territory, since it nominally belonged to the Seleucid state.[15] Apparently at that time, the province of Cilicia was considered as a base for diplomatic or military activities according to actual circumstances of the time, in this case to solve the pirate problem.

The increased power of the sea robbers is also evidenced by the fact that the Roman government adopted a relevant document regulating actions to resolve the situation at sea and this document reached us in two epigraphic versions (SEG 28-492).[16] For a long time, it was believed that the inscriptions complement each other, but according to the present scholarly point of view, they are full-fledged independent translations of the decree.[17] Based on the analysis of these sources, it is considered that the law was adopted no later than 100 BC, but before 99 BC.[18]

The Delphic inscription with the Greek translation of the decree of the Roman Senate (so-called *lex de piratis*), which is a part of the Emilius Paulus monument, is traditionally dated to 100 or 99 BC.[19] The Senate addressed all cities and kings in alliance with the Roman people (συμμαχία καὶ φιλία ἐστίν τῶι δήμωι τῶι ‘Ρωμαίων Ἔπαρχος) and the viceroys of Asia and Macedonia with the request to render assistance to the Romans in the fight against pirates who prevented the navigation of Roman and Italian merchants. In addition, the consuls were instructed to transmit this message to the ambassadors of Rhodes, who were at that time in Rome, and to hold an audience for them on behalf of the Senate ἐκτός τῆς συντάξεως, that is, in an emergency (SEG 28-492).[20]

However, this inscription gives no hint as to whether agreements were reached with local governors concerning their own powers with

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[15] SHERWIN-WHITE (1976: 8).

[16] HASSALL–CRAWFORD–REYNOLDS (1974: 198, 207); STUART JONES (1926: 157, 161); SUMNER (2004: 211).

[17] SUMNER (2004: 211).

[18] SUMNER (2004: 215).

[19] STUART JONES (1926: 157, 161); SUMNER (2004: 215).

[20] БОКЩАНИН [Bokschanin] (1966: 24); EHRENBERG (1953: 117); MAGIE (1950: 284); STUART JONES (1926: 158–159); SUMNER (2004: 216); For details about alliance with Rhodes: see WIEMER (2002: 325–328).

the commander sent by Rome to conduct anti-piracy campaigns (SEG 28-492).[21]

The inscription from Cnidos, which is an element of the bath of the Byzantine period, dates from the end of 101 or 100.[22] According to the text, the consul in Rome was obliged to send letters to cities and kings who were in friendship with the Roman people (ἐν φιλίαι δήμου Ῥωμαίων)[23] – as a priority, the city-states of the East and the rulers of Alexandria and Egypt, Syria, Cyrene and Cyprus (that is, those who controlled the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean) – with the demand to stop the activity of pirates on their territory. Kings and their officials should not allow pirates to sail from their lands and take them in the harbours of their countries. The rulers were also obliged to ensure the safety of sea navigation and trade for Roman citizens and Italic allies (SEG 28-492).[24]

In this fragment it is added that through this law the Roman people declared Cilicia ἐπαρχείαν στρατηγικήν (SEG 28-492).[25] In fact, it is not entirely clear how exactly to interpret this phrase. M. Hassall and his co-authors believe that Marcus Antonius annexed the region of Cilicia and organized a province there;[26] J. Sumner believes that the Romans created a new province through this law.[27] A. Sherwin-White, however, argues that it does not follow from the content of other fragments that this phrase certainly implies Cilicia's turning into a separate province. In his opinion, the Romans at that time did not create a province on the territory of Pamphylia and Pisidia, which received in documents the inap-

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[21] Бокщанин [Bokschanin] (1966: 24); Ehrenberg (1953: 117); Magie (1950: 284); Stuart Jones (1926: 158–159).

[22] Абрамзон [Abramzon] (2000: 295); Hassall–Crawford–Reynolds (1974: 198, 207); Sherwin-White (1977: 70).

[23] The same as in the previous source this statement is the form of latin *socii et nominis Latini*.

[24] Hassall–Crawford–Reynolds (1974: 216).

[25] Hassall–Crawford–Reynolds (1974: 213).

[26] Hassall–Crawford–Reynolds (1974: 209).

[27] "Rome has, by this very law, created a new pretorian *provincia*, Cilicia" – Sumner (2004: 225).

propriate name of "Cilicia".[28] In one of the inscriptions from Cnidus, for example, Likaonia, which is a part of the province of Asia, is also called "province".[29]

Meanwhile, in reality during this period in the East there were only two ordinary Roman provinces – Macedonia and Asia, which were governed by the proconsuls. Most likely, the text of the law is precise: the governors of the province of Asia received instructions about operations against Cilicia, a mountainous coast on which there were fortifications of pirates. There was no need to create a second province on the territory of Roman Asia.

Praetor could successfully accomplish the task of suppressing pirates, relying on the resources of Asia – the local fleet, material sources and the naval base of Pamphylia, which was not part of the possessions bequeathed to Rome by Attalus, hence, it is likely that Antonius' operations were not intended to change the balance of power in Anatolia.[30]

Thus, it is not at all necessary to think that Cilicia was then proclaimed a province. Apparently, it means that a military command was created in Cilicia, aimed at settling the situation on the Mediterranean Sea.

This law shows that the Roman government was not indifferent to the pirate issue, and also that at that time pirates were indeed a serious problem that needed to be solved (Str. 14, 5, 1).[31] However, they were not yet quite a dangerous phenomenon, since the issue was resolved at the level of local naval forces (that is, with the help of all independent states), and not directly by the intervention of the army of the Roman Republic.

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[28] SHERWIN-WHITE (1976: 6).

[29] HASSALL–CRAWFORD–REYNOLDS (1974: 202).

[30] HASSALL–CRAWFORD–REYNOLDS (1974: 6); Th. Mommsen states that establishment of the Cilicia province should relate to 102 BC – МОММЗЕН [Mommzen] (1937: 130).

[31] АБРАМЗОН [Abramzon] (2000: 293).

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Different from Others? Jews as Slave Owners and Traders in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods

The subject of Jews as slave owners and traders throughout history received much greater attention in the last few decades. But there is no research that focuses on the Persian and Hellenistic periods and their relevant findings. This current article hopes to do exactly that. This article shows that Jews owned slaves and even traded them throughout the Persian period and during the Hellenistic period until the rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom. The slaves themselves were not only gentiles but also Jews, who received no special treatment from their co-religionists. Regarding the ownership of slaves, it was found that each Jewish owner treated his slaves differently, showing a huge gap between the biblical laws on the matter and the reality. The different texts and finds brought here are a testimony to the disregard of the Biblical laws on slaves, and the subsequent similarity between the Jews and their gentile neighbours in both ownership and trade of slaves.

Keywords: slavery, ancient Judaism, Samaritans, Zenon Archive, Hellenism, Ptolemaic Egypt

The subject of Jews as slave owners and traders throughout history received much greater attention in the last few decades. But while the writings are mainly focused on such Jews in the Caribbean and the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries,[1] or on Jews in the Muslim world during the medieval period, antiquity receives little attention. The main research on Jews as slave owners and traders in antiquity refers to the period between the end of the Second Temple Period and the fall of the Western Roman Empire.[2] The publications regarding Jews in these two roles in antiquity mainly base themselves on the writings of the Pharisaic rabbinic sect i.e. the Mishna and the Talmud.[3]

[1] For example: FRIEDMAN (1998); FABER (1998).

[2] HEZSER (2005).

[3] One research focusing on Talmudic attitude towards slavery, is BELMAN (2016).

There is no research that focuses on the Persian and Hellenistic periods and their relevant findings. This current article hopes to do exactly that, while taking into consideration the biblical laws and their observance. Because of the lack of writing on the subject, the current article is based mainly on primary sources, including the papyri from Elephantine, the papyri from Wadi Daliyeh, the Zenon archives, the Apocrypha like the book of Ben Sira and pseudepigrapha like the book of Jubilees and sectarian texts (i.e the texts of small Jewish sects)[4] like the Damascus Document known from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Evidence from the Late Persian Period

The first documents to be presented are papyri dated to the 5th century BC from the Jewish community in Elephantine, an island on the Nile in southern Egypt. This settlement was sitting on an important trade route and, as a result, was used as a customs checkpoint, bringing great revenue to the kingdom of Egypt and the Persian Empire. From the papyri that were discovered on the island, we have learnt that the garrison in the city, which was also responsible for collecting taxes, was Jewish. Furthermore, it was discovered that the Jewish settlement existed at least from the mid-6th century until the end of the 5th century BC.[5]

[4] The Sectarian writings depict a community's organization, ideology and political and theological controversies. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, organizational matters are detailed in the Rule of the Community (1QS) and the Damascus Document (CD): DIMANT (2009: 8).

[5] We can learn about Jewish immigration to the area of Elephantine from the letter of Aristeas, which was composed by an Alexandrian Jew during the Ptolemaic era in Egypt: *Letter of Aris.* 3, 13; the academic literature has extensively debated and presented the Jewish community of Elephantine and their papyri. An important example is the book written by PORTEN (1968: 19–27), in which he asserts that the Jewish military community on the island protected the southern border of Egypt since the Persian conquest of 525 BC until approximately 399 BC; GRELOT (1972); MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI (1991: 21–41); KASHER (1979: 1) says that the exact circumstances for the foundation of this Jewish community are unclear; another hypothesis is that the Jewish community on the island served the Kings of Egypt even before the Persian invasion of 525 BC and that the origin of the Jewish immigration to the area was the Babylonian conquest of the land of Israel: OLSHANETSKY (2018: 8).

Through these documents, we know that the Jews there even built their own temple,[6] and owned, and even inherited, slaves.

In one of the documents from the island, dated to the 24th of Shevat in the 14th year of King Darius,[7] an agreement between the two sons of a woman called Mivtahyia is recorded.[8] The sons, Mehessia Bar Natan and Yedonia Bar Natan, agreed on splitting their mother's slaves. The two slaves, Batusiri and Baloi, were brothers of Egyptian origin. The document states that each of the slaves had a tattoo on his hand, which said "to Mivtahiya" (למבטחיה) and to its right there was the letter "yud" (י). It also mentioned that the sons of Mivtahiya received the slaves for eternity as their inheritance, and that they could sell or pass them on to whoever, whenever they wanted.

The papyri clearly indicate that in the Jewish community there was a habit of marking the slaves with a tattoo, most probably to prove ownership (the slave belonged to Mivtahiya). Cowley,[9] who identified with certainty the letter 'yud' in the papyri, suggested that this was the beginning of the word 'yeret' (ירת), meaning heir,[10] and concluded that we should read the mark as 'to the heir of Mivtahiya.' Guillaume, who also assumed that the letter 'yud' represented the change in ownership of the slave, explained that it was easier to add a letter on the body than to erase the old tattoo and make another one.[11] The branding of slaves in

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[6] Regarding the temple in Elephantine, see: PORTEN (1968: 100–150); regarding the co-operation between the Jews and the Persian rulers who were hated by the local Egyptians, and the celebration of Passover as the main reason for the tension between the Jews and the local Egyptians which led to the eventual destruction of the temple in Elephantine, see: PORTEN (1968: 28–35; 278–282).

[7] Document number 28, in: COWLEY (1923: 103–104).

[8] Here, we can identify a theophoric name which refers to the god of Israel, Mivtahiya, meaning 'trusting God': MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI (1991: 106); according to Porten, only 13 of the 160 names appearing in the different documents from Elephantine, are not theophoric: PORTEN (1968: 13).

[9] COWLEY (1923: 105–106); a similar tattoo is mentioned in the release document of a slave named Temphet, who belonged to one of the female members of the community in Elephantine. The tattoo, which said, 'To Meshullam' (Lameshullam) was on her arm as a mark of ownership: BMAP, V: 3.

[10] SOKOLOFF (2002: 246).

[11] GUILLAUME (1921: 378).

Egypt was not unique to Jews. According to classic literature, on the bodies of slaves in Egypt there was usually a branded mark of dedication to one of the gods.[12] This tradition is also represented in the documents from Elephantine, as one of the slaves, whose name was Hur, was dedicated to the Egyptian god Khnum.[13]

Therefore, Guillaume identified the letter 'yud' as representing the beginning of the name of the God of Israel (Yahweh).[14] The possibility that the 'yud' was used to mark slaves with the name of God can be found in a verse in Isaiah:

> …and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel.[15]

Similarly, in the period of the First Temple, there was a tradition of branding the forehead or the hand as a sign of accepting the supremacy of the God of Israel.[16]

On the other hand, was the branded letter 'yud' on the arm of the slave representing the beginning of the word *yudea* (יהודיא)? During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Jews of Egypt were familiar with the tradition of branding the slave as a symbol of submission and ownership.[17] If the brand was referring to the word *yudea*, then this is a unique

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[12] Hdt. 2, 113; the classical literature has referred several times to the tradition of marking the slave's body: Ar. *Av*. 760; Ar. *Lys.* 311; Xen. *Hell.* 3, 24; Pla. *Lg.* 9, 854b.

[13] BMAP, VI: 8; BMAP, IX: 10; BMAP, X: 6; the slave Hur is mentioned as the gardener of the god Khnum and it is thought that he was a slave in this god's temple.

[14] GUILLAUME (1921: 378).

[15] Isaiah 42, 5 (King James Bible).

[16] See the interpretation of Ginsburg of this verse in connection to the papyri from Elephantine, which offered to read 'yud' instead of 'yado' i.e. his hand: PORTEN (1968: 204, n. 15).

[17] When Ptolemy IV, Philopater (244–204 BC) asked for a census of the Jews of Egypt and wanted to revoke their rights, he ordered 'χαράσσεσθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμῳ Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ ' (to brand their flesh with an ivy leaf, the symbol of Dionysus), as a mark of the Jewish enslavement to the Ptolemaic rule: *Third Book of Macc.* 2, 29; the symbol of the ivy leaf on a Jew would have symbolised his lower status and his obedience to the king Ptolemy Philopater, who saw himself as a reincarnation of Dionysus. With regards to the image of Philopater, which is identified as Dionysus: Clem.Al. *Protr.* 54, 2; TONDRIAU (1948: 127–146); TCHERIKOVER (1961: 342)

testimony which raises the possibility that Jews branded their slaves to declare ownership.[18] When tackled with the question on what the branded letter meant, there is still the possibility that the slaves were dedicated to the God of Israel and to the Jewish temple in Elephantine; or that the tattoo indicates the national identity of the owner; or that it is actually showing the military affiliation of the owner due to the term Hila Judaea (חילא יהודאי) which was a common way to refer to the Jewish military unit stationed at Elephantine.

Another find, originating from the Late Persian period in the land of Israel, are the 17 Samaritan documents that were written in Aramaic and were discovered in 1962 by Bedouin from the Taʿamireh tribe in Wadi Daliyeh (12 kilometres northwest of Jericho).[19] Nine of these documents are bills of sale for slaves.[20] The documents contained the names of the sellers, the buyers, the slaves, the witnesses and the administrative official who oversaw the signing of the deal. All the contracts were written up and signed in the city of Samaria, which was the capital of a Persian province at the time.[21] The names that appear in the deeds indicate an

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thinks that the tradition to brand the flesh with a mark of a god was very common during antiquity, and for that reason, we should not see the king's command as a punishment as the king himself would have been marked with the same symbol; KASHER (1979: 198–199) responds to TCHERIKOVER and states that there were many incidents in which a royal mark was branded on the bodies of slaves and prisoners of war as a symbol of their submission and to prevent them from escaping; see also HACHAM (2002: 18–26); we know that although the events of Maccabees III are allegedly attested to the beginning of the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, the text itself was written many years later.

[18] Regarding modern research on the marking of slaves, see: MENDELSOHN (1949: 42–50); WESTERMANN (1955: 19); on the double role of marking the slave, firstly as a symbol of ownership, and secondly for an easier way to find run-away slaves, see: MENDELSOHN (1949: 49–50); HUROWITZ (1992: 1); CHRISTOPHER (1987: 139–155).

[19] Regarding the study on the papyri of Wadi Daliyeh, see ESHEL (1994: 48–52); DUSEK (2007).

[20] DJD, XXVIII: 33–116.

[21] In the Bible, the letters of Rehum the Commander and Shimshai the Scribeare are a testimony of the existence of a local administration in Samaria during the first half of the 5th century BC, who were loyal to the Persian rule and tried to prevent the rebuilding of the Temple: Ezra. 4, 8–16; see also on the subject: ESHEL (1994: 28–36).

ethnically mixed population with Edomean, Phoenician and Akkadian names, but most of the names had the theophoric component of Yahweh.[22] The use of a theophoric beginning or ending of 'יהו' in a name was considered as the only way to identify a believer in the God of Israel.[23]

We can learn from these documents that also some of the slave traders, who were buying and selling slaves, had names with the theophoric element referring to the God of Israel. For example: Yehonur son of Laneri, Yehopadaini son of Delaiah, Hananiah son of Beyad'el, etc. The slave traders were not the only ones with names referring to the God of Israel. There were several slaves who also had such names, such as: Yehohanan son of Seʾilah, Yehoʿanani son of ʿEzra, etc.

Some scholars in the past have claimed that the papyri belonged to the Samaritans. However, there is a problem with this claim. In the province where Samaria was its capital, many Jews lived there besides Samaritans.[24] We cannot be certain to whom of those two groups the papyri belonged to. Since Jewish and Samaritan names are so similar, it is nigh impossible to differentiate between them. Perhaps we should not even differentiate between the two, as at that time, in terms of beliefs, the Samaritans were not that different from Jews to justify defining them as a different religion.[25] During this period, it seems that the Sa-

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[22] ESHEL (1994: 48–52); DUSEK (2007: 27–33); ZSENGELLÉR (1996) claims that 34 names appeared in nine of the bills of sale (some of which appear more than once) and nine of them started with theophoric component *yhw*; it is worth noting that according to ZADOK (1998), 57.7% of all the names appearing in the documents and epigraphical and papyrological material from the Persian Samaria, are theophoric names with the element-*yhw*-.

[23] ALBRIGHT (1924: 370–378); BLAU (1907: 118–120); ANDERSON (1962: 409).

[24] Using epigraphical documents, and the personal names in them, ZSENGELLÉR divided the residents of the city of Samaria into groups, according to hierarchic structure or historical origins. Especially relevant to us is the lower class, i.e. slaves, who in many cases had theophoric names that according to him, originated from the Kingdom of Israel (the Northern Kingdom before it was conquered by Assyria) which ZSENGELLÉR defined as proto-Samarians: ZSENGELLÉR (1996: 188–189).

[25] It seems the Samarians were not different from the Jews, in almost any aspect. It is impossible to separate between the two groups in individual cases. It seems that the Samarians wished to be separated from the Jews only from the 3rd century A.D. In a paradoxical manner, one of the new symbols of their new, separated identity which

maritans were merely a sect or a stream of Judaism. Furthermore, the Samaritans themselves claimed to be Israelites who keep the Biblical laws. They knew the Israelite history, carried theophoric names which were associated with the one God and they tried to take an active part in the temple worship in Jerusalem, at least until the middle of the 5th century BC.[26] Nevertheless, the location in which these documents were written and found raises the significant possibility that at least some of the slaves and slave traders were not Samaritans but rather Jews.

The Wadi Daliyeh papyri are a window to how the common Jews of the period treated their slaves, allowing us to compare them to the Talmudic laws on the matter, which were written many centuries later.[27] The fact that each slave's origin and family (X son of Y) appear on the bills of sale, a custom not common when mentioning slaves, leads us to the conclusion that the slaves were actually Jewish freemen who sold themselves into slavery because of economic hardships.[28] In addition,

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they adopted at the time, was the Hebrew writing, which the Jews stopped using at the time: ABADI (2017).

[26] 'Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of the captivity built the temple unto the LORD God of Israel':Ezra. 4, 1. (King James Bible); this verse shows that the head of the communities of Samaria wished to join the construction of the Second Temple and Sanballat intervened with the building works from religious reasons; according to TADMOR (1984), there was a large dispute among the residents of Samaria during the Persian period. Leaders such as Sanballat, who saw themselves as part of those that worshipped the God of Israel, while others, like Rehum the Commander and Shimshai the Scribe, continued to preserve a Mesopotamian tradition and wished to take no part in the ritual worship in the temple.

[27] Regarding halachic laws in the Talmud and Mishna, see: BELMAN (2016).

[28] We need to remember that the Biblical law allows a man to sell himself to his brother in one of two circumstances that are well defined: A) when his economic situation is dire and does not allow him to sustain himself (Leviticus. 25, 39), B) when he was caught stealing and he has no other way to pay for what he stole (Exodus. 22, 3). While relying on this, GUTMAN (1949) claimed that the Biblical law allows self-enslavement only in order to survive harsh conditions; according to URBACH (1960: 184), the Israelite society during the period between the days of Nehemia and the Hasmonean Revolt, was in such a harsh economic situation that pressed many of them to sell themselves into slavery; the Biblical law allows selling oneself into slavery on the conditions stated previously, yet limits the person to sell himself only to another son of Israel, 'And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not

the inclusion of the word תמים to some of the slaves emphasised that the seller would have made enquiries on the physical condition of the slaves, and that many of the sellers made sure that the slave they were selling was in the condition they had described. This phrasing, in which the slave owner takes responsibility for the condition of the slave, can also be found in the laws of the Talmud:

ומנוקה מכל מום ומן שחין דנפק עד טצהר חדת ועתיק.[29]

The term forever 'לעלמא', which appears in most of the bills of sale, is evidence that the slaves were not released after six years, even if the slaves, the sellers and the buyers were all followers of the God of Israel. It is obvious that this fact is in contradiction with the laws of the bible, which stated that a Hebrew slave should be freed after six years, or during the year of the Yovel, whichever of the two came first.[30] Another important point regarding the bills of sale from Wadi Daliyeh is the phenomenon of the selling of their own countrymen, of people who also believe in the one God. Contrary to the biblical law: 'For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen (slaves).'[31]

Evidence from the Hellenistic Period

One of the main pieces of evidence for Jews owning and trading slaves in this period comes from the Zenon archive. This archive, from Faiyum in Egypt, was discovered in 1915 and is composed of papyri written in Greek. All the papyri belonged to the archive of one man, Zenon, a private secretary of Apollonius, the minister of finance for King Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Apollonius was a rich man and the owner of a large household in Faiyum, in which Zenon had a main administrative role

compel him to serve as a bondservant…And if a sojourner or stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family': Leviticus. 25, 39, 47. (King James Bible).

[29] Babylonian Talmud. *Gittin*. 86a.

[30] Exodus. 21, 2–6; Leviticus. 25, 39–40; Deuteronomy. 15, 12–14.

[31] Leviticus. 25, 42, (King James Bible with amendments).

and where he kept all the correspondence he maintained due to his position.[32]

These papyri are important to our subject because in between the years 260 to 258 BC, Zenon visited the land of Israel and he even spent an entire year there in 259 BC. From these travels, Zenon brought with him many documents and letters back to Egypt and even after returning to Egypt, Zenon kept corresponding with members of the higher classes who lived in the land of Israel.[33] From these letters, we learn about an important Jewish family, the house of Tobiah.[34] The father of the family,

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[32] Regarding the discovery of the Zenon papyri, see: PRÉAUX (1939: 11–12); following the publication of the papyri, PRÉAUX tried to portray the life of the Greeks settlers in their mansions in Egypt in another book, where the Zenon papyri added valuable information on the life of the peasants, agriculture and methods of irrigation: PRÉAUX (1947); ROSTOVZEFF's (1922) research on Egypt in the early Hellenistic period was published in a book and heavily relied on the Zenon papyri.

[33] Regarding the Zenon papyri, which are connected and relevant to the land of Israel, see TCHERIKOVER's (1961: 33–82) reference to the land of Israel in light of the Zenon papyri; In the 1980s, the French researcher ORRIEUX (1985: 43–44) gathered 52 papyri from the Zenon archives, which is known as 'Le Dossier Syrien'; in the late 1980s, DURAND (1997: 15–16) collected 62 papyri from the Zenon archives, which are also known as 'Le Corpus des Papyrus Palestiniens'.

[34] The house of Tobiah was one of the most important Jewish families in the land of Israel during the Persian period. During the time of Nehemiah, Tobiah the Ammonite stood at the head of the household, which was one of the great opponents of Nehemiah, together with Sanballat the Samarian and Geshem the Arabian: Nehemiah. 2, 10, 19; Nehemiah. 3, 35; Nehemiah tried to alienate Tobiah from Jerusalem because of his family's foreign background, yet from the biblical texts it is clear that Tobiah was in a continuous relationship with the priests in Jerusalem: Nehemiah. 13, 4–5; a member of the house of Tobiah mentioned in the Zenon papyri, is defined by TCHERIKOVER (1961: 54) as a rich sheikh from the land of Ammon, who assisted the first Ptolemaic kings to solidify control in the area; Josephus describes the son of Tobiah in length, Joseph Ben Tobiah, whose mother was the sister of the high priest Onias II: Josep. *Ant.* 12, 160; this fact is clear evidence that even the distance from their residence in the land of Tobiah in modern-day Jordan, did not sever the connection between the house of Tobiah and the aristocracy in Jerusalem. The influence of Joseph Ben Tobiah in Jerusalem was so extensive that he was considered one of the leaders of the Jewish people and intervened in the dispute between Ptolemy III (246–222 BC) and Onias II, when Onias refused to pay taxes to the king. Josephus emphasises that the power and status of Joseph were mostly attributed to the wealth he had acquired during his lifetime: Josep. *Ant.* 12, 184; regarding the house of Tobiah, see also: Josep. *Ant.* 12, 160–222; 228–236.

Tobiah was not only extremely wealthy but also a relative of the high priest in Jerusalem, Onias II. Tobiah dwelt in Birta of the Ammanitis, in the land of the Ammonites, and was a cleruche, a type of vassal to the king of Egypt, and thus was responsible for managing an area that included a military settlement.[35]

The first papyrus which deals with slavery relevant to us,[36] is dated to April/May 259 BC, when Zenon arrived to Birta and bought a 7-year-old slave girl from Tyre called Sphragis for 50 drachmas.[37] This is the earliest bill of sale for slaves written in Greek and which contains Jewish elements. The deal itself was made in the house of Tobiah where one of the witnesses from the side of Tobiah was said to be the son of Hananiya the Persian,[38] and it is safe to assume that he was a Jew who served Tobiah.

There is another two-part letter,[39] dated to the 12th May 257 BC, which is extremely relevant to our subject. The first part is a regular formal opening in which Tobiah enquires Apollonius on his health. The second part contains an elaborate description of four boys, two of whom were circumcised (περιτετμημένοι),[40] that Tobiah sent to Apollonius together with a eunuch. It is worth noting that the presence of a eunuch as an integral part of the shipment raises the worth of the gift given to Apollonius. This is since a eunuch in the Hellenistic world was perceived as trustworthy, and it was common to employ them in different roles, even in the most sensitive of places.[41] The description of the young

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[35] Regarding prisoners of war who were enlisted into the Ptolemaic army and received plots of land (cleruchy) at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, see: LAUNEY (1949: 44–49; 543–548); DUCREY (1968: 101–105); BAGNALL (1984).

[36] Zenon Papyri, 59003; CPJ, I, 118–121.

[37] Regarding the prices of slaves in the Hellenistic period, see: WESTERMANN (1929: 60–61); BIEZUNSKA-MALOWIST (1974: 20); HOPKINS (1978: 158–163).

[38] For papyrological and literary sources from the Hellenistic period where the name Hananiya appears in them, see: ILAN (2002: 103–109).

[39] Zenon Papyri, 59076; CPJ, I, 125–127.

[40] Περιτέμνω, means to cut or clip round about, or circumcision: LIDDELL & SCOTT (1968: 1390).

[41] We can find a testimony for eunuchs being employed by the Ptolemaic kings in Polybius. He describes Aristonicus, who was both a eunuch (εὐνοῦχος) and a friend

boys not only includes whether they were circumcised but also their age and names. However, the letter did not add any further detail that could help us trace their origins or the language that they spoke. Moreover, it is impossible to identify with certainty whether the two boys were circumcised because they were Jewish. This is because during that period, Jews were not the only ones to circumcise their children. A good testimony to this can be found in the writings of Herodotus:

> …but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians,[42] and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians.[43]

(σύντροφος) of Ptolemy V: Poly. *Hist.* 22, 22, 1–5; regarding the tradition of having eunuchs in antiquity, see: NOCK (1972: 7–15); KRAUTBAUER et al. (2014: 315–320).

[42] This part from the writings of Herodotus is mentioned twice by Josephus. In *Against Apion*, he states that only the Syrians who lived in Palestine and circumcised themselves could be Jews, as Jews were the only residents of this land who did so: Josep. *Apion.* 1, 171; Josep. *Ant*, 8, 262.

[43] Her. *His.* 2, 104, 2–3 (trans. A. D. Godley, *LCL*); except for Herodotus, we know from Philo of Alexandria that Egyptian priests were circumcised in order to purify their bodies as they believed that there was filth that needed to be removed under the foreskin.: Philo. *Law*. 1, 5; we also have other testimonies which claim that Egyptian priests were circumcised. For example, in the iconography of the murder of the Egyptian King Buseris by Heracles, we can see circumcised priests ('Heracles Killing the Egyptian King Buseris,' the Archaeological Museum of Athens, dated to circa. 470 BC). We also have a papyrus that was found in the city of Tebtunis in the Egyptian Faiyum, dated to 187 AD, and saying the next: 'δεῖν αὐτὸν περιτμηθῆναι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐκτελεῖν εἰ μὴ τούτο γενήσεται.' (meaning that a person needed to be circumcised before working in the temple): The Tebtunis Papyri, II, 293, l.19–21, p.62; in the book of Jeremiah, there is a passage in which the nations that circumcise or used to circumcise are counted; from it one can learn that the neighbours of the people of Israel, such as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and the Ancient Egyptians, practiced circumcision: Jeremiah. 9, 24–25; Philo of Alexandria stated that circumcision of males was a common tradition in the warmer parts of the world: Philo. *Genesis*. 3, 48; on the popularity of circumcision in the ancient world, see: SASSON (1966: 473–476).

Except for the question whether circumcised slaves in the Hellenistic period are necessarily Jewish or not, it is worth noting another issue connected to circumcising slaves: the fact that the custom of circumcision was not accepted in the Greek world, not only because of aesthetic reasons but also because the phallus without a foreskin was considered deformed.[44] So why did Tobiah send circumcised slaves as a gift when he was obviously trying to please Apollonius? Another question is whether those young boys were born and raised in Tobiah's household as slaves of the family. Is it possible that they were circumcised by their owner due to the biblical law?

> And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.[45]

From the first papyrus we learn that Tobiah had a slave girl which he sold to Zenon, and in the second one we see that Tobiah sent four young slave boys as a present to Apollonius in order to maintain and strengthen diplomatic ties in Egypt. The second papyrus describes the four young boys as from good pedigree (τῶν εὐγενῶν),[46] which most probably means that they learnt Greek, a fact which represented their high quality. This current papyrus is not the sole evidence for the dispatch of slaves by a member of the house of Tobiah in order to strengthen ties with the ruling class in Egypt. The grandson of Tobiah, Hyrcanus, continued to maintain this tradition, which can be seen in the fact that he

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[44] On the Greek view that circumcision is a barbaric act tarnishing the aesthetic of the human body, see: Her. *His.* 2, 37; Cels. *Medicina*. 7, 25, 1; Kasher notes that forcing circumcision upon conquered nations was seen as a manifestation of barbarian hostility and as deliberate harassment of the Hellenistic civilisation: KASHER (1988: 51); GILULA (1986: 19); MIMOUNI (2007: 21, 125); FELDMAN (1992: 155) claims that according to the Graeco-Roman culture, there was no possible way for an athlete who had been circumcised to be able to participate in the Olympic Games.

[45] Genesis. 17, 12–13. (King James Bible).

[46] See line no. 4 in: Zenon Papyri, 59076; CPJ, I, 125–127.

sent 200 slave boys and girls as a present to King Ptolemy IV as a present for the birth of his child. Josephus, who recorded the incident, mentioned that Hyrcanus did not choose the slaves due to their young age, but also with regards to their education:

> Then he secretly went to the slave-dealers and bought from them a hundred boys who were well educated and in the prime of youth, at a talent apiece, and a hundred virgins at the same price…but Hyrcanus brought the hundred boys and hundred virgins whom he had purchased, and giving each of them a talent to carry, presented them, the boys to the king, and the girls to Cleopatra.[47]

It is known that the people of Ptolemaic Egypt preferred young slaves, a fact the members of the house of Tobiah were aware of, as can be seen from the papyrological evidence. The extensive use of the terms παῖς/παιδάριον/παιδίσκη which represent the young age of the slaves and which appear in the papyri of the 'Dossier Syrien', show that this group of slaves were not intended to be used for physical labour but for different roles required in the inner service of the household.[48] According to Orrieux,[49] Zenon bought the slaves in the land of Israel in order for them to serve in Apollonius' household and in the wool industry. They were not meant to be traded. This is according to the belief that it is easier to educate and train young slaves rather than older ones for the different roles required in the household. We can gather that when Apollonius sent delegates to the land of Israel in order to buy slaves, they encountered there many Jewish slave traders, such as the family of Tobiah, and not only pagan ones.

We can also find evidence of Jewish slave owners in one of the books of the Jewish Apocrypha, the book of Ben Sira, also commonly known as the Book of Ecclesiasticus. This book is one of the only texts in

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[47] Josep. *Ant*. 12, 209; 217 (Trans. Ralph Marcus, *LCL*).

[48] See the word Παιδίσκη in the bill of sale for seven years old Sphragis: Zenon Papyri, 59003; this expression is also part of the description of young girls in Greek papyri, for example papyrus 406 in: PGEL, IV, 134–135; this word was used to describe a slave girl whom Zenon's men received from an oil merchant. In this case, it is also worth noting the word παῖδες (slaves/children): Zenon Papyri, 59077.

[49] ORRIEUX (1985: 154).

the Hebrew language that were composed prior to the Hasmonean revolt and were preserved until our time.[50] The book was authored by Shimon ben Yeshua ben Eliezer ben Sira, a native of Jerusalem who lived during the time of Simeon the Just, in the early 2nd century BC. The text was originally written in Hebrew, which was later translated into Greek by the grandson of the author when he moved to Egypt. The book includes moral guidance and a cry to preserve and keep the Torah and its laws, alongside poems praising the fathers of the nation and the high priest with proverbs and teachings for wisdom and good manners. The book also includes a harsh criticism on the moral decline of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, due to it becoming closer and more accepting of the Greek culture.

In chapter 33, Ben Sira discusses the way a man should rule over his slaves:

> Fodder and whip and loads for an ass;
> food, correction, and work for a slave.
> Make a slave work and he will look for his rest;
> let his hands be idle and he will seek to be free.
> Yoke and harness are a cure for stubbornness;
> and for a refractory slave, punishment in the stocks.
> Force him to work that he be not idle,
> for idleness is the teacher of much mischief.
> Give him work to do such as befits him;
> but if he fails to obey you, load him with chains.
> Yet never lord it over any human being,
> and do nothing that is not just.
> If you have but one slave, treat him like yourself;
> you would miss him as though it were you who was lost.

[50] We do not possess the timeframe the author of the book of Ben Sira lived through. The lower chronological limit is before the Hasmonean kingdom, because in the text itself there is no hint of religious persecution by the Greeks. Evidence for the upper chronological limit can be hinted by the Greek translation of the book that was made by the grandson of Ben Sira, when he travelled to Egypt in the 38th year of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II: Segal (1953: 1 (א)); regarding the date of composition of the book, see: Box–Oesterley (1913: 293–294); the date of 180 BC as the time of composition was suggested in: Skehan (1987: 10).

> If you have but one slave, deal with him as a brother;
> your life's blood went into his purchase.
> If you mistreat him and he runs away,
> in what direction will you look for him?[51]

In this text, Ben Sira explains his notion on the right relationship between slaves and their masters. He saw the slaves as a kind of livestock and recommended the owner to force harsh labour upon them in order they would not rebel. The author warns the reader not to trust the slaves and to even use harsh physical punishments towards disobedient servants. The view of Ben Sira on the issues of punishments and violence towards slaves is in clear and utter contradiction to the biblical tradition, which saw the physical molestation of a slave as a reason to set him free.[52] There were claims that Ben Sira only referred to the treatment of foreign slaves, and not Jewish ones, in the text above. Even if so, his writings are clear-cut evidence to Jews owning slaves during that period.

We should give special attention to Ben Sira 33:32–33, which hints at the issue of escaped slaves, when he recommends to not even give the slightest opportunity for a slave to escape, as it would be very hard to return him. Some of this difficulty may by attested to the next Biblical law:

> Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee.[53]

In the ancient world, the society treated slaves as the property of their owners. This was why harsh punishments were inflicted on runaway slaves and this was true for many of the codexes of the ancient world, such as Hammurabi and those of Greece and Rome, but the biblical text forbade such behaviour. From all the testimonies that were brought here until now, it seems that many of the Jews from that period chose to treat their slaves in accordance with the laws of their neighbours and those

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[51] Ben Sira. 33, 28–33. Trans. SKEHAN (1987: 402–403)

[52] Exodus. 21, 26–27.

[53] Deuteronomy. 23, 15, (King James' Bible).

that were presented in Ben Sira, and not according to what was written in the bible.

Some scholars have found it hard to settle the contradicting guidance of Ben Sira between a) to rule slaves firmly and harshly,[54] and b) to treat the individual slave as a brother.[55] Gordis thinks that the ambivalent attitude was meant to represent the temperamental differences which existed between the many masters and their slaves.[56] On the other hand, Segal assumes that the ambivalent perception towards slaves was due to changes in society that the author was well aware of. Those changes brought contrast between two different worlds.[57] On the one hand, there were the rich owners of the large households, which adopted a Hellenistic lifestyle and employed and traded in many slaves. On the other hand, there was a much larger group in society of those who lived modest lives and if they had slaves, it was only one and so treated him as a family member.

Menachem Kister claims that we should not see in the Book of Ben Sira's stance on the relationship between master and slave anything else except a self-centred, egoistical attitude. According to him, the ambivalent recommendation of Ben Sira in these verses, is out of concern for the master because if he unintentionally killed all of his slaves through cruelty and harsh treatment, he would be left with only one slave that he would have to treat as a brother, or lose him too. In a different part in the book of Ben Sira, we have the sentence 'Let a wise servant be dear to you as your own self; refuse him not his freedom'.[58] which Segal saw as a testimony of how a master should treat Jewish slaves.[59] If we accepted this interpretation, this would mean that during the Hellenistic period, Jews held other Jews as slaves, and even refrained from releasing them after six years. And so, Ben Sira in all the different parts that were pre-

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[54] Ben Sira. 33, 25–30.

[55] Ben Sira. 33, 31–32.

[56] GORDIS (1943: 115).

[57] SEGAL (1953: 215–216 [ריה-ריו]); regarding the writings of Ben Sira and the different social classes among the Jews due to Hellenization, see: WRIGHT (2001: 161).

[58] Ben Sira. 7, 21. Trans. SKEHAN (1987: 203)

[59] SEGAL's commentary on Ben Sira. 7, 21; SEGAL (1953: 48).

sented, is clear evidence that many of the Jews of the period did not keep the biblical laws on the treatment of slaves.

After presenting the papyrological and apocryphal evidence that show the different attitudes in the Jewish world during the Hellenistic period towards slaves they owned,[60] we will look at sectarian Jewish Literature texts from the period, which responded to the slave trade as a symbol of paganism. The first testimony we can find is in the book of Jubilees,[61] at the beginning of Chapter 11, corresponds to Genesis 11:20. In the testimony, we can find a story, with no equivalence in the bible, which is the description of the deeds of the sons of Noah after the death of their father:

> And the sons of Noah began fighting in order to take captive and to kill each other, to pour the blood of man upon the earth, to eat blood, to build fortified cities and walls and towers, so that (one) man will be raised up over the people, to set up the first kingdoms to go to war, people against people and nation against nation and city against city, and everyone (will act) to do evil and to acquire weapons of battle and to teach their sons war. And they began to take captive a city and to sell male and female slaves. And 'Ur, the son of Kesed, built the city of 'Ur of the Chaldeesc and he named it after his name and his father's name.[62]

The author of Jubilees kept the biblical tradition, which attests the origins of slaves in the world to the time of the sons of Noah.[63] The description in Jubilees 11 referred to a time of city conquests, which lead humanity from bad to worse. This decline of humanity is embodied in the need to forbid manslaughter, murder, drinking and eating blood. Yet, for the author of Jubilees, the slave trade represented the moment where

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[60] Regarding the different social classes among the Jews in the Hellenistic period, see: WILL–ORRIEUX (1986: 56); STERN (1993).

[61] According to some, the book of Jubilees was written at the beginning of the Hasmonean period: ALBERT-MARIE (2005: 399–400); see the introduction of: WERMAN (2015: 55–74).

[62] Jubilees. 11, 2. Trans. CHARLESWORTH (1985: 78)

[63] Genesis. 9, 26–27; Jubilees. 7, 11–13.

evil was born.[64] The author most probably reacted to the wars, the conquests and the mass enslavement of nations and the imperial attitude which was prevalent during the Hellenistic period. It is important to understand that the author of Jubilees was not opposing the ownership of slaves or slavery itself, but rather meant to present a different ideological perception that, according to it, Jewish people were an isolated entity that had nothing to do with the neighbouring nations. Henceforth, the author rejected the behaviour of Jews who embraced the Greek lifestyle and took part in the slave trade as a practice identified with foreign culture, which was perceived by the author of Jubilees as the root of all evil in this world.

Another sectarian text which responded to the custom of trading slaves is the Damascus Covenant, a Hebrew text which is commonly believed to have been written in the middle of the 2nd century BC.[65] In the part that deals in things and acts which are forbidden and related to gentiles, the following appears:

> Neither should he sell his servant and his maidservant to them, for they entered the covenant of Abraham with him.[66]

Schiffman notes that this sectarian law was part of an extensive legislation that was meant to regulate the extensive commercial relations between the members of the Damascus cult and the gentiles around them.[67] It talks about the main fields of trade: the sale of livestock, grains

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[64] SEGAL (1968: 147).

[65] Regarding the period of the composition of the Damascus document, Davis' elaborate introduction summarizes the research that has dealt with the subject since Schechter's work that followed the discovery of the document in the Cairo Geniza. Davis' introduction emphasises the changes in the research that were made after the discovery of further copies in the Qumran caves: DAVIS (1983); WINTERMUTE (1985: 43); SOMMER–PHILONENKO (1987: XXXVIII); in Qumran cave no. 4, they found eight manuscripts: DJD, XVIII, 4Q266–273; two further manuscripts were found in caves 5 and 6 in Qumran: DJD, III: 6Q15; 5Q12.

[66] This part of the text was found only in the Cairo Geniza and had no equivalence in the Qumran Manuscripts. We followed the text as it appears in: Damascus Covenant. 12, 10–11. (trans. The Dead Sea Scrolls: 570).

[67] SCHIFFMAN (1983).

and grapes and the sale of slaves.[68] It seems that this clear division was pointing towards an extensive trade relationship between Jews and gentiles in the Hellenistic period, very similar to what can be found in the Zenon papyri. Likewise, this division emphasises the importance of the slave trade. It is startlingly clear that in the divisions mentioned, we are talking about laws that forbade or limited the sale, while the texts do not limit or forbid the members of the cult to buy any of those goods. Therefore, we need to assume that the author of the Damascus Covenant was not opposing slavery and allowed Jews who lived according to their rules to buy and use slaves.[69]

Like the author of Jubilees, the composer of the Damascus Covenant emphasised to his followers the importance of refraining from selling slaves to gentiles. In this ruling, we can see a stricter ruling to some extent than the biblical law:

> For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen.[70]

The Damascus Covenant is a much stricter law to some respect, as it can be understood that it forbade the sale of not only Hebrew slaves from birth, like this biblical law, but also the sale of gentile slaves who were either willing or forcefully converted to Judaism.[71]

This Halachic innovation, which put the Hebrew and gentile slave on equal footing, represented a historical reality which severely limited the sale of slaves by Jews, if it was indeed common among Jews to con-

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[68] Damascus Covenant. 12, 8–11.

[69] Compare to: Damascus Covenant. 11, 12 in DJD , XVIII: 4Q270.

[70] Leviticus. 25, 42 (King James' Bible version).

[71] SCHIFFMAN (1993: 125) sees this as an instrument in the process of converting to Judaism; Zeitlin's (1962) research brings up an important question regarding the status of the foreign slave in the Jewish community during the Second Temple Period. He believes that the Tannaim saw the concept of enslaving 'Canaanite slaves' as instigating the process of converting to Judaism; maybe we should see in this part in the Damascus Covenant a basis for the halacha of the Tannaim on the same subject: SCHIFFMAN (1983: 388); URBACH (1960: 162) writes that the mere entrance of a slave into service in a Jewish household, that included circumcision and a baptism, was essentially a conversion into Judaism.

vert their slaves. In our opinion, this halachic law is a testimony to a sectarian Jewish ideology that came to prevent the contact between Jews and gentiles as much as possible, and so made trade between the two groups much more problematic.

Conclusions

We have clearly seen that Jews held and even traded in slaves, since the late Persian period, until the rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom. It was a continuous phenomenon and the slaves involved were not only gentiles but also Jewish. Until now, there is no evidence that Jewish slaves received any different treatment from Jewish owners than non-Jewish slaves. On the subject of ownership, we have seen that there were many different attitudes, ideas and traditions and there was a huge gap between the biblical laws and what was actually practiced by a large proportion of the population. Texts and other material are pointing to the assimilation of Jews to their neighbours, the most famous and visible of them being Hellenization. As a result, in the slave trade, Jews were not inherently different from other nations. Even small and unique Jewish cults, that tried to isolate themselves from others, owned and traded slaves in one form or another.

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The Loss of Innocence
Catullan Intertexts in Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and the Camilla Episode of the *Aeneid*

In ancient Rome, some elements of the wedding ritual (e.g. the raptio *or the defloration) could be associated with aggression and death. In Catullus 62 and 66 – two poems dealing with the topic of marriage –, these connotations get a special emphasis, in part due to the motif of cutting symbolizing violence and changing. In this paper, I examine the way the above mentioned poems constitute the background for the allusion to Medea in Vergil's* Eclogue *8 and the depiction of Camilla in Book 11 of the* Aeneid. *It will be of fundamental importance to observe the way aggressiveness – being a traditional characteristic of men – gets transferred to women, by means of intertextual connections.*

Keywords: Vergil, Catullus, marriage, death, gender roles, intertextuality

The Roman wedding ritual presents itself as an excellent example of the phenomenon called rite of passage by Arnold van Gennep,[1] as, on the one hand, maidens were taken out of their biological family during it,[2] and, on the other hand, they became adults by means of losing their virginity if they married for the first time.[3] Because of these significant sexual and existential changes coming about during the rite, it seems that maidens were expected to be – or at least to pretend to be – terrified about their wedding night.[4] Some elements of the wedding ritual, e.g.

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1 GENNEP (1909).

2 HUBBARD (2014: 77).

3 In ancient Rome it was a fundamental standard imposed on maidens to preserve their virginity until their first marriage, see HERSCH (2010: 61).

4 HERSCH (2010: 64).

the practice of *raptio* or the summoning of Hymenaeus could help the bride to come up to this expectation, as violence could be associated with the former one[5] and death with the latter.[6] Furthermore, these associations could also emerge in accordance with the idea that defloration connotes bloodshed and murder, as the rupture of the *hymen* is often followed by bleeding.[7]

Thanks to these connotations, it appears that in the Catullan 'long poems' – primarily in poems 62 and 66 – the loss of innocence in the sexual sense is intertwined with the motives of aggression, violence and even murder, or in other words, with the thought of the loss of innocence in the legal sense. By means of intertextual connections with the Catullan poems in question, this phenomenon can also be noticed in Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and some passages of the *Aeneid* dealing with the topic of marriage, e.g. the lines of Book 11 describing Camilla. The purpose of my study is to examine the intertextual interplay of the passages mentioned above, as it will be of essential importance to observe the way the issue of marriage occurs – reflecting the influence of Catullus – in the works of Vergil, which was not trouble-free in itself at all and received special attention in the Augustan discourse, thanks to e.g. the marital laws called *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* accepted in 18 BC and *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* adopted a year later. Due to the nature of intertextuality, as the act of reception plays an important role in the formation of meaning, I only claim to present 'possible' but not 'peremptory' readings of the intertexts in question.

Scholars are divided regarding the ritual context of Catullus 62, the poem being the starting point of my analysis, as it seems that the ritual act it represents (or creates)[8] cannot be connected with any particular aspect of the Roman (or Greek) wedding ritual.[9] However, its form of a *carmen amoebaeum*, i.e. a singing contest between the choruses of young

[5] PANOUSSI (2007: 278).

[6] HERSCH (2010: 237).

[7] MITCHELL (1991: 221–222).

[8] For the representativeness and nature of a speech act of the lyric genre see CULLER (2015: 35–37).

[9] PANOUSSI (2007: 277).

boys and maidens – which can be associated with some Greek wedding rites – and allusions to an ancient Roman ritual practice, the *raptio*, obviously place the poem in the context of a wedding ritual.[10] When the girls start their speech denoting the actual beginning of the contest,[11] they complain about Hesperus, the Evening Star the following way:

> Hespere, quis caelo fertur **crudelior** ignis?
> qui **natam** possis complexu avellere **matris**,
> complexu **matris** retinentem avellere **natam**
> et iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam.
> Quid faciunt hostes capta **crudelius** urbe?
> (Cat. *carm.* 62, 20–24)

> Hesperus, what more cruel fire moves in the sky? for thou canst endure to tear the daughter from her mother's embrace, from her mother's embrace to tear the clinging daughter, and give the chaste maiden to the burning youth. What more cruel than this do enemies when a city falls?
> (Transl. F. Warre Cornish)

Hesperus is presented as the cruelest light in the sky as he has the heart to tear the innocent (*castam*) daughter from the embrace of her mother and to hand her over to the ardent youth – which is such a great savageness that even an enemy does not do anything more dreadful after capturing a city. The momentum of tearing apart recalls the ritual practice of *raptio* (or *raptus simulatus*) known from the classical descriptions of Festus and Macrobius, which took part at the start of the phase of the wedding ceremony called *deductio* – i.e. the transition of the bride from the parental house to the home of her future husband[12] – and during which the daughter was symbolically torn from the lap/embrace of her mother. As this custom was traced back to an eminently violent event, the legendary abduction of the Sabine women,[13] the allusion to it

[10] PANOUSSI (2007: 277).
[11] THOMSEN (2002: 20).
[12] PANOUSSI (2007: 277).
[13] PANOUSSI (2007: 277).

can obviously be associated with the idea of aggression. However, thanks to the mentioning of Hesperus, another disquieting association might also emerge in the reader. The addressee of the maidens' 'complaint' in Catullus 62 can be matched with Hymenaeus,[14] the 'god of wedding' addressed in the poem's refrain (*Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!*) on the basis that he is the one appearing in Catullus 61 who carries away the tender virgin to the man (*qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem, carm.* 61, 3–4) and gives the blooming girl from her mother's lap into the hands of a wild youth (*tu fero iuveni in manus / floridam ipse puellulam / dedis a gremio suae / matris, carm.* 61, 56–59). The figure of Hymenaeus can also be related with death, as, on the one hand, we know about a youth bearing this name from Greek literary sources who died during his wedding night,[15] and, on the other hand, as wedding is a transition from one sphere of existence to another, so, as a matter of fact, the before-the-wedding ego dies in order to start a new life in the otherworld of the marriage.[16] Therefore, his name is included in several funerary poems from the Hellenistic age which commemorate youths or girls who have died before their wedding.[17] Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* mentions another Hymenaeus as well who had been such a handsome Athenian youth that on one occasion, when he participated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, pirates attacking the assembled took him for a girl and abducted him. The youth murdered them while they were asleep and, as a reward, had the honor to be allowed to marry a noble Athenian girl.[18] So, the motif of wedding and death are interconnected in both stories, thus, by means of addressing Hymenaeus in the epithalamium, the idea of death also gets recalled.

After the youths have answered the girls' 'complaint' by emphasizing the positive features of the activity of Hesperus, the maidens start speaking again with the following simile:

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[14] THOMSEN (2002: 16).
[15] HERSCH (2010: 237).
[16] SZILÁGYI (2011: 239).
[17] HERSCH (2010: 237).
[18] HERSCH (2010: 238).

Ut *flos* in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo *convolsus aratro*,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,
multi illum pueri, **multae optavere** puellae;
idem cum tenui carptus *defloruit* ungui,
nulli **illum pueri**, nullae **optavere** puellae:
sic **virgo**, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore *florem*,
nec **pueris** iucunda manet, nec cara puellis.
(Cat. *carm.* 62, 39–47)

As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden, unknown to the cattle, torn up by no plough, which the wind caress, the sun strengthens, the shower draws forth, many boys, many girls, desire it; when the same flower fades, nipped by a sharp nail, no boys, no girls, desire it: so the maiden, whilst she remains untouched, so long she is dear to her own; when she has lost her chaste flower with sullied body, she remains neither lovely to boys nor dear to girls.
(Transl. F. Warre Cornish)

The flower growing in an enclosed garden, being safe from animals and plow is desired by many boys and girls (*multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae*) until it remains untouched, but after it gets plucked and fades nobody yearns for it. Similarly, the maiden is only desirable until she keeps her 'chaste flower' (*castum… florem*), but when her body gets stained (*polluto corpore*) she loses her charm. The motif of the fading of a fragile flower symbolizing youth, beauty and innocence being the metaphor of losing virginity can be traced back to Sappho's fragment 105c,[19] which – according to some scholars – can also be related with the topic of wedding, and in which shepherds tread down a purple hyacinth.[20] However, the Sapphic image depicting manly destructiveness and aggression is not only recalled by Catullus' poem 62 but also by the last stanza of poem 11:

[19] οἵαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι / ποίμενες ἄνδρες / πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ / τὸ πόρφυρον ἄνθος ... [κεῖται.]
[20] GREENE (2007: 145).

> nec meum respectet, ut ante amorem
> qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
> ultimi *flos*, praetereunte postquam
> *tactus aratro* est.
> (Cat. *carm.* 11, 21–24)

> and let her not look to find my love, as before; my love, which by her fault has dropped, like a flower on the meadow's edge, when it has been touched by the plough passing by.
> (Transl. F. Warre Cornish)

In the quoted passage, the poet complains about Lesbia not having respect for his love felt for her, which perishes due to her fault as a flower on the edge of a field, mowed by a plow passing by (*praetereunte postquam* / *tactus aratro est*). As the flower is a well-known metaphor of a maiden and female virginity in the Greek and Roman literature, so is the plow that of a male *phallus*, but, in this case, against the regular motif implying the violent dominance of the man, the sexual roles are reversed: Catullus depicts himself deflowered by a '*mascula* Lesbia', at least in the figurative sense.[21] So, while plucking/cutting symbolizes both the separation from the former milieu and the transition from an unmarried – and therefore a virgin – status into a married – i.e. non-innocent – one in Catullus 62, it might result in a completely different kind of change in Catullus 11: the change of the gender.[22] This change of the gender roles will be of essential importance in the case of the Vergilian texts recalling more than one Catullan poem simultaneously.

In addition, through the motif of cutting, the quoted lines of Catullus 62 can also be related with Catullus 66 depicting the story of the *Coma Berenices*, which poem is the quasi-translation of Callimachus' fragment 110. Similarly to the maidens' chorus of Catullus 62 and the Catullus of poem 11, the lock of the Egyptian queen complains about the coming about of a cutting, but – unlike the plucking occurring in the two poems mentioned above – it should be taken literally, as Berenice offered a lock of her hair as a votive gift to the gods in order to ensure the

[21] MILLER (1994: 105).
[22] HARDIE (2012: 230).

safe return of her husband, Ptolemy III Euergetes from his Syrian campaign. The cutting of the lock can be associated with a series of separations: on the one hand, it can recall the loss of the queen's virginity through its connection with wedding as there is a well-known ancient tradition primarily characteristic of the Greeks, according to which the bride gave offerings symbolizing the transition from childhood to adulthood to some female deities before the wedding ritual, and among these offerings was a lock of hair of the future wife as well.[23] On the other hand, the motif can symbolize the temporary separation of wife and husband, the parting because of possibly forthcoming death and it can foreshadow the lock's future ascension from Earth to the sky.[24] And as some of the lock's words show, somewhat comically at times (e.g. *invita, o regina tuo de vertice cessi*, *carm.* 66, 39), that it sees its cut-off as a violent act, it can be observed that the idea of marriage (along with that of the loss of innocence in the sexual sense) and that of aggression and death emerge jointly – and what is more, the source of violence is a woman, just as in the case of Catullus 11.

Considering all this, I will now turn to the Vergilian texts. As the Catullan poems examined above are intertextually connected – both separately and together, through combined reminiscences – with several Vergilian passages that can be related with the loss of innocence, I will focus on two of them that have yet received less scholarly attention in this regard, namely, a part of Damon's song in *Eclogue* 8 and the depiction of Camilla in Book 11 of the *Aeneid*.

Eclogue 8 shows similarity to Catullus 62 through its amoebaean character already,[25] as, in Vergil's poem, the singing contest of two shepherds, Damon and Alphesiboeus comes alive. Besides this, the two poems are also interconnected by the central motif of marriage: the Catullan poem, as referred above, can be placed in the context of a wedding ritual, and the Damon of the *Eclogue* expresses his heartache felt for the future wedding of his sweetheart, Nysa and Mopsus. For this, the

[23] HUBBARD (2014: 73).
[24] FANTUZZI–HUNTER (2004: 87–88).
[25] GOUD (1995: 23–24).

shepherd scolds Amor for making the girl fall in love with Mopsus as follows:

> Nunc scio, quid sit **amor**: duris in cotibus illum
> aut Tmaros aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes
> nec generis nostri **puerum** nec **sanguinis** edunt.
> incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibi, versus.
> *saevus* **amor** docuit **natorum sanguine matrem**
> **commaculare manus**; **crudelis** tu quoque, **mater**:
> **crudelis mater** magis, an **puer** improbus **ille**?
> improbus **ille puer**; **crudelis** tu, quoque **mater**.
> (Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 43–50)

> Now I know what Love is. He was born on Tmarus's
> hard stone, or Rhodope's or furthest
> Garamentes's, not of our race and blood.
> My flute, begin the songs, of Maenalus, with me.
> Cruel Love taught Medea to stain a mother's hands
> in her children's blood: a cruel mother too.
> Was the mother crueller, or the Boy more cruel?
> He was cruel: a cruel mother too.
> (Transl. A. S. Kline)

Damon describes the god of love as a boy born on the coarse rocks of distant, bald lands and contests even those of his anthropomorphic attributes which are otherwise attached to him by the social conventions (*nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt*, *Ecl.* 8, 45).[26] Furthermore, the shepherd accuses Amor of teaching the mother (*matrem*) to foul her hands with the blood of her children (*natorum sanguine*), so he asks the question whether the mother is rather cruel (*crudelis … magis*) or the boy (i.e. Amor) is evil-hearted (*improbus*).[27] At the end, he even answers his own question: the boy is evil-hearted, as much as the mother is cruel.

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[26] COLEMAN (1977: 239).

[27] The interpretation of the question as 'Is the mother crueler than the evil-hearted boy?' is also thinkable but, regarding the answer given to it, I prefer the interpretation included in the main text. For a more detailed analysis of the problem, see COLEMAN (1977: 240).

As Michael Putnam points out, the connection between the Vergilian passage and lines 20–24 of Catullus 62 is made conspicuous by the parallels drawn by the mutual occurrence of the expressions *crudelis*, *mater* and either form of *natus* / *nata*, supported by the repetition of these words in the texts:[28] the three-time occurrence of the expression *crudelis* in the quotation from the *Eclogue* accords with doublet *crudelior* – *crudelius* of the Catullan lines, in which the expression *matris* occurring twice can be paralleled with the repeated forms of *matrem* – *mater* in Damon's song. Furthermore, another similarity regarding repetition can also contribute to the interconnectedness of the two texts which does not arise from the overlap of the vocabularies, as the repetitions *an puer improbus ille? / improbus ille puer* in Vergil and *complexu avellere matris / complexu matris … avellere* in Catullus are related with each other by a peculiar chiastic construction. However, the contexts of the two texts are different in a large measure: Catullus 62 describes Hesperus as cruel because he tears the daughter away from her mother's lap during the wedding ritual, while in *Eclogue* 8 the mother is cruel,[29] but she is not specified. It seems that the expression *mater* can refer to different mothers in line 48 and lines 49–50 of the *Eclogue*: Coleman's commentary suggests that the *mater* of the latter lines can be identified with Venus,[30] who can be *crudelis* because she – as the mother of Amor – is also the source of Damon's unrequited love. However, the mother of line 48 who has fouled her hands with her children's blood can obviously be recognized as the mythic figure of Medea by the reader, and this reading is also supported by an intertext – noticed by the commentaries of both Clausen and Coleman – as the phrase *saevus amor* recalls the fragment of Ennius' *Medea exul* in which the heroine is depicted as 'wounded by furious love' (*Medea animo aegro* ***amore saevo*** *saucia*, *Med*. fr. 89 M., 213).[31] So, the connotations of wedding associated with violence and death only emerging implicitly, due to the nature of the ritual in Catullus 62 come to the fore emphatically in Vergil's poem, partly through the Ennian and Catullan

[28] PUTNAM (1970: 273).
[29] PUTNAM (1970: 273).
[30] COLEMAN (1977: 239–240).
[31] CLAUSEN (1994: 252), COLEMAN (1977: 239).

intertexts, partly through the explicit mentioning of the infanticide. As Nysa appears as a puppet under the influence of Amor, becomes similar to Medea, and this can raise the reader's suspicion that Nysa, similarly to the Colchian princess, might cause death as well, namely that of Damon himself, whose suicide caused by his heartache seems a realistic possibility[32] – thus, the new wife might lose her innocence in the legal sense along with her innocence in the sexual sense, even if she played a role in the shepherd's death indirectly and unwittingly. In this wise, unlike the idea emerging in Catullus 62, the woman preparing to wed may become not the endurer of a violent act but the source of it, the victim of which is a man – and, in this regard, the Vergilian passage can be paralleled with Catullus 11.

At this point, we should take into account another Catullan intertext of the quoted lines of Damon's song which is registered neither by the two aforementioned commentaries on the *Eclogues* nor the commentaries on Catullus by Fordyce and Quinn. Lines 6–9 of Catullus 63 depict Attis castrating himself in an ecstatic state and just becoming conscious the following way:

> itaque ut relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro,
> etiam recente terrae sola **sanguine maculans**,
> niveis citata cepit **manibus** leve typanum,
> typanum tuum, Cybebe, tua, **mater**, initia
> (Cat. *carm.* 63, 6–9)

> Then as he felt his limbs were left without their manhood, and the fresh-spilt blood staining the soil, with bloodless hand she hastily took a tambour light to hold, your taborine, Cybele, your initiate rite
> (Transl. L. C. Smithers)

The connection between the quoted lines and the part of the eclogue examined is made obvious by the similarity of the expressions *sanguine … commaculare* – *sanguine maculans*. But while Medea – the mother appearing in line 48 of *Eclogue* 8 – fouls her hands (*manus*) with the blood of her children, Attis, after fouling the soil with his own blood, takes the

[32] PUTNAM (1970: 272).

light tympanum of a 'mother', Cybele – also known as Magna *Mater* – into his hands (*manibus*), going into her service. The aspect of key importance for my study is the self-mutilation of Attis, as it results in his transformation from man to woman,[33] which is explicitly expressed in the text by the feminine ending of the participle *excitata* referring to him. So, as a result of a cutting, a fundamental change comes about: the alteration of the protagonist's gender. This momentum relates Catullus 63, on the one hand, with *carmen* 11, in which the mowing of the flower symbolizing Catullus' love felt for Lesbia can result in the inversion of the sexual roles, and, on the other hand, with Catullus 66, as the lock of Berenice also complains about being a victim of an aggressive act (i.e. the cutting of the lock) committed by a woman, so the traditional male and female roles get reversed regarding aggressiveness in this case as well.[34] Considering this, it seems that the shift of emphasis from the aggressiveness of the man to that of the woman – emerging occasionally in the Catullan poems mentioned above and linked closely between each other both thematically, intertextually and regarding the stock of motives – culminates in *Eclogue* 8, thanks to the highlighting of Medea's cruelty (which possibly takes shape in another cutting).

Although the role of the interconnectedness of violence and sexuality in the *Aeneid* was studied closely by some scholars in the 1980s,[35] the matter of virginity has so far received much less attention.[36] As Robin N. Mitchell argues, all of the virgin characters (either female or male) of the second half of the epic – unfolding a war for a marriage – are either the causes or the endurers of destruction,[37] which is primarily the result of

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[33] HARDIE (2012: 228).

[34] In his study *Virgil's Catullan Plots*, Philip HARDIE examines the combined allusions of these (at least) three Catullan poems in the *Aeneid* regarding the issue of chopping and changing in detail but he does not involve *Eclogue* 8 in this regard. See HARDIE (2012: 225–235).

[35] See e.g. GILLIS (1983) and PUTNAM (1985).

[36] Primarily, Don FOWLER's study *Vergil on Killing Virgins* (1987), Robin N. MITCHELL's paper *The Violence of Virginity in the* Aeneid (1991) and Ellen OLIENSIS' article *Sons and Lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry* (1997) deal with this topic.

[37] MITCHELL (1991: 219).

losing the chance to consummate their sexuality (e.g. Euryalus,[38] Pallas and Turnus) or of giving it up voluntarily (e.g. Camilla), so they ease their tensions of sexual abstinence in the form of aggression.[39] However, the phenomenon is also conspicuous that the Vergilian text gets in touch with one or more Catullan poems of essential importance regarding the issue of my analysis when depicting the violent deeds of the epic heroes / heroines mentioned above or the aggression endured by them – for example, the intertextual connections between the passage of the *Aeneid* describing the death of Pallas and *carmina* 62 and 11 are well known.[40]

In contrast, the Catullan background of the passage describing Camilla in Book 11 has received less scholarly attention. From lines 576–592 the reader can learn both about the virginal character and the pugnaciousness of Camilla:

> Pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
> tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
> Tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
> et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena
> Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem.
> **Multae illam** frustra Tyrrhena per oppida **matres**
> **optavere** nurum; sola contenta Diana
> aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
> intemerata colit. Vellem haud correpta fuisset
> militia tali, conata lacessere Teucros:
> cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum.
> Verum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis,
> labere, nympha, polo finisque invise Latinos,
> tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.

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[38] The events leading to the death of Euryalus show great similarity to those of a marriage: first, as a bride puts on her wedding dress, he puts on the ornate armament taken from his slaughtered enemies (cf. *Aen.* 9, 359–366); then, comparably to the *raptio*, he gets captured by the men of Volcens (cf. *Aen.* 9, 396–398); and finally, described by a combined allusion to Catullus 62 and 11 (*purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens*, *Aen.* 9, 435–436), his death can be paralleled with the virgin's defloration.

[39] MITCHELL (1991: 221).

[40] MITCHELL (1991: 228–229).

Haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:
hac quicumque sacrum violarit volnere corpus,
Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas.
(Verg. *Aen.* 11, 576–592)

A tiger's pelt hung over head and down her back
instead of a gold clasp for her hair, and a long trailing robe.
Even then she was hurling childish spears with tender hand,
whirling a smooth-thonged sling round her head,
bringing down Strymonian cranes and snowy swans.
Many a mother in Etruscan fortresses wished for her
as a daughter-in-law in vain: she, pure, content with Diana
alone, cherished her love of her weapons and maidenhood.
I wish she had not been swept up into such warfare,
trying to challenge the Trojans: she would be
my darling, and one of my company still.
Come now, nymph, since bitter fate drives her on,
slip from the sky and seek out the Latin borders,
where with evil omen they join in sad battle.
Take these weapons and draw an avenging arrow from the quiver,
and if anyone violates her sacred flesh by wounding her,
Trojan or Italian, pay me with their equal punishment in blood.
(Transl. A. S. Kline)

According to the words of the Vergilian Diana, the heroine – unlike the other girls – used to hunt birds already as a fragile little girl, hurling spears made for boys (*tela … puerilia*) and whirling a sling, and she wears no golden clasp (*crinali auro*) or a woman's robe but a tiger's pelt hangs from her head (*a vertice*). Because of her virtues, many mothers wish for her (*multae … matres / optavere*) as a daughter-in-law throughout the Tyrrhenian cities – but Camilla has been leading an immaculate life, giving herself up only to weapons and the 'love' felt for her virginity.

The quoted passage of the *Aeneid* gets in touch with three Catullan poems: on the one hand, the expression *multae illam … optavere* of lines 581–582 recalls lines 42 and 44 of Catullus 62 (*multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae* and *nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae*), which parallel is registered by Fordyce in his commentary on Catullus and by

Gransden in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, along with the connection of these texts with the story of Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Ovid. *Met.* 3, 353–355).[41] Both passages tell about the desires of many, and, as a matter of fact, the objects of these desires can be matched with each other as well: in the Catullan passage it is the flower symbolizing a virgin and in the Vergilian one it is Camilla herself. However, an important difference can also be observed: in Catullus 62, young boys and girls desire the flower (and of course, in a figurative sense, the man desires the maiden), so the sexual aspects of desire are dominant, while in the passage of the *Aeneid* the mothers (*matres*) desire Camilla as their daughter-in-law, consequently, the nature of the desires is not (or not directly) sexual in this case. Furthermore, the mentioning of the mothers recalls the repetition of the word *matris* in lines 21–22 of Catullus 62, and this tinges the difference between the contexts: in the case of the Catullan poem, harm is caused to the mother as her daughter gets torn from her during the wedding ceremony, while in the Vergilian passage we read that those are the mothers who hope that Camilla would get married to one of their sons and therefore she will be forced to part from her own mother. The intertext can prove to be proleptic considering that Camilla will 'fade' as the symbolic flower of Catullus 62 at the end, but her defloration will result in her separation from her life, not from her virginity.

On the other hand, the image *pro crinali auro … tigridis exuviae … a vertice pendent* emerging in lines 576–577 of the Vergilian text can be related with line 39 of Catullus 66 (*invita, o regina tuo de vertice cessi*, *carm.* 66, 39), which connection is noticed neither by any of the authoritative commentaries on Catullus or the *Aeneid* nor by those studies of Philip Hardie and Jeffrey Wills[42] which examine the intertextual interconnectedness of Catullus 66 and the *Aeneid* the most expansively.[43] In the Vergilian text, the joint occurrence of the expressions *crinali* – derived from

[41] FORDYCE (1961: 259), GRANSDEN (2008: 120).

[42] See HARDIE (2012) and WILLS (1998).

[43] Line 39 of Catullus 66 gets recalled more directly elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, e.g. in the passage of Book 6 describing the reunion of Aeneas and Dido: *invitus regina tuo de litore cessi* (*Aen.* 6, 460).

the word *crinis* ('hair') – and *a vertice* can recall the separation of the lock of Berenice from the queen's head (*de vertice*).[44] However, the context could hardly be more different: the hair of Camilla is not even mentioned, its idea can only emerge through the reference to the absence of the clasp; in contrast, the lock of Berenice is not just the central motif of Catullus 66 but it is the narrator as well. The queen has cut the lock off her head (*de vertice*) to which it belonged by nature – on the other hand, the Amazon has a tiger's pelt hanging from her head (*a vertice*) which befits an average maiden the least. However, as I have already mentioned, the cutting of the lock appears as some kind of aggression in Catullus 66, accompanied by the associations of marriage. Violence bound up inseparably with the figure of Hesperus and the future husband in Catullus 62 becomes the characteristic of a woman thanks to a cutting both symbolizing and bringing about a change in poem 66, and this can be of crucial importance regarding the Camilla episode as well, since the inversion of the usual sexual roles already emerging in the Catullan texts is completed in the case of the Vergilian heroine: her way of life and appearance resembles those of a man, she used to hunt hurling *puerilia tela* already as a child, violence is an essential component of her life to which men facing her on the battlefield fall prey – so, in this regard, the passage depicting Camilla can be paralleled with the last lines of Catullus 11 as well. On the other hand, in comparison with the Catullan texts, it can be mentioned as a significant difference that aggression is not accompanied by marriage in the case of Camilla – quite on the contrary, preserving her innocence in the sexual sense can result in her aggressiveness, because of which she cannot be considered as innocent in the legal sense.

Finally, the expression *det sanguine poenas* of line 592 recalls the closure of Catullus 116, an epigram written against Gellius, whose friendship with Catullus was ruptured because he – according to Catullus 91 – had seduced the poet's lover:

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[44] The word *crinis* occurs a few lines below in the Catullan poem as well (*quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?*, *carm.* 66, 47).

> contra nos tela ista tua evitamus amictu
> at fixus nostris tu dabis supplicium
> (Cat. *carm.* 116, 7–8)
>
> Now in return I will parry those missiles of yours by wrapping my cloak round my arm; but you shall be pierced by mine and punished.
> (Transl. F. Warre Cornish)

While Camilla hurled actual spears as a little girl, Gellius and Catullus throw *tela* at each other in the sense of verbal or written vituperation. On this basis, Gellius' punishment promised by Catullus (*dabis supplicium*) presumably means that Gellius will be the target of mockery thanks to the insults of the poet, so these 'missiles' cause not physical but psychical harm to their victim. On the contrary, Diana's words commanding the nymph Opis to punish anyone who dares to violate the body of Camilla reflect that 'punishment' means death in this case (*det sanguine poenas*). However, to be able to examine the intertextual interplay of these passages more extensively, we also have to take their literary antecedent into account, as these texts can be traced back to a fragment of Ennius' *Annals*.[45] In lines 94–95 of the epic,[46] Romulus speaks his final words to his twin brother Remus before killing him because of jumping over the new city wall:

> Nec pol homo quisquam faciet impune animatus
> Hoc nec tu: nam mi calido *dabis* **sanguine** *poenas*.
> (Enn. *Ann.* 94–95)
>
> Neither you nor any man alive shall do this unpunished: no, you shall give recompense to me with your life-blood.
> (Transl. E. H. Warmington)

Regarding Catullus and Ennius, besides the verbal parallel of *dabis supplicium* and *dabis sanguine poenas*, the connection of the two texts are also emphasized by a metrical phenomenon, i.e. the dropping of the final *s*

[45] SKUTSCH (1985: 241).

[46] I follow the numbering of Otto von SKUTSCH.

during scansion.[47] As W. Jeffrey Tatum observes, through the Ennian reminiscence, 'Catullus assumes the role of Rome's violent founder, thereby consigning Gellius to play the part of the twin who made himself the ultimate outsider. The switch in status is part of the sting.'[48] Nevertheless, the Catullan text also softens the lethal threatening of the Ennian fragment by promising *supplicium* to Gellius in the sense of shame. Concerning the type of recompense, by mentioning a real deadly missile (*sagittam*) and paying punishment in blood (*det sanguine poenas*), the quoted part of the *Aeneid* could be read as a text both 'correcting' the Catullan and 'confirming' the Ennian ones. However, if we consider the circumstances of the death of Arruns, the murderer of Camilla, another possible reading emerges, according to which it seems that he has to endure both kinds of punishment: after throwing a spear at the Amazon, he runs away in fear of revenge taken on him (cf. *Aen.* 11, 806–815), thereby bringing such a great shame upon himself that even his companions leave him alone while he is dying, shot by the arrow of Opis (*illum exspirantem socii atque extrema gementem / obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt*, *Aen.* 11, 865–866). Therefore, he becomes an outsider just like Remus and Gellius, but – more importantly – female aggression (sc. that of Diana and her agent Opis) can also be paralleled with male violence (sc. that of Romulus) again.

As we have seen, in Catullus 62, 66 and 11 – three poems primarily related with each other through the topic of losing virginity –, the vio-

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[47] Line 8 of Catullus 116 gives the only example of this phenomenon in the Catullan corpus and the last one in Latin poetry, see ZETZEL (1983: 256). Béla ADAMIK questions the Catullan allusion to Ennius for two reasons: on the one hand, because of a *varia lectio* of the Ennian fragment known from Macrobius (*das sanguine poenas*), according to which there would be no metrical parallel between the two passages in question, and, on the other hand, as he supposes that the model of the Catullan line was not Ennius but Terence (*et dabis / ultro supplicium*, *Eun.* 69–70), on the basis of closer verbal similarities, see ADAMIK (2014: 164). In my opinion, the question is not whether the model of the Catullan line was Ennius or Terence but whether it can recall the Ennian fragment or not. Even if we cannot be sure about the metrical parallel because of the above mentioned *varia lectio*, and even if the Catullan passage shows closer verbal conformity to the Terentian text, I believe that it can recall Ennius as well, thanks to the similarity of their content.

[48] TATUM (1997: 500).

lent nature of defloration gets a special emphasis. In all of these poems, the motif of cutting plays an important role, symbolizing transition, provisionality and implying aggression at the same time. As cutting is carried out by women in Catullus 11 and 66, changing is also reflected in the inversion of sexual roles in these poems. Although the Catullan intertexts do not alter the possibilities of interpreting the examined passages of *Eclogue* 8 and the description of Camilla in the *Aeneid* radically, they prove to be significant, as, in the case of the Vergilian depiction of Medea and Camilla, they acutely draw the reader's attention to the phenomenon of associating violence – which is usually a masculine characteristic – with women. In the case of Medea, this could be handled easier by the contemporary reader, as she always had been 'different', a stranger from the barbaric East, but in the case of Camilla, an aboriginal Italian (*decus Italiae virgo*, *Aen.* 9, 508), this kind of approach could – at least as a modern reader would presume – make the Roman audience seriously reconsider the traditional gender roles.

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Identities in Roman Macedonia during the Early Imperial Period

This paper focuses on the impact of the Roman presence in Macedonia on the collective identities of the local population from the beginning of Roman rule in the region in 167 BC until the early 3rd century AD. The societal changes taking place during the first three and a half centuries have been outlined using the available epigraphic, numismatic and onomastic evidence to analyse the evolving identities of the Macedonians and the new forms of expression of these identities. The approach taken in this paper is not one of Hellenisation or Romanisation but of acculturation, focussing on the identities of the Macedonian people that adapted and evolved in relation to the new political and cultural environment.

Keywords: identities, acculturation, Roman Macedonia, euergetism, emperor cult, associations

Throughout our lives we associate ourselves with several different groups: age groups, gender, religion and ethnicity, to name a few. Out of all of these groups it is those with a strong cultural significance such as a nation, a religion or an ethnicity that have a stronger cultural identity.[1] It is because individuals within these groups form a bond based on their shared roots that they trace back to centuries or even millennia in the past and this gives them a sense of being distinct from the rest. In this paper I am concerned with the collective Macedonian identity – how the Macedonians expressed rootedness to their cultural origins while adapting themselves to Roman rule and how this expression changed over time within the context of the empire.

When Perseus, the last king of Macedonia was defeated by the Romans in 167 BC, the kingdom had well established political and religious institutions in each city and a myth of origin that connected the

[1] HARRIS (1995: 131).

Macedonians with their Greek roots. The republican period brought minimal societal changes, with small communities of Romans who were regarded as foreigners by the locals, settled in the cities. But the society unverwent greater changes during the imperial period. At the beginning of Augustus' rule there was a large influx of traders and veterans from Rome who settled in Macedonia and integrated themselves into the social and political lives of the cities and their descendants were no longer regarded as foreigners. Since both the Romans and the Macedonians had their own distinct identity, neither completely assimilated into the other. But centuries of Roman presence did cause their identities to intermingle making it increasingly difficult to draw a clear distinction between the two. This is owing to the fact that identities are not static but are in constant flux in relation to the external circumstances and as identities change, so do their means of expression. The change in identities is the central focus of this paper. By outlining the socio-political changes that took place in Macedonia from the late Republican period until early 3rd century AD,[2] I have tried to define the changes that took place in the collective Macedonian identity and their new forms of expression through cults, rituals, changes in the naming system and acts of benefactions. Even by analysing these public forms of expression of identities, it is impossible to ascertain how individuals really felt but it is possible to discern the logic behind their actions.[3] That is what I aim to do in this paper.

Roman presence and societal changes during the Republican period

Before the Roman conquest Macedonia was a monarchy tracing its royal lineage back to the 7th century BC. While until the reign of Philip II Macedonia remained a small kingdom seldom mentioned in literary sources and always in relation to the events occurring in the cities of southern Greece, Philip and particularly his son Alexander III transformed Mace-

[2] The reason I have chosen this period is because the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 AD led to the decline in importance of Roman citizenship, causing societal changes that are out of the scope of this paper.

[3] MILLAR (1984: 40).

donia into a glorious empire which was remembered with pride and admiration centuries later not only by the Macedonians but also the Romans.

The Temenids were believed to be the descendants of Heracles and thus related to Zeus but members of the royal family were never worshipped as gods. However, it was Philip II who was the first to possibly hint at his own divination. Here I should discuss briefly the worship of kings in Macedonia during the monarchical period because religion, particularly ruler worship, was an integral component of Macedonian society that helped the people of the province to adjust to Roman rule during the imperial period. And while it is known that the origins of the ruler cult during this period lay in Hellenistic ruler cults practised by dynasties such as the Ptolemies who started their own central dynastic cult involving the worship of Alexander and the Ptolemaic rulers,[4] there is no evidence in Macedonia suggesting a centrally organised cult dedicated to the kings, either living or dead. Nevertheless, there is sporadic evidence from a few cities indicating that the dedication of divine honours to kings was purely a civic affair and often for purposes that were not religious but political.

Philip II's actions suggesting his divine inclinations have been debated and interpreted in various ways. Not only did he display statues of himself and his family members made of gold and ivory at the sanctuary of Olympia but also displayed a statue of himself at his daughter's wedding seated amongst the twelve Olympian gods (ironically on the day that he died). It is possible that he was emphasising his divine nature or sending the message that his power was similar to that of the gods,[5] but as Baynham suggests, he may not have intended actual worship.[6] This is supported by the fact that he built the Philippeon outside Macedonia, most likely intending to display his power to the southern Greeks. If he intended to be worshipped by his people, he would have also displayed his divine connections elsewhere within the Macedonian cities such as Dion which was known for its religious significance within

[4] CHANIOTIS (2003: 434–435).

[5] CARNEY (2000: 25).

[6] BAYNHAM (1994: 38).

the kingdom. But it was not commonplace in Macedonia during this period for a king to propagate a cult dedicated to himself nor was it expected of people to grant him such honours. However, Amphipolis after its conquest in 357 BC, Philippi and Philippopolis (in Thrace) which were founded or re-founded by Philip dedicated cults to him during his lifetime, probably honouring him as founder.[7] These cities dedicated cults to Philip not only as a means to show acceptance towards the power they were suddenly subjected to but also to get accustomed to the new circumstances. A parallel can be drawn between these cities and the province of Macedonia which dealt with the newly established Roman dominance in a similar way. While during the period of the monarchy, ruler worship was limited to the cities outside the periphery of the old kingdom, during the imperial period it took on a central character with formal institutions and was propagated throughout the province. Other than the aforementioned cities, it is possible yet unconfirmed, that Cassandreia might have honoured its founder Cassander with a cult.[8] It is interesting to note that there is no evidence in Macedonia suggesting that Alexander was deified during the monarchical period, either during his lifetime or after his death, despite his achievements. The Alexander cult became widespread in Macedonia only during the 2nd century AD and played an important role in connecting the Macedonians to their glorious past. But it was a completely new phenomenon which did not have its roots in the Hellenistic period of the province and was a result of the ruling dynasty's great admiration for Alexander as well as the need for the Macedonians to preserve their cultural identity.

When the Romans replaced the monarchy as the ruling power, the Macedonians had to adjust to a new political reality, one that was wrought with more than a century of Rome's civil wars, most of which were fought on Macedonian soil. Funding the Roman army as well as dealing with constant barbarian raids left the economy ravaged.

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[7] MARI (2008: 241).

[8] MARI (2008: 248); Antigonus I and Demetrius I were dedicated cults in Athens in 307 BC. See A. KUHN: *Ritual change during the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes*. In: E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.): Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World. Liège 2006, 265–281.

Although the Romans did not alter the administrative structure of the cities, they divided Macedonia into four regions and placed restrictions on mining and export of timber. While the restrictions did not last for more than a few decades, the situation in Macedonia was not suitable for the settlement of a large number of foreigners. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that by the end of the Republican period small communities of Romans had settled in the cities to take advantage of the land owning and trading opportunities that the region allowed. These communities were not large enough to alter the social structure of the cities and during the Republican period, a clear distinction was maintained between the Roman communities and those of the locals. An inscription from Apollonia dating to 106 BC records a donation made to the city by a certain Maarkos Leukilios, son of Maarkos, to fund the gymnasium of the city. He had also adopted the Greek name Demetrios and the designation 'Roman' which was used synonymously with the word 'negotiator', signifying a trader, appears next to his name.[9] Considering that he chose to mention the name Demetrios by which he was probably more familiar amongst the local population could indicate that during this period there was a very small community of Romans in Apollonia, allowing them to be known on a first name basis. In cities with larger communities of Romans such as Beroia and Thessaloniki, the locals began to collectively refer to them as συμπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐγκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι and ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι and it is known that these groups of traders began to form organisations called the *conventus civium Romanorum*. These organisations provided the Romans not only the opportunity to socialise with those of a shared background but also to integrate themselves into the social and political lives of the cities.[10] Members of the *conventus* came to be regarded as a new group of elite and inscriptions from well into the reign of Augustus suggest that they jointly issued decrees along with the cities honouring important Roman officials and Augustus. The inscriptions concerning associations from the imperial period show that they were structured organisations with a clear hierarchy and administrative posi-

[9] YOUNI (2013: 349–350).

[10] WILSON (1996).

tions were normally patterned on the structure of the city.[11] It is unlikely that the associations during the Republican period were as structured as those during the imperial period, being rather simple organisations that acted as compensation for individuals who had left Rome but needed a social space that connected them to their homeland, thus maintaining a strong and visible collective Roman identity within the cities. For the local inhabitants of the cities, making decisions alongside the *conventus* would have given them the opportunity to interact with the Roman communities that were growing in importance and would have also acted as compensation for the lack of influence they had over their own political affairs.

Another change to be seen on the socio-political and religious fronts is the introduction of the cult of Roma in the Macedonian cities. During the imperial period the image of Roma appeared on the coins of Amphipolis, Thessaloniki and Pella.[12] There is no evidence for a centrally organised cult so each city would have independently taken the initiative to show their acceptance towards Roman rule. It was customary of the Greeks to flatter a new power with divine honours, as did Amphipolis and Philippi during the reign of Philip II, and while this was a conscious political choice to maintain a beneficial relationship with those who held authority, it was also a means to accommodate a foreign power within their own traditions. It also became customary in the Macedonian cities to honour influential Romans with the titles of '*euergetes*' and '*soter*'. These titles were reserved for kings during the period of the monarchy but evidence from the Republican period shows that seven officials were honoured with them (the constant barbarian raids gave the Roman officials several opportunities to save the cities due to which most individuals honoured as *euergetes* and *soter* are officials in the army).[13]

The social changes during the late Hellenistic period, while minimal, paved the way for greater changes that were to take place in the cities of Macedonia during the imperial period. The newly settled com-

[11] NIGDELIS (2010: 27).

[12] KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (2005: 97).

[13] XYDOPOULOS (2018: 11).

munities of Romans did not change the religious landscape of the cities and neither did Latin come close to replacing the use of Greek. Most of the inscriptions from this period (and the imperial period) are in Greek and a considerably lower number are bilingual or in Latin. A notable exception is seen in the Roman colonies such as Philippi, where most inscriptions are in Latin. But Philippi is known to have had a stronger Roman influence compared to the other Macedonian cities where the use of Greek was predominant. But this should not lead us to underestimate the influence Latin would have had on the population of the cities because after all Latin was the official language of the centre. And similar to how important constant communication with the cities was during the monarchical period, Roman authority too would have depended on the provincial governor (or other important Roman officials) to communicate with the civic authorities and they would have done so in Latin.[14] And not just civic authorities or the elite but members of the lower classes too would have often come across communication in Latin while working with Roman traders, though the latter would have eventually learnt Greek. Thus, even though Greek remained the standard language of communication under Roman rule, the use of Latin would have also been gradually incorporated into regular civic life as did other aspects of Roman presence such as the architecture, use of Roman names and the emperor cult.

The expression of identities during the imperial period

After the defeat of Antony at Actium in 30 BC, which marked the end of Rome's civil wars and the beginning of the sole leadership of Augustus over the empire, conditions in Macedonia began to improve both economically and politically. Thessaloniki, which was declared a free city in 42 BC as a reward for not siding with Brutus and Cassius, became the seat of the provincial governor. It flourished in the coming centuries due to its favourable location[15] – not only did it have a large port but also the

[14] ANDO (2010: 27).

[15] ADAM-VELENI (2011: 548).

Via Egnatia which linked several important trading cities passed within close proximity to the city.[16]

Thessaloniki attracted a large number of traders from Rome and from other parts of Italy[17] and its population is considered to be cosmopolitan, including Southern Greeks, people from Asia Minor, Thracians and a small Jewish community. The flourishing of the economy led to increasing urban development and an extensive building programme was undertaken during the Severan period. Many prominent members of the local aristocracy obtained Roman citizenship and held important provincial posts, such as the Geminii and the Claudii which were two of the most prominent families from Thessaloniki known from several inscriptions and whose members held posts such as the Macedoniarch and *agonothetes* of emperor cult festivals.[18] The only city that could rival Thessaloniki—and their rivalry was well known—was Beroia, seat of the Macedonian koinon. The koinon during the imperial period was responsible for the propagation of the imperial cult and an inscription from the city suggests that by the time of Nerva, Beroia had been given the honours of being the sole neokoros and metropolis in Macedonia.[19] It is possible that it was around this time the imperial cult was established as a centrally organised cult in the province and the koinon minted coins in its name and also regularly held festivals and games.

Another change to occur in the province was the establishment of the colonies of Philippi, Pella, Cassandreia, Dion and Stobi which were granted *ius italicum* and became home to a large number of veterans who were given generous amounts of land by Augustus. Though these cities were not as prominent as Thessaloniki and Beroia, they remained

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[16] ADAM-VELENI (2003: 121).

[17] For the origins of the traders see O. SALOMIES: *Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor During the Principate*. In A. D. Rizakis (Ed.), Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Meletemata 21. Athens 1996, 111–127 and A. Δ. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ: *Η Κοινοτητα των «Συμπραγματενομένων Ρωμαίων» της Θεσσαλονίκης και η Ρωμαϊκη Οικονομικη Διείσδυση στη Μακεδονία*. Αρχαία Μακεδονία IV, Ανακοινώσεις Κατά Το Τετάρτο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Θεσσαλονίκη, 21–25 Σεπτεμβριου 1983. Θεσσαλονίκη 1986, 511–524.

[18] NIGDELIS (1996: 129–141).

[19] BURRELL (2004: 191–192); Επιγραφέςκάτω Μακεδονίας (EKM) 117.

important trading centres for a few centuries under Roman rule. Regarding the population, evidence from the colonies suggest that while prominent Romans became the new elite, the local population became the *peregrini* and as Rizakis has said, 'foreigners in their own land'.[20]

The provincial government had not laid out a structural set of rules by which the province was to be governed by. Instead it was dependent on the local elite for the administration of the cities and the smooth functioning of the government depended on the constant communication between the centre and the civic elite. Under these circumstances, the latter who acted as mediators between the Roman government and the mass population of their cities, found the opportunity to express a dual identity: on the one hand they served Rome and were admirers of Roman policies but on the other, they were faithful to their cities and worked for the betterment of their communities.[21] While these identities might seem contradictory, they were in fact complimentary since Rome's policies rather than being detrimental to local tradition, allowed them to prosper. According to Ando, the success of the empire lay in being able to manage diversities, and localism was supported and even encouraged by Rome in order to prevent solidarity amongst the diverse communities under the empire which in turn prevented them from unifying to cause any major threats to the centre.[22] It is true that along with supporting local communities the Romans also supported or, in any case, tolerated rivalry between them which existed due to the communities vying for special recognition and favours from the emperor. Alongside Ando's suggestion, it is also possible that the Romans recognised that an effective way to govern a province was to depend on the local aristocracy and give them a certain amount of power as long as they recognised that the real power lay in the hands of Rome. Moreover, while the Romans recognised their own political dominance, Greek culture and *paideia* were looked to with admiration particularly by Philhellene emperors such as Hadrian and those of the Severan dynasty. This gave the Romans a reason to not only preserve local communities but to

[20] RIZAKIS (1998: 599–617).

[21] RIZAKIS (2015: 143–145); RIZAKIS (2007: 317–330).

[22] ANDO (2010: 18).

also participate in their traditions. Nonetheless, this mutual relationship opened the doors to high ranking provincial positions for the local aristocrats and brought them in the contact with the elite of the Roman society, sometimes even the emperor.

A perfect example of this relationship is Quintus Popilius Python who was high priest of the cult of the emperor and *agonothetes* of the Macedonian koinon and served as the ambassador to the emperor Nerva on behalf of the Beroians to request him that Beroia should be the only city in Macedonia to hold the titles of *neokoros* and metropolis. Since his embassy was successful Beroia honoured him with a decree which mentions many of his services towards the city and to the Macedonians. During his term as high priest he paid the capital tax of the province and also bore the expense for the repair of roads. He organized games to show talents, theatrics and athletics and also organized beast fights with local and exotic animals. Moreover, during a period of wheat harvesting he provided grain at low prices and distributed food for the Macedonians who gathered at banquets in Beroia.[23] Such benefactions were extremely expensive and could only be undertaken by the highest echelons of provincial society.

During the Republican period it is unknown whether the Macedonians desired Roman citizenship or if they believed that they could have the privilege of becoming citizens of Rome since there is no evidence of citizenship grants within the province from this period. But as the number of citizenship grants increased during the imperial period, being a Roman citizen became a marker of a person's political distinction and eventually a necessity for those wanting to climb the political and social ladder. Quintus Popilius Python who is mentioned earlier had gained Roman citizenship as is evident by the use of his *tria nomina* but was a native of Beroia, judging from his use of a Greek cognomen.[24] It is impossible to tell whether Python and others who became Roman citizens identified with being Roman just as they identified with their Macedonian and civic identity (and this would have differed considerably between individuals) but acting as Roman citizens would have definitely

[23] EKM 117 op. cit.

[24] TATAKI (1988: 448).

added a new sense of identity, one that more likely had political leanings than cultural. This dual identity, as I mentioned earlier, was expressed by adopting certain aspects of Roman tradition while continuing to follow those that were firmly rooted in local culture.

The elite adopted Roman names and proudly displayed their status as citizens of Rome. They also participated in the cult of the emperor and though this cult has been linked to the Hellenistic ruler cults, the scale of the celebrations was much grander than anything that had existed during the Hellenistic times. Celebrations which took place regularly included festivals, gladiatorial and animal fights, athletic games and other spectacles which lasted for days and were attended by people from all around the province.[25] Also, never before in the Mediterranean had a single cult united such as vast expanse of territory. Provinces all around the empire minted coins honouring the emperors and built statues of them and the emperor cult was one of the aspects of Roman rule which created a sense of homogeneity within an empire comprising of diverse cultures, that is before Caracalla declared in 212 AD that all free citizens of the empire were to become Roman citizens. Surviving coins from the Macedonian cities depict the emperors being honoured as gods and issues from Thessaloniki and Amphipolis also depict the close family members of the emperor.[26] It was the responsibility of the civic elite to choose the themes that were to be depicted on the coins and the images are a reflection of their political ideology. It should be noted that the issues from the colonies, where the Romans formed the ruling class, did not emphasise the divinity of living rulers since Romans deified emperors after their death.[27] The only official form of emperor cult in Rome was the worship of the *Divi* (emperors divinized after their death). It was also the responsibility of the elite to finance and erect statues of the emperors. This required the city officials to ratify a decree and send it to the emperor asking for his permission for the statue to be erected. The emperor could choose to grant their request, reject it or propose changes

[25] ALLAMANI-SOURI (2003: 100–101).
[26] KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (2005: 98).
[27] KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (2005: 99).

to be made to the statue.[28] The emperor cult was certainly part of the Greek tradition of cities honouring a foreign ruler as divine in order to comprehend the new circumstances and show their favourable political disposition. But the conditions associated with ruler worship were continuously moulded in accordance with the current socio-political situation, as were the identities of the people of the province.

Displaying their rootedness to their city, the elite undertook acts of *euergesia* which was a tradition that was widely established in the Greek cities by the time of the Hellenistic period.[29] Their benefactions included the repair of public roads and buildings, construction of aqueducts, organisation of public festivals, undertaking of building projects within the cities and helping the cities in times of need by lowering the prices of food. Since reciprocity for benefactions was part of Greek culture[30] the benefactors often along with their family members were honoured by their cities which erected statues and honorary decrees in public spaces. But it was not only through *euergetism* that the elite showed patriotism. The standard practise for the Greeks who used the *tria nomina* was to use a Greek cognomen instead of a Latin one, where they retained their original Greek name as the cognomen, although there are exceptions to this rule (some chose to adopt a Latin cognomen). In Macedonia many of them even chose to use traditional Macedonian names and the name Makedon became quite popular in the province. Such is the case of Geminius Makedon of the illustrious Geminii family that has been mentioned earlier. From inscriptions he is known to have lived in Thessaloniki during the end of the second and beginning of the third century AD. An honorary inscription dedicated to Geminius Makedon, who was the most important family member, by his daughter mentions that he was not only archon and first gymnasiarch of Thessaloniki but also the high priest of the emperor cult and the first person from Thessaloniki to head the Panhellenion created by Hadrian. The emperor had also made

[28] ALLAMANI-SOURI (2003: 110).

[29] For the origins of euergetism in the Greek cities see M. GYGAX: *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City. The origins of Euergetism.* Cambridge 2016.

[30] DEENE (2013: 76).

him λογιστής (= *curator rei publicae*) for the city of Apollonia.[31] While this inscription refers to him by his *tria nomina* with a second cognomen, i.e. T. Aelius Geminius Makedon, the inscription on his sarcophagus refers to him as Geminius Olympos[32] which signifies that Olympos was his original Macedonian name.[33] Names are an important part of a person's identity and the use of Makedon as a second cognomen and particularly the use of Olympos, which was an ancient Macedonian name, suggests that he bore a strong sense of *philopatria*. Also, as Rizakis suggests, how Greeks conceived their Roman identity differed according to space and time and the character of the document.[34] Thus, the difference in the use of names on the honorary decree and the sarcophagus is also significant in this case. The purpose of the honorary decree which used his *tria nomina* was to outline his political achievements and exhibited his political identity but on the sarcophagus, it would have been more important to him to display his rootedness to his homeland. Moreover, his daughter's name was Olympia which was also an ancient Macedonian name.

Geminius Makedon and his family lived during a period which saw a rise in display of patriotism on the part of the Macedonians. One of the reasons for this was the renewed interest of the Severan dynasty, particularly Caracalla and Alexander Severus, in Alexander the Great. The koinon held games to honour the Macedonian king and also minted coins depicting Alexander and his mother Olympias and themes that related to them.[35] But while the pro-Macedonian politics of the emperors were certainly responsible for encouraging the Macedonians to display pride in their culture, it was also the society as it existed during the imperial period that led to such mannerisms. The Republican period did not see much intermingling between the Roman and the Macedonian communities but two centuries of Roman rule had intertwined their cultures and even though the Macedonian culture had clearly not assimi-

[31] IG X,2 1 181.
[32] IG X,2 1 628.
[33] NIGDELIS (1996).
[34] RIZAKIS (2001: 566).
[35] BURRELL (2004: 193–196).

lated into that of the Romans, they probably felt the need to culturally distinguish themselves and the most ideal way to do this was by looking back to their glorious past. This expression of patriotism was not done in order to resist Roman rule (the Macedonians would have felt safe to express their cultural identity knowing that after more than a century of Roman rule it would not be perceived as a threat by the Romans) but it was a way of dealing with the fear that the loss of political control would eventually lead to the loss of their cultural identity. Thus, as Koulakiotis has said, the cities were caught between 'recognising Roman sway and asserting Greek patriotism'.[36] The Macedonians also turned to religion to ensure the continuation of their cultural identity. Religious expression would have also provided them a sense of independence through the assurance that not all aspects of their lives were controlled by Roman rule. Coins from the first to the third century from various cities depict local gods and cults including Zeus, Athena, Artemis Tauropolos, Pan, Poseidon, Ammon and Dionysus.[37] Cassandreia began to mint coins depicting the local deity Ammon as early as the reign of Claudius and continued to produce these types until the reign of Philip the Arab.[38] These cults show not only the increasing trend to depict local deities but also the revival of older cults such as the depiction of Poseidon on the coins of Cassandreia from the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the depiction of Kabeiros on the issues of Thessaloniki under the Severans. Kabeiros was not a Macedonian but a Samothracian god in whom the Macedonian royal family had showed an interest and during the imperial period this cult was elevated to the status of a state cult. Its importance is apparent from the coinage of Thessaloniki which minted coins depicting Kabeiros on the reverse and the emperor and his family members on the obverse.[39]

While Roman religion did not gain widespread popularity in the Macedonian cities (Roman myths are depicted only on the coins of Philippi), certain Roman festivals became a part of provincial culture. An

[36] KOULAKIOTIS (2010: 93).
[37] KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (2005: 103–106).
[38] DAUBNER (2014: 114–115).
[39] EDSON (1948: 188–204).

inscription from Philippi attests to the celebration of Rosalia which was a Roman festival celebrated around the empire during which respects were paid to dead family members.[40] The inscription states that Valeria Mantana, widow of Aurelios Zipyron gave 150 denarii to the association of the god Souregethes to light a tomb side fire during the festival of *rosalia*.[41] Rosalia was held in May or June and usually involved family members or members of an association scattering roses on graves and decorating funerary monuments with them.[42] Another inscription concerning *rosalia* comes from Thessaloniki in which a priestess of a Dionysiac association states that each *mystes* of the association was responsible for placing on her grave a crown of roses.[43] A Roman cult worth mentioning is the cult of Silvanus which gained acceptance in Philippi. A few fragmentary inscriptions mentioning the cult and names of members of an association dedicated to it have been found at the sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus on the acropolis of the city.[44] Silvanus was the Roman god of agriculture, woods and boundaries and hundreds of inscriptions and statues dedicated to his worship have been found around the empire.[45] This cult was never incorporated into the public cults of Rome and did not involve the elite but was popular amongst the lower classes of society.[46] The inscription found at Philippi included the names of several freedmen and four slaves.[47] Since the elite were never involved in this cult, the freedmen and slaves from Rome popularised it amongst the lower classes of Philippi but there is no evidence suggesting that this cult ever became popular in any other Macedonian city.

Unlike the elite, the lower classes of citizens which made up the bulk of the population had no political motivations for maintaining a dual identity since most of them could not aspire to gain prominent places in the social or political structure of the society (some wealthy

[40] KLOPPENBORG–ASCOUGH (2011: 325–329).
[41] KLOPPENBORG–ASCOUGH (2011).
[42] TONYBEE (1971: 63).
[43] IG X,2 1 260.
[44] KLOPPENBORG–ASCOUGH (2011: 315–324).
[45] DORCEY (1989: 143).
[46] DZINO (2012: 263).
[47] KLOPPENBORG–ASCOUGH (2011: 323).

freedmen did attain prominent positions but this was uncommon). However, they constantly interacted with Roman communities and it is inevitable that they were influenced by Roman culture. Some would have made a conscious choice to integrate aspects of Roman traditions into their daily lives while others would have followed traditions only because they had become the latest cultural trends.

Associations during the imperial period allowed the admission of the local inhabitants of the cities as well as foreigners along with the Romans and provided a cultural space for individuals to interact with others who followed the same cults or professions (depending on the type of association). Communal eating and drinking was one of the main features of associations and the members also participated in public sacrifices and rituals, particularly Dionysiac associations.[48] For example, members of Dionysiac associations re-enacted the myth of ascension of Dionysus' mother Semele from the underworld and members of associations dedicated to Aphrodite re-enacted the sacred marriage between Eros and Aphrodite.[49] This inclusive environment would have been one of the reasons why Roman citizenship became more widespread and was granted (in limited numbers) to members not belonging to the elite, as attested by the onomastic data in the epigraphic evidence. It shows that some of the members of the local population entered into ties with Roman families either through marriages, friendship or a political relationship and the latter helped them acquire Roman citizenship. Elements of Roman names also began to be used as individual names by people of peregrine status, particularly in cities with a strong Roman presence such as the colonies.[50]

Conclusion

The Macedonian society under Roman rule was constantly evolving. The small communities of Romans in the cities who were regarded as outsiders during the Republican period grew considerably during the imperial period and they adapted themselves to provincial society and

[48] WILSON (1996).
[49] NIGDELIS (2010: 29–30).
[50] RIZAKIS (2019: 247–249).

their descendants were no longer regarded as foreigners. In such a society where both the Romans and the Macedonians coexisted, it is inevitable that they adopted elements of each other's cultures, leading to the creation of new identities and new forms of expression. In order to show their acceptance to Roman politics and traditions, the Macedonians took on a political identity which found expression in the use of the *tria nomina*, cults dedicated to Roma and the emperors and their celebrations and in some places with a strong Roman influence, even the acceptance of Roman cults and the use of Latin. But as these communities intermingled, the Macedonians not only displayed their loyalty towards their homeland but also emphasised their cultural distinction. Acts of benefactions, the use of Greek cognomen, the display of local cults on coins and a renewed interest in their glorious past were means of expression of an identity that stressed their rootedness to their homeland. But it should be kept in mind that the expression of these identities was taking place within a society where as mentioned earlier, the locals were constantly interacting with the Romans and influencing each other's cultures. *Euergetism*, which was a Greek tradition originating in the polis, became an integral part of Roman political policy to ensure the smooth functioning of the civic administration and urban development of cities in the province. Gladiatorial fights which were a Roman tradition became a part of provincial culture and were held in conjunction with athletic games and other spectacles to celebrate the emperor cult and other local festivals. It is true that it becomes increasingly difficult to draw a clear distinction between both communities but it is also true that neither of them was Hellenised or Romanised. The Macedonians continued to express their own distinct identity and their expression did adopt elements of Roman culture. This was not because they were becoming Roman but was a consequence of an evolving society in which certain Roman traditions became part of provincial culture and like the Romans themselves, were no longer regarded as foreign.

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Visions of Narcissus from the Late Imperial Period Remarks on the Statue of Narcissus from Callistratus' *Ekphraseis*

In his longest ekphrasis *(5), Callistratus (fl. probably in 4th century AD) uses* enargeia *and* phantasia *to depict vividly Narcissus' marble sculpture and to evoke the tragic fate of the young boy. Based on the surviving works of art, it is well-known that the representations of Narcissus were widespread in the Roman world from the 1st century AD. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that it would have been a difficult task for Callistratus to take inspiration from the statues of Narcissus exhibited in the* horti *of Roman villas, public parks and baths, or from the large number of wall-paintings and mosaics depicting the young mythological figure. In my paper, I will explore the crucial elements originating from both the Graeco-Roman visual culture and literature that may have influenced this description.*[1]

Keywords: Callistratus, Narcissus, ekphrasis, Graeco-Roman visual culture and literature, Second Sophistic, Late Imperial Age

Callistratus lived, as some scholars suggest, in the era of the rise of Christianity, in the 4th century AD, and he was a lecturer in one of the Roman Empire's rhetorical schools. Due to the lack of contemporary testimonies, this has become a scientific consensus among philologists after carefully putting Callistratus' only known work, *Ekphraseis*, under literary historical and linguistical scrutiny.[2]

[1] The present paper has been prepared with the support of the scholarship of The Hungarian Academy of Arts (HAA).

[2] There has been a number of attempts to delineate the period, from 4th century BC up to the 5th century AD, when Callistratus lived and worked. Among the numerous theories, one assumes that Callistratus lived right after Philostratus the Younger; therefore, he could work around the turn of the 3–4th centuries AD, see: FAIRBANKS (1931: 369)

Having read the *Descriptions*, it is obvious that Callistratus belonged to the Second Sophistic movement,[3] and he propagated the classical Athenian rhetoric tradition as a citizen of the multicultural Roman Empire.[4] His work includes fourteen descriptions of works of art: these are mostly marble and bronze statues from the Late Classical and Hellenistic age; however, the criteria behind Callistratus' *selectio* have not been revealed yet.[5] These are the following: a Satyr, a Bacchante, Eros, an Indian, Narcissus, Kairos (Opportunity), Orpheus, Dionysus, Memnon, Paean, a Youth (*ēitheos*), a Centaur, Medea, and the *eikōn* depicting the mad Athamas.

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and BOULOGNE (2007: 11–12). ANTONIO CORSO placed the author in the cultural milieu of Athens during the Severan period. About Callistratus' relation to Athens, see: Callistr. *Stat*. 11.; CORSO (2001: 17–23). BERNERT (1940: 317) identified Callistratus as the contemporary of the 4th century AD sophist, Themistius. According to the theory of ALTEKAMP (1988: 82; 95), Callistratus "took photographs" of the artefacts in question in Constantinople, which eventually became the material of his collection of descriptions. On the question of dating Callistratus, see BÄBLER-NESSELRATH (2006: 2–5).

On the language of Callistratus, see: ALTEKAMP (1988: 82). The tone of the work is pathetic, and it reflects the profound influence and phrasing of Homer, and particularly, the tragedy-writers of classical Athens. Due to the using of odd tropes, *hapax legomena*, and abstract concepts, the translation of the text has been proven to be quite difficult. At first glimpse, the sentences of the text seem to be too complicated, owing to, on the one hand, the numerous participle constructions, and to the repeatedly used conjunction καὶ.

[3] On the Second Sophist movement, see: BOWERSOCK (1969); ANDERSON (2009); ELSNER (1998: 169–199) offers a particularly comprehensive and important summary.

[4] At the end of the fifth description, the use of ὦ νέοι vocative case unanimously implies the milieu of the school. Subsequently, Callistratus might used these texts for didactic purposes: Callistr. *Stat*. 5, 5, 9–10: τοῦτον θαυμάσας, ὦ νέοι, τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς παρήγαγον εἰς Μουσῶν αὐλὴν ἀποτυπωσάμενος. [ἔχει δὲ ὁλόγος, ὡς καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν εἶχεν.]

[5] On the Callistratean selection, see: BÄBLER–NESSELRATH (2006: 9–10); Altekamp (1988: 95–97). The author does not provide an introduction on his methods (*prooimion*) (cf. Philostr. *Im*. 1. *proem*.; Philostr. Jun. *Im*. 861–863); For this reason, it is also conceivable that the survived text of Callistratus is only fragmentary. The last piece of the *Ekphraseis* could substantiate this claim: from the world of sculpture, it leads the reader, namely by the only *eikōn* depicting Athamas, to the field of painting or bas-relief. This also could raise questions regarding the fragmentariness of the text, SCHENKL–REICH (1902: XLVII).

By combining the classical philological and art historical methodology, a new reading of one piece of this Late Imperial Greek text is offered here. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the visual culture of the Late Imperial period through the text of Callistratus, and to explore its attitude towards Greek art. In the following, first the author is introduced, and then the findings regarding the *Ekphraseis* are briefly summarized.

Callistratus, unequivocally, followed the example of the two Philostrati in dedicating its entire work to the description of works of art. This also indicates that art description had grown into a literary genre on its own in the Late Imperial age.[6]

Researchers in the last two centuries have been mainly engaged with the *de facto* identification of the described artefacts and their reconstruction.[7] However, in the last decades, the focus has moved to the investigation of the rhetorical-literary genre textual construction and to the literary embeddedness of these descriptions. From this point of view, Callistratus handling visual art objects as mere sources of literary analogies and/or literary exercises; and therefore it constitutes a mere pretext to construct eximious and elegant text around works of art.[8]

Subsequently, it is not Callistratus' aim to offer an objective analysis of the statues or the reconstruction of their original context;[9] but instead,

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[6] According to POLLITT (1974: 87, n. 2) the *ekphrasis* as a rhetorical exercise had not been used for describing any works of art until the end of the 3rd century AD. Nicolaus of Myra had involved sculptures and paintings into the possible themes of *ekphrasis* in the 5th century AD. Δεῖ δέ, ἡνίκα ἂν ἐκφράζωμεν καὶ μάλιστα ἀγάλματα τυχὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, πειρᾶσθαι λογισμοὺς προστιθέναι τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἢ τοιοῦδε παρὰ τοῦ γραφέως ἢ πλάστου σχήματος, οἷον τυχὸν ἢ ὅτι ὀργιζόμενον ἔγραψε διὰ τήνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ ἡδόμενον, ἢ ἄλλο τι πάθος ἐροῦμεν συμβαῖνον τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἐκφραζομένου ἱστορίᾳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως πλεῖστα οἱ λογισμοὶ συντελοῦσιν εἰς ἐνάργειαν. Nicol. *Prog*. 69.

[7] HEYNE (1801) was the first who attached a specific work of art to the descriptions. In the extensive *praefatio* of the Teubner edition of 1902, the texts were confronted with archaeological artefacts by SCHENKL–REICH (1902: IV–LIII). Lately, BÄBLER–NESSELRATH (2006: 15) proved that six descriptions could be identified or affiliated with the surviving artefacts (a Satyr, a Bacchante, Eros, Kairos, Dionysus, Memnon).

[8] For more on this, see POLLITT's "literary analogists" concept: POLLITT (1974: 10).

[9] cf. POLLITT (1974: 9).

by enumerating both the Stoic aesthetic notion of *phantasia*[10] and *enargeia*,[11] he invites his readers to take an imagined tour in a space dominated by the Muses. The audience truly believes by the mental display of the statues that the described sculptures are not inanimate objects, but they are almost living gods and mythological creatures.

His perception of beauty is not derived from the embodiment of the ideal or the perfection of proportions, but from the principle which transforms the inanimate material into a living substance. Exquisiteness, the unappeasable desire for naturalism, vividness and the responses to art given by *phantasia* – these constitute the quintessence of the *Ekphraseis* of Callistratus. Thus, he rather offers a series of subjective descriptions. It is very likely that his text was not only influenced by the Hellenistic art critic,[12] but also by the aesthetic of Neoplatonism.[13]

In fact, whilst these literary visions, or "poems" written in prose, conceived by the rhetor, comply with the aspects of articulation of eloquent style and bolted language, they might also reflect the taste of the world of visual art surrounding Callistratus. By the borrowed images from the "visual language", these descriptions are used to synthesize something new, an imaginary work of art. The aim of my research is to explore these visual imagines flashing in the text with the help of survived artefacts.

Therefore, it is suggested that the value of these "verbal" transcriptions are equivalent to the survived Graeco-Roman artefacts themselves[14] since they could enrich our knowledge regarding the reception of Greek art during the Late Imperial period. Moreover, the descriptions

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[10] For *phantasiai* (*visiones*), see: Arist. *de An*. 428A; Ov. *Trist*. 3, 411–413; Quint. *Inst.* 6, 2, 29–30, Phil. *V. A*. 6, 19. More on this topic, see: BENEDIKTSON (2000: 162–188); POLLITT (1974: 52–55); SCHWEITZER (1925).

[11] A *locus classicus* for *enargeia (illustratio, evidentia*): Quint. *Inst*. 6, 2, 26–36. Arist. *Rh*. 3, 11, 2.

[12] POLLITT (1974: 28–33); for more on the concept of "popular criticism", see POLLITT (1974: 63–66).

[13] BOULOGNE (2007: 36–37) compares the *Ekphraseis* of Callistratus with Ἐννεάδες of Plotinus.

[14] Cf. ELSNER (1998: 246).

could also shed light on the cultural conventions which shaped Callistratus' mind on Greek art and on the questions of representation.

In this paper, special attention is given to the longest *ekphrasis* of Callistratus which is dedicated to a marble sculpture of Narcissus. First, the particular *ekphrasis* is provided here in Greek:

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΡΚΙΣΣΟΥ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ[15]

(1) Ἄλσος ἦν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη πάγκαλος ἐκ μάλα καθαροῦ τε καὶ διαυγοῦς ὕδατος, εἱστήκει δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Νάρκισσος ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένος. παῖς ἦν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡίθεος, ἡλικιώτης Ἐρώτων, ἀστραπὴν οἷον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολάμπων κάλλους. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε τὸ σχῆμα· κόμαις ἐπιχρύσοις ἤστραπτεν κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέτωπον τῆς τριχὸς ἑλισσομένης εἰς κύκλον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐχένα κεχυμένης εἰς νῶτα, ἔβλεπε δὲ οὐκ ἀκράτως γαῦρον οὐδὲ ἱλαρὸν καθαρῶς· ἐπιπεφύκει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης καὶ λύπη, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Ναρκίσσου καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡ εἰκὼν μιμῆται.

(2) ἔσταλτο δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ Ἔρωτες, οἷς καὶ τῆς ὥρας τὴν ἀκμὴν προσείκαστο. σχῆμα δὲ ἦν τὸ κοσμοῦν τοιόνδε· πέπλος λευκανθὴς ὁμόχρως τῷ σώματι τοῦ λίθου περιθέων εἰς κύκλον, κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον περονηθεὶς ὑπὲρ γόνυ καταβαίνων ἐπαύετο μόνην ἀπὸ τοῦ πορπήματος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν χεῖρα. οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἁπαλὸς καὶ πρὸς πέπλου γεγονὼς μίμησιν, ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαλάμπειν χρόαν τῆς ἐν τῇ περιβολῇ λευκότητος τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐγὴν ἐξιέναι συγχωρούσης.

(3) ἔστη δὲ καθάπερ κατόπτρῳ τῇ πηγῇ χρώμενος καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν περιχέων τοῦ προσώπου τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δεχομένη χαρακτῆρας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰδωλοποιίαν ἤνυεν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀλλήλαις ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖσθαι τὰς φύσεις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ λίθος ὅλη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μετηλλάττετο τὸν ὄντως παῖδα, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ μηχανήματα τῆς τέχνης ἀντηγωνίζετο ἐν ἀσωμάτῳ σχήματι τὴν ἐκ σώματος ἀπεργαζομένη τοῦ παραδείγματος ὁμοιότητα καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος κατερχομένῳ σκιάσματι, οἷον τινὰ σάρκα τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν περιθεῖσα.

(4) οὕτω δὲ ἦν ζωτικὸν καὶ ἔμπνουν τὸ καθ' ὑδάτων σχῆμα, ὡς αὐτὸν εἶναι δοξάσαι τὸν Νάρκισσον, ὃν ἐπὶ πηγὴν ἐλθόντα τῆς

[15] The Ancient Greek text is taken from the following critical edition: SCHENKL–REICH (1902: 53–55).

μορφῆς αὐτῷ καθ' ὑδάτων ὀφθείσης παρὰ Νύμφαις τελευτῆσαι λέγουσιν ἐρασθέντα τῷ εἰδώλῳ συμμῖξαι καὶ νῦν ἐν λειμῶσι φαντάζεσθαι ἐν ἠριναῖς ὥραις ἀνθοῦντα. εἶδες δ' ἂν ὡς εἷς ὢν ὁ λίθος τὴν χρόαν καὶ ὀμμάτων κατασκευὴν ἥρμοζε καὶ ἠθῶν ἱστορίαν ἔσῳζεν καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ πάθη ἐμήνυεν καὶ πρὸς τριχώματος ἐξουσίαν ἠκολούθει εἰς τὴν τριχὸς καμπὴν λυόμενος.
(5) τὸ δὲ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ῥητὸν λίθος εἰς ὑγρότητα κεχαλασμένος καὶ ἐναντίον σῶμα τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρεχόμενος· στερεωτέρας γὰρ τετυχηκὼς φύσεως τρυφερότητος ἀπέστελλεν αἴσθησιν εἰς ἀραιόν τινα σώματος ὄγκον διαχεόμενος. μετεχειρίζετο δὲ καὶ σύριγγα, ἧς νομίοις θεοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήρχετο καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν κατήχει τοῖς μέλεσιν, εἴποτε μουσικοῖς ψαλτηρίοις προσομιλῆσαι ποθήσειεν. τοῦτον θαυμάσας, ὦ νέοι, τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς παρήγαγον εἰς Μουσῶν αὐλὴν ἀποτυπωσάμενος. [ἔχει δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὡς καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν εἶχεν.]

"There was a grove, and in it an exceedingly beautiful spring of very pure clear water, and by this stood a Narcissus made of marble. He was a boy, or rather a youth, of the same age as the Erotes; and he gave out as it were a radiance of lightning from the very beauty of his body. The appearance of the statue was as follows: It was shining with gilded hair, of which the locks encircled the forehead in a curve and hung free down the neck to the back; and its glance did not express unmixed exultation nor yet pure joy; for in the nature of the eyes, art had put an indication of grief, that the image might represent not only both Narcissus but also his fate. He was clothed like the Erotes, and he resembled them also in that he was in the prime of his youth. The garb which adorned him was as follows: a white mantle, of the same colour as the marble of which he was made, encircled him; it was held by a clasp on the right shoulder and reached down nearly to the knees, where it ended, leaving free, from the clasp down, only the hand. Moreover, it was so delicate and imitated a mantle so closely that the colour of the body shone through, the whiteness of the drapery permitting the gleam of the limbs to come out. He stood using the spring as a mirror and pouring into it the beauty of his face, and the spring, receiving the lineaments which came from him, reproduced so perfectly the same image that the two other beings seemed to emulate each other. For whereas the marble was in every part trying to change

> the real boy so as to match the one in the water, the spring was struggling to match the skilful efforts of art in the marble, reproducing in an incorporeal medium the likeness of the corporeal model and enveloping the reflection which came from the statue with the substance of water as though it were the substance of flesh. And indeed the form in the water was so instinct with life and breath that it seemed to be Narcissus himself, who, as the story goes, came to the spring, and when his form was seen by him in the water he died among the water-nymphs, because he desired to embrace his own image, and now he appears as a flower in the meadows in the spring-time. You could have seen how the marble, uniform though it was in colour, adapted itself to the expression of his eyes, preserved the record of his character, showed the perception of his senses, indicated his emotions and conformed itself to the abundance of his hair as it relaxed to make the curls of his locks. Indeed, words cannot describe how the marble softened into suppleness and provided a body at variance with its own essence; for though its own nature is very hard, it yielded a sensation of softness, being dissolved into a sort of porous matter. The image was holding a syrinx, the instrument with which Narcissus was wont to offer music to the gods of the flock, and he would make the desert echo with his songs whenever he desired to hold converse with stringed musical instruments. In admiration of his Narcissus, O youths, I have fashioned an image of him and brought it before you also in the halls of the Muses. And the description is such as to agree wit the statue."[16]

Before analyzing this particular text, a brief introduction to the role of Narcissus in Ancient literature and art is called for. Narcissus is a "late-blooming" flower in the garden of canonized Greek myths.[17] It is diffi-

[16] Translation by A. FAIRBANKS. https://www.theoi.com/Text/Callistratus.html (2021. 01. 14.)

[17] *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* already mentions the botanical aspects of daffodil (*h. Cer*. 8–18). The flower is in relation to the Underworld: ὃν φῦσε **δόλον** καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτῃ ("which Earth made to grow at the will of Zeus and to please the Host of Many, to be a **snare** for the bloom-like girl – a marvellous, radiant flower." Translated by H. G. EVELYN-WHITE); the flower's smell almost enchants (θαμβήσασ') Persephone. The origins of the name of the plant can be traced back to the narcotic effects of the daffodil (as νάρκη can be translated as

cult to locate the exact time of the emergence of the Narcissus-myth; however, it is believed to be spread from Boeotia to the entire ancient Greek world.[18]

Taking into consideration available literary sources, it is likely that detailed version known today became widely popular only after Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Ov. *Met*. 3, 339–512).[19] The later popularity of the myth in European cultural history – inasmuch as the tragic fate of Narcissus has been constantly re-explored and retold – is indisputably due to Ovid's masterpiece.[20]

"numbness", "enervation"). For more literary examples of the daffodil, see: Euph. Fr. Hist. 94; Paus. 9, 31, 7.

[18] Cf. one of Pausanias' comments regarding Narcissus (Paus. 9, 31,8.) which might reflect the myth's genuine, Boeotian folkloric version: ZIMMERMANN (1994: 11).

[19] Cf. also the fragmentary or short accounts of Parthenius of Nicaea (?) (P.*Oxy.* LXIX 4711), Conon (*FGrH* 26, F I 24) and Pausanias (Paus. 9, 31,7–9.). For Parthenius, see: *New light on the Narcissus myth: P.Oxy. LXIX 4711.* http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/papyri/4711.html, 2021.01.14; LUPPE (2006: 1–3).

[20] It is likely that the well-known depictions of Narcissus spread due to Ovid in the 1st century of the Roman Imperial period, see: VALLADARES (2012: 378–395). The story of the young hunter, presented by Ovid, was infiltrated into almost all branches of Roman art (from paintings, mosaics to sculpture, even to engraved gemstones), and its popularity was unchallenged until the Late Antiquity: RAFN (1992: 708, No. 52). It is beyond doubt that the wall-paintings which survived under the ashes of Vesuvius constitute the most abundant material records. Out of the wall-paintings known today, fifty had been discovered in Pompeii, and most of them are from the age of Vespasianus; and, in consequence, they belong to the so-called fourth Pompeian style. Besides that, this style depicts contemplative figures in the central register of the wall-painting by choice; another fact also reveals the popularity of the theme of Narcissus, namely that the educated viewers were susceptible to the art theoretical aspects of the vision, the reflection. In details, see: RAFN (1992: 703–711); BALENSIEFEN (1990, 140; 237, K 38, Plate 35, 1).

The pages of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC) provide a substantial amount of reference to Roman copies depicting Narcissus, which were created during the Hadrian–Antonine era, which was formative for the Roman reception of the history of Greek art. One of the characteristic sculptures, which some researchers relate to the sculpture school of Aphrodisias, displays Narcissus as a standing figure with crossed-legs. Both its arms, with clasped hands, are resting on its head; and it turns its wreathed head towards its left shoulder: RAFN (1992: 705, No. 21) **(Figure 5)**. This type of sculpture was chosen for the relief of the so-called *strigilis* sar-

At the dawn of the 3rd century AD, Philostratus the Elder of Lemnos provided descriptions on paintings, while a century later Callistratus wrote his accounts on sculptures. It is very likely that the verbalized Narcissus painting of Philostratus the Elder had a considerable influence on Callistratus.[21] In accordance with the traditions of the Second Sophistic, both authors were aware of the hidden possibilities in the genre of *descriptio*; therefore, they focused on the questions of visual representation and on the effects triggered by them. They handle Narcissus not as a mythological hero but an explicit work of art.[22] Nevertheless, the key elements of the depictions (transformation, self-absorption) are momentarily shown, they reframe the myth into a subjective reflection concerning contemplation, naturality and sexual desire.[23] In the following, an interpretation of this particular Callistratean text is offered.

Callistratus begins his narration *in medias res* and puts the readers into the middle of a typical *locus amoenus*. This place is also familiar to them: the *alsos*[24] which, on the one hand, belongs to a divine sphere, while on the other hand, it could also be an ideal setting for a secret romantic rendezvous. The first scene is already ambiguous as it is not clear whether the author started to depict the bucolic environment of the sculpture or the description of the sculpture itself.[25] Nevertheless, Cal-

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cophagi dated to the end of the 2nd century/beginning of the 3rd century AD. For this, in details, see: SICHTERMANN (1986: 239–242).

Surviving material records, unfortunately, are unaware of any Narcissus depiction which resembles the Callistratean description. Albeit, there were attempts at the end of 19th century to identify this work of art, as the case of the sculpture depicting a young boy found at the Ostian *thermae* shows (*Narcissi statua in museo Vaticano, cui insculptum est Phaedimi nomen.* See the inscription on the tree trunk next to the sculpture: ΦΑΙΔΓ / ΜΟΣ). Some scholars tended to regard the sculpture as almost identical, in every aspect, to the one described by Callistratus (SCHENKL–REICH [1902: 53]); however, this hypothesis was refuted by others (FAIRBANKS [1931: 390]).

For Philostratus, see also: BRAGUINKSKAIA–LEONOV (2006: 9–30); SHAFFER (1998: 303–316).

[22] Cf. Luc. *Charid*. 24; *Ver. hist*. 2, 17,19; *Dial. mort*. 11, 1,3.

[23] ELSNER (1996: 247–261).

[24] A *locus classiscus* for *alsos,* see: Pl. *Phdr*. 230 b–c. For further examples from literary fiction, see: Longus 1, 1, 4; Ach. Tat. 1, 2, 3.

[25] Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 1, 441ff.

listratus brings immediately a free-standing marble statue of Narcissus into view which is located by the side of a crystal-clear spring.

Behind this setting, one cannot only find a fictional rhetorical exercise but the way Callistratus installed the scene for his description reflects contemporary practice too. The water is an inseparable element of this myth both in literary accounts and in the artistic repertoire of the Imperial period (**Figure 1**). By the side of Narcissus, you can always detect a spring or a calm water surface or the water flowing out of a *hydria* held by Echo/Eros (**Figure 2**) in the pictorial program of frescos at Pompeii and the mosaics from the Imperial age **(Figure 3)**. There is even a statue depicting Narcissus whose face as a relief is reflected in the spring water made of marble **(Figure 4)**.[26]

As a Roman citizen was wandering around the city, due to the decorative function attached to these artefacts, he could stumble into the portrayal of Narcissus at almost every turn, usually at water-related public locations such as *nymphaea*, baths, wells, and even in the private sphere. The aim of these representations was to recall the tragic fate of Narcissus by the reflection of the work of art in real water.[27]

Once Callistratus spotted the sculpture, his text suggests that he approaches it remotely. His first impressions make him see Narcissus as a child (παῖς); but after some hesitation, he instantly adds that he regards the mythological hero rather as an adolescent, unspoilt young man (ἠίθεος).[28] In the description, Narcissus and the Erotes are the same age (ἡλικιώτης Ἐρώτων).[29] On the other hand, it also resembles the so-

[26] RAFN (1992: 708, No. 55).

[27] BÄBLER–NESSELRATH (2006: 63–64); BALENSIEFEN (1990: 146).

[28] Cf. Ov. *Met.* 351ff*: namque ter ad quinos unum Cephisius annum / addiderat poteratque puer iuvenisque videri*.

[29] This could evoke the winged Erotes among the floral and leaf motifs of the Athenian red-figure vases of the 6–5th centuries BC. The relation of the Erotes to flowers (πολυανθεῖς: "rich in flowers") resonates well with the story of Narcissus. For literary parallels, see: GREIFENHAGEN (1957: 7); *Anacreonta* 55, 7: πολυανθέων Ἐρώτων, | ἀφροδίσιόν τ' ἄθυρμα; furthermore, Plato's praise for Eros (Pl. *Smp.* 196a–b): νεώτατος μὲν δή ἐστι καὶ ἁπαλώτατος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑγρὸς τὸ εἶδος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἷός τ' ἦν πάντῃ περιπτύσσεσθαι οὐδὲ διὰ πάσης ψυχῆς καὶ εἰσιὼν τὸ πρῶτον λανθάνειν καὶ ἐξιών, εἰ σκληρὸς ἦν. συμμέτρου δὲ καὶ ὑγρᾶς ἰδέας μέγα τεκμήριον ἡ εὐσχημοσύνη, ὃ δὴ διαφερόντως ἐκ πάντων ὁμολογουμένως Ἔρως ἔχει·

called Eros Centocelle type too, which is known from numerous Roman copies **(Figure 6)**, and it could be traced back to one of Praxiteles' Eros sculptures.[30] The parallel could be drawn between the torso, being kept in the Classical Antiquities Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and the Eros of Centocelle (**Figure 7**). The god of love is being portrayed as an athletic, standing adolescent; however, it is also being characterized by child-alike, curvesome forms.[31] It looks to me as if Callistratus had compared Narcissus with this kind of Eros, standing on the line between childhood and adulthood.[32]

As we approach to the statue, the author undertakes to verbalize the golden shining hair of Narcissus and his emotions appearing in his eyes. Here we can witness the embodiment of the practice of Roman art and the fine idiom of the Second Sophistic in one expression. The *technē* could evoke the tragedy of the whole myth into a single image in the same way as in Roman mythological reliefs.[33] This pain also affects the readers: the λύπη [the grief] reflected from the face of the sculpture overshadows the pleasure which was generated by the sight of the athletic appearance of the sculpture.

Then the description of the boy's clothing follows and another *synkrisis* with the Erotes: "He was clothed like the Erotes, and he resembled them also in that he was in the prime of his youth." (Callistr. *Stat.* 5, 2,1: ἔσταλτο δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ Ἔρωτες, οἷς καὶ τῆς ὥρας τὴν ἀκμὴν προσείκαστο). The repeated summoning of the Eros projects into the text, on the one hand, the ambivalent power of the god of sexual and love desire, and on the other hand, it refers to the story of Narcissus. In

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ἀσχημοσύνῃ γὰρ καὶ Ἔρωτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ πόλεμος. χρόας δὲ κάλλος ἡ κατ' ἄνθη δίαιτα τοῦ θεοῦ σημαίνει· ἀνανθεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἀπηνθηκότι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν οὐκ ἐνίζει Ἔρως, οὗ δ' ἂν εὐανθής τε καὶ εὐώδης τόπος ᾖ ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἵζει καὶ μένει.

[30] On the Eros of Centocelle sculptures, see also: HERMARY–CASSIMATIS–VOLLKOMMER (1986: 862).

[31] It must be noted regarding this statue that is supplemented with an adult phallus. More on the Eros torso being kept in Budapest, see also: http://hyperion.szepmuveszeti.hu/hu/targy/1431 (2020. 01. 14).

[32] Cf. the third *ekphrasis* of Callistratus which describes the Eros sculpture of Praxiteles.

[33] ELSNER (1998: 122).

literary tradition, e.g. in the accounts of Pausanias or Conon, Eros appears only in a hidden form in relation to Thespiae, the town of Boeotia where Narcissus was born and Eros was the most worshipped deity.[34] By contrast, the art tradition presents the god – with Echo and other nymphs – in a much more important place and regards it as key actor in the visual narrative, which offers various possible interpretations of its function in the scene.[35]

Disguising Narcissus as Eros, Callistratus intends to conflate the two figures: he bestows Eros' complicity to Narcissus, who nourishes now the deceitful flames of love which eventually leads him to his own downfall.[36]

The garment borrowed from the Erotes may be confusing because the *peplos* was related to Athena and exclusively to the feminine sphere in the Archaic and Classical age.[37] It only becomes clear by the further explanation of Callistratus that this might not be a female *peplos*, but rather a *chlamys* or a similar sort of cape:

> σχῆμα δὲ ἦν τὸ κοσμοῦν τοιόνδε· **πέπλος** λευκανθὴς ὁμόχρως τῷ σώματι τοῦ λίθου περιθέων εἰς κύκλον, κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον περονηθεὶς ὑπὲρ γόνυ καταβαίνων ἐπαύετο μόνην ἀπὸ τοῦ πορπήματος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν χεῖρα. (Callist. *Stat*. 5, 2, 2–10)[38]

It looks as if Callistratus had disguised an *alicula chlamys*,[39] the ends of which resemble a wing (πτερύγες), in order to visualize the wings of Eros in the appearance of the statue of Narcissus.

The *chlamys*, the ancient attire of hunters, could be easily applied to the attributes of Narcissus as, Ovid informs us, he himself, similarly to

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[34] Paus. 9, 27, 1.; 9, 32, 7; and Conon FGrH 26, F I 24.

[35] RAFN (1992:705–707); On Eros' torch, see: TAYLOR (2008:64–66).

[36] Ov. *Met*. 3, 464.

[37] See also: LEE (2003:118–146).

[38] Based on a translation by A. FAIRBANKS: "The garb which adorned him was as follows: a *peplos*, of the same colour as the marble of which he was made, encircled him; it was held by a clasp on the right shoulder and reached down nearly to the knees, where it ended, leaving free, from the clasp down, only the hand."

[39] Cf. Suid. s. v. Ἄλλικα: χλαμύδα κατὰ Θεσσαλούς: ἄλλικα χρυσείῃσιν ἐεργομένην ἐνέτῃσιν.; YATES (1875: 275–276).

Hippolytus or Adonis, was a hunter ([…] *hunc trepidos agitantem in retia cervos,* Ov. *Met*. 3, 356). Consequently, on wall-paintings and mosaics Narcissus was often depicted with a hunting spear and wearing a *petasos*. Nevertheless, literary sources[40] and visual representations suggest that hunting is neither an unfamiliar activity to the Erotes.

The question justifiably arises what the author attempted to achieve by visualizing Narcissus in female garments. It seems very unlikely that such an erudite rhetor like Callistratus was not familiar with the different types of Greek clothing. On the contrary, portraying the cape of Narcissus as a *peplos* might have been the deliberate intention of the author.[41]

In Greek literature, the *peplos* first appeared in relation to manhood in the tragedy literature of the Classical age. In the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides the adoption of a *peplos* by male characters symbolizes their feminization, and therefore precipitates their death.[42]

Callistratus, who was probably most influenced by Euripides,[43] borrowed the topos of male *peplophoros* from the milieu of classical tragedies to highlight the *anima* of Narcissus and to anticipate already at beginning of the text the boy's inevitable death. The feminine features of Narcissus are also visualized on the wall-paintings in Pompeii (**Figure**

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[40] Pl. *Smp*. 203d, 5: θηρευτὴς δεινός; Xen. *Mem.* 1, 3, 13.; Philostr. *Im*. 1, 6.: Erotes hunting for rabbits.

[41] Nowadays, there is no trace of a bronze sculpture from the 5th century BC, Oechalia (Euboea), depicting Achelous, the river god, wearing a female *peplos* and with a *cornucopia*. Similarly to Narcissus, Achelous belongs to the divine sphere of *alsos,* who was worshiped along with the nymphs in caves near freshwater springs. This is the only known example from the tradition of art where a male figure is a *peplophoros*. For an interpretation of the statuette, see: LEE (2006: 317–325).

[42] In *Oresteia,* Clytemnestra decoyed Agamemnon wearing a *peplos* (A. *Ag.* 1125–1128; Cho. 999–1000; Eum. 633–635). In *The Bacchae* of Euripides, Pentheus put on the *peplos* in order to secretly watch the women of Thebes. However, he was spotted, and subsequently was torn apart by them. (E. *Bacch*. 821–838; 927–938). Hippolytus (E. *Hipp*. 606; 1458) and Hercules in *The Trachiniae* (S. *Tr*. 600 – 613; 674; 756 – 776) and in *Hercules Furens* (E. HF 520; 626–627; 629–630) appear on the scene in a *peplos*. See also D. S. 4, 14, 3, where Hercules receives the *peplos* from Athena.

[43] See the descriptions of no. 8 and 13 in Callistr. *Stat*. These mention Euripides by name. Cf. ALTEKAMP (1988: 106).

8). Ruban Taylor argues that although Narcissus acquires more masculine attributes with time, in the 1st century AD he was depicted almost *androgyn* in appearance: with a pale skin, a wide waist and feminine breasts. The visual language of the early Imperial period emphasizes in this manner the fatal weakness of the young hunter: he becomes effeminate by his inertia and defenseless, and his exaggerated desire is by no means compatible with the persona of a Roman man.[44] The German classical archaeologist, Paul Zanker points out that the character of Narcissus often resembles that of Hermaphroditus (**Figure 9**), and his hand-posture is also similar to the visual representations of Hermaphroditus on engraved gems (**Figure 10**).[45]

In the following *caput*s Callistratus returns to the initial set, and focuses on the position of the sculpture taken from the context of Ovid's text. From this position a fierce competition materializes between the marble and the spring. Joining this *paragonē* himself, Callistratus raises the question whether verbal or visual art could better depict more realistically the figure of Narcissus.

Art makes inanimate objects into living works of art: first, "the marble transformed the real boy into that" (i.e. to be in accordance with the one in the water (Callistr. Stat. 5, 3, 5–6: ἡ μὲν γὰρ λίθος ὅλη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μετηλλάττετο τὸν ὄντως παῖδα).[46] The surface of the water, however, proves to be a serious rival, and in terms of vividness, the reflection seems to exceed the accomplishments of the marble. It perfectly forms the body in a bodyless medium and seemingly it is able to reflect

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[44] TAYLOR (2008: 70; 80).

[45] „Wie sehr das Weibliche und die Selbstbefangenheit der frühen Kaiserzeit als Eigenschaften des Narziß vertraut waren, verdeutlicht die Annäherung seiner Gestalt an die des Hermaphroditen. In den pompeianischen Bildprogrammen findet man die beiden "iuvenes formosissimi" als Pendantfiguren. Das allein würde nicht viel besagen wenn nicht die Bildtypen, die mythologischen Requisiten und selbst die Körperformen der beiden Gestalten miteinander vermischt und vertauscht würden." ZANKER (1966: 166).

[46] The following extract from a sentence is difficult to understand on purpose: if πρὸς ἐκεῖνον belongs to τὸν ὄντως παῖδα as a *adjectivum praedicativum*, it could also be translated as: "it transformed itself into that, to a real boy."

even the statue in a way that one could think it mirrors a real human being.[47]

Afterwards, Callistratus idles over the figure appearing on the water-surface in order to picture the extent of the bodily nature of the sculpture as far as one could even hear its breath too. "It seemed he is the real Narcissus" (Callistr. *Stat*. 5, 4, 2–3: αὐτὸν εἶναι δοξάσαι τὸν Νάρκισσον) in the water, whose tragic story was revoked at this point: Narcissus "went to the water spring, then having seen its own face, he lost his life among the nymphs, because he had yearned to fall in love with himself; now he appears as a flower in the fields during the spring" (Callistr. *Stat*. 5, 4, 3–6: ὃν ἐπὶ πηγὴν ἐλθόντα τῆς μορφῆς αὐτῷ καθ' ὑδάτων ὀφθείσης παρὰ Νύμφαις τελευτῆσαι λέγουσιν ἐρασθέντα τῷ εἰδώλῳ συμμῖξαι καὶ νῦν ἐν λειμῶσι φαντάζεσθαι ἐν ἠρινα῀ς ὥραις ἀνθοῦντα.).

The sculpture then comes to the front as a magnificent work of art: art creates from one and the same block of marble not just the skin, hair and eyes of Narcissus, but also his emotions and his whole *ēthos* too. The performance of the *technē* is beyond words. It is able to make the stone appear like a substance that is already in the process of dissolving, which is related to the mythical fate of Narcissus again.

Suddenly the theoretical commentary ends at this point, and new images are being shown to us. By the introduction of an atypical hunting attribute, the *syrinx*, Callistratus seems to challenge the earlier tradition and transforms Narcissus into a shepherd-boy watching over his herd.

In the iconographic tradition concerning Narcissus, there is only a single case implying this visualization. A *puteal* embossment found Ostia from the Antonine age, which is only known nowadays from a plaster copy, presents a similar set to Callistratus' description.[48] On this de-

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[47] Cf. On the manifestation of naturality on water-surface, see the verbalized description of the sculpture group of Apuleius: Apul. *Met.* 2, 4, 25–31: *et si fontem, qui deae vestigio discurrens in lenem vibratur undam, pronus aspexeris, credes illos ut rure pendentes racemos inter cetera ueritatis nec agitationis officio carere. Inter medias frondes lapidis Actaeon simulacrum curioso optutu in deam [sum] proiectus iam in ceruum ferinus et in saxo simul et in fonte loturam Dianam opperiens visitur.*

[48] RAFN (1992: 708; 711).

piction, driving his flock, Narcissus arrives at the spring brought forth by Echo (**Figure 11**). The boy's melancholic face and the sorrow in his eyes might reflect what Callistratus also expresses. On the other side of the *puteal*, there was Hylas as he was dragged by the nymphs under the water (**Figure 12**). Both of them can be seen as victims of the nymphs, which seemingly could be a possible decoration theme of a well.[49]

Callistratus might have been inspired by the *Eikones* of Philostratus the Elder in this vision of his. In the first book, Philostratus writes about a certain Olympus who played the *aulos*, a flute, and like Narcissus was gazing into the water.[50]

> Τίνι αὐλεῖς, Ὄλυμπε; τί δὲ ἔργον μουσικῆς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ; οὐ ποιμήν σοι πάρεστιν, οὐκ αἰπόλος οὐδὲ Νύμφαις αὐλεῖς, αἳ καλῶς ἂν ὑπωρχήσαντο τῷ αὐλῷ, μαθὼν δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι χαίρεις τῷ ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ὕδατι καὶ βλέπεις ἐπ' αὐτό.[51] (Philostr. *Im*. 1, 21, 1–6)

Regarding the image of Narcissus holding a *syrinx*, Clayton Zimmermann's assumption is worth consideration. According to him, Callistratus, instead of Narcissus, was verbalized mistakenly a certain sculpture of Daphnis, the mythical inventor of bucolic poetry. Zimmermann believes that behind this Callistratean *error* one can identify the statue of Daphnis holding a *syrinx,* a part of the sculpture group being kept in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (**Figure 13**).[52] The vitality and downward looking sight of the sculpture and its placement near to water might be responsible for the confusion with Narcissus.[53]

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[49] BÄBLER–NESSELRATH (2006: 63).

[50] ZIMMERMANN (1994: 94).

[51] Translated by A. FAIRBANKS: "For whom are you playing the flute, Olympus? And what need is there of music in a desert place? No shepherd is here with you, nor goatherd, nor yet are you playing for Nymphs, who would dance beautifully to your flute; and I do not understand just why you take delight in the pool of water by the rock and gaze into it."

[52] On the Pan-Daphnis sculpture group, see: HERRMANN (1975: 87–89).

[53] The unclear circumstances of the early death of Daphnis in Theocritus first *eidyllion* may justify the artistic parallel drawn between Daphnis and Narcissus. ZIMMERMANN suggests that Theocritus formulated Daphnis' death by the earlier poetic adaptions of the story of the evanescence of Narcissus. The idyllic site with the running stream

The name of Narcissus also appears among such young boys who were much desired by the gods and nymphs, and whose names were listed by Hyginus in his catalogue about the most beautiful *ephēboi*:

> QUI EPHEBI FORMOSISSIMI FUERUNT. Adonis C<i>n<y>rae et Smyrnae filius quem Venus amavit. Endymion Aetoli filius quem Luna amavit. Ganymedes Eri<c>hthonii filius quem Iovis amavit. Hyacinthus Oebali filius quem Apollo amavit. Narcissus Cephisii fluminis filius qui se ipsum amavit. Atlantius Mercurii et Veneris filius qui Hermaphroditus dictus est. H<y>las Theodamantis filius quem Hercules amavit. Chrysippus Pelopis filius quem Theseus ludis rapuit. (Hyg. F. 271)

My impression is that Callistratus when he wrote this description did not just draw inspiration from the literary and visual material related to Narcissus but also from the visual and literary representations of the *ephebi formosissimi* named by Hyginus.[54]

Moreover, in connection with Narcissus, it does not seem unlikely that Callistratus may have taken into account some works of art patterned from Antinous who drowned in the Nile[55] and later was worshiped as a god (**Figure 15**).[56] In a papyrus fragment[57], dated to the end of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century AD, discovered in the Egyptian Tebtunis (near to nowadays Tutun), we can find Antinous among such mythological characters who were *epōnymoi* of plants, trees and flowers. They are also connected by their tragic death; and in this sense, Antinous is being compared to Narcissus in this fragment:

(Theoc. *Id*. 1–23), the self-absorption of the main characters and the ἁ … καλὰ νάρκισσος (Theoc. *Id.* 133) expression are undoubted hints that Theocritus might have worked in the tragic fate of Narcissus into his story about Daphnis. ZIMMERMANN (1994: 94–95), Cf. SEGAL (1974: 1–22).

[54] Cf. with the 37 Roman copies, which depict a fragile *ephēbos*, either Narcissus or Apollo's darling Hyacinthus. Taking into consideration the habitats of the replicas, some researchers suggest that the original statue was erected near a waterside. (Inv. number: Ma 457 [Cp 6441]) **(Figure 14)** Cf. BÄBLER–NESSELRATH (2006: 61–62).

[55] On his death, see: Cass. Dio. 69, 11, 2.; Hist. Aug. *Vita Hadriani*, 14, 5.

[56] VOUT (2005: 80–96).

[57] DELGADO–PORDOMINGO (2008: 167–192).

> νύμ[φ]αι Κρ[όκον | ἀπέκτειναν, Ὕλαν ἥρ̣π̣α[σαν | Νύμφαι, Κυπάρισσος κατ[ὰ πε|τρῶν ἔρειψε ἑ[αυ]τόν, Δ[άφνην | φεύγουσαν ὑπεδέξατο γῆ· Ν[άρ|κισσος ὑπερηφανείαι ἐρ[. . . ..] | ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἄλλον ἀπώλεσ[εν· ἓν | δὲ μόνον τὸ τοῦ Ἀντινόου [ἄνθος, | πάντων ἥδ[ι]ον διαφέρον …[58]
> *PMilVogl* I 20 (1937) col. 3, 7–18.

Although the text is quite fragmentary, it illustrates well the cultural importance of Antinous decades after this death.[59] Besides this, it also illuminates that the milieu in which Callistratus worked to make a connection between Narcissus and Antinous. This parallel is strengthened by the example given by the coins portraying the Bithynian adolescent which were issued by the famous sophist, Polemon of Smyrna. The coins were reused later to ornament the cover of a box mirror (**Figure**

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[58] Translated by B. ACOSTA-HUGHES: "Nymphs killed Hylas, Cyparissus cast himself down from the rocks, the earth received Daphne in her flight. Narcissus in arrogance [. . . .] killed himself as though another. Alone the one bloom of Antinous, sweeter than all others…" ACOSTA-HUGHES (2016).

[59] On the afterlife of Antinous, see also the following rhyming *enkōmion* fragment which could have been written in the Diocletian era. VOUT (2009: 100–102).

P. *Oxy*. 63, 4352, fr. 5. II 1–9:
εὗρε δὲ τερπομένη ζωάγριαν Ἀντιν[όοιο,
θήρης μνημοσύνην, νίκης θάλος, .[
αἰδέομαι, Νάρκισσε, τεήν σκιοειδέα μ[ορφήν,
δακρυχέω δ᾽ Ὑάκινθον ἀπηνέα δίσκ[ον
σήν δὲ κατο[ι]κτείρω θηραγρεσίην, α[
λειμών δ᾽ Ἀντινόοιο καὶ ἱμερο[
οὐ πηγήν, οὐ δίσκον ὀλέθριον, οὐ…[
τῷ δὲ μετ᾽Ἀντίνοον Νύμφαι σ[τέ]φον ἄνθεϊ π[λοχμούς,
εἰσε [τι] ῥυομένῳ θαλερὴν θηρ[ήτο]ρος αἰχμή[ν.
Translated by C. VOUT: "Rejoicing, she found the ransom for the life of Antinous, memory of the hunt, palm of victory…. I stand in awe of your shadowy form, Narcissus, and I weep for Hyacinthus and the cruel discus. I also have compassion for your hunting of wold beasts but the flowers of Antinous and the longing... Not running water, not the destructive discus, not... The nymphs began to garland their hair with the flower named after Antinous, which protects the sturdy spear of the hunter."
On the question of authorship and the interpretation of the fragment see: PICCARDI (2002: 55–60).

16).[60] It seems very probable that the depiction of Antinous' physical charm served as an artistic reminder to the box's owner about the dangers of extravagant beauty.

All in all, the question arises justifiably how Callistratus, who championed the cultivation of the classical, even idealized Greek past, could fulfil the guiding principles of the Second Sophistic movement in a story such as of Narcissus, which does not have any classical precedents. In my opinion, Callistratus could cope with this task by involving the elements of the literary and art tradition of the Classical Age (may it be the literary and art tradition of the Erotes of the 5th – 4th centuries BC, or the literary topos of the male *peplophoros* borrowed from the Athenian tragedies) to the Hellenistic portray of Narcissus. In doing so, Callistratus turns his Narcissus into an eclectic – both Classical and Hellenistic at the same time –, therefore unmistakably Roman statue.

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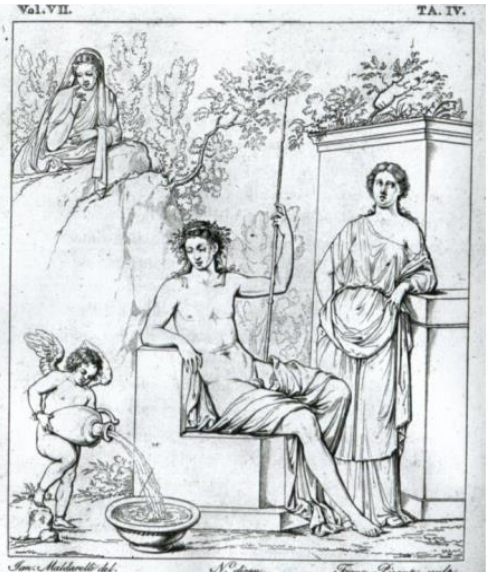

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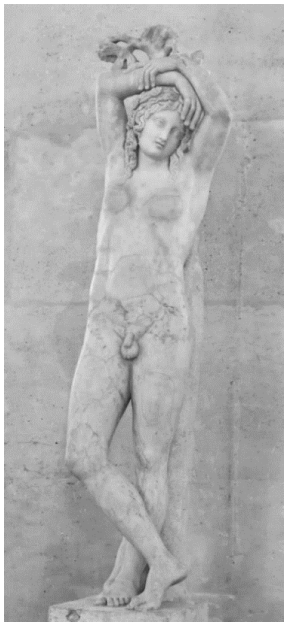

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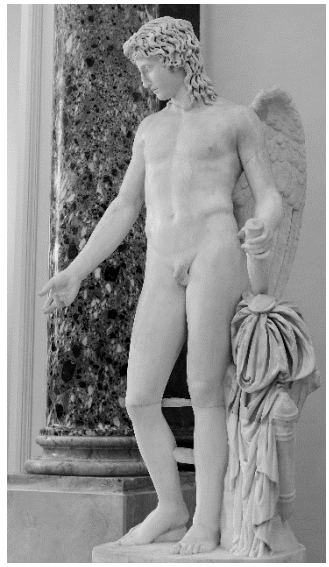

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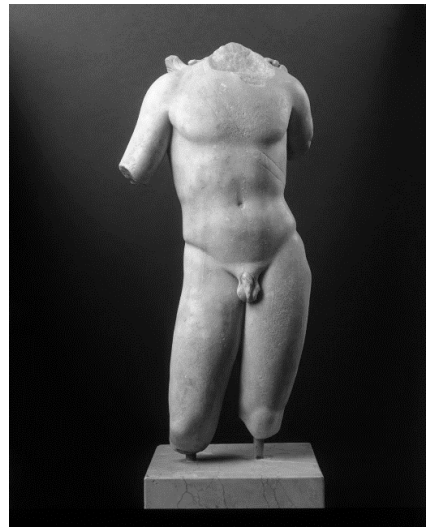

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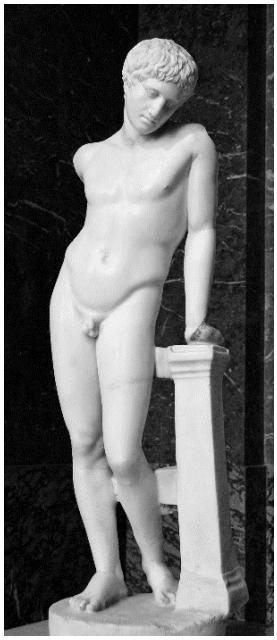

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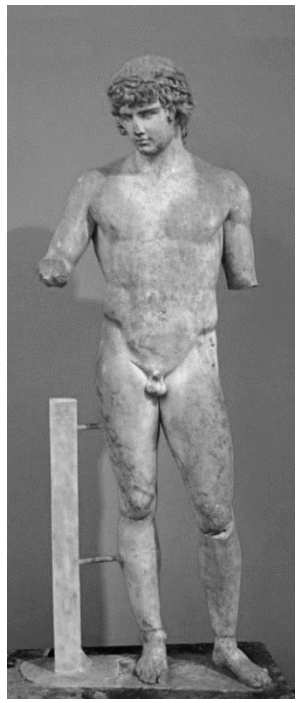

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