

SAPIENS UBIQUE CIVIS

IV.



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

SAPIENS UBIQUE CIVIS IV.



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CLEMENS WURZINGER

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The Eunomia of Solon. How to change the citizens of Athens

The so-called Eunomia of Solon is one of the most famous elegies of early Greek poetry. Too often, however, the actual aim of the elegy as a means of persuasion seems to be forgotten; Solon does not want to present a political theory here, but to convince the Athenian citizens. With the help of the theories of Performativity (Fischer-Lichte) and Emotion Studies (Winko and Hillebrandt), the elegy is examined in a close reading for persuasive elements that are intended to draw the Athenian citizens to Solon's side. The results show a clear structure with a focus on emotionalizing the problems of the city and Solon's opponents with a simultaneous rationalization of his position and legislation.

Keywords: Poetry, Solon, Eunomia, Performativity, Emotion Studies, persuasive structures

1. Introduction

Solon's so-called *Eunomia* (West 4, Gentili-Prato 3, Diehl 3) is probably his best-known elegy and is invaluable for historical research on Athens in the archaic period. Analyses of this elegy usually try to view the text as a political manifesto and forget the actual objective of the elegy, namely, to persuade and transform its recipients. The analysis of the combination of poetics, religion, and political impact by addressing the emotional level, especially, seems to be one of the most important and still unresolved questions concerning the elegy. This paper will address this gap. In the following chapter, the theories of Performativity by Fischer-Lichte and Hans Rudolf Velten and Emotion Stud-

ies as developed by Simone Winko and Claudia Hillebrandt will be briefly presented. In chapter 3, the elegy will be analyzed, and it will be shown how it tries firstly to create and emotionalize the problems of the city and establish a group of enemies; secondly to convince the citizens of Athens of Solon's laws and thus create Solon in a performative way as Athens' rational savior in these irrational times. In a short conclusion, the findings will be summarized.

2. How to change the citizens of Athens - Performativity and Emotion Studies

I will start with the theory of Performativity, which is the cornerstone of my reflections, and then give a brief insight into the importance of Emotion Studies for the theory of Performativity. 'Performativity' finds its beginning in the 20th century in a series of lectures by John Austin, later published under the title *How to do things with words*. In his first lecture, Austin distinguished between performative (*performative utterances* or *performatives*) and constative statements;¹ collectively, they could be divided as 'reality-changing' and 'reality-describing' statements. The 'Yes' in a wedding ceremony will serve as a brief example of a performative statement - this phrase does not describe anything, rather it creates the marriage performatively, only by saying this phrase in a certain context the marriage becomes legally and socially valid.

Austin's theories subsequently went a long way; for my considerations, the reflections of the branch of theatre research by Erika Fischer-Lichte are especially important. She is a German theatre and literature scholar and is concerned with the Performativity of plays in the moment of the performance. For Fischer-Lichte, a play is a performative work of art in that it is -

¹'Utterances can be found, satisfying these conditions, yet such that A. they do not "describe" or "report" or constate anything at all, are not "true or false"; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as saying something.' AUSTIN (1962: 5-6, Lecture I). The crucial features of performatives can thus be summarized as self-referential and reality-constructing, AUSTIN (1962: 4-7, Lecture I).

like Austin's performatives - self-referential and constructs reality.² The concrete moment of the performance is thus a unique event that seems to have transformative or reality-changing power in Austin's sense for all actors and the audience - the entirety of the performance. For Fischer-Lichte, six points constitute the Performativity of moments of performance, namely Physical Co-Presence ('Leibliche Ko-Präsenz'), Spatiality ('Räumlichkeit'), Physicality ('Körperlichkeit'), Rhythm ('Rhythmus'), Perception/Creation of meaning ('Wahrnehmung/Erzeugung von Bedeutung') and the Eventfulness of performances ('Ereignishaftigkeit von Aufführungen').³

When we think of the recital of an elegy in the early Greek period, the similarity to a play as described by Fischer-Lichte is striking. The recital of an elegy can incorporate tactics of a theater performance consisting of a single actress co-presence with the recipients and music; Physicality, Phonetic, and Rhythm define the 'flow' of the act; through listening, the recipients create a relationship with the recital and create their own meaning of the text and performance. However, we face a major problem for our analysis, namely the lack of many factors of these performances, specifically the music and the context of these recitals. We have hardly any information about how and where these elegies were actually performed; for the most part we have only received the text, although not even the text is certain.⁴ My consid-

² FISCHER-LICHTE (2021: 35).

³ These points are taken from the introductory work 'Performativity. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung', FISCHER-LICHTE (2021: 63–81).

⁴ An interesting summary of the possibilities of recitals in general is offered by WEST (1974: 10–13): 1. + 2. a military setting; 3. the 'normal, civilian' symposium; 4. the *komos* after the *symposion*; 5. 'Some kind of public meeting', here West emphasizes the place of Solon's elegies; 6. an improvised poem at a public fountain; 7. at funerals (where BOWIE [1986: 22–27] convincingly shows that the funeral elegy seems to be arguably a later form of elegy); 8. 'In aulodic competitions at festivals'. In particular, points 3 (BOWIE [1986: 15–21]) and 8 (BOWIE [1986: 27–34]) are discussed in more detail by BOWIE. He emphasizes a classification by length, the shorter elegies being for private symposia, while the longer, narrative elegies are designed for competitions at public festivals; situation 5 is rejected by BOWIE (1986: 18–20) because, apart from Solon's elegies, we have no references to such public recitals. Nevertheless, I think that Solon's *Eunomia* can only develop its full meaning as a public recital (IRWIN [2006: 69–71] and STEHLE [2006: 79–113] additionally stress the groups addressed), mainly because of the topic and poetics of the poem, which precludes possibilities 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8, the imagery, which is understandable even without 'insider-knowledge', and the

erations will therefore focus on the text and in particular the performative text structures, simply because of the problem that we have hardly any other information about a performance of this elegy.

So how do we examine a text for performative structures? Two performative elements of a text were distinguished, structural and functional Performativity; structural Performativity⁵ refers to the concrete text structures that have a performative character; Velten, a German medievalist and literary scholar, defines the elements as follows:

Structural Performativity ('Strukturelle Performativität') refers to textual strategies that serve to stage presence, orality and corporeality and integrate "performances" into narrative or dramatic execution. This "performance in the text" includes the faking of oral communication, the simulation of theatrical image sequences and eventful exclamations, effects of presence and sensuality, stagings of bodily liveliness and emotionality.

These elements can in turn evoke transformations in the recipients, which Velten summarizes under the term functional Performativity:

Functional performativity ('Funktionale Performativität') refers to the effects and dynamics that a text unfolds at the interface with its recipients. Like speech acts, texts can also constitute reality, for example by triggering laughter or crying and thus creating community, provoking feelings of hatred or revenge, or exerting influence on the cultural modelling of emotional patterns through the iterative use of their stagings.⁶

persuasive character of the elegy, all of which make a recital in a private symposium unlikely. A public recital before the 'totality' of the Athenian demos seems likely to me, even if there are no sources mentioning such a recital. Unfortunately, little more can be said about the context; for a general discussion on the issues of orality vs. literacy and in particular the relationship between transmitted text and performance, see THOMAS (1992: 113–127).

⁵These structures were designed for reading texts; however, this subdivision is also worthwhile for performed texts, since recitals do not necessarily have to use such structures either. If these structures are additionally emphasized in the act, this naturally increases the effects analyzed here.

⁶See for both quotes and classification VELTEN (2009: 552); the English translations are mine.

In my opinion, however, the area of functional Performativity is still missing a crucial link, namely the question of emotionality. Velten seems to take the field of creating emotions too lightly: the elements of structural Performativity discussed above seem to involve the recipients - if these recipients are in the right disposition - in the performance and in a certain way demand a 'response' from them. This does not mean, however, that it explains why we can give emotional responses, even be persuaded and transformed as a result. This is a gap that the field of Emotion Studies is trying to fill. It is not possible here to give an overview of the now enormous amount of literature on emotion research in antiquity; in short, certain subfields of Emotion Studies are concerned not only with the naming and representation of emotions in texts, but above how texts evoke emotions in the recipients.⁷ This seems to be of crucial importance for our question of changing subjects' world relations, since it is primarily through an emotional connection to the characters, the world and generally all the components of a text - whether in a positive sense through sympathy, empathy or their opposites - that we can experience the story and events and thus often become an emotional part of the work or some of the characters. In recent years, Simone Winko and her student, Claudia Hillebrandt have dealt with a text-centred analysis of emotion-generating structures. Not all the elements that the two have put forward can be listed here; I will limit myself to a few points, which seem decisive for the elegy of Solon. Winko and Hillebrandt emphasize - besides general structures of lyric poetry, such as versification, rhythmic-metrical considerations, and rhetorical presentation - above all:

I. Intertextuality. For Winko, the field of Intertextuality is not only a game of knowledge, but rather one of emotions; the intertextual references are able either to inscribe additional emotions into the text or to intensify already existing ones.

⁷HILLEBRANDT (2011: 11). Research into the representation of emotions, in contrast to the question of the activation of emotions in the recipients, has been a topic for some time. To name just two important publications for antiquity CAIRNS/NELIS (2017) and CAIRNS (2019).

II. Narrative presentation. The ‘how’ of the story also has a strong influence on the emotionalization of the content. Winko emphasizes classic elements of Genette’s narrative analysis, such as ‘mood’ (‘distanced, “narrative mode”’ and a “dramatic mode” without distance’ and focalization) and ‘voice’.

III. Cultural contextualization. All the elements discussed must be culturally contextualized - as far as this is possible in the archaic period. Especially the use of religious themes should be addressed here, which seem to have a particularly emotional impact.⁸

IV. Evaluations. Hillebrandt adds, above all, the issue of evaluations. How are persons and groups, but also activities and places, represented and evaluated? A certain representation can also evoke emotions in recipients.⁹

3. The Εὐνομία and the persuasive structures

In the following, we will deal with the persuasive structures of the elegy. First, the text and translation of the text will be given, followed by an outline and a short summary (3.1). After that, the individual verses will be examined in terms of persuasive structures with the help of the theory of Performativity and Emotion Studies (3.2). Chapter 4 will summarize the results.

3.1. Text, Translation and Structure¹⁰

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐ ποτ’ ὀλεῖται
αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
Παλλὰς Αθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἔχει·
αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίησιν

5

⁸ For a discussion of the significance of religion in Athens in general, see Parker (2005: 1–3).

⁹ See for intertextuality, narrative presentation, and cultural contextualization WINKO (2003: 132–150), for evaluations HILLEBRANDT (2011: 76–88 [Empathy] and 88–102 [Sympathy]).

¹⁰ The text of the elegy was quoted according to WEST (1922).

ἀστοὶ βούλονται, χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, οὐδὲ παρούσας
 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.

10

...

πλουτεύουσιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι

...

οὐθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὐτέ τι δημοσίων
 φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,
 οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα,
 ἦ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,

15

τῶι δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτεισομένη.
 τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἔλκος ἄφυκτον,
 ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἦλυθε δουλοσύνην,
 ἦ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὖδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,
 ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.

20

ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
 τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλαις.¹¹

ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν
 ἰκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν,
 πρᾶθέντες δεσμοῖσι τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες.

25

...

¹¹ Verse 22 is probably - apart from the three lacunae - the biggest text-critical problem of this elegy. In the oldest and more recent manuscripts, τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλοις has been handed down. The surviving text does not seem correct to me, since a simultaneously attributive and absolute use of the participle ἀδικέουσι would be necessary, which is not attested. Two of the proposed solutions seem worthy of discussion: we find φίλους, which survives in some recent manuscripts ('the city is being worn out in secret meetings by those who treat their friends badly', see WEST [1922], NOUSSIA [1999: 95–96] and MÜLKE [2002: 138–139]) and Bergk's conjecture φίλαις ('the city is being worn out in secret meetings dear to the unjust', see for example LINFORTH [1919: 203]). The solution φίλαις seems to me the most likely here, since the ending -οις can easily be explained via a transcription error and the harmonization with the previous dative; in terms of content, φίλους also seems to mean that the city will be destroyed 'to those who wrong the friends', which differs from the focus on the destruction of the whole city.

οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἐκάστωι,
 αὐλαιοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,
 ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ὑπέρθορον, εὔρε δὲ πάντως,
 εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῶι ἦι θαλάμου.
 ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει, 30
 ὥς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει·
 Εὐνομίη δ' εὐκοσμά καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
 καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
 τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,
 αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα, 35
 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα
 πρᾶννει· παύει δ' ἔργα διχόστασιν,
 παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

Our city will never perish according to the decree of Zeus and the intentions of the blessed gods; for such a high-minded guardian, the daughter of a mighty father, Pallas Athena, holds her hand over it. But the citizens themselves want to destroy the great city by their folly, persuaded by possessions, and also the unjust sense of the leaders of the people, to whom out of great hybris many pains surely come to condone! They do not know how to suppress <the effects of> satiety, and not to honour the present pleasures of the meal in peace. [...] they become rich, obeying unrighteous works [...] sparing neither holy nor public land, they rob with rapacity, the one here, the other there, not keeping an eye on the holy foundation of Dike, which silently knows of what is happening and what was happening before; in time, however, she surely is coming to punish. This now comes to the whole city as an inescapable wound; the city comes quickly into evil slavery, awakening inner Stasis and dormant war, which destroys the beloved youth of many; by enemies the much-loved city is worn down in meetings, dear to the unjust! These evils are now among the people. But of the poor many go to a foreign land, sold and bound in ever-lasting

dishonourable shackles. [...] Thus the public evil comes to every man's home, the courtyard doors will no longer keep it out, high above the fence it is already, but will surely find <him>, even if someone has fled to the corner of the bedroom. This is what my Θυμός (will) commands me to teach, namely, that the Δυσνομία (ill-legality) causes the most evil to the city, the Εὐνομία (well-legality), on the other hand, shows everything to be well-ordered and fitting and constantly puts shackles on the unjust. Rough it smooths, restrains <the effects of> satiety, makes hybris disappear and withers the blooming blossoms of ruin, makes straight crooked law and mitigates deeds of pride, ends deeds of separation, ends anger from painful strife; all is fitting and rational among men under her.

The elegy can be broken down into four parts.¹² In verses 1–4, the city of Athens is presented to us as protected by the gods, in particular by the goddess Athena. Verses 5–16 now depict the intrusion of the townsmen (ἄστοι) and the agitators (ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος) who destroy this peace and protection by their greed and sacrilegious behaviour. They cannot restrain themselves, robbing everywhere and calling Dike into action, who, though still watching silently, enters the stage in the next verses. In verses 17–29 it is now shown what happens when Dike takes revenge: inner (στάσις) and outer war (πόλεμος) are aroused, the youth of many people is destroyed and everyone is affected, even if they flee to their bedrooms. The solution to this problem is presented in the last verses of the poem (verses 30–39), namely Solon's 'well-legality' (*Eunomia*) in contrast to the 'ill-legality' (*Dysnomia*) of the current situation. The *Eunomia* straightens out crooked law, restrains hybris and brings every form of division to a halt.

¹² At least for the moment it is communis opinio that the beginning and the end of the elegy are original; see JAEGER (1970: 12–13) and ANHALT (1993: 73, 'It might seem implausible, however, that an orator would fail to cite the opening lines of a well-known work, the lines which make an elegy recognizable and memorable to an audience'). We can only speculate about the amount of missing verses in the gaps, although large leaps seem improbable due to the line of thought. For a discussion of whether we have the verses of Solon at all, see LARDINOIS 2006.

Overall, we thus find an ‘abba’ structure: verses 1–4 produce the city of Athens under the protection of the gods before our eyes; in the last verses (30–39), we learn how the polis can get this back, namely via Solon’s *Eunomia*.¹³ In the between these two passages we find the problems that afflict the city: first, the ‘unreflected’ ἄστοι and especially the ἡγεμόνες who take advantage of the townsmen; second, the problems that arise as a result, namely war and the death of the young. The structure shall be briefly illustrated schematically:¹⁴

Perfect Athens and <i>Eunomia</i> as the way	{	1–4: Athens under the protection of the deities 5–16: The ἄστοι and ἡγεμόνες; greed and hybris 17–29: Consequences: war and death of youth 30–39: The solution to the problems; the Eunomia in contrast to the Dysnomia	Current situation and <i>Dysnomia</i> as reason
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3.2. The persuasive structures – the play with emotions

3.2.1. Verses 1–4 (Our City!)

The elegy starts with the words ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις, which on the one hand creates a form of community of the city, and at the same time builds up and contextualizes the city before the eyes of the recipients: it is about our city, the city of Athens.¹⁵ Hereby, not only a community of the city is created performatively but the city gets emotionally charged; it is our city, but also the city of our families and forefathers. By these three words alone, Athens is constructed in the minds of the recipients and emotionally charged, without

¹³ This structure also seems to suggest that only a few verses were dropped out in the intermediate sections, perhaps even only one verse each.

¹⁴ For other outlines, see JAEGER (1970: 326–327); RÖMISCH (1933: 37–38); SIEGMANN (1975: 274), FOWLER (1987: 79), MÜLKE (2002: 89–90) and BLAISE (2006a: 44–45).

¹⁵ In the apt words of MÜLKE (2002: 102): ‘Our polis, we!’. ADKINS (1985: 111) analysis that this is used as an ‘antithesis’ to other cities is not convincing, the emphasis on the community of the city is more compelling with regard to the rest of the poem. However, ADKINS calls it a ‘powerfully emotive phrase’, with which I agree.

mentioning the name; the performatively fabricated city in the text is closely interlinked with the self-world relations of the recipients.¹⁶ This is now placed in a religious context to boot. Our city will never perish, according to the plan of Zeus and of the immortal gods (verses 1–2, κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται / αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων). These verses clearly recall the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* and are arguably common knowledge handed down by the epic tradition; Zeus' plan foreshadows a positive outcome for Athens.¹⁷ Through this contextualization with Zeus in particular, but all the gods in general, the emotional level is reinforced by the religious context: our city is under the protection of the gods, our city will never perish as a result. We find here an emotional 'two-step': the personal level of the city is opened by ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις, but at the same time placed in a religious-social context by the statements to come. This socio-religious context is further reinforced when in verse 3 we find an enumeration of epithets of a deity, namely μέγαθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη, clearly represented by the combination as Athena. All these epithets are not simply chosen but tailored to the intertextuality with the Homeric epics and to the contemporary situation: μέγαθυμος is only used in the *Odyssey* for one deity, and that is Athena. It is always used in the context of Athena's protection and assistance on the part of the Greeks and Odysseus in particular;¹⁸ ἐπίσκοπος refers to Athena as a guardian; probably the most exciting reference here is to the ἐπίσκοπος Hector;¹⁹ ὀβριμοπάτρη points to Athena's special connection with her father, but at the same time also to Athens' connection with Zeus, who is depicted in the first two verses as Athens' patron god. The personal and socio-religious level is now extended by an intertextual level: the reference to the Homeric epics and thus to the long history of the deity Athena and the city of Athens are woven into the text as an additional reference to the past, which is likely to increase the emotional power once again.²⁰ Mülke's refutation of

¹⁶ For the concept of self-world relations, see ROSA (2012: 13).

¹⁷ IRWIN (2005: 92).

¹⁸ Adkins (1985: 112) and MÜLKE (2002: 105); *Od.* 8, 520 and 13, 121.

¹⁹ See Adkins (1985: 112), ANHALT (1993: 75–76), MÜLKE (2002: 105) and IRWIN (2005: 93–94).

²⁰ Whereby, of course, the important discussion to stress here is that we cannot know for

Anhalt's thesis that Troy is used as a foil for Athens is to be agreed with, although no one has power over ancient associations and the story certainly had tremendous impact;²¹ to be 'skeptical' of the fundamentally intertextual character of these verses on the epic tradition, however, seems to do injustice to the references and the question of their efficacy.²² By invoking the epic story of Athens - which is probably anchored in the collective memory - and the subsequent naming of Athena, a sense of emotional connection and commonality is to be created in the recipients; in Hartmut Rosa's words, it could be understood as a 'diachrone Resonanzbeziehung' that adds history and an emotional connection to the city.²³ Verse 4 now takes us back to the protection of the city; it will never perish because - alongside all the deities and in particular Zeus - the city deity Athena watches over us, represented by the image of the protecting hand (Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χειῖρας ὑπερθεῖν

sure whether we are reading the same Homeric epics as the Athenians of the seventh/sixth century BC. We know that some textual passages looked different from what they do now in our modern textual editions; nevertheless, in addition to the purely lexical, the thematic references can also be highlighted, which make a certain level of intertextuality likely. See for a discussion FOWLER (1987: 50–51).

²¹ Here I want to refer to the thoughtful introduction by BLAISE (2006a: 10–17), who points to the multitude of possible interpretations by the recipients, to the diversity of the respective performance - similar to FISCHER-LICHTE - and to the legacy of the elegy. Despite the knowledge of these problems, with the help of the implicit reader an attempt can be made to include the intended recipients and thus to give an interpretation that includes a large part of the recipients of the time. In the analysis, I would therefore try - in the same way as IRWIN 2005, 161 but with criticism from BLAISE (2006a: 13, 'Pourtant, même si la prise en considération des différents publics peut sembler plus objective, dans la mesure où il s'agit d'un paramètre extérieur, on n'en revient pas moins à chercher une intention qui ne dit pas son nom') - to exclude the author intention and speak of an offer of the text, which can of course bring about something different in each subject, yet are influenced by the social framework - and also the person of Solon. For the implicit reader, see ISER (1994: 60).

²² ANHALT (1993: 74–78, clear references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*); FOWLER (1987: 34–35, completely rules out intertextual references), MÜLKE (2002: 105, is at least skeptical about intertextuality) and IRWIN (2005: 161, 'When the allusions are so strong maybe the main point is that they are there'). The problems of whether Solon could really have been referring to the city of Troy stem from an author-centered reading; however, this text is clearly designed for a general audience and thus with an effect on the recipients, which makes the question of author intention seem unimportant: not 'what did Solon mean should be in the foreground', but 'what could the recipients understand', which by no means excludes an association with Troy.

²³ See for the notion of diachronic resonance relationship ROSA (2016: 504).

ἔχει). After the performative fabrication of the city in the imagination of the recipients, Athena - through the reference to Zeus and the epic tradition - is brought on stage as the patron deity of Athens; these first verses thus create the city of Athens before its recipients as an emotionally charged place with a connection to themselves, their personal history and thus their self-world relations, but also embedding it in the socio-religious fabric and literary history. Solon creates an ideal image that is to exist as the goal and at the same time the past of Athens.

3.2.2. Verses 5–16 (But then they came...)

This ideal image is now invaded by the ἄστοι (αὐτοὶ ... ἄστοι, v. 5–6), emphasized by the position at the beginning of each verse and the particle δέ; they wish to destroy the mighty city of Athens (φθείρειν ... βούλονται, v. 5–6), driven by their foolishness and persuaded by possessions (ἀφραδίησιν, v. 5 and χρήμασι πειθόμενοι, v. 6).²⁴ This seems to show the guilt of the people for the current situation; into the world protected by the gods the ἄστοι enter as sinners.²⁵ This is further highlighted by the late entry of the ἄστοι: only in verse 6 do the ἄστοι appear, which might surprise recipients.²⁶ Like the city before, the townsmen are brought performatively onto the stage, they break into the previously established ideal image as a collectively created body, are described by their central features and thus expand the scene:

²⁴ MÜLKE (2002: 109–110) and BLAISE (2006a: 75, with reference to the use of the term in Hesiod) quite rightly emphasize that the generality of the term χρήματα is not to be seen via a transmission error, but rather as a knowingly general term, almost in the form of gnomic wisdom. BLAISE (2006b: 126) stresses the verb βούλονται, which clearly highlights the intention of the ἄστοι.

²⁵ JAEGER (1970: 16, the first to refer to this passage in 1926), BOWRA (1938: 78) and ADKINS (1985: 113) as well as BLAISE (2006a: 56–57, in more detail 56–63) stress this with reference to Zeus' speech at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, in which we can also see the contrast of human faults and the benevolence of the gods (*Od.* 1, 32–43); see also NOUSSIA (1999: 79). WILL (1958: 310), with reference to many other poems of Solon, talks about the often-occurring reference to the role of the individual for a society: 'In one way or another, the individual's moral behavior has significance which goes far beyond himself. For that reason, Solon is saying, the individual needs to know his moral self.'

²⁶ See IRWIN (2006: 65).

the focus shifts from the overall view of the city and the protective hands of the deities to the city, where we encounter the first large group that will play a central role in this elegy. There is a lively discussion about the word ἄστοι and which group it ultimately refer to; I agree with Mülke's interpretation with a small correction: although the term ἄστος does not carry any social stratification within the group of aristocratic citizens, it very much does with regard to the population of Athens as a whole. This makes a discussion of whether the poor population of Athens has been addressed here obsolete; neither does Solon have any interest in convincing a politically powerless group, nor would a noble inhabitant of Athens consider poor people fellow inhabitants of the city, ἄστοι.²⁷ However, this group of people not only enters this previously created setting in an extremely performative way, but they are also emotionally charged: they are greedy and wish to destroy the city. At the same time, this emotional setting is reinforced by the intertextual references to the *Odyssey*; Odysseus' companions also prevented the return journey to Ithaca by their own foolishness (αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο, Hom. *Od.* 1, 7) and greed (as one example, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Τροίης ἄγεται κειμήλια καλὰ / ληίδος ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε ὁμῆν ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαντες / οἴκαδε νισόμεθα κενεὰς σὺν χεῖρας ἔχοντες, Hom. *Od.* 10, 40–42).²⁸ These ἄστοι are thus compared to the companions, which makes two points clear: the townsmen's own lack of understanding is problematic, as is their greed, but they are not fundamentally bad people and can still change their behavior; moreover, they are incited to their deeds by individuals, just like Odysseus' companions. At the same time, however, Solon, who has a plan for the rescue of the city, is connected to the cunning Odysseus: the behavior of his companions both hinders and obstructs his plans, but one thing is certain: he will defend his οἶκος.

²⁷ See for a summary of the discussion and his own interpretation MÜLKE (2002: 108–109); he calls the term 'socially and economically undifferentiated'. See also NOUSSIA (1999: 80). One could think here of the famous quote by PARK (1986: 1) 'The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition.'

²⁸ See for example NOUSSIA (1999: 79).

This is further reinforced by the next two verses when a new group emerges from the ἄστοι; there is a group of unjust ‘agitators of the people’ (δήμου θ’ ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, v. 7) who persuade the others to do their deeds.²⁹ These are now characterized not by stupidity and greed, but rather by their hybris (ὑβριος ἐκ μεγάλης, v. 8). Blaise convincingly argues the translation of the word ὑβρις with reference to the basic meaning of ‘aggressive transgression of boundaries’, which, however, in no way justifies her translation of the term as ‘violence’ and decisively changes the meaning;³⁰ the focus in describing the ἡγεμόνες is more than clearly placed as religious sacrilege against the deities protecting the city and their general inability to accept boundaries, not on any active acts of violence. The structure of this characterization is interesting: we move from the totality of the city to the totality of its inhabitants, the δῆμος, then to the ἡγεμόνες and the description of their inner doings, whereby the characterization and description continues to happen from ‘outside to inside’. This group is clearly differentiated from the δῆμος and seems to describe a political power in Athens, one can probably assume a form of ‘counterparty’ to Solon.³¹ Here, the many sufferings that Odysseus and his companions must endure again serve as emotional reinforcement for the scene (ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν, v. 8 to πολλὰ δ’ ὅ γ’ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, Hom. *Od.* 1, 4). The strong characterization through their hybris, in addition to the literary importance of this concept for the *Odyssey*, again brings a socio-religious component into play - these persons transgress against the gods; we see in the *Odyssey* what happens to society because of this, but also in our everyday lives.

Their hybris is now defined in the last two verses before the first *lacuna*; they do not know how to suppress their greed (actually ‘satiety’, οὐ γὰρ

²⁹ That ‘all the members of the upper-ruling class’ are meant here, as NOUSSIA (1999: 81) assumes, seems unlikely, since Solon clearly wants to separate this group as sacrilegious from the other unreflective townsmen; what use is the differentiation if here again all noble Athenians are addressed?

³⁰ BLAISE (2006a: 79–80).

³¹ BLAISE (2006a: 76–79) discusses this difficult passage with reference to the Homeric epics, Hesiod and Tyrtaeus; particularly important here seems to be the political connotation of the word ἡγεμών, which is only used as a military term before.

ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, v. 9), and do not understand how to enjoy the momentary, well-ordered situation (οὐδὲ παρούσας / εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, v. 9–10).³² Now these verses do not necessarily indicate a recital in a symposium, but rather, in my estimation, are emblematic of the situation of the city.³³ The city is perfect according to the decision of the ancestors and gods, but the ἄστοι and ἡγεμόνες do not know how to enjoy this. Both images are corporeal and thus strongly figurative in nature: greed is represented by the image of ‘satiation’; the beauty and order of the city by the image of symposium. Both are not only building blocks of performative textual design, but could again increase the emotional value for the recipients: they know the symposium and understand the social value and joy of this place, a destruction of this institution is unthinkable.³⁴ The image of satiation is directly linked to this, both in terms of eating and drinking - especially alcohol - a certain restraint must be exercised in order to make the symposium a successful celebration for all. Solon uses imagery that could trigger strong emotions in the Athenian recipients of the time, both through its literary importance in connection with the Homeric epics and its general importance within the social fabric; the process of persuasion is initiated through the emotion-generating and performative textual structures. Verse 11 is difficult to interpret, as we have a *lacuna* after and before verse 11, which must be at least one verse long.³⁵ However, verse 11 seems to further stress the previous image of greed of the agitators.

³² MÜLKE 2002, 116 argues for a connection of δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ in contrast to εὐφροσύνας δαιτὸς, especially via the structural argument that Solon never puts a word in the second pentameter half that refers to the first half. I am not a friend of such statistical evaluations, since we have far too small a text sample for such. Furthermore, apart from the clearly more logical connection of ‘symposia pleasures’ in terms of content - since when are symposia quiet? - note the flow of reading aloud: although δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ comes in the second half of pentameter, in the flow of recitation εὐφροσύνας, κοσμεῖν and δαιτὸς meet; if the pause is not read strongly, the structure seems to support the other reading more. See also BLAISE (2006a: 93–95) for this.

³³ The content of the elegy seems inappropriate for a private symposium of Solon and his ‘party’, since the elegy seems to be very general and of a highly persuasive character; the reference to the symposium is rather to be seen as a metaphor for the organized polis, see for this BLAISE (2006a: 98).

³⁴ For an overview of the importance of the symposium for Greek polis society, see SCHMITT-PANTEL (2006).

³⁵ See for a discussion of the transmission situation of the poem in Demosthenes ROWE (1972), also with discussion of the recital of poems by Attic orators, and BLAISE (2006a: 43–44).

It is precisely with the characterization of the ἡγεμόνες as sacrilegious and thieves that the elegy continues after the gap. They steal from both sacred and public property (οὐθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὐτέ τι δημοσίων / φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, v. 12–13).³⁶ Noussia introduces the possibility of a reference to Kylon and the conspiracy, which is at least a possible association for the recipients;³⁷ by such a reference, the verse becomes significantly more emotionalized, since it refers to the contemporary history. At the same time, Solon's adversaries are also charged emotionally; above all, the religious outrage of stealing divine property creates a group that is not to be agreed with in any matter. They do not even stop at the foundation of Dike (οὐδὲ φυλάσσουνται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα, v. 14), who will later appear personified.³⁸ Mülke comments on verses 9–14 that '[sie] wenig systematisch wirken';³⁹ with a view to performative and emotionalising structures, however, the tactics seems clear: a sequence of scenes that were significant, religiously important and generally impressive for the recipients of the time. Here, again, an attempt should be made to reflect on the objective and function of these verses. The text seems to have two aims here, firstly the problematization of the townsmen who harm the city without thinking for themselves; secondly the clear separation of this group from the real problem, namely the ἡγεμόνες who, due to hybris and bad thoughts, bring the city close to ruin. Harmonization, as has often been discussed, does not seem to me to be the goal, rather a performative generation of a new Athenian community, but with persuasion of the ἀστοὶ of a new way of thinking and without the group of ἡγεμόνες.⁴⁰

Verses 15 and 16 now provide a smooth transition to the next topic; Dike knows about the past and present behavior of these groups (ἡ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, v. 15); finally she will take revenge on

³⁶ For a discussion around public and sacred property, see MÜLKE (2002: 119–120).

³⁷ NOUSSIA (1999: 86).

³⁸ For a discussion of the figure of Dike in the early Greek period and the reference to religious sacrilege, see GAGARIN (1974).

³⁹ MÜLKE (2002: 90): '[...] darf man vermuten, daß (sic!) hier die drängendsten Probleme identifiziert sind, die naturgemäß zugleich die wirksamsten gegenüber den Rezipienten gewesen sein dürften.'

⁴⁰ See, for example, HALBERSTADT (1955: 202, 'a plea for harmonious coexistence').

all (τῶι δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτεισομένη, v. 16).⁴¹ Dike is thus placed before the eyes of the recipients as a real actor, who is given a character and a shape. The group of ἡγεμόνες, on the other hand, is therefore not only cleverly emotionalized and performatively created as a sacrilegious group, but at the same time it is claimed that through their behavior they will affect and destroy the entire city in the sense of a *Miasma* (πάντως).⁴² The actions of the ἡγεμόνες are thus not only shown as problematic on a strictly human level, but rather as sacrilege, which again carries a strong emotional connotation - all this in connection with the intertextuality to Hesiod. Walker aptly states in this respect: 'All of this resonates, on one hand, with the Athenian audience's own recognition of actual conditions in the city and on the other hand with such poetic precedents as Hesiod's account of the "bad strife" and civil corruption in *Works and Days*.'⁴³ Both past and upcoming problems of the city are transferred to this group; they are emotionalized and presented as a problem of the city of Athens. Following this quotation, the at least probable importance of the Hesiodic *Erga* and the connection of city, hybris and Dike for the *Eunomia* should be mentioned again. In Hes. *Erg.* 213-273, the general superiority of Dike over hybris is emphasized in the context of the city, but the images also seem similar: Dike appears in Hesiod with 'sound scenery' (της δε Δίκης ρόθος ελκομένης, v. 220), she wanders through the city lamenting and bringing evil to the people (η δ' επεται κλαίουσα πόλιν και ηθεα λαων, / ηέρα εσσαμένη, κακον ανθρωποισι φέρουσα, v. 220); but if one follows the law, the city flourishes (δε δε δίκας ξείνοισι και ενδήμοισι διδουσιν / ιθείας και μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου, / τοισι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοι δ ανθεουσιν εν αυτη, v. 225-227). The action of an individual can affect the whole city (πολλάκι και ξύμπασα πόλις κακου ανδρος απηύρα, v. 240), with emphasis on the 'plan' of Zeus and the connection to the daugh-

⁴¹ BLAISE (2006a: 115–116) cites all the places where Dike occurs in Hesiod's works and the Homeric epics. She nevertheless emphasizes the transformation of Dike here in Solon; the damage Dike will do does not come immediately, but 'in due time' (2019: 122, 'L'action punitive de la justice n'a plus la soudaineté surnaturelle du châtement divin, mais s'identifie à la sanction du temps').

⁴² For the concept of miasma and the purification from it, the catharsis, see ZIMMERMANN (2006).

⁴³ WALKER (2000: 264). See also MASARACCHIA (1958: 258) and ADKINS (1985: 117).

ter Dike (Ζηνος φραδμοσύνησιν Ολυμπίου, v. 245, and αὐτίκα παρ Δι πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι, 249). Thus, assuming that the Hesiodic text is known, at least in its basic features and images, we look at a clear parallelization of the situation; the intertext thus seems to redirect and ultimately reinforce the emotionalization of the situation from the 'general' of Hesiod to the 'specific' of Solon's Athens.

3.2.3. Verses 17–29 (Dike sees all)

The problems that befall the city due to the behavior of the ἡγεμόνες are now presented to the recipients. Dike appears as a character in the performance; again, a reference to Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is possible, in which she is not only the daughter of Zeus, but also the sister of *Eunomia* (Hes. *theog.* 901–903). Thus, if the recipients are familiar with Hesiod's works, the family tree of Dike emerges, which not only emotionalizes her in her function as 'avenger', but also closely links her to Athens through her family tree: a city that will never perish because of Zeus. She comes to the city represented by the physical image of the unescapable gangrene (τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον, v. 17).⁴⁴ This image is chosen in line with the body metaphors we have seen before and is again likely to affect the recipients on an emotional basis: a society that is constantly at war seems to have a painful relationship with the theme of gangrene and the related theme of death. The city of Athens becomes a living body that

⁴⁴ Verse 17 is one of the most discussed verses of this elegy. On the one hand, there has been much discussion about the meaning of the τοῦτο - is it to be seen with hindsight to the previous verses, as a kind of heading, or as looking into the future? - and about the meaning of the ἤδη. Ἦδη is important mainly because of whether the following verses are to be interpreted as a general statement - this can happen to any city that behaves in this way - or are specifically adapted to Athens' current situation. I read τοῦτο as referring backwards and ἤδη as 'now' and thus referring to the present or possibly coming situation of Athens. Τοῦτο is mostly used as referring back and makes the best sense here; ἤδη is read as 'now' because a direct reference to Athens simply seems more likely here than a long list of generalities - Solon argues very directly and with familiar imagery in this elegy, which also makes the direct reference likely here. See for a discussion of the different opinions MÜLKE (2002: 126–129) and BLAISE (2006a: 126–128).

receives a wound and even gangrene through the behavior of these groups. Mülke emphasises that ἄφουκτον could suggest a reference to projectiles, which makes the image 'hit' the recipients even more vehemently.⁴⁵ As a result, the whole city now falls into enslavement, again an emotionally irritating word for the aristocracy of the time (ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην, v. 18), although the word is to be translated as 'tyranny' rather than 'enslavement' in the modern sense;⁴⁶ Solon offers a warning against the takeover of a ruler and more generally στάσις.⁴⁷ The mention of tyranny seems to be one of the most powerful images in terms of emotional persuasion of the recipient: the arguably noble audience loses its political power through it and thus, in principle, what constitutes an Athenian aristocrat. This is emphasized when the recipients are told what additionally happens as a result of this enslavement; the tyranny awakens both civil war and the sleeping external war (ἡ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὔδοντ' ἐπεγείρει, V. 19), again presented very physically through the image of sleep.⁴⁸ Verse 17 now forms a small ring composition with verse 20 when we again get the reference to the theme of struggle, war and ultimately death (ὅς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην, v. 20); the war destroys the youth of the city, the property of the aristocracy, and lastly, in a sense, the survival and existence of the history of the city presented in the first verses by the references to the

⁴⁵ On the translation of ἔλκος as 'gangrene' see ADKINS (1985: 118), MÜLKE (2002: 130) and HENDERSON (2006: 131–132).

⁴⁶ The various possibilities of interpreting δουλοσύνη are shown by MÜLKE (2002: 131–132), whereby the translation with 'usurpation' or 'tyranny' is the only logical possibility for me. The relative clause has to—clearly by the position in the verse and content—refer to δουλοσύνη; the reference to Δίκη (WEIL [1883]) or πόλις (ADKINS [1985: 118–119], with translation of δουλοσύνη as 'poverty' with support from NOUSSIA [1999: 93]), is in my estimation not arguable in any way.

⁴⁷ STAHL (1992: 393) rightly says that there could also be a reference to the usurpation attempt of Kylon; NOUSSIA (1999: 95) and MÜLKE (2002: 133) stress the lines of connection of the now following events with the usurpation attempts of Kylon (Hdt. 5,71 and Thuk. 1, 126–127), but also the seizure of power by Pittacus of Mytilene (Alk. 129 LP).

⁴⁸ NOUSSIA (1999: 93) thinks that πόλεμος does not necessarily have to carry the meaning 'external war', but gives no explanation hereafter of what else it should mean, especially in contrast to στάσις. Here—in my estimation—there is clear reference to the difference between 'external' and 'internal' war; the behavior of the popular ἡγεμόνες brings war on all fronts. See for this BLAISE (2006a: 133–135).

Odyssey and Athena - the verses are clearly intended for the high aristocracy of the city and not at all as a parenthesis for the poor population. The images chosen seem directly related to the world of the recipients, which again increases the emotional impact.⁴⁹

Moving away from the focus on the youth, we again turn our attention to the whole city; on the one hand we find a characterization of the city as much-loved (πολυήρατον ἄστυ, v. 21) and thus positive, and on the other hand the groups already mentioned 'foul-minded' (δυσμενέων, v. 21). At the same time, this group is also portrayed as mendacious and cowardly, as they wear down the city in secret meetings (τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλαις, v. 22). Which structures and groups are addressed by these secret meetings cannot be answered due to the lack of sources; nevertheless, the term is likely to carry a sinister tone, possibly regarding tyranny, which could again be frightening and emotionalizing for the recipients.⁵⁰

Solon pushes this emotional game further, after a summary of the evils (ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά, v. 23), he emotionalizes the poor groups of the population who are abducted and enslaved by the behavior of these groups (τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν / ἰκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἄλλοδαπὴν, / πρᾶθέντες δεσμοῖσι τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες, v. 23–25); these, though poor, are still inhabitants of the city of Athens.⁵¹ These topics echo the theme of war and death through the shackles, but at the same time are also physical images that could create certain pictures in the recipients. All groups in the city suffer from the behavior of the ἡγεμόνες; the whole city seems to be destroyed. At the same time, this could have an empathetic and sympathetic

⁴⁹ The recipients' knowledge of the tradition of calls to defend the homeland (for example Callinus, West 1, and Tyrtaeus, West 10) could reinforce the emotional effect of these verses. NOUSSIA (2006: 154) on the other hand, talks about the 'defamiliarize language' of Solon's elegies, although she does not discuss this elegy.

⁵⁰ ADKINS (1985, 119) emphasizes the later use as 'meeting of an enemy army' and thus the reference to a possible civil war. See also BLAISE (2006a: 139–140).

⁵¹ These verses have often been referred to the famous 'Schuldknechtschaft', which, however, seems to be constructed from in the *Athenaion Politeia* from the poems of Solon; at least we find no direct mention of such debt slavery in this poem. See for further arguments against and a more detailed discussion NOUSSIA (1999: 97) and MÜLKE (2002: 140–141).

effect on the recipients, slavery can also affect nobles in antiquity. This is reinforced - as Mülke rightly points out - above all through the image of the eternal shackles: the τιμή of this group is diminished forever, their social standing and honor seem lost. Although these verses arguably do not address the famous 'Schuld knechtschaft', we do have evidence of certain groups being sold in a period of tyrannical rule,⁵² making these verses not only touch on the aforementioned evils but are again emotionally charged.

When tyranny comes, no part of the population is safe. The two participles are at the beginning and end of the verse 25 respectively and the eternal fetters in the middle depict the effect once again physically and pictorially.

After this, we are again missing at least one verse; here, too, an omission of only a few verses seems possible to me, since the flow of the argument is understandable. After discussing the greatness of the city, Solon introduces the subject of the individuals. This is cleverly raised in verse 26; the evil that affects the whole population now comes to each individual (οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἑκάστωι, v. 26). The evil - namely the group of seditionists and their actions - is emotionally charged as a problem of the population as a whole, while at the same time the urgency of the solution is emphasized by the threat to the individual; Blaise refers to this as 'le désastre individuel'.⁵³ Solon skillfully directs away from the city towards the individual. In the following three verses what exactly happens is described in the form of an ekphrasis from the outside: the court gates will not - and cannot - keep the evil out (αὐλαιοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι, v. 27), for it leaps over the fence into the garden (ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ὑπέρθορεν, v. 28); now it not only enters the courtyard but seeks out each one in his house and finds him even if he should hide in his bedchamber (εὔρε δὲ πάντως / εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῶι ἢ θαλάμου, vv. 28-29). The emotionally charged evil, which relates to the entire population, affects each individual; this is precisely demonstrated to the recipients through imagery and physical descriptions.

⁵² See for the diminution of the τιμή and the sale under a tyranny MÜLKE (2002: 141).

⁵³ BLAISE (2006a: 148).

3.2.4. Verses 30–39 (*Eunomia* as solution)

From verse 30 onwards, the solution to this problem is brought performatively onto the stage, namely Solon's *Eunomia*. Like an actor, Solon calls himself onto the stage, therefore extremely performatively (ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει, v. 30). Like a *deus ex machina*, Solon brings himself into this world of problems; the problems triggered by human beings will also be solved by a human being.⁵⁴ Clearly separated from the previous presentation of the evils, Solon's θυμὸς performatively asks him to tell these things - but what exactly? Here the clear contrast is drawn between momentary system - the *Dysnomia* - and the system or laws proposed by Solon - namely the *Eunomia*: that is, that the *Dysnomia* makes everything bad and terrible (ὥς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει, v. 31), while the *Eunomia* allows everything to be fitting and orderly (Εὐνομίη δ' εὖκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει, v. 32). Again, reference should be made here to the genealogical tree in Hesiod, on which we find *Dysnomia* as the daughter of Eris (Hes. *theog.* 226–232), which could again be an emotionalizing association for the recipients. Verse 30 was, of course, used to analyze the performance, although the verse is of little use here, apart from the fact that the elegy may well have been performed in Athens; more important seems the performative act, which summons Solon in this emotional web as a rational mediator (διδάξαι θυμὸς). Apart from this, Solon strongly emphasizes himself and his rational will here at the end; he is the Athenians' teacher or even 'priest', he is the one who can make the *Dysnomia* disappear. For the *Eunomia* devised by Solon physically puts fetters around the feet of the unjust - by which is probably meant the group of agitators - (καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας, v. 33) and thus ends their rule. After this self-call

⁵⁴ For this, see JAEGER (1970: 19–20) and NOUSSIA (1999: 79), who highlights that it is precisely not a god that needs to be sent to teach the people, as in the *Odyssey*, for example. In JAEGER's words, 'Kein Zeus, sondern sein Geist "befiehlt" ihm [...].'. BLAISE (2006a: 154–155) formulates in relation to the function of poetry in Hesiod's works: 'Alors que la Théogonie fait des Muses la source de ce savoir et le moteur de sa diffusion, le poète ne se donne pas ici comme un médiateur entre les Muses et les hommes: à l'immédiateté de l'expérience décrite dans les vers précédents répond le caractère direct de l'intervention poétique.'

we thus arrive at two summary statements, namely the problematic nature of *Dysnomia* and the advantage of *Eunomia* for a society; *Eunomia* is immediately called on stage as a character, acting actively and physically on the body of the city.

This is precisely what leads to the climax of the elegy and the personification of *Eunomia*, who now solves the problems of the city of Athens. She smoothes roughness, stops greed and weakens hybris (τραχέα λειαίνει, πᾶν κέρων, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ, v. 34); these verses refer to the problems mentioned above - especially the terms κέρως and ὕβρις are to be mentioned here - and thus take them up in form of a ring composition;⁵⁵ the performatively generated problems of the city are here removed by the personification of *Eunomia*. This form of representation continues in the following verses: she makes the blossoms of ruin pass away (ἀναίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα, v. 35), again depicted extremely performative and descriptive by the image of the flowers; it sets crooked right and ends haughty deeds (εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα / πρᾶννει, v. 36–37), which can be called the basic problem of the momentary situation; it ends the separation and thus the possibility of all forms of war (παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης, V. 37), moreover, it ends terrible anger (παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, v. 38). The last sentence sums up both the necessity of the change and its meaningfulness; under the *Eunomia* everything is fitting and good, i.e. just the opposite to the present situation (ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς / πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά, v. 38–39). The style of verses 30–39 has rightly been called 'hymnic'; the last verses are designed for conviction and real transformation of the recipient's self-world relations, which are meant to 'hammer in' what is said into the recipient's 'self'. Through this hymnic style and the performative production of the *Dysnomia* and *Eunomia* as deities, but also Solon himself as the 'priest' of this religion, the final section is once again closely tied back to the theme of religiosity in general, but in particular to the beginning of the elegy; we end as we began, namely with the protection of a deity over Athens and a human

⁵⁵ For a complete list of references see HALBERSTADT (1955: 202), OSTWALD (1969: 68), SIEGMANN (1975: 279), NOUSSIA (1999: 75) and MÜLKE (2002: 148).

intermediary in between. Solon's teachings are presented like a new religion, which has probably found its greatest advertisement in this elegy.

4. Summary

Finally, let us summarize the line of argumentation of the elegy and its objective. Solon's *Eunomia* begins with the emphatic presentation and performative fabrication of the city of Athens and the protection of the gods, which make the city's downfall impossible; the gods are benevolent towards Athens. Into this ideal image again performatively breaks the group of the ἄστοι, who are not morally reprehensible, but ultimately follow the group of political power, the ἡγεμόνες, blindly and without reflection. In contrast to the ἄστοι, these are clearly presented to the recipients as morally reprehensible; they are characterized by a lack of control of their feeling of satiation and, above all, hybris. This behavior enrages the deities and calls Dike into action; according to her name, she takes revenge, but not only on the ἡγεμόνες, but on the entirety of the Athenian population; the consequences are death of the youth and war. There is, however, a solution that Solon presents to the recipients at the end of the elegy: the currently ruling *Dysnomia* must be replaced by the Solonian *Eunomia* to restore not only the conditions in the city, but also the relationship with the deities. The elegy ends with a hymnic transformation of the city's problems, with a transformation of the *Dysnomia* into the *Eunomia*.

Solon's *Eunomia* can be described without exaggeration as an early rhetorical masterpiece. The study of the elegy from the perspective of theories of performativity have uncovered three major goals inscribed in the text. First, an emotionalization of the city, of religion, and lastly of all the inhabitants, who are divided into groups, is foregrounded in opposition to rationalizing ('le but de Solon est moins de faire appel à l'intelligence que de susciter l'émotion').⁵⁶ The problems of the city, which is presented to the recipients as one 'body', are not only put on stage performatively in the form of the ἡγεμόνες, but are emotionalized at the same time. If there is not

⁵⁶BLAISE (2006a: 37).

a quick change in the people's thinking, the city will lose the protection of the gods due to the ἡγεμόνες and perish altogether. In this confusing, emotional tangle of problems, however, the recipients can secondly find a rational savior who not only plans to solve the problems, but rather performs it through a 'hymnos' at the end of the elegy: Solon, the mediator between humans and the *Eunomia*, will save the city. Solon thus gives the people a way to save the city even without the assistance of the gods; he and his legislation are the solution. Thirdly, Solon discredits his opponents and performatively detaches them from the totality of the Athenians; a harmonization of some groups is in the spotlight but excluding the group of the ἡγεμόνες. Overall, Solon not only defames his opponents but presents his own laws as divine and indisputable; he seems to be the only rational savior in this net of emotions.

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(Re)negotiating colonial identity: Corinth, Corcyra and the Phaeacians

This article examines the relationship between Corcyra and its mother city Corinth – from the settlement of the former in the second half of the eighth century BC up until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War – from three different yet interlocking angles: politics, religion, mythology. Consequently, the text is divided into three parts, whereby each part represents one of the abovementioned aspects: The first part provides a brief account of the political history of Corcyra and its relations with Corinth. Part two analyses the religious dimension of the connection between Corinth and Corcyra, especially in regard to the shared rituals and festivals mentioned by Thucydides. The third part deals with the association of Corcyra with the Homeric Phaeacians and their mythical homeland Scheria, and the Corcyraeans adoption of said myth as a new identity, which was independent from the previous ‘colonial identity’ tying them to Corinth as their metropolis.

Keywords: Corinth, Corcyra, Phaeacians, Thucydides, Homer, Greek Historiography, Greek Colonization, Greek Religion, Greek Mythology, identity, hero cult, metropolis, apoikia

The tiny ship throbbed away from the heel of Italy out into the twilit sea, and as we slept in our stuffy cabins, somewhere in that tract of moon-polished water we passed the invisible dividing line and entered the bright, looking-glass world of Greece. Slowly this sense of change seeped down to us, and so, at dawn, we awoke restless and went on deck. The sea lifted smooth blue muscles of wave as it stirred in the dawn light, and the foam of our wake spread gently behind us like a white peacock’s tail, glinting with bubbles. The sky was pale and stained with yellow on the eastern horizon. Ahead lay a chocolate-brown smudge of land, huddled in mist, with a frill of foam at its base. This was Corfu, and we strained our eyes to make out the exact shapes of the mountains, to discover valleys, peaks, ravines, and beaches, but it remained a silhouette.

– Gerald Durrell, *My Family and Other Animals*

In his account of the run-up to the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides describes the confrontation between Corcyra (modern day Corfu) and its mother city Corinth, giving reasons for the mutual rivalry and dislike between the two *poleis*. In this context, the Greek historian remarks that the Corcyraeans, in contrast to other Corinthian colonists, fail to grant the Corinthians their customary privileges at communally celebrated festivals. Furthermore, he adds that the Corcyraeans associate themselves with the mythical Phaeacians, which were said to have settled on Corcyra in the remote past (Thuc. 1,25,3–4). The underlying concepts, which tie these two points of contention together and lie at their respective core, are those of kinship and group identity, which primarily became manifest in – and were commemorated through – shared religious practices. This article will therefore take a closer look at the religious dimension of the relationship between Corcyra and Corinth. The second point of inquiry will be the connection between Corcyra and the Phaeacians, which seemed to play a major role in the collective identity of the Corcyraeans at least in the fifth century BC and seems to have exacerbated their already troubled relations with their metropolis. The aim is to discern if, and if so, in what way the numerous political crises between apoikia and metropolis were a catalyst for changes in the religious sphere, especially in regard to cultic bonds between the two cities and the way in which the Corcyraeans (re)constructed their own identity around the Phaeacian myth.

The structure of this paper will be as follows: The first part will consist of a brief historical account of the Greek settlement of Corcyra and its relations with Corinth. Building on this basis, the second and third parts will deal with the religious dimension of the relationship between Corcyra and its metropolis, as well as the mythical associations of the island and its role in the self-perception and -definition of the Corcyraeans respectively.

I. Corinth and Corcyra – A Tale of Two Cities

The earliest archaeological material of Greek colonization on Corcyra stems from the second half of the eighth century BC.¹ This is also the period in which Corcyra became a Corinthian colony, although the exact date of the event is uncertain² and there is the possibility of an older, Euboian settlement on the island.³

The Corinthian founder of Corcyra was Chersikrates, a member of the Bacchiad family who ruled Corinth at the time.⁴ The city, which held the same name as the island itself, was built on the peninsula which extends to the south of present day Palaionopolis.⁵

The motives behind the Corinthian settlement,⁶ as well as the course of events of the foundation⁷ and the demographical composition of the colonists,⁸ remain largely in the dark.

¹ MALKIN (1998: 76–77); TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxviii).

² Eusebius (*Chron.* 91b Helm) dates it to the fourth year of the eleventh Olympiad (= 733 BC). Strabo (6,2,4 = C 269) states that both Syracuse and Corcyra were founded during the same colonial expedition. The literature on the subject is extensive: GRAHAM (1964: 219) and (1982: 103–113); KALLIGAS (1984: 67–68); LESCHHORN (1984: 73–74); MURRAY (1995: 102); MALKIN (1998: 78–79); BERNSTEIN (2004: 50); TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxiv–lxix).

³ Plut. *Mor.* 293a–b (= *Quaest. Graec.* 11); Ap. Rhod. 4,1210–1214. BLAKEWAY (1933: 205); GRAHAM (1964: 110); DOUGHERTY (1993: 52); MILLER (1997: 42–43); PARKER (1997: 55–57); MALKIN (1998: 74–77); BERNSTEIN (2004: 50, 54–55); DOMINGUEZ (2006: 261–262); TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxiv–lxv); CABANES (2008: 164); TIVERIOS (2008: 5–6).

⁴ Chersikrates being a Bacchiad: Timaios FGrH 566 F 80 (= Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4,1216); Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4,1212–1214a; Strabo (6,2,4 = C 269) calls him a Heracleid. GRAHAM (1964: 220); LESCHHORN (1984: 85); BERNSTEIN (2004: 72–75); MALKIN (2011: 30). The Bacchiad rule of Corinth: Diod. Sic. 7 F 9,6; Strab. 8,6,20 (= C 378); Paus. 2,4,4. BERNSTEIN (2004: 49, 53, 75–76); DOMINGUEZ (2006: 271–272).

⁵ MALKIN (1998: 76–77); CABANES (2008: 165).

⁶ Possible reasons would be: (1) a bid for dominance in the maritime trade with Euboian city-states. KAGAN (1969: 213–214); MURRAY (1995: 132–136); PARKER (1997: 55–57); MALKIN (1998: 78–79); DOMINGUEZ (2006: 261–262). (2) Sought access to Illyrian silver mines. TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxiv–lxv). Or, albeit unlikely, (3) a lengthy drought. Plut. *Am. narr.* 2. Cf. Hdt. 5,150–151; DESCŒUDRES (2008: 361).

⁷ It is uncertain whether we should view aristocratic families or clans acting on their own behalf as the driving force behind the foundation of early colonies in the west, or if we should rather presuppose sufficiently established polis-communities who had sent out ‘official’ colonists. WILLIAMS (1982); MALKIN (1998: 90–91); CAWKWELL (1992: 291–295).

⁸ CAWKWELL (1992: 291, 295) and MURRAY (1995: 147) argue that the numbers of colo-

In any case, Corcyra – largely owing to its advantageous location⁹ – seems to have grown into a powerful and wholly independent polis very quickly.¹⁰ Contrary to the good relations Corinth enjoyed with its other major western colony founded in the eighth century BC, Syracuse, tensions flared up early on with Corcyra. Herodotus tells us that the Corinthians and Corcyraeans were at odds with each other ever since the colonization of the island, despite their common kinship.¹¹ While this might be an overstatement, Thucydides remarks that the first naval battle in Greek memory was fought between the two *poleis*, which he states to have taken place 260 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War.¹² This would make it the year 664 BC, roughly two generations after the foundation of the colony. Even though we do not know the motives and circumstances behind this conflict, it seems fairly clear that both parties were sovereign states at the time of the event, and that it was not a Corcyraean war of independence.¹³

The enmity between the two *poleis* likely further intensified when members of the Bacchiad family, driven into exile by Cypselus, who managed

nists during the early stages of Greek colonization must have been quite small, whereas LESCHHORN (1984: 83–84) stresses the need for a considerable amount of settlers in order to be able to overcome pre-existing inhabitants, successfully colonize a region and secure it long-term. Another thing to consider is that what ancient sources call ‘Corinthian’ settlers was likely a much less homogenous group than the name would suggest. MALKIN (1998: 78–79) and (2011: 56–57). For the female population of early western colonies see SHEPHERD (1999: 294–198), DESCŒUDRES (2008: 362) and BRODERSEN (2012: 226–229).

⁹ The island sits alongside the natural maritime route from Greece to southern Italy, and since Antiquity, seafarers have sailed from Corcyra across the Strait of Otranto and beyond. According to Thucydides (6,30,1), this is the exact sea-route the Athenians took when embarking on their Sicilian expedition during the Peloponnesian War. MACKIE (1996: 103); HORNBLOWER (1991: 68); MALKIN (1998: 7, 78); BERNSTEIN (2004: 55).

¹⁰ MALKIN (2011: 22, 39).

¹¹ Hdt. 3,49,1: νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπεῖτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰς ἁλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἑαυτοῖσι.

¹² Thuc. 1,13,4: ναυμαχία τε παλαιάτη ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίων: ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτη ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσια ἔστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. WILL (2015: 80) remarks that Thucydides could also be counting back from the end of the Archidamian War (421 BC), rather than the end of the Peloponnesian War as such (404 BC). This would put the date of the *naumachia* to 681 instead of 664 BC.

¹³ WILL (1954: 414); GRAHAM (1964: 146–147); KAGAN (1969: 214); CABANES (2008: 165–166). For the view of it being a war of independence, see DUNBABIN (1948: 56). For other interpretations, see VALLET (1964: 219–221), SNODGRASS (1980: 144) and (2004) and MILLER (1997: 272–274).

to overthrow them and establish a tyranny in Corinth (c. 657/56 or 630 BC), sought asylum in Corcyra and were readily welcomed.¹⁴ The Cypselid dynasty launched a major colonial policy and undertook the establishment of what GRAHAM (1964: 118) described as a 'colonial empire'. This policy consisted of tightening up the control over those colonies, which were situated alongside the coastal shipping routes towards the north and west, as well as the foundation of new colonies along said routes.¹⁵ Naturally, the Corinthians bid for hegemony in the Greek northwest collided with Corcyra's own interests in much of the same territory.¹⁶

On the other hand, there were also interspersed periods during the seventh century BC, where both cities were on relatively friendly terms and collaborated in founding several colonies, namely Anaktorion (c. 655–625 BC), Epidamnus/Dyrrhachium (c. 627 BC) and (Illyrian) Apollonia (c. 600 BC).¹⁷ This phase of comparative peace and common undertakings ended abruptly, when Periander conquered the island and installed his nephew as its ruler.¹⁸ According to Herodotus (3,48; 52–53) and Nicolaus Damascenus (FGrH 90 F 59), this was an act of revenge, since Periander's son had been killed by the Corcyraeans.¹⁹

¹⁴ Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F 57,7. GRAHAM (1964: 111).

¹⁵ Colonies such as Leukas, Ambrakia and Anaktorion were founded under the Cypselids. There seems to have been a greater degree of political and commercial ties between Corinth and these later colonies, contrary to earlier ones like Syracuse and Corcyra. PAYNE (1962: 25); SHEPHERD (2015: 582–583). Neither Syracuse nor Corcyra adopted the famous Corinthian coin-type displaying the Pegasus, whereas the younger colonies and even other western *poleis* who had not been founded by Corinth did. GRAHAM (1964: 121–122, 125); HORNBLOWER (1991: 81–82).

¹⁶ WILL (1955: 521–539); KAGAN (1969: 214–215).

¹⁷ TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxxvii–lxxix); CABANES (2008: 165). Anaktorion: Thuc. 1,55,1 Plut. *De sera* 7. Epidamnus: Thuc. 1,24–26; Diod. Sic. 12,30,2–4; Ps.-Scymn. 435–439; Strab. 8,3,32; Euseb. *Chron.* 2,88–89. Apollonia: Plut. *De sera* 7; Ps.-Scymn. 439–440; Strab. 7,5,8; 8,3,32; Paus. 5,22,4; Thuc. 1,26,2 (he calls it a Corinthian colony); Cass. Dio 41,45; Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. Ἀπολλωνία) is the only source to provide information about a Corinthian contingent taking part in the foundation. GRAHAM (1964: 31, 130–131); SALMON (1984: 211); MALKIN (1987: 228–232); PARKER (1994: 339); KAGAN (2005: 206).

¹⁸ BUSOLT (1926: 1270–1271); GRAHAM (1964: 31, 118, 142–144); MILLER (1997: 296).

¹⁹ Both accounts differ in regard to the name of said son. OSBORNE (2009: 184) sees the story related by Herodotus as a myth rather than historical fact, but acknowledges its informative value when it comes to the problematic relationship between Corinth and Corcyra. In

Part of the Cypselid tyrants' colonial policy seems to have been to have close relatives – ideally their sons – serve as oikists (founders) of newly founded settlements, or to appoint them as rulers in already existing ones, thereby establishing ties with the metropolis.²⁰ The abovementioned story surrounding Periander and his son could be a reflection of this Cypselid strategy.

Relations between Corinth and Corcyra – which must have regained its independence at some point prior – escalated again at the beginning of the fifth century BC. The argument apparently was over who should be considered the rightful metropolis of Leukas.²¹ Around the same time (c. 492 BC), both Corinth and Corcyra mediated on behalf of Syracuse when it was defeated by Hippocrates of Gela in a battle at the river Helorus.²² However, we must not automatically deduce friendly relations between the two cities from this incident: Corinth and Corcyra could just as well have intervened because both were on good terms with Syracuse and had wished to protect it from Hippocrates, while simultaneously continuing their own feud.²³

After this, we do not hear much about Corcyra until the events on the eve of the Peloponnesian War.²⁴ As far as we can tell, the sixty or so years between the conflict over Leukas and the 430s BC seem to have been a time of

general, the tale can be viewed as an example for Herodotus' tendency to attribute political decisions, developments and events to single individuals – in this case Periander.

²⁰ GRAHAM (1964: 30). The founders of Ambracia, Leukas and Anaktorion seem to have all been sons of Cypselus (Ps.-Scymn. 435–436.; Strab. 10,452; Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F 57,7), whereas the founder of Potidaia, Euagoras, was a son of Periander (Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F 59).

²¹ Even though ancient writers call Leukas a Corinthian colony (e.g. Thuc. 1,30,2), it is quite possible that it was originally a joint foundation of Corcyra and Corinth. Cf. Plut. *Them.* 24,1; Thuc. 1,136,1. GRAHAM (1964: 128–130, 147–148); KAGAN (1969: 216). If this was indeed the case, the Corcyraeans had a factual basis on which to stake their claim.

²² Hdt. 7,154; Diod. Sic. 10 F 28. MILLER (1997: 273). Modern scholars suggest different dates for the battle: 492 BC (GRAHAM [1964: 143–144]), 491 BC (CABANES [2008: 165–166]) and 493/92 BC (MALKIN [2011: 35]).

²³ Graham (1964: 143–144).

²⁴ There is only one passage in Herodotus (7,168–169), according to which the Corcyraeans had promised to send sixty ships to join the Greek coalition in their attempt to fend off the Persian invaders. Instead of joining their naval contingent with the one who would eventually fight in the decisive Battle of Salamis (480 BC), however, they chose a more careful and passive approach and anchored their fleet at Pylos and Cape Tainaron, opting to observe from a distance who would come out on top. MURRAY (1995: 360); CABANES (2008:166).

relative peace and seclusion for the island.²⁵ However, the Corcyraeans seem to have gradually but surely lost ground to the Corinthians in the Greek northwest during the fifth century BC. Corinth further pursued its policy of hegemony in the region after 479 BC, and by the time the Peloponnesian War broke out, important colonies like Leukas, Ambrakia and Apollonia all seem to have been firmly under Corinthian control.²⁶

In the mid 430s BC, Corinth and Corcyra entered into yet another armed conflict, this time over Epidamnus. This 'Epidamnian affair', as well as the ensuing civil war on Corcyra, which ultimately led to the downfall of the island, are well-known events and do not need to be retold here.²⁷ To sum up, Corinth and Corcyra were engaged in a continuous politico-economic power struggle, which had already lasted for more than two centuries by the time the Peloponnesian War broke out. It is therefore unsurprising that the long-standing rivalry between the two poleis seems to have encroached on the mutual religious connection, as well as the identity construction of the Corcyraeans, as will be seen.

II. Religious ties between Corinth and Corcyra?

There is scattered evidence, especially from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, that elsewhere in the Greek world some colonies were required to

²⁵ CABANES (2008: 166). Cf. KAGAN (2005: 209), who calls it a period of 'splendid isolation'.

²⁶ See Thucydides (1,25,1–26,2), who mentions Corinth, Leukas and Ambrakia communally sending garrison troops to Epidamnus. Additionally, Corcyra lost its influence over yet another colony to Corinth during the 430s BC: Anaktorion was a joint possession of Corcyra and Corinth (Thuc. 1,55,1: ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων [the Corinthians]), until the Corinthians took it by applying a stratagem on their way back after the Battle of Sybota (433 BC). While writing about events taking place eight years later, Thucydides calls Anaktorion a 'Corinthian city' (Thuc. 4,49: Ἀνακτόριον Κορινθίων πόλιν), so it would seem like the Corinthians managed to expulse the Corcyraeans and assert their own, exclusive control over the colony. GRAHAM (1964: 129–131); SALMON (1984: 270–292); FIGUEIRA (2008: 478–479). It is therefore no wonder that Thucydides' Corcyraeans apologetically and regretfully call their policy before the war with Corinth in the 430s BC ἀπραγμοσύνη (Thuc. 1,32,5) – peace and quiet that is the result of inaction and the avoidance of conflict, which is why HORNBLOWER (1991: 77) aptly translates it as 'lazy neutrality'.

²⁷ CABANES (2008: 166). For a good analysis of the aims and motives of the parties involved see CRANE (1992). For extensive treatments see WILSON (1987) or the commentaries on Thucydides by GOMME (1971: 157–199) and HORNBLOWER (1991: 66–97) with references.

keep up a relationship with their mother cities, especially by way of religious practices – like for example dedications or participation in festivals.²⁸ However, it is questionable whether such a relationship would also apply to the case of Corinth and Corcyra.²⁹

It has already been mentioned that Corinth seems to have emphasized the upholding of close bonds with – and a position of political supremacy over – its colonies, even though the degree of control cannot be specified given the sporadic nature of the extant sources. Especially the colonies founded during the Cypselid era – such as Leukas, Ambrakia and Anaktorion – seem to have had close ties to their mother city, as indicated by the fact that the oikists were sons of Cypselus or Periander. In general, relations between Corinth and its colonies seem to have been regulated mostly by personal connections and the concepts of (unwritten) custom and tradition, rather than by official decrees or laws.³⁰ Additionally, the ties between colony and mother city were usually closest when both were not located (too) far apart from each other, and when the metropolis was sufficiently ambitious and powerful to bridge the geographical gap.³¹

The situation with Corcyra was rather different for two reasons: Firstly, it had been founded before the Cypselids came to power and put their colonial policy into works, and had been politically independent from very early on – if not right from its foundation. Secondly, Corcyra quickly developed into a powerful and wealthy city-state, which the Corinthians could not simply push around.³²

There can be no doubt that Corinth had a major cultural influence on Corcyra, at least in the Archaic period.³³ However, this is not necessarily indicative of existing ties, be they political or otherwise, since cultural exchange, for

²⁸ Cf. below n. 43.

²⁹ SHEPHERD (2015: 582–583).

³⁰ ASHERI (1970: 621); LESCHHORN (1984: 97–98).

³¹ GRAHAM (1964: 66, 140–141, 149–150, 153, 215) provides a number of examples.

³² GRAHAM (1964: 142–143, 147–148).

³³ The material evidence shows a strong similarity in the architectural style and the sculpture. DUNBABIN (1948: 284). This led GRAHAM (1964: 143, here 13) to the assumption that ‘there must have been continuous interchange of men and ideas’.

example via travelling artists and artisans, during the Archaic and Classical periods seems to have been largely independent from Greek state-politics.³⁴

Much has also been made of the fact that the Corinthian cult calendar was widely distributed throughout the Greek west. The calendars of many Corinthian colonies, including Corcyra, were based on the model of an old Corinthian calendar.³⁵ HADZIS (1995), who undertook a comparative analysis of the calendars of Corinth and its colonies, argues that the fact of common calendars gives a measure of the power of Archaic Corinth and its persistent influence in the west. She holds that in spite of the geographical distance, Corinth was able to establish and maintain political and economic control over its colonies – she speaks of an ‘impérialisme thalassocratique et économique’.³⁶

But again, the same cannot be said of Corcyra (or Syracuse), which was evidently independent from Corinth for much of its history before the Peloponnesian War. I also do not see how the evidence of a shared calendar bears out the view of ongoing relations – of a political, economic or even religious nature – since our knowledge is essentially limited to the fact that Corinth and some of its colonies used the same names for certain months of the year, and that most of these names refer to festivals for gods and goddesses.³⁷ What these common names do not tell us is whether Corinth and some of its colonies celebrated religious festivals together on a fairly regular basis, or not. All we can confidently say is that they are another example for the overall cultural influence of Corinth, especially during the Archaic period, and that they in most cases point towards the origin of the dominant group among the first colonists.

As it stands, the only explicit piece of evidence for persisting religious ties and collectively celebrated festivals between Corinth and Corcyra is provided by Thucydides, to whom I now turn.

³⁴ LINDER (2017).

³⁵ This calendar, which HADZIS (1995: 448) dates to the seventh century BC, was not only adopted by Corinthian colonies (Corcyra, Ambrakia) and *poleis* in whose foundation Corinth had played a part (Apollonia, Epidamnus), but also other cities along the Illyrian coast (Buthrotum). Even the sanctuary of Dodona used it.

³⁶ HADZIS (1995: 452).

³⁷ Apart from HADZIS (1995), see also PFISTER (1974: 46); TRÜMPY (1997) and CABANES (2003).

The way he (Thuc. 1,25,4) tells it, Corcyra's independence and potency seems to have provoked the Corinthians. The arguments and remarks both by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans during the dispute over Epidamnus, as provided by Thucydides, seem to indicate generally accepted beliefs and rules of behaviour between mother and daughter city.³⁸

While the Corcyraeans argue that colonists were not sent out as subordinates, but rather as equals to those who stayed behind in the motherland,³⁹ the Corinthians maintain that they did not establish colonies in order to be insulted by them. On the contrary, they consider themselves their superiors and leaders by matter of course, as well as deserving of reasonable respect.⁴⁰

The only more concrete complaint brought forth by the Corinthians is the failure of the Corcyraeans to fulfil certain religious obligations towards their metropolis:⁴¹

For they neither gave them the customary gifts of honour at the common festivals, nor did they leave the first portion of the sacrifice to a Corinthian like the other colonies did.⁴²

³⁸ HORNBLLOWER (1991: 73); CRANE (1992). As a side note, it must be added that the question of the credibility of the speeches in Thucydides and, as a consequence, what source-value to attribute to them, has been a topic of contention among scholars for the longest time. The viewpoints range from seeing them as accurate accounts of what really transpired (e.g. ORWIN (1994: 212), who goes as far as to call them 'an improvement on truth that serves truth'), to regarding them as largely – if not wholly – fictitious. The speeches of the Corcyraeans and the Corinthians relevant for this paper are equally divisive: HAMMOND (1973: 41–42, 49–51) argues that they reflect the general sense of what was actually said, whereas MACLEOD (1974: 388) holds that they merely represent larger ideas and themes, which Thucydides wants to emphasize, such as 'justice' or 'expediency'. On these broader themes in Thucydides' speeches in general see also ROOD (1998: 40, 51), on justice in particular see HEATH (1990: 389–390), who argues against Macleod. HORNBLLOWER (1991: 75–76).

³⁹ On this point see HORNBLLOWER (1991: 71–72) with references.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 1,34,1; 38,2.

⁴¹ GRAHAM (1964: 153).

⁴² Thuc. 1,25,4 (transl. by the author): οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς δίδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι. Since the decisive verb προκαταρχομαι can also mean 'to begin', the passage allows for alternative translations, such as the one provided by BURKERT (1983: 37): 'they did not perform the rites of "beginning" for a man of Corinth', referring to ritual practices prior to the killing of the animal, rather than the distribution of meat after the sacrifice had already been conducted.

It is unclear whether the ‘common festivals’ (πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς) Thucydides mentions are a reference to festivals conducted at Corinth, or rather at Corcyra. The second part of the sentence is quite clearly about sacrificial rites in Corcyra, so one would assume that the same goes for the festivals mentioned a few words prior. However, there is no certainty to be had, since it could also be a reference to gifts and offerings brought to festivals of the metropolis by colonists, which are attested for other cities.⁴³

Sacrificial rituals were reflective of, emphasized and thereby reaffirmed the social status of the individuals involved.⁴⁴ Therefore, withholding the honorary gifts (γέρα) and not allowing a Corinthian to play the distinguished part he was accustomed to and expected during a sacrificial ritual would indeed have been a serious matter.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, this passage from Thucydides is the only indication that it might have been customary practice for the colonies to give the first portion of the meat of a sacrificial animal to a citizen of the mother city and thereby honour him specifically.⁴⁶

⁴³ The Athenian colonies, as well as the members of the Delian League, had to contribute panoplies (full sets of armor), oxen and/or grain to the Panathenaea, as well as send a delegation to take part in the festival. Furthermore, they had to supply phalli for the Dionysia. Isoc. 8,82 (On the Peace); IG I3 46,15–117; II/III2 673. HORNBLLOWER (1992: 183); BURKERT (2011: 386); SCHMIDT-HOFNER (2016: 100–101); UNFRICHT (2021: 145). For further examples see GRAHAM (1964: 160–165).

⁴⁴ BURKERT (1997: 47–48, 98, 248); HORNBLLOWER (1991: 70); CRANE (1992: 5); UNFRICHT (2021: 157–158).

⁴⁵ Indeed, one gets the impression from Thucydides that Corinth’s animosity towards Corcyra was predominantly a question of status and prestige. CRANE (1992). See also HORNBLLOWER (1991: 69), who deems Thucydides’ account ‘perfectly satisfactory without invoking commercial motives [...] on Corinth’s part’.

⁴⁶ GRAHAM (1964: 160) opines, that this lack of evidence does not necessarily speak against the traditional nature and general acceptance of this practice. Quite to the contrary: If it was indeed as widespread a practice as Thucydides makes it out to be, he says, evidence can be expected to be scarce, since ancient authors likely felt no need to specifically mention or elaborate on it. What GRAHAM seems to overlook in his argumentation is the epigraphical evidence: There are several extant decrees between mother and daughter cities, which regulate the mutual rights and limitations in regard to partaking in festivals and sacrifices. In an early fifth-century BC foundation statute from a colony at Naupactus (IG IX 1 (2) 3:718), founded by the Hypocnemidian Locrians, it is clarified that citizens of the newly established city, if they happen to be present in the metropolis, may sacrifice (θύειν) and receive a share of the sacrificial animal (λανχάνειν) as *xenoi*. In other words, colonists who visit the motherland are not on eye level with the locals when it comes to participation in religious practices, and they are only given limited opportunities to attend festivals and rituals and

Furthermore, the brevity and casual nature of Thucydides' account begs more questions than it answers: How long had these formalities between Corcyra and Corinth been in place? Do they date back to the time of the foundation of Corcyra, or were they a product of Corinthian rule over the island during the reign of Periander, where relations between mother and daughter city might have been assimilated to those between Corinth and the colonies founded under the Cypselids? How long had the Corcyraeans withheld the abovementioned honors from the Corinthians at the time Thucydides wrote about it? It seems unlikely that the Corcyraeans persisted in granting their Corinthian rivals their honorary privileges after having regained their independence at the beginning of the fifth century BC at the latest, so it might have been more than sixty years of the Corcyraeans not acting according to 'customary procedures'.⁴⁷

Another crucial question to be asked is not if, but how much of our view of the relationship between mother and daughter city has been distorted by the written source material. Thucydides, alongside other ancient authors,⁴⁸ regards colonies and their mother cities as predestined, natural allies. This view is largely based on the idea of kinship.⁴⁹ Consequently, war between 'related' cities is seen as something disdainful and wicked, similar to a civil war.⁵⁰ The following passage from Thucydides makes this abundantly clear:

The Corcyraeans, not just Dorians, but Corinthians, were serving against the Corinthians and Syracusans knowingly, even though they were colo-

thus worship the gods and heroes of their metropolis. For a detailed analysis of this text, see PEELS 2017. Conversely, in a fourth-century BC decree between Miletus and her daughter city Olbia (Syll.3 286), we read that Milesians are permitted to sacrifice on the same altars and frequent the same public temples as the citizens of Olbia themselves. HORNBLLOWER (1991: 74); PEELS (2017: 114 n. 34). In short, there is evidence to suggest that citizens of the metropolis were treated equally (but not in a distinguished or special manner) to the locals in religious matters when visiting a colony, whereas colonists were perceived as foreigners in regard to cult participation in the mother city.

⁴⁷ PAYNE (1962: 25); SHEPHERD (2015: 582–583).

⁴⁸ E.g. Herodotus (8,22,1) or Plato (*Leg.* 754b).

⁴⁹ Cf. Thuc. 1,26,3 (The Epidamnian oligarchs, when coming to Corcyra to appeal for help, point out the tombs of the common ancestors and refer to kinship). HORNBLLOWER (1991: 74).

⁵⁰ GRAHAM (1964: 10–12, 86); VALLET (1964: 219–221); MILLER (1997: 272–274).

nists of the former and of the same kin as the latter, out of necessity under a comely pretext, but in reality of their own choosing because of their hatred of Corinth.⁵¹

It is evident that Thucydides is looking at the origin and the ethnic belonging of a colony when making evaluations in regard to whom he sees in the right and whom in the wrong. Thus, the Corcyraeans are depicted as the culprits in this scenario, based on Thucydides' view that they ought to side with their mother city because of their common origin and customary obligations toward their metropolis, regardless of Corcyra being an old and independent state in its own right.⁵²

The point therefore is whether Thucydides' account should be considered a reliable representation of the religious ties between Corcyra and Corinth. Following this train of thought, it is possible to add another, more radical question to the previous ones: Had there been conjointly celebrated festivals and sacrificial rites (with special privileges being accorded to Corinthian participants), or rather, ought there have been as far as Thucydides is concerned?

The fact is that ties between metropolis and *apoikia* varied greatly throughout the Greek world, and even in Thucydides, one can find examples where factors like colonial relationship and kinship are of no obvious significance in terms of the mutual conduct.⁵³

Because of this persisting uncertainty, it would seem prudent to try to find other clues for a possible religious link between Corinth and Corcyra. When trying to discern religious ties between metropolis and *apoikia*, the

⁵¹ Thuc. 7,57,7 (transl. by the author): Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Δωριῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορίνθιοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ Κορίνθιους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους, τῶν μὲν ἄποικοι ὄντες, τῶν δὲ ξυγγενεῖς, ἀνάγκη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, βουλήσει δὲ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κορίνθιων οὐχ ἦσσαν εἶποντο.

⁵² GRAHAM (1964: 105). See also HORNBLOWER (1991: 74), who argues that Thucydides' ideas about the obligations of kin are inherited from Herodotus (e.g. 1,174,1). On the importance of ethnic criteria and feelings in the fifth century BC, and especially in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, see ALTY (1982), whose arguments – specifically directed at the opposing view of WILL (1956) – I find very convincing.

⁵³ Thuc. 4,88,2. HORNBLOWER (1991: 78).

figure of the *oikist* of a colony is usually a good starting point. The origin of the *oikist*, while not being the sole determining factor, was certainly an integral part in the question of which city should be considered the metropolis of a new settlement. In the broadest terms, we can say that the act of foundation was strongly religiously connotated, and the figure of the founder as the main protagonist of said act thus acquired a sacred quality,⁵⁴ which he would retain until his death and beyond. The *oikist* was also the person to implement the νόμιμα, which can be described as a number of markers that constituted the collective identity of a newly founded colony – such as the names and number of tribes, cult calendar and rituals, institutions and offices (both political and religious), dialects, script et cetera. These *nomima*, which a colony often shared with its mother city, formed the social, political and religious structure of a settlement.⁵⁵ They also served as a unifying instrument for heterogenous groups of settlers, turning them into cultural ‘Corinthians’, ‘Phocaeans’, ‘Chalkidians’ or whichever the mother city was whence the *nomima* were derived from. Because of his role as the main representative of his mother city and its *nomima*, an *oikist* served as a constant reminder of the origin of a colony and the shared ancestry of at least some of its settlers with the inhabitants of the metropolis, especially if the founder in question received a cult after his death – which seems to have been generally the case.⁵⁶ Through the figure of the *oikist* and his provenance, there was thus a religious bond between *apoikia* and metropolis.⁵⁷ But again, deducing

⁵⁴ If, indeed, a certain holiness was not a prerequisite for the job in the first place. There is a long-standing debate whether the accounts of *oikists* appointed by Delphi – especially the ones dealing with the early centuries of Greek colonization – are to be believed, and if *oikists* should thus be seen as chosen by Apollo and acting on the god’s behalf, or not. For a discussion of the key arguments on both sides see MALKIN (1987: 17–31). Regardless, there are examples of *oikists* who were seemingly chosen because of their fame and expertise in religious matters. The Athenian Lampon, for instance, was already a renowned seer when he got appointed as one of the founders of Thurioi in 443 BC. It seems logical to assume that he was most likely the one who oversaw the religious portion of the foundation. LESCHHORN (1984: 131–132) with references.

⁵⁵ GRAHAM (1982: 143–144); LESCHHORN (1984: 95); MALKIN (1998: 18).

⁵⁶ The commonly cited source here is Herodotus (6,38,1), who declares posthumous honours for an *oikist* to be the norm. On the widespread practice of founder cults see MALKIN (1987: 190–195).

⁵⁷ Cf. PARKER (1985: 310), who interprets the Epidamnian change of allegiance from Corcyra

regularly and conjointly observed rituals – or even continued or active relations – from this fact would be stretching the evidence too far.⁵⁸

There is not much to go by when trying to discern an *oikist* cult on Corcyra. The literary sources only tell us the name of the founder (Chersikrates), his origin (Corinth) and the circumstances of the foundation. Although we know about several sanctuaries, temples and cults on Corcyra, there is no evidence for a possible grave or cenotaph of an *oikist*, let alone a cult.⁵⁹

However, Thucydides relates a curious detail in his account of the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra. Namely, that the Corcyraeans allude to the Phaeacians as the former settlers of their island (Thuc. 1,25,4).⁶⁰ Furthermore, he mentions a sanctuary for Alcinous (Thuc. 3,70,4), who in the *Odyssey* is the king of the Phaeacians. As will be seen, these remarks by the Greek historian can be viewed as a hint towards a cult surrounding the Phaeacians on Corcyra, as well as an attempt by the Corcyraeans to separate themselves from their ties with Corinth – which were based on shared customs, kinship and the metropolis/*apoikia*-relation – through the adoption of a different, heroic heritage and ideology. Therefore, it is the mythical aspect of Corcyra, and especially the association between the island and the homeland of the Homeric Phaeacians, which I will now turn to.

to Corinth (in 435 BC after having consulted Delphi on the matter) as an indication of existing ‘ritual ties arising from colonization’ between Epidamnus and Corinth. Parker does not specify, but one can assume that he must be referring to the act of foundation and the figure of the *oikist* – who was a Corinthian, even though the mother city was Corcyra. Thuc. 1,24,2. LESCHHORN (1984: 72–74); UNFRICHT (2021: 25–26).

⁵⁸ GRAHAM (1964: 14–15); MALKIN (2011: 55).

⁵⁹ Thucydides mentions a sanctuary for the Dios kouroi at Corcyra, as well as one for Hera (Thuc. 3,75) and Dionysus (Thuc. 3,81,5). Furthermore, we know of the existence of two Artemis temples, as well as cults for Apollon Nomios, the Nymphs and the Nereids (Ap. Rhod. 4,1217–1219 with Timaios’ Scholion). PFISTER (1974: 46); TSETSKHLADZE (2006: lxiv–lxv); CABANES (2008: 165). The sole hint concerning a potential hero cult on the island, apart from the Phaeacian reference, which will be discussed later on, are two small metal plates of questionable dating from the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. Both plates bear the identical inscription, and the content of the text seems to be an inquiry about which hero or god to worship in order to ensure peace on Corcyra. PFISTER (1974: 228).

⁶⁰ On the ‘Homeric’ opening of the Corcyra episode in Thucydides see HORNBLOWER (1991: 67–68 with references). On Homeric language and allusions in Thucydides – in his account of the events surrounding the Corcyra/Corinth-divide as well as in general – see MACKIE (1996).

III. Corcyra in the Myths

Corcyra/Corfu is an island with a long and illustrious tradition of serving as setting for various myths.

For one, there are several examples of episodes and variants of the Argonaut myth being localized at Corcyra.⁶¹ Furthermore, several nostoi myths – stories about the return of the heroes who fought in the Trojan War – establish a connection between Corcyra and Diomedes.⁶² Some versions even correlate the story of Diomedes to that of the Argonauts.⁶³

By far the most prominent and impactful of these mythical associations, however, was the one with Odysseus and the Phaeacians: According to Homer, Odysseus' last unplanned stop before successfully returning to Ithaca occurs when he gets washed up on the shore of Scheria, the land of the Phaeacians. There, he meets Nausicaa, the daughter of the ruler of Scheria, Alcinous. After having been heartily welcomed by Alcinous and regaled for some time at his court, Odysseus is brought back to Ithaca on a Phaeacian ship.

The Greeks seemingly unequivocally identified the mythical Scheria with the island of Corcyra, an equation which might already date to the Archaic period for several reasons: The inscription on the 'Cup of Nestor', found in a grave in Pithekoussai (dated to c. 720 BC), demonstrates the familiarity of western colonists with some of the tales which would later be integrated into the Homeric epics already for the eighth century BC,⁶⁴ and the fairly recent

⁶¹ Paus. 2,3,9; Ap. Rhod. 4, 768–769; 821–822; 982–1013; 1206–1207. The 'heroic bridebed' (ἡρωϊκὸς γάμος) of Jason and Medeia was localized in Corcyra and seems to have been a cult site. Timaios FGrH 1,194; Ap. Rhod. 4,982–984; 1128–1130 (with Schol.); Apollod. 1,9,25; Hyg. *Fab.* 23; Orph. *Arg.* 1297–1299. Most sources speak of a cave as the location, whereas Philetas (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4,1141) mentions the house of Alcinous. A cult for Medeia seems to have existed on Corcyra since Archaic times. PFISTER (1974: 150, 157, 365–367); MALKIN (1998: 79); CABANES (2008: 158–159).

⁶² These myths are not in accordance to the Homeric version of Diomedes' fate, where the hero returns safely to Argos after the capture of Troy. Hom. *Od.* 3,180–181.

⁶³ Timaeus FGrH 566 F 53; Lycus FGrH 570 F 3 (= Schol. Lyc. Alex. 615); Heraclid. Pont. FHG 2 p. 220. PEARSON (1987: 74); MALKIN (1998: 55, 239–240).

⁶⁴ WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF (1916: 501) attributes the localization of settings from the Odyssey with places in Italy and northwestern Greece to Ionian settlers of the early stages of the so-called 'Great Colonisation'. This view is largely shared by MALKIN (1998: 102,

discovery of around 13,000 pottery sherds on the archipelago of Palagruža in the Adriatic Sea proved the existence of a shrine for Diomedes (who was, as mentioned above, also connected to Corcyra in some stories), dating back to the late sixth century BC. At the same time, the graffiti found on some of the sherds also point toward the literacy of many of the seamen who brought offerings to the hero.⁶⁵ MALKIN (1998: 28) mentions the depiction of the blinding of Polyphemus in Etruscan vase-paintings from the seventh century BC – a motive likely resulting from contact with Euboian traders and settlers, who brought the Odyssean tales with them.⁶⁶ Taken on the whole, these separate clues create the picture of a high degree of familiarity with the Trojan Cycle – and possibly with the Phaeacians – among the Greek seamen who sailed the Ionian and Adriatic Seas during the Pre-Classical period.

Many scholars have remarked on the seeming lack of common sense and accuracy of the Greeks when it came to the notion of equating Scheria with Corcyra.⁶⁷ The *Odyssey* gives the impression that the Phaeacians are a people, which do not live among fellow humans, but rather in vicinity to the Elysium.⁶⁸ The mythical story elements describing the remoteness of the Phaeacians from the real world and their closeness to the realm of the dead are precisely what make the story of Odysseus' return on a Phaeacian ship so miraculous and mystical.⁶⁹ The hero is brought back at night-time, while in a state of sweet, death-like slumber.⁷⁰ Additionally, Poseidon punishes

156–160, 175). For the 'Cup of Nestor' see MURRAY (1994). See also Hellanicus FGrH 4 F 77; KERÉNYI (1973: 122–123); HOWIE (1989: 25–27) and RIDGWAY (1992: 57).

⁶⁵ KIRIGIN ET AL. (2009).

⁶⁶ One could also add here the find of numerous bronze tripods from the 9th and 8th centuries BC in the so-called Polis Bay on Ithaca, which in MALKIN's (1998: 2, 94) opinion represent offerings to Odysseus dedicated by contemporary Greeks at the supposed landing place of the hero on his return to his native land. Although, as MALKIN himself admits, there is reasonable doubt for this attribution, since the earliest explicit epigraphical evidence pointing toward Odysseus as the recipient of a cult is no earlier than the second century BC.

⁶⁷ The first one to do so was WELCKER (1832: 219). See also KERÉNYI (1973: 123).

⁶⁸ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 6,8; 204–205. For Homer's description of the Elysium see *Od.* 4,562–568.

⁶⁹ Φαίᾱκες means 'dark men'. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF (1916: 501) interpreted this as an affirmation of their mythical status, whereas KERÉNYI (1973: 134–135) argued rather broadly that 'dark' is what seamen in antiquity seem to have been in terms of their clothing in general.

⁷⁰ Hom. *Od.* 13,70–92. KERÉNYI (1973: 124).

the Phaeacians for having brought back Odysseus to his homeland. He turns their returning ship into stone,⁷¹ as Alcinous and his people watch helplessly from ashore. The god also shrouds Scheria in impenetrable mist, so that Greek seafarers can no longer be expected to be saved by them.⁷² To add to this, Homer does not even explicitly call Scheria an island – even though one passage⁷³ seems to suggest as much.

Why then were these mythical elements not ruinous to the potential localizability of Scheria and its subsequent identification with Corcyra?

There are several explanations for this: We may attribute it to possible alternative versions of the Odyssean tales connected to the Phaeacians, which may have placed them in the accessible and concrete world rather than the ‘land of the beyond’, which Homer makes Scheria out to be.⁷⁴

Furthermore, the identification of Scheria with Corcyra is only one example of a general Greek phenomenon of translating ‘mythical geography into concrete topography’.⁷⁵ While they cannot be wholly explained without taking into account a certain amount of wishful thinking and simplification on the part of those who equated the ‘landmark x’ they encountered with the ‘location y’ described in the myths, these associations served a definite purpose: For early Greek explorers, colonists and merchants they offered a possibility for ‘historical’ and geographical contextualization and understanding of the unfamiliar regions they encountered. As such, they provided

⁷¹ In later times, a rocky reef at Corcyra was considered and presented as the location of the Phaeacian ship which had been petrified by the sea god. Plin. *HN* 4,19. See PFISTER (1974: 335 with references).

⁷² Hom. *Od.* 13,159–187. SEGAL (1994: 12–64); MALKIN (1998: 4, 116); OSBORNE (2009: 135).

⁷³ Hom. *Od.* 6,204.

⁷⁴ Cf. MALKIN (1998: 33–34, 126, 129–132, 152, 180, 189–190), who calls the *nostoi* myths – to which the myths revolving around Odysseus belong – a ‘generative mythology’, since they were shared within the Greek world from Archaic through Roman times and gave rise to further stories (alternative versions, sequels etc.), images (for example vase-paintings or coins), rituals, historical interpretation and ethnic articulation. For the freedom ancient poets enjoyed when dealing with a certain subject matter, see JOHNSTON (2018: 16–17): They could elaborate on already known basics, confound expectations by alteration or invent wholly new episodes.

⁷⁵ MALKIN (1998: 7). *Ibid.*: ‘Greek myths were often brought down to earth to function as historical ones. Their main figures were heroes living long ago in never-never land, but [...] they came to be superimposed onto ethnic identities and territories’.

a sense of familiarity and a means for ‘mediating perceptions and contacts with both the land and its inhabitants’.⁷⁶

The plausibility of an identification of Corcyra with Scheria can also partially be accounted for by what we might call the ‘Phaeacian spirit’ – the essential characteristics of this mythical group of people as described by Homer. One passage from the *Odyssey*, where Nausicaa is briefing Odysseus on the nature of her people, may serve as our ‘ethnological account’ of the Phaeacians:

For the men here endure not stranger-folk, nor do they give kindly welcome to him who comes from another land. They, indeed, trusting in the speed of their swift ships, cross over the great gulf of the sea, for this the Earth-shaker has granted them; and their ships are swift as a bird on the wing or as a thought.⁷⁷

The Phaeacians are described as ‘close to the gods’ (ἀγχίθεοι),⁷⁸ as well as unfriendly towards strangers – both of which emphasizes their status as set apart from the rest of the human world. But they are also the ones who can bridge the gap between the realms of the unknown and the known, inhabited world with their superb naval skills. They are, as Alcinous repeatedly states, ‘the ones who escort one home safely’ (πομποὶ ἀπήμονες ἀπάντων).⁷⁹ Through their unsurpassable ships, they are able to connect the seemingly unreachable to the reachable. Their ships know neither distances nor obstacles and through them, the Phaeacians are able to conquer the dangers and

⁷⁶ MALKIN (1998: 27). Another example, where Homer served as a frame of reference for an encounter with ‘strange people in a strange land’, is the expedition (1540–1542 AD) of the Spanish Conquistador Francisco de Orellana, who famously named the river he was exploring ‘Río de las Amazonas’ after a skirmish with belligerent indigenous women. BUENO MEDINA (2007).

⁷⁷ Hom. *Od.* 7,32–36 (transl. A. T. Murray): οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἶδε μάλ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται, / οὐδ’ ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ’ ὅς κ’ ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ. / νηυσὶ θοῇσιν τοί γε πεποιθότες ὠκείῃσι / λαῖτμα μέγ’ ἐκπερόωσιν, ἐπεὶ σφισι δῶκ’ ἐνοσίχθων; / τῶν νέες ὠκείαι ὥς εἰ πτερόν ἢ νόημα.

⁷⁸ Hom. *Od.* 5,35; 7, 205. VIDAL-NAQUET (1989: 48).

⁷⁹ Hom. *Od.* 8,566; 13,174.

vastness of the sea. In this sense, Scheria can be seen as a gateway between the mythical realm and the real world. This, in a way, reflects the role the island of Corcyra must have played during the time the western trade routes were being established and the colonization movement began to take its course – with colonies and trade posts being few and far apart. The equation Scheria=Corcyra can thus be described as a side-effect of the successful exploration and penetration of the northwest by Greek sailors, traders and settlers, in the sense that what was once considered the unreachable and mysterious beyond became more and more known and accessible the more the trade routes developed and the colonization of the region commenced.⁸⁰

The Corcyraeans themselves, however, seemingly went further than merely accepting the notion that their island was the famed Scheria: In the *Odyssey*, the seafaring skills of the Phaeacians are emphasized repeatedly.⁸¹ This is a striking parallel to the state of Corcyra, which had generated remarkable wealth and power through its maritime trade and had one of the largest Greek fleets in the fifth century BC.⁸² Thucydides explicitly states that the Corcyraeans prided themselves on their naval power and nautical prowess, and in doing so, referred to the Phaeacians, which were said to have formerly settled on their homeland.⁸³ The way he tells it, the Corcyraeans saw themselves as the ideological successors of the Phaeacians, which

⁸⁰ KERÉNYI (1973: 135–136); MILLER (1997: 42–43); MALKIN (1998: 116, 152).

⁸¹ Hom. *Od.* 5,386; 6,270–272; 7,34–36; 108–109.

⁸² Note the words of the Corcyraean ambassador sent to Athens in order to pursue an Alliance: ‘We [the Corcyraeans] possess a fleet – the biggest one after your own [the Athenians].’ (Thuc. 1,33,1: ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν πλεῖστον); ‘There are three noteworthy fleets in Hellas: Yours [the Athenians], ours [the Corcyraeans] and the Corinthians.’ (Thuc. 1,36,3: τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ’ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων). Transl. by the author. KAGAN (2009: 53–54).

⁸³ Thuc. 1,25,4: ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προὔχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἔχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς (‘they would boast of substantial naval superiority, even basing their claim on the nautical fame [κλέος] of the island’s original inhabitants, the Phaeacians’ – transl. M. Hammond). MILLER (1997: 42–43). Note especially the usage of the poetic κλέος, which ‘reinforces the Homeric connection’, as MACKIE (1996: 103 n. 3) points out. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 7,39 (Φαίηκες ναυσικλυτοὶ). I concur with MACKIE’s (1996: 104) argument, that the way in which Thucydides poses the allusion ‘encourages us, consciously or unconsciously, to make comparisons between Homer’s Phaeacians and Thucydides’ Corcyraeans’.

fueled their pride and confidence, but also instilled in them a sense of duty to continue and uphold the Phaeacian seafaring tradition and assert their own naval superiority.⁸⁴

Additionally, Homer describes Scheria as a remote and isolated safe haven, a type of earthly paradise, which is not part of the contentions and struggles of the outside world. The inhabitants are minding their own business, not meddling with foreign affairs.⁸⁵ This Phaeacian policy of staying aloof correlates with what we can gather from Corcyra's own foreign policy during most of the fifth century BC, up until the war with Corinth in the 430s.⁸⁶

Even though the abovementioned commonalities with the Phaeacians seem largely coincidental given the historical and geographical circumstances, they must have benefited the process of appropriation of this myth and its acceptance as a part of their own history and identity by the Corcyraeans. In this sense, the Phaeacian civilization served as a convenient role model, an ideal past, whose replication or emulation was to be strived for by living a life according to the Phaeacian virtues – namely a foreign policy dictated by caution and dissociation, as well as a strong emphasis on naval power.⁸⁷

Cultic worship of the Phaeacians is never explicitly mentioned in the ancient sources, but Thucydides' account of the identification of the Corcyraeans with the Phaeacians, as well as his mention of a sanctuary of Zeus and Alcinous, have been interpreted along those lines.⁸⁸ I would agree with the assessment that the existence of a cult can be taken as a given, but it nevertheless remains uncertain when it might have been instituted.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ KERÉNYI (1973: 122).

⁸⁵ VIDAL-NAQUET (1989: 47); ROHDE (1991: 104–105); MACKIE (1996: 104). Although Homer 'lets slip' on one occasion that the Phaeacians were pillaging and raiding just like all the other heroes in his epics: Hom. *Od.* 7,7–10 (transl. A. T. Murray): 'There a fire was kindled for her by her waiting-woman, Eurymedusa, an aged dame from Apeire. Long ago the curved ships had brought her from Apeire, and men had chosen her from the spoil as a gift of honor for Alcinous'.

⁸⁶ Cf. above n. 24 (Corcyra's 'wait-and-see' approach in the war against Xerxes) and n. 26.

⁸⁷ MACKIE (1996: 103–104).

⁸⁸ Thuc. 1,25,4; 3,70,4; Cf. Ps.-Scyl. 22.

⁸⁹ MALKIN (1998: 102 n. 47) sees the 'matter of fact' way in which Thucydides reports the existence of a sanctuary for Alcinous as an indication that the cult was not a recent creation. I would argue that this in itself does not go a long way, considering Thucydides' famous

A question to ask here is if Alcinous, who seems to have shared a sanctuary with Zeus,⁹⁰ may also have served the role of a founder, since it is hard to imagine the Corcyraeans embracing the Phaeacians as their supposed predecessors without having a corresponding founding figure to symbolize the original settlement of the island.⁹¹ One of the central functions of founding heroes was their 'holding' and protection of the land they had once claimed and occupied.⁹² It is nowhere mentioned that the Corcyraeans perceived or presented themselves as direct descendants of the Phaeacians – a claim which would have probably not been taken seriously had they actually made it, given that the Homeric Phaeacians were clearly disconnected in time from the later Corinthian colonization of the island.⁹³ In my opinion, this lack of descent would not have reduced the importance of a founder cult, but in fact heightened the need for one, since through cultic worship for Alcinous or another Phaeacian,⁹⁴ the Corcyraeans could have displayed their respect and veneration for precedent and asked for a favorable attitude of the previous holders of the land.

One of Corcyra's ports was also called the 'Port of Alcinous' at some undefinable point in time.⁹⁵ This could be interpreted as a similar case to that of the 'Port of Menelaos' in Libya, which MALKIN (1994: 48–52) sees as a

'matter-of-factness' and laconicity about religious matters. On Thucydides' treatment of religion, see UNFRICHT (2021: 11–15) with references. However, in light of the abovementioned finds by KIRIGIN et al. (2011) on PALAGRUŽA and MALKIN's (1998: 94–119) own strong case for an Archaic cult for Odysseus on Ithaka, I would also hold that it seems likely that the cult was not just established in the Classical period.

⁹⁰ Thuc. 3,70,4 (Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου). Cases like this one, where heroes and gods shared a sanctuary, are not uncommon. See BURKERT (2011: 309, 314) with references.

⁹¹ See also MORRISON–WILLIAMS (1968: 186), according to whom the Corcyraeans saw a sail-store located in the port of Homeric Phaeacia as the 'forerunner of their city'.

⁹² MALKIN (1994: 127 with references).

⁹³ For a similar case, where direct genealogical linkage to Homeric heroes was probably not a feasible option, so that other ways of connecting the past to the present had to be sought, see MALKIN (1994: 46–48) on Menelaos and the later Spartans.

⁹⁴ It would seem like the first king of the Phaeacians, Nausithoos, would be much more suited for the role of a founder, since he – according to a much-quoted passage from the *Odyssey* (6,7–10) – led them to Scheria, founded a city there, surrounded it with a wall, built houses and temples and divided the land among the settlers. In short, he is doing precisely what historical *oikists* did when founding a colony. However, no sanctuary for Nausithoos is attested. BERNSTEIN (2004: 29).

⁹⁵ Eust. Proem. ad Pind. GGM 2,309–310. MALKIN (1998: 102).

localization likely dating back to the first generations of settlers, expressing ‘a general idea of opening up the territory by creating a “familiar” landmark in an alien, unknown world’. Considering, however, that in the *Odyssey* it is not Alcinous who leads the Phaeacians to Scheria and thus ‘opens up’ the territory, but his father Nausithoos,⁹⁶ I think it more plausible to regard the name as another indication of the later adoption of the Phaeacian myth by the Corcyraeans, especially in regard to the emphasis on seafaring.

In his description of the palace of Alcinous, Homer also mentions an orchard. Alcinous’ house itself lies within the city, and right outside of its courtyard is a garden, in which pears, apples, figs, olives and grapes grow.⁹⁷ The latter are important, since Thucydides (3,70) remarks that when civil strife was on the verge of breaking out on Corcyra in 327 BC, some rich citizens were being accused of having cut vines in the sanctuary of Zeus and Alcinous. The question is if this detail should be dismissed as a curious coincidence, or if there might be more to it? I would be hesitant to rule out the latter, given the popularity of the practice of finding topographical counterparts for mythical locations among the Greeks in general, and the keenness with which the Corcyraeans specifically seem to have taken the Phaeacian story to heart. It could therefore be argued, that the Corcyraeans of the fifth century BC thought that there was a link between the Homeric orchard/vineyard (ἀλωή) of Alcinous and the sanctuary of Zeus and Alcinous mentioned by Thucydides, and that they had cultivated a vineyard there just as the Phaeacian king had done according to Homer.

The likelihood of a Phaeacian cult at Corcyra is further increased by our knowledge of other cases where historical *oikists* were later supplemented by mythical founders.⁹⁸ MALKIN (1998: 8, 30) convincingly argues that this practice was part of a larger tendency towards a new self-definition among

⁹⁶ Cf. above n. 94.

⁹⁷ Hom. *Od.* 7,40–47; 112–132. MURRAY (1995: 59, 62). On the magical properties of Alcinous’ orchard, which emphasizes the paradisiacal nature of the island, see VIDAL-NAQUET (1989: 47).

⁹⁸ E.g. Kroton, where Herakles was venerated as ktistes alongside the human founder, Myrsellus; or Taras, where an eponymous hero Taras was worshipped in addition to the oikist Phalanthus. MALKIN (1998: 8) and (1994: 127–139). See also MURRAY (1989: 1–6).

colonies especially of the Greek west, starting from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Through the addition of mythical heroes as founding figures, colonies were able to claim greater antiquity and status, rivalling the age and nobility of the cities in the motherland.

For Corcyra, the political situation with Corinth certainly seems to have played into this trend:

While it might be an overstatement to say that the century old feud with Corinth and the hatred of the Corcyraeans towards their mother city might have led to the wish and search for an alternative 'national identity' to begin with, I would certainly argue that these factors fueled the Corcyraean's enthusiasm towards the Phaeacian myth and benefited its adoption. The turn toward the Phaeacians can thus be viewed partly as a response against the challenge of empirical ambition and territorial expansion by Corinth – which exhibited this aggressive foreign policy at least from the time of the Cypselids onwards, as was shown above.

Not only did the connection to Scheria and the Phaeacians provide the Corcyraeans with a sense of heroic heritage, of the continuation of ancient traditions and values and consequently of a rootedness to the place which they inhabited, but it also gave them an opportunity to create an identity which was not based on their Corinthian origin and thereby cut the umbilical cord which connected them to their metropolis.

It is worth noting here that Thucydides (1,25,4) mentions the Corcyraean self-association with the Phaeacians in the context of giving reasons for the Corinthian dislike of their colony.⁹⁹ This, I would argue, indicates that this 'new' identity must have been a cause of serious vexation for Corinth, which would only make sense if it had affected the relation between mother and daughter city. It therefore seems reasonable to assume, that the Corcyraeans must have used their Phaeacian-based identity as legitimization for their lack of respect and disobedience towards their metropolis, as well as a justification for why they were different from other Corinthian colonies and had a right to follow their own political and economic interests.

⁹⁹ KERÉNYI (1973: 123); MALKIN (1998: 133).

Despite the abovementioned consequences on Corcyra's interstate relations, it must be stressed that the orientation of Corcyraean identity towards the Phaeacians was first and foremost of internal importance. It was the inhabitants of Corcyra themselves, who had to believe in the Phaeacian myth and who had to participate in the according cult as a community in order for it to be functioning as an effective instrument of group solidarity and identity.¹⁰⁰

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¹⁰⁰ PARKER (2011: 120–121).

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Was Kos a member of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy?

After the defeat she suffered in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), Athens worked on the restoration of her pre-war position in the diplomatic scenery of Hellas. One major portion of this process was the creation of the Second Athenian Confederacy. Possibly the most important conflict in the history of the Confederacy was the so-called Social War between 357 and 355 BC. In this conflict, some members of the Confederacy (namely Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and possibly Kos) waged war against Athens in order to leave the Confederacy. The participation of Kos as a rebel is argued against by Sherwin-White and some other scholars, assuming that only Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium revolted, but there is the possibility that there could have been more rebels, supported by Buckler, who collected the names of twelve states and could have revolted. In my study, I present an examination of the question of Kos and possible other rebels.

Keywords: Social War, Athens, Kos, Andros, Perinthus

In the following decades after Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC),¹ in which Athens and the Delian League suffered a decisive defeat from Sparta and its allies, Athens managed to more or less gain back its power and positions on the political field of Ancient Greece. Athens even managed to create a new alliance (since the Delian League was dismissed at the end of the Peloponnesian War) in 378/377: the so-called Second Athenian Confederacy.² Luck-

¹ All the following dates are BC.

² For the event before the creation of the second alliance see: BALCER (1974: 21–39); SEALEY (1976: 232–385); RHODES (2005: 14–195); HORNBLOWER (2011: 8–189); for the events surrounding the creation of the second alliance, see: CAWKWELL (1973: 47–60); KALLET-MARX (1985: 127–151); RHODES & OSBORNE (2004: 22); RHODES (2005: 195–196); HORNBLOWER (2011: 240).

ily for us, vital information was preserved about the Confederacy on the stele of Aristoteles.³ This document was created after the establishment of the Confederacy, as the first version of it was completed in the spring of 377. The stele itself is a 1.93 meters high stone column, with text engraved on the front and upper left hand sides. The content of the stele is divided into two parts: the first part contains certain objectives and rules of the alliance with guarantees⁴ from Athens for the allied states; and the other part of the stele gives a list of the members of the Confederacy. One of the problems related to the stele is that the stele itself is visibly fragmentary, smaller and larger pieces are missing in parts where, for example, there is the list of the names of the member states.⁵ Another important question regarding the stele is how long the list was expanded by new members and how many different stonecutters could have engraved certain parts of the texts, based on which we can make assumptions on how many times and for how long the Confederacy could have been expanded.⁶ With these problems presented, we cannot state for sure that the lack of a name in the stele means that the city in question was not part of the Confederacy.

³ RHODES & OSBORNE (2004: 22).

⁴ Athens had a rough history with the Delian League, becoming more aggressive and domineering towards the members of the League. To gain the trust of the potential members of the Second Confederacy, Athens promised some guarantees toward the members, which we can read on the stele of Aristoteles. These guarantees contain things like not sending garrison or governor to the land of the members or not forcing them to pay tribute – RHODES & OSBORNE (2004: 22). The modern literature usually agrees that Athens did not keep its promises – e. g.: CAWKWELL (1981: 40–55); BUCKLER (2003: 377); PARKER (2014: 275–279) – but Cargill had a more optimistic view on the Second Confederacy, although it also should be stated that Cargill was generally more criticized than praised, mostly because of his usually overly positive attitude towards Athens – reviews of Cargill HORNBLOWER (1982); SHERWIN-WHITE (1982); MARTIN (1984).

⁵ For a picture of the stele see BARON (2006: 380).

⁶ The latest date until which new members were added to the alliance is disputed, the two most likely being 375 and 373. However, it is accepted that these are the latest possible dates until a new member could have been added to the alliance. The sources we have regarding the expansion of the alliance, such as Diod. 15, 45, 2–4, or Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 2–3, are refer to the archonian year 374/373 as the very latest date. On the question see: SEALEY (1976: 418–419); CARGILL (1981: 45–47; 61–67); SEAGER (1994: 170); BUCKLER (2003: 268–269); RHODES (2005: 233–235); BARON (2006: 379–395). A more recent summary and examination of the question of how many stonecutters could have engraved the individual parts and city names on the stele, therefore how many times did the number of members of the alliance could have been expanded see: BARON (2006: 379–395).

The so-called Social War (ca. 357–355)⁷ was a crucial event for the later history of the Confederacy as a conflict between Athens and some members of the Confederacy.⁸ One major issue with this war is that we do not know exactly how many states did revolt, and we also do not know exactly which states did revolt. Going through the important literature, we can find works mentioning the cities of Byzantion, Rhodes, Chios and Kos as revolting states,⁹ but there are also works where we can only find the names of Byzantion, Rhodes and Chios.¹⁰ This presents the question: what was the situation with Kos regarding the war and the Confederacy? The sources stating that Kos did in fact revolt from Athens are Diod. 16, 7, 3 and 16, 21, 1. In the former for example, we can read that „the Athenians, who had suffered the revolt (ἀποστάσεων) of Chios, Rhodes, and Cos and, moreover, of Byzantium”.¹¹ This strongly suggests that Kos was a member of the Confederacy and did revolt against Athens with the other three states. But Sherwin-White presented an argument against the membership of Kos: despite the lack of information regarding the history of Kos between the 390s and the 360s, she thinks that Kos was not a member of the Confederacy, because in the

⁷ Although the dating of the war is not relevant for the subject of the current study, it is an important question about the Social War. The exact dating of the war is debated, which debate is rooted in Diod. 16, 7, 2 and 16, 22, 1. In the first part, Diodorus gives the archonian year 358/57 (the archonian year began in the middle of summer, for this see SAMUEL [1972: 64]) and writes that the war lasted three years, based on which the war ended in the year archonian of 356/355. However in the second part he writes that the war lasted for four years and ended in the archonian year 356/355, based on which the war have to be started in the year 359/358. In addition, we can also read in another source (Lys. 2, 12. 7.) that the war spanned only two archonian years. Modern literatures usually give the calendar years of 357–355 or the archonian years of 357/56–356/55.

⁸ The reason for the revolt could have been the fear of the possibility that Athens would be tyrannical against the allies again, for which there was a precedent in the form of the events that happened to the island of Samos in 365, see e.g.: SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 67); RUZICKA (1998: 60–69); BUCKLER (2003: 377–379); contra CARGILL (1981: 129–188). About the events of the war see e.g.: BUCKLER (2003: 380–383).

⁹ E.g. BUCKLER (2003: 377); PARKER (2014: 275); WORTHINGTON (2014: 10) – the latter does not include Byzantion as a rebel; the case of Byzantion is debated, since it seems possible that Byzantion did left the Confederacy before the Social War, see: e.g. SEALEY (1976: 434; 439); RUZICKA (1998: 60–69); WORTHINGTON (2014: 10); the detailed examination of the case of Byzantion is going to be the subject of my next study.

¹⁰ E. g. BEAN-COOK (1957: 142); SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 40–43); RUZICKA (1998: 60).

¹¹ ἀποστάσεων ~ ἀφίστημι = stand apart, revolt from – c.f. LSJ. s.v. ἀφίστημι.

works of contemporary sources Demosthenes and Isocrates only Byzantion, Rhodes and Chios are mentioned as states who revolted against Athens and Kos is omitted.¹² Based on that she concludes that only the three states that are mentioned by Demosthenes and Isocrates were the ‘real’ rebels, implicitly stating that Demosthenes and Isocrates provides a full list of the states who revolted in the Social War, therefore the status of Kos was different: Kos was only an ally of the rebel states but not a ‘real’ rebel. She even mentions Diod. 16, 21. where he refers to the revolting states as Chios, Rhodes, Byzantion and allies (μέτα τῶν συμμάχων), but in my opinion this paragraph does not mean that Diodorus himself disregard Kos as a revolting state, firstly because Diodorus mentions Kos as well as the others in the previous paragraph (Diod. 16, 21, 1). Secondly and more importantly, we cannot state that either Demosthenes or Isocrates or even Diodorus provides a full list of revolting states – something that Sherwin-White does implicitly say regarding Demosthenes and Isocrates. In fact, Diodorus mentioning *allies* should be an indication that there could have been more revolting states – of course it could also mean states that were allies of the rebels; at the end of the day the main issue is that we cannot state that either Demosthenes or Isocrates or even Diodorus provides a full list of the rebel states. This argument by Sherwin-White was later adopted by Hornblower and Ruzicka, but it was presented prior to her by Bean and Cook and overall can be traced back to Fraser, who was the first to create it.¹³

The literature about the topic usually does not mention the possibility that there could have been more rebel states. However Buckler brought this possibility up in his very useful and detailed work about the history of Hellas in the fourth century, in which he takes a note where he mentions twelve cities which were involved in the Social War (without any detailed explanations, commentary or argument, solely presenting names and corresponding sources).¹⁴ This list in itself could be a decisive asset in the question, but

¹² Dem. 15, 3; Isoc. 15, 63–64.

¹³ FRASER (1921: 43–44, n. 25); BEAN–COOK (1957: 142 and n. 353); SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 42–43 and n. 73); HORNBLOWER (1982: 133 and n. 228); RUCIZKA (1998: 60–61 and n. 6).

¹⁴ BUCKLER (2003: 377, n. 24).

the main problem with it is that Buckler does not provide any further notes on the referred sources. However, if we take a more detailed examination on these sources, they can present several problems, and some of the sources can be heavily questioned in regards to whether or not they truly prove the involvement of the cities Buckler mentions. In the following I present a detailed examination of two states from the Buckler-list to illustrate two important facts: one of them being the case of Andros, with the importance to show that there can be several problems with the sources and names provided on the list, meaning that a detailed examination is definitely required on the other names and sources,¹⁵ and the case of Perinthus, which indicates that there was at least one more revolting state (and could have been others as well), despite not even being mentioned anywhere in the above cited modern literatures – except in the work of Buckler.

Andros

For the involvement of Andros, Buckler provides us Aeschines 1. 107, where we can read the following about the cases of corruption of Timarchus: „He was magistrate (ἄρχων) at Andros, an office he bought for thirty minas, money he borrowed at a rate of eighteen percent, using your allies as a means of funding his vile habits. And he displayed appetite on a scale never before seen from anyone in his treatment of the wives of free men.”¹⁶ – stating that Timarchus gained his office in Andros in a non legal way. This raises two questions: what office did Timarchus held in Andros, and when did he held it?

For the first question, it seems generally accepted, that Athens send a governor-like magistrate to the island of Andros, and there was also an Athenian garrison there, at least during the time of the Social War.¹⁷ Without

¹⁵ I intend to do the examination of the other names and sources in the future, Byzantion being the next in line because of the importance of the problems and questions I mentioned in n. 9.

¹⁶ Translation by CAREY (2000).

¹⁷ TOD (1946: 156); CARGILL (1981: 155–156); CAWKWELL (1981: 51–52); CAREY (2000: 60); FISCHER (2001: 244).

going into the question of governors and garrisons in the Second Confederacy too much, it should be stated that Athens clearly had some intention not to make the same mistakes it did with the Delian League, which mistakes included the sending Athenian garrisons and governors to allied states and island, forcing them to remain loyal to Athens.¹⁸ For the second question, there is not a firm answer. The main problem is that we do not have other sources about Timarchus holding the office in Andros, and Aeschines does not give us clear date in his speech about this activity of Timarchus. But there are other offices Aeschines mentions, and we have a date for them: he says that Timarchus was member of the boule in the archonship of Nicophemus in 361/0;¹⁹ he also mentions that Timarchus was sent as auditor at Eretria, which presumably occurred in the year 348/347.²⁰ We also cannot be sure whether the list provided by Aeschines about the offices Timarchus held is in a chronological order or not. The importance of the date is the fact that if there is a governor (and a garrison) in the territory of an allied state during a conflict between the Second Confederacy and someone else, then there is the possibility that the reasons for said governor and garrison being there are mostly for defensive purposes rather than repression.²¹ But if this is not the case, and Athens did keep governors and presumably garrisons in the territory of an allied state while there were no conflicts maybe because of preventing an attack, then it can be presumed that Athens broke its promises about the governors and garrisons, and decided that it should repress the allies as it did in the fifth century. If the list provided by Aeschines about the offices Timarchus held during his career is in chronological order, then

¹⁸ It is stated on the stele of Aristoteles, that: „If any of the Greeks or of the barbarians living in Europe or of the islanders, [...]wishes to be an ally of the Athenians and their allies, he may be [...] neither receiving a garrison nor submitting to a governor nor paying tribute...” – RHODES & OSBORNE (2004: 22), line 15–22. For the Delian League, see e. g.: BALCER (1974: 21–39); SEALEY (1976: 232–385); RHODES (2005: 14–195); HORNBLOWER (2011: 8–189). For a more optimistic view on the treatment of the allies in the Second Confederacy see: CARGILL (1981: 129–188).

¹⁹ Aisch. 1, 107; DEVELIN (1989: 262; 264).

²⁰ Aisch. 1, 113; DEVELIN (1989: 317).

²¹ For a more optimistic view on the question of garrisons in the Second Confederacy see: CARGILL (1981: 142–160).

it can be presumed that Timarchus held his office in Andros before the Social War, therefore we can presume that Andros might have been revolted against Athens because of this. As we can see, there are hypotheses behind hypotheses with many 'if's and 'presume's in the literatures. Scholars are mostly arguing for the latter: Carey states that Athens sent magistrates for Andros, but he provides no further notes or references for this;²² Cawkwell does not exclude the possibility that the Athenian garrison in Andros was only there for providing defense for the island, even mentioning Tod 156, which states that there was a garrison in Andros during the Social War for defensive purposes, but he presumes, that even though the date is uncertain, Timarchus held his office sometimes in the 360s, therefore giving a reason for Andros to rebel;²³ Develin also positions the offices Timarchus held on the potential that Aeschines lists the offices in chronological order, giving the date 363/362 for Timarchus's time on Andros but clearly stating that the dates about this are uncertain.²⁴ But there are also scholars, who are more cautious about the question: Fisher states that the date is uncertain, and there is either the possibility that the list is in chronological order, but also saying that this could might not be the case;²⁵ Bajnok in his commentary also states that we cannot specify the date in question, because it cannot be proven or disproven whether the list is in chronological order.²⁶ And there is also Cargill, who generally argues toward Athens keeping its word, and the governors and garrisons sent by Athens to the territory of allied states are not evidence for Athenian oppression, which is also the scenario in the case of Andros.²⁷ There is one more thing to add to the question: both Bajnok and the note of Tod 156 refer to IG II² 1441 which talks about a crown given to the Athenian people by the Andrians in 348/347; it could indicate that Andros remained a member of the confederacy at least until 348/347.²⁸

²² CAREY, (2000: 60, n. 117).

²³ CAWKWELL (1981: 51–52).

²⁴ DEVELIN (1989: 262; 264).

²⁵ FISCHER (2001: 244).

²⁶ BAJNOK (2017: 183).

²⁷ CARGILL (1981: 146–160).

²⁸ IG II² 1441; TOD (1946: 156); BAJNOK (2017: 183).

In summary the question of the governorship of Timarchus in Andros is an important one, because the case of Athenian oppression against Andros could give Andros a reason to revolt against Athens, therefore providing evidence for Athenian oppression and imperialism which could have led to the outbreak of the Social War. But there is one problem with the assumption that Aeschines 1, 107 is an evidence for Andros revolting against Athens in the Social War: the source itself only states that there could have been a reason for Andros to revolt against Athens, not stating that they did revolt. In fact, since we have Tod 156 about an Athenian garrison in Andros during the Social War, which could have been for the safety of Andros,²⁹ and also IG II² 1441 about Andros gave a gift to Athens after the Social War³⁰ it seems more likely that Andros did not revolt against Athens, and because Buckler does not give any note on Andros and Aeschines 1, 107, we can say it is not likely that Andros have taken part in the Social War against Athens.

Perinthus

In the case of Perinthus Buckler refers to Plutarch *Demosthenes* 17, 2, where we can read the following: „Secondly, he (sc. Demosthenes) gave aid to the Byzantians and Perinthians, who were under attack by the Macedonian (sc. Philip II), by convincing the people to put aside their enmity and the memory of the offences committed by each of the two cities in the War with the Allies.”³¹ Although the source itself refers to the event when Philip II of Macedonia attacked Perinthus and Byzantium in 340³² Plutarch clearly indicates that Perinthus took part in the Social War against Athens. Checking on the commentary for this does not indicate any problem with this paragraph, only talking about the involvement of Athens in this event.³³ The case of

²⁹ CARGILL (1981: 155–156).

³⁰ IG II² 1441; TOD (1946: 156) – commentary: BAJNOK (2017: 183).

³¹ Translation by LINTOTT (2013).

³² BUCKLER (2003: 478–488); ELLIS (1986: 168–180); ELLIS (1994: 773–781); ERRINGTON (1990: 54–56); GABRIEL (2010: 181–198); HORNBLOWER (2011: 285–286); MÜLLER (2010: 175–176); RHODES (2005: 316); WORTHINGTON (2014: 76–79).

³³ LINTOTT (2013: 63).

Perinthus seems clear, a case where Buckler does not have to provide any additional commentary, since both the referenced source and the surrounding notes and commentary, prove that Perinthus did in fact revolt against Athens during the Social War. In addition to this, we can find Perinthus on the stele of Aristoteles in line 84,³⁴ which proves that (at least at some point of time) Perinthus in fact was a member of the Second Athenian Confederacy. Overall, we have Perinthus as a state which is not mentioned by either Demosthenes or Isocrates, but we can prove that it was a member of the Confederacy and it revolted against Athens during the Social War.

In conclusion the argument against the membership of Kos by Sherwin-White and the other scholars is based upon the assumption that Demosthenes and Isocrates mentions every state which revolted in the Social War, implicitly stating that Demosthenes and Isocrates provides a full list of the rebels. Contrary to this we can find an opinion by Buckler that overall twelve states revolted against Athens during the war, presenting the possibility that more states could have revolted besides the three mentioned by Demosthenes and Isocrates. This list by Buckler does not have a detailed examination by him, which is definitely required because there can be several problems with the names and sources on the list, as we saw with the case of Andros. However, in the case of Perinthus we have a state of which we can prove that it was a member of the Confederacy and it revolted from Athens during the Social War and it is not mentioned by either Demosthenes or Isocrates. Based upon this we can safely state that neither Demosthenes nor Isocrates provides a full list of rebels, therefore the omission of Kos from their list does not mean that Kos was not a rebel and since Diodorus clearly indicates that Kos revolted in the war we do not have any reason to disregard Diodorus and can accept the likeliness that Kos was in fact a member of the Confederacy.

³⁴ RHODES & OSBORNE (2004: 22).

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LIBOR PRUŠA

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Channelling His Inner Semiramis: Alexander and His Quest to Overcome the Assyrian Queen

Alexander the Great desired to outdo all the great generals in history and one of them was the famed Queen Semiramis. The episodes from their lives were occasionally put in comparison, and both gained legendary status among the ancient rulers. Alexander eventually surpassed Semiramis, but why was she so important to Alexander? The life of Semiramis was for the first time described by Ctesias in his Persica. The problem is that he died several decades before the rule of Alexander. Therefore, he did not record the striking similarities between her life and the episodes from Alexander's conquest. Ctesias' original account was adapted by later authors who altered some elements of the story in the wake of Alexander's expedition. In this article, we will focus on the similarities in the episodes from the lives of two conquerors, how Alexander fared compared to the Assyrian queen, and who was responsible for putting the tales in comparison, whether it was Ctesias, Diodorus, or someone else.

Keywords: Alexander the Great, Semiramis, battle of Hydaspes, Sogdian Rock, Bactria, temple of Ammon

1. Introduction

The most famous conqueror of antiquity, Alexander the Great, spent much of his life on campaign, defeating his foes wherever he went. His desire to rule the whole known world and to set foot on the boundaries of the Earth was stopped only by his untimely death. He also wished to surpass previous mighty kings, real or legendary.¹ One of these rulers was the queen of Assy-

¹ Two are prominent – Cyrus the Great and Semiramis. Alexander's admiration for both is attested in many sources – Curt. 7, 6, 20; 9, 6, 23; Arr. An. 6, 24; Str. 15, 1, 5; Plin. HN. 6, 49.

ia, famous Semiramis. In the sources, she sometimes acted as a female counterpart of Alexander. She proved herself to be a skilled general as well as the founder of many cities and monuments across her empire. Several episodes from her life are, however, somewhat suspiciously similar to the events we know from the conquests of Alexander. There is no doubt that her deeds belong to the realm of legends (but as we will see, multiple real-life personalities were the inspiration for the life of the Assyrian queen). A mythical account of the ancient ruler itself would not be that suspicious; however, the first account of the life of Queen Semiramis in the Greek sources was written before Alexander was even born. Who was therefore responsible for the similar accounts in the lives of Alexander and Semiramis if there was any modification going on?

In this article, we will take a closer look at the problem of the transmission of the legend of the Assyrian queen. Several episodes from her life went through at a partial transformation from the original account given by Ctesias of Cnidus in the centuries following the life of Alexander. We will focus on the episodes, where the similarities between the rulers are the most obvious. Those are the campaigns of both generals in Central Asia and their journeys to India with a short mention of their trips to the sanctuary of Ammon as well. In these episodes, we can find allusions to the battles and endeavours of the Macedonian king. Throughout the article, we will focus on the original account of Ctesias and which later author could be responsible for possible modifications of the legend or who could add the parallels to Alexander's deeds.

2. Semiramis

The conquests of Alexander and his life are well-known,² therefore, it is not necessary to repeat them again here. On the other hand, we can summarize

² We have four main ancient sources dealing with his life – Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, Arrian's *Anabasis*, *Histories of Alexander the Great* by Curtius Rufus, and one book of Diodorus' *Historical Library* is dedicated to Alexander (D.S. 17). Two books of Justin's epitome are also centred on Alexander (Just. *Epit.* 11–12).

the life and deeds of Semiramis as we know them from the account of Diodorus (quoting Ctesias). Her name is sometimes associated with one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World – the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.³ But her fame far exceeded the construction of a sole structure. Her name is first attested in Herodotus' *Histories*. There we find only two brief mentions of the Assyrian queen who built banks on the river Euphrates and who had a city gate in Babylon named after her.⁴ Half a century after Herodotus, Ctesias of Cnidus was the first Greek author who gave a detailed account of her life. Much of the spirit of the original work is nevertheless lost since his *Persica* has not survived to the modern-day, and we have only fragments and notes from the works of later authors.

Ctesias' Semiramis was not completely his own creation. Several Assyrian queens could have influenced the Greek legend. The most notable one is her namesake – queen Šammu-ramat.⁵ The wife of Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V and the mother of Adad-Nirari III held considerable power during five years of her supposed rule or regency in the late ninth century BC. Her campaign alongside her son is attested on the stele found in Aššur.⁶ While the legendary queen bore the name of this woman and warfare is one of the most important points in the story, other queens (or more precisely, wives of the Assyrian kings; these women were not ruling themselves) from the Neo-Assyrian Empire also added elements to the legend.

By far the most prominent of them was Naqia (also called Zakutu). The wife of Sennacherib and the mother of Esarhaddon started many construction projects in Babylon and Nineveh, even owning vast amounts of land and estates as well as great wealth. Her powerful position was likely reflected in the legend of Semiramis,⁷ although she was possibly already mentioned by

³ For the existence and the location of this wonder, see BICHLER–ROLLINGER (2005); DALLEY (2013). In the more famous variant, the Gardens were built by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II for his wife (J. Ap. 1, 19). Diodorus explicitly denies that Semiramis built the Gardens (D.S. 2, 10, 1).

⁴ Hdt. 1, 184; 3, 155.

⁵ DALLEY (2005: 12–14); WATERS (2017: 46–47).

⁶ RIMA 3 A.0.104.2001.

⁷ DALLEY (2005: 15–21).

Herodotus as Nitocris.⁸ Two other women could also influence the overall story of Semiramis, Adad-guppi, the mother of Nabonidus, and the wife of Sargon II.⁹ The legend as we know it today was very likely a combination of the stories about different Assyrian queens, each adding new elements to the tale.¹⁰ If Ctesias did not model his account on eastern stories, then he could have based his Queen Semiramis on Greek legends and sources. As a reaction to Herodotus, Semiramis could be modelled on the Egyptian king Sesotris with the Assyrian queen eventually being more successful than him, or the Persian queen Atossa as described by Hellanicus could also be a candidate if we are not looking for an eastern source of the legend.¹¹

In a lengthy passage, Diodorus used Ctesias as one of his sources for his description of the history of Assyria.¹² It should be noted that Ctesias was not his only source, and this problem is also connected to the topic of our article. Diodorus also names Cleitarchus and a certain Athenaeus among other unnamed authors. While he allegedly read many works, his choice of episodes, the overall structure of the work, and the narrative were completely in his hands. Diodorus was free to pick any information he needed from various sources to pursue his own vision.¹³ That was highlighting the great deeds of famous personalities in history and how they improved the well-being of humankind, as benefactors (*euergetai*), in general.¹⁴ Ctesias' (or Diodorus') Semiramis suits this goal well. Let us now proceed to the legend of Semiramis as it is recorded by Diodorus.

⁸ Hdt. 1, 184–187. DALLEY (2005: 15). On the other hand, Nitocris could be a rendition of Nebuchadnezzar II – DREWS (1973: 79–80).

⁹ KÖNIG (1972: 34–37). According to him, the wife of Sargon could have played a part in the construction of the monuments during his reign.

¹⁰ Several different combinations were suggested: Šammu-ramat + Naqia (Zakutu) – PETTINATO (1985: 40–42); STRONK (2017: 526–530); LENFANT (2004: XLIV–XV); Naqia + Adad-guppi – BICHLER (2004: 503). Goddess Ishtar might have also influenced the story of Semiramis – GARDINER-GARDEN (1987: 5). For other roles of goddesses, see GERA (1997: 70–72).

¹¹ BICHLER (2014: 56–59).

¹² The account of Semiramis' life occupies about fifteen chapters in total – D.S. 2, 4–20.

¹³ On the method of Diodorus and his reception, positive, or negative, see for example: HORNBLOWER (1981: 27–32); SACKS (1990: 9–22); STYLIANOU (1998: 49–131); GREEN (2006: 25–34). In the context of the work of Ctesias, see STRONK (2010: 64–66); STRONK (2017: 36–37).

¹⁴ SACKS (1990: 23–82); GREEN (2006: 23–24). See also the prooemium of Diodorus (D.S. 1, 1–5).

Semiramis, a demigod (her mother was goddess Derceto, her father was a mortal man), was exposed as a baby, but then doves miraculously saved her. Raised by an attendant of the king, she was later married to the courtier Onnes. At that time, king Ninus was campaigning in Bactria but was unable to conquer the city of Bactra. Onnes sent for his wife, who not only exceeded every woman in beauty but proved herself to be very smart and skilled as a general as well. After she had helped to capture the fort (see below), Ninus fell in love with her and forced Onnes to divorce her. Ninus died soon after that and Semiramis became the queen of Assyria. Diodorus continues with a lengthy description of her works in Babylon, the city founded by her, followed by the foundations of many other monuments across her vast empire, mostly in Media or the Persis area. Diodorus also records her expedition to India. Despite her great efforts, she was unable to conquer the country and was defeated by the local king Stabrobates (see below). Diodorus then proceeds to the end of her reign, when she peacefully handed the throne to her son Ninyas, even though he was scheming against her.

Diodorus' account of the reign of Semiramis with Ctesias as one of his sources could be compared at some points to the other fragments, although not all of them used Ctesias as their source (or not directly). Diodorus mostly focuses on the great construction works of Semiramis and her military achievements, thus fulfilling his own goals, as he portrays the queen from a more heroic, positive perspective. Other sources tend to describe Semiramis more as a cruel, lustful woman.¹⁵ This is only mentioned in passing by Diodorus,¹⁶ as she supposedly consorted with many handsome soldiers, then killed them and buried them in mounds. There are other accounts of murders, either the murder of her husband Ninus,¹⁷ or even her own death at the hands of Ninyas.¹⁸ How many of these accounts were already present in Ctesias' *Persica* cannot be solved for his work is lost as are many other writings quoted

¹⁵ By Orosius (Oros. *Hist.* 1, 4, 4–8) for example.

¹⁶ D.S. 2, 13, 4.

¹⁷ Ael. *VH.* 7, 1. The source here was Dinon. The same story is told by Diodorus but assigned to unknown Athenaeus (D.S. 2, 20, 3–5).

¹⁸ Euseb. *Chron.* 17. Eusebius quotes Cephalion.

by Diodorus. As it appears, Diodorus chose specific stories from the work of Ctesias, while he downplayed Semiramis' darker side.¹⁹ To what extent his account is a representative piece of Ctesias' *Persica* remains a question.²⁰

To further complicate the issue, which will bring us closer to our topic, Diodorus did not rely solely on Ctesias. Diodorus mentions him by name a total of eleven times, by far the most among the authors in his second book.²¹ But did he use the original text, or did he already have a modified version of the work?²² Who could be the culprit that could be at the same time responsible for the inclusion of the allusions to the conquest of Alexander? The most obvious author in this case would be Cleitarchus. Diodorus also used his work as one of his sources. Cleitarchus even wrote on the same topics as Ctesias,²³ and most importantly was one of the biographers of Alexander. As one can expect, his work is lost. Therefore, we cannot make comparisons to *Persica* and *Bibliotheca*. Diodorus could have used Ctesias' work directly, or indirectly through the account of Cleitarchus (both options could have been possible in the end)²⁴ who could have reworked the episodes from the lives of Semiramis and Alexander and brought them closer together. Cleitarchus was also one of the sources for Diodorus' description of the conquest of Alexander, although never mentioned directly, thus he gave him less credit than was due.

Next to Cleitarchus, his father Dinon, also an author of *Persica*, could have altered the stories known from Ctesias in his own work,²⁵ in turn possibly used by Diodorus, although he never names him. There was also nothing that could stop Diodorus from inserting his own ideas into his work, and we have several examples of this.²⁶ The account of Queen Semiramis

¹⁹ COMPLOI (2002: 230–237).

²⁰ See for example BIGWOOD (1980: 198–203); STRONK (2017: 36–37).

²¹ For the sources of Diodorus for his second book, see BIGWOOD (1980: 196–198); GARDINER-GARDEN (1987: 8–9); STEVENSON (1997: 29–34); ECK (2003: XI–XIII).

²² ECK (2003: XV–XVI); STRONK (2010: 64–66). From the evidence gathered by these scholars, it looks like Diodorus did not rely on a reworked material.

²³ LENFANT (2009: 53–56).

²⁴ STRONK (2010: 64–69).

²⁵ JACOBY (1922: 2069). For an introduction to Dinon, his work, and his use of Ctesias, see LENFANT (2009: 53–74).

²⁶ For the examples of information not coming from Ctesias' *Persica* in the second book of

originating from Ctesias' *Persica* suffered from (possibly even more than one) modification, and the resulting legend in *Bibliotheca* could hardly be the same as in the early fourth century BC, when Ctesias finished his work. To be fair, there are many possibilities of what could have happened to the story and whose account was the source for the others. Whether Diodorus mixed more sources²⁷ but quoted Ctesias as the authority,²⁸ added bits of his own invention here and there²⁹ directly to the original or used an already modified *Persica*³⁰ can never be answered with any satisfying results. Obviously, it is not an answer one would strive for, but the fragmentary nature of the original texts leaves us no option to make absolute claims. While we cannot say what the original looked like, we can point out what was very likely not part of the text, at least not in the same way as narrated by the later sources. In the episodes, we can find similarities to the conquest of Alexander, and from time-to-time anachronisms³¹ that could not have been recorded by Ctesias, for he died before Alexander's campaigns. Let us now proceed to the episodes from the legend of Semiramis, which could have been influenced by the conquests of Alexander (or vice versa).

3. Siege of Bactra

We can encounter the first problematic passage in the course of the siege of Bactra. There, Ninus only captured the local fort with the help of Semiramis. The way Semiramis managed to conquer Bactra shows similarity to the siege of the Sogdian Rock known from Alexander's campaign. Ninus was a remarkably successful general himself, but the fort of Bactra was a tough nut to crack. After several victories in field battles, Ninus laid siege to the largest city of Bactria, which had grand fortifications and was well-prepared for a

Bibliotheca, see BIGWOOD (1980: 203–206).

²⁷ See n. 21.

²⁸ STRONK (2010: 66).

²⁹ In the case of Alexander, Semiramis, and *imitatio Alexandri*, see SULIMANI (2005); SZALC (2015).

³⁰ GOSENS (1940: 38–44).

³¹ See ECK (2003: XVI).

long siege. As time went on, Onnes sent for his wife, who already showed her wits while travelling (she created a dress perfectly suitable for a long journey), and then quickly captured the fort after observing the defences of the city. Semiramis noticed that many defenders of the stronghold were leaving their spots to help the defenders in the other parts of the city, as Ninus did not attack the stronghold directly due to its strong position. Semiramis thus took with her many soldiers who were accustomed to climbing the rocks and difficult terrain, passed through a ravine, and made her way to the top of the fort. Then she gave a signal to the attackers, while the defenders were struck with terror by her valiant effort and surrendered.³²

Alexander used similar tactics during the siege of the Sogdian Rock. Sogdians fled to the fort on the top of the mountain laughing at the peace offer of Alexander, as they believed the stronghold could not be conquered. Since they had enough provisions and the Rock was extremely steep, they responded that the soldiers of Alexander would need wings to capture the fort. This did not discourage the Macedonian king. He picked three hundred men experienced in rock climbing. Under the cover of darkness, they climbed the Rock on its steepest part, where the lowest number of defenders was expected. By dawn, they made their way to the top and gave a signal to Alexander. The shocked defenders then surrendered. This episode appears in *Anabasis* by Arrian and with some differences in the writing of Curtius.³³

We can easily dismiss the campaign of Ninus as fictitious; no Assyrian king ever ventured into Central Asia. Semiramis' legend might be influenced by several historical queens of Assyria, but none of them led soldiers through the rocky terrains of Bactra. The legendary account is nevertheless far too similar to the episode in the Alexander's conquest. Both generals face the same problem – a certain king of Central Asia (Bactrian or Sogdian) escapes to a well-fortified city, which cannot be captured by force.³⁴ The

³² D.S. 2, 6.

³³ Arr. *An.* 4, 18, 4–19, 5; Curt. 7, 11. For Arrian and his sources, see Bosworth (1993: 124–134).

³⁴ We can compare the descriptions of the places – D.S. 2, 6, 4: τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διὰ τε τὴν ὄχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὴν ἡδυνάτει κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν; Arr. *An.* 4, 18, 4–5: Ὁξιάργου αὐτὰς ὡς ἐς ἀνάλωτον δῆθεν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ὑπεκθεμένου ...

defenders have enough provisions to withstand the siege, therefore both generals have to show their wits. The taunting by Sogdians is missing from the account of Diodorus. Semiramis simply observes the progress of the siege and finds the best spot to attack – the place where guards are leaving their positions to help elsewhere in the stronghold.³⁵ Alexander observes the steepness of the Rock and the favourable conditions of barbarians, which infuriates him into trying to conquer the place.³⁶ The resolution is practically the same. Semiramis takes with her soldiers accustomed to rock climbing and captures a part of the stronghold after passing through an arduous ravine.³⁷ Alexander does not climb the Rock himself, but chooses three hundred soldiers experienced in rock climbing. They made their way to the top of the Rock in a night assault.³⁸

Both parties have to overcome environmental elements, either a ravine or the steepest part of the Rock³⁹ (combined with snow), to successfully capture the fort. There is also an interesting choice of word, to climb a rock (πετροβατεῖν), which is attested only three times in the Greek corpus, and twice it is connected to the episodes discussed. Both generals also attack the same spot, where they do not expect defenders or only a few of them.⁴⁰ Once the soldiers had climbed up, they gave a signal to the rest of the army below.⁴¹

καταλαμβάνει πάντη ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν.

³⁵ D.S. 2, 6, 7: Παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν καὶ κατασκευασμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένης, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδένα προσιόντα διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότες τὰς ἐνταῦθα φυλακὰς καὶ παραβοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τευχῶν κινδυνεύουσι.

³⁶ Arr. An. 4, 18, 6: ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον.

³⁷ D.S. 6, 8, 8: Διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διὰ τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβᾶσα, κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ...

³⁸ Arr. An. 19, 1–3: ξυνταξάμενοι δὴ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις αὐτῶ μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τριακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, ... ἐκδήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς προῦχώρου κατὰ τὸ ἀποτομώτατόν τε τῆς πέτρας ... οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαμβάνοντες.

³⁹ Curtius made them climb the least steep part of the Rock (Curt. 7, 11, 14: *qua minime asper ac praeeruptus aditus videbatur*), but this does not affect the story in any way.

⁴⁰ D.S. 2, 6, 7: τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότες τὰς ἐνταῦθα φυλακὰς; Arr. An. 4, 19, 1: καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον.

⁴¹ D.S. 2, 6, 8: καὶ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίων τεῖχος ἐσήμηνεν; Arr. An. 4, 19, 3:

In both accounts, the defenders are completely terrified (καταπλαγέντες and ἐκπλαγέντες) by the sight of an enemy army on the top of the fort or the Rock (ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας and τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα) and give up on defence.⁴² Both generals face the same situation, roughly in the same area, both employ the same tactics, and both successfully capture a seemingly impregnable fort with hardly any casualties. Before we proceed to the problem of the transmission, there are two other bits we need to point out.

The first one is the rival of both generals. Alexander fought against a king named Oxyartes.⁴³ The name itself is a corrupted form of a word of Persian origin.⁴⁴ Now comes the tricky part because exactly the same name, Oxyartes, appears in the account of Diodorus, where this Oxyartes is the king of the city of Bactra. This would bring us to the conclusion that even the name of the king was copied and the text of Ctesias' *Persica* was revised in the Hellenistic period,⁴⁵ but the question is much more complicated. The name Oxyartes appears only in one of the manuscripts of Diodorus' text. The general in *Persica* likely possessed a different name, not related to the general from *Anabasis*. Other variants from *Bibliotheca* suggest the name Exaortes or Hoxaortes.⁴⁶ While it is not completely different from Oxyartes, scholars opt to read this name as Exaortes/Xaortes, or even Zaortes as it is known from other manuscripts and sources.⁴⁷ We cannot say what the name mentioned by Ctesias was. Later writers could have connected this particu-

σινδόνας κατέσειον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων.

⁴² D.S. 2, 6, 8: Οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας καταπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπέγνωσαν; Arr. *An.* 4, 19, 4: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὀψεως καὶ πλείονάς τε ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὥπλισμένους ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς: οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ ἐγένοντο.

⁴³ Arr. *An.* 4, 18, 4; Curt. 7, 11, 1 (However! In this specific episode with the siege, the enemy is named Ariamazes by Curtius, but he knows Oxyartes as well – Curt. 8, 4, 21). Also, see Strabo (Str. 11, 11, 4).

⁴⁴ For the etymology, see SCHMITT (2006: 237–239).

⁴⁵ EDDY (1961: 122); AUBERGER (1991: 145, n. 16).

⁴⁶ See ECK (2003: 114).

⁴⁷ The editors of Diodorus' and Ctesias' works are more inclined not to connect Oxyartes from *Anabasis* and the king of Bactria from *Bibliotheca*. For the commentary, see BONCQUET (1987: 65–68); ECK (2003: 114–115, n. 46); LENFANT (2004: 237, n. 131); STRONK (2017: 93, n. 40).

lar story from the life of Semiramis to the conquest of Alexander by altering the name of the Bactrian king (at least in the case of one of the scribes who could have written the name as Oxyartes since the name possibly reminded him of Alexander's conquest).

The disagreements among the manuscripts are not the only problem related to the Bactrian king. In other sources that refer to the siege, this person appears as Zoroaster.⁴⁸ The Greek rendition of the name Zarathuštra bears no connection to the event from the reign of Alexander, therefore it breaks the link between the stories and cancels out the reading Oxyartes. On the other hand, Zoroaster does not appear anywhere else in the fragments of Ctesias, and the mage is not generally known as a king of Bactria or a commander. Justin (quoting Pompeius Trogus) and Eusebius (quoting Cephalion) could have connected the name to another famous personality from mythological time, especially if the original reading had been close enough with zeta, Zaortes.⁴⁹ If anything, their accounts show that Ninus' campaign in Bactria appeared in *Persica*, and it is not an invention of Diodorus. It is tempting to say that the episodes even contain the general with the same name, but that would be a hasty assumption, although the name from *Persica* was definitely altered through time and the sources. The later authors (and/or scribes) potentially modified the name to bring it closer to Zoroaster or Oxyartes, depending on the reading and their agenda. In the case of the latter, this would add another resemblance to the two stories already filled with parallels, but Diodorus himself was likely not responsible.

There is also a tiny detail in the episodes that shows a resemblance, although it is difficult to tell whether this was intentional. Both generals, Semiramis and Alexander, found their husband/wife during the siege. Next to the course of the battle and its outcome, we have another similarity on the level of private life:⁵⁰ Semiramis met Ninus during the siege of Bactra, and Alexander met Rhoxane during the siege of the Sogdian Rock. However, only

⁴⁸ Just. *Epit.* 1, 1, 9; Euseb. *Chron.* 28–29.

⁴⁹ GNOLI (2000: 43–44). See also n. 44.

⁵⁰ EDDY (1961: 122); SZALC (2015: 504); STRONK (2017: 97, n. 44).

the occasion of the meetings is the same because the ways they married are significantly different. Semiramis already had a spouse by that time, Onnes, and Ninus, who was impressed by her military skill and beauty, forced her husband to divorce her.⁵¹ On the other hand, Rhoxane, the daughter of Oxyartes, was a captive who had done nothing remarkable when it comes to the war. Alexander married her due to her extraordinary beauty (she was the second most beautiful woman in Asia).⁵² The marriage of Ninus and Semiramis is more of a tragic love triangle, while the marriage of Alexander is a completely straightforward affair, love at the first sight. The language does not show much resemblance either.⁵³ Ctesias probably devoted more space to the love story, but both episodes are passed over quite quickly in the later sources. Questions arise when we start to read other authors. Plutarch and Curtius do not place the meeting of Rhoxane and Alexander during the siege (of any rock).⁵⁴ If Diodorus, Arrian, or any of their sources wanted to point out that the marriage of both rulers took place under similar circumstances, then this part of the episode would count. Sadly, the key passage from Diodorus' work that could likely clarify things more (Alexander's siege of the Rock and the meeting with Rhoxane) is missing.

Since the original *Persica* and the works of the historians of Alexander are lost, the discussion on the transmission of the legend will always stay in the realm of speculation. We can try to disclose possibilities, and there are many of them,⁵⁵ but the final assumption should be marked with an asterisk. In no way could Ctesias refer to Alexander, therefore the later authors must have inserted the parallels in the stories. We could say that, in the case of this siege, Ctesias was the model; later authors copied this episode and assigned it to Alexander as one of the comparisons to Semiramis. However, this could also mean that Alexander never besieged the Rock, and it is only

⁵¹ D.S. 2, 6, 9–10.

⁵² Arr. *An.* 4, 19, 5. The first one was the wife of Darius III.

⁵³ Diodorus: ... ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς αὐτὴν ἐτίμησε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀνθρώπου σχῶν ἐρωτικῶς; Arrian: ... καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς.

⁵⁴ Curt. 8, 4, 23; Plut. *Alex.* 47, 7.

⁵⁵ For this specific episode, see the list by STRONK (2017: 533, n. 17).

a myth based on an older source. If the siege of the Rock indeed took place, then the Macedonian king appears to have been motivated to surpass Semiramis and knew the legend.⁵⁶ Did he want to imitate her deeds in real life? How much careful preparation, planning, and luck would he need to find a suitable place to emulate the same siege is beyond comprehension, even though, as the sources say, nothing was impossible for him.⁵⁷ Also, the sheer coincidence of the similarity of the two episodes, especially on a literary level, seems improbable.

If we abandon more speculative grounds, which author could be responsible for the parallels in the stories? We know the siege from three different sources. Diodorus assigns the siege to Semiramis (and presumably to Alexander in the missing part as well), Arrian and Curtius (although the occasion is slightly different in the case of these two writers) to Alexander. The course of the battle and the outcome always stay the same, and both rulers even marry there (in two sources). Diodorus based his account mostly on Ctesias (or at least he claims that). If Diodorus stayed true to *Persica* (and that seems to be troublesome if we consider his goals),⁵⁸ then Arrian and Curtius (or more likely their sources) would have to have been familiar with the work of Ctesias as well and narrate the same episode later. This way, Ctesias would be the source.⁵⁹ If Diodorus modified the episode following Alexander's campaign, then we have two options – Diodorus altered the legend himself, or

⁵⁶ See n. 1 and below.

⁵⁷ Plut. *Alex.* 5, 2; Arr. *An.* 4, 21.

⁵⁸ See n. 13 and 14. Also see SULIMANI (2011: 229–306).

⁵⁹ We should not omit one very important source or perhaps an inspiration: Herodotus. In some way, Ctesias and the historians of Alexander could continue in a tradition of sieges by famous generals. Herodotus narrates the way Sardis was captured (Hdt. 1, 84) and again we can find some similarities. Cyrus the Great tried to conquer Sardis by storm but failed. The fortifications were too strong and brute force not a suitable solution. Then, we have a story of one soldier who noticed that one section of walls was not well-guarded since the walls were too high, and thus any attack there was not expected. Consequently, this soldier found a way and scaled the high walls with the rest of the Persian army following him.

Parallels can be found here. We have an impregnable fort, neglected watch, observation of the defences, soldiers climbing the steep parts of the fort. It is possible that the real source for the deeds of Alexander and Semiramis is rooted somewhere else, although Herodotus denies Cyrus the glory, and it is a common soldier who helped to capture the city.

his unnamed source filled the story with parallels (even a combination of these two options would be possible). In the case Diodorus himself was the culprit, then Arrian and Curtius must have copied the episode from him.

The last option appears to be the most realistic for this episode. All three authors, Diodorus, Arrian, and Curtius, derived their accounts of the siege from one common source, only Diodorus assigned the episode to Semiramis earlier in his work as well. It is not easy to point to a non-existent work, but there is hardly a better solution. Arrian quotes Ptolemy and Aristobulus as his sources for *Anabasis*.⁶⁰ Curtius is much less clear about his sources, but he relied mostly on Cleitarchus and Diyllus.⁶¹ Diodorus used Cleitarchus for his account of Alexander, and partly for his history of Assyria.⁶² Cleitarchus would be a worthy candidate because he was familiar with both Alexander and the work of Ctesias. What could come next? Did Cleitarchus directly copy the story from Ctesias to his own work centred on Alexander, or create a very similar episode for his work and with others following him (whether Alexander really besieged the Rock is not important)? In this case, Diodorus would have to keep his story intact on two occasions, especially after he had read the original *Persica*. If other authors, Ptolemy or Aristobulus, were influenced by the episode from *Persica* and added a similar one to their accounts of Alexander is equally uncertain. We cannot discard the possibility that Diodorus was more active and transformed the episode from one of Alexanders' historians and retrospectively assigned the altered version to Semiramis (the siege of Bactra appeared in *Persica*, so maybe not many changes were necessary), while Arrian and Curtius followed the source for Alexander. Diodorus and one unknown text would be responsible for the similarities between the episodes. It is not a completely satisfying answer but, in our eyes, the most probable one.

With many options floating around and the lack of written material, the question of the siege will remain open. The siege of Bactra appeared in Cte-

⁶⁰ Arr. *An.* 1.pr.

⁶¹ See HAMMOND (1983: 116–159).

⁶² See HAMMOND (1983: 12–85).

sias' *Persica*, but we are missing more information on the event. If the way Semiramis captured the fort was already present there cannot be answered with any certainty. If any later author (Diodorus) changed the narrative for his work (on his own, or under the influence of another source) is not clear. The siege of the Sogdian Rock with parallels appears likewise in the works of Arrian and Curtius. Their episodes should be based on an older source, the same one Diodorus had access to before. Who that was (Cleitarchus probably, Ptolemy or someone else less likely) sadly cannot be answered.

4. Sanctuary of Ammon

One short episode from the lives of Semiramis and Alexander is connected to their visit to the sanctuary of Ammon. Located in the Siwa oasis in the middle of the Libyan desert, the temple was visited or consulted by several famous personalities (Hannibal, Cato the Younger, also legendary heroes, Perseus and Heracles), so there is thus no surprise that both generals travelled to the site. The accounts of their visits are not very detailed. Semiramis went to Africa after her travels in Asia.⁶³ Unlike Alexander, she was not a conqueror of Egypt, as her husband had already subdued this country before.⁶⁴ However, she added large parts of Libya and Aethiopia to her kingdom, surpassing the success of Alexander in Africa in this regard. Her visit to the temple of Ammon is summarized in two mere sentences. She inquired about her death. The oracle answered that she would disappear from among the men and receive undying honours. That would happen after her son Ninyas had conspired against her.⁶⁵ There is nothing more added to her stay in Egypt; only later is the prophecy fulfilled.⁶⁶

⁶³ See SULIMANI (2005: 45–53).

⁶⁴ D.S. 2, 2, 3.

⁶⁵ D.S. 2, 14, 3: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἐπῆλθε καὶ τῆς Λιβύης τὰ πλεῖστα καταστρεψαμένη παρήλθεν εἰς Ἀμμωνα, χρησομένη τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τελευτῆς. Λέγεται δ' αὐτῇ γενέσθαι λόγιον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθήσεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθανάτου τεύξεσθαι τιμῆς· ὅπερ ἔσεσθαι καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῇ Νινύας ἐπιβουλεύσῃ.

⁶⁶ D.S. 2, 20, 1.

Alexander's visit to the sanctuary is much more detailed, including the description of the route, the oasis, and the temple itself.⁶⁷ Contrary to Semiramis, Alexander primarily inquired about his origins, and who his real father was. There is an interesting juxtaposition, Semiramis asked the oracle about her death and Alexander about his birth. Alexander had more questions for the oracle, not only about his origin. He also inquired about his conquest of the world and the punishment of the murderers of Philip II. The sources agree that Alexander was delighted by the answers, as he was indeed the son of a deity, he would rule the whole of Asia, and the murder of Philip had been avenged. Therefore, both generals were demigods (Semiramis did not need confirmation from the oracle), both of their kingdoms were roughly the same size, and both were honoured as gods after their deaths.⁶⁸ Only some of this information was revealed by Ammon during their visits to the sanctuary, however.

We will now return to the transmission of the legend. While both rulers made their way to the temple and had questions for the god, both inquired about different affairs (the death of the queen compared to the origin and future exploits of the Macedonian king). If there is some hidden play with the opposites meant, the oracles carry more significant message, or a mere visit to the site would be sufficient for *imitatio Alexandri* is impossible to tell. How much space Ctesias dedicated to Semiramis' stay in Africa is not clear, and Diodorus is the only source who mentions Semiramis' visit to the temple of Ammon.

If we turn to the opinions of scholars, Alexander's visit to Siwa could be an adaption of Ctesias' work by the later author(s)⁶⁹ who added this episode and Diodorus copied it. Or it was an invention of Diodorus himself, who wished to put the lives of the king and queen in comparison.⁷⁰ The solution is probably much more simple, and not all scholars are looking for similarities in the case of this episode when it comes to the *imitatio Alexandri*.⁷¹ If

⁶⁷ D.S. 17, 49–51; Arr. *An.* 3, 3–4; Plut. *Alex.* 26, 10–27, 11; Curt. 4, 4–8.

⁶⁸ On the cult of Alexander, see CHANIOTIS (2003: 434–435).

⁶⁹ GOOSSENS (1940: 38–44).

⁷⁰ EDDY (1961: 123); SULIMANI (2005: 53–55); SZALC (2015: 499).

⁷¹ BONCQUET (1987: 107–108); ECK (2003: 137–138); STRONK (2017: 111, n. 119).

Ctesias wrote about Semiramis in Egypt (and he did),⁷² then her journey to Siwa was probably intended as a reflection of the same deed by Cambyses,⁷³ who later wished to campaign in Aethiopia as well.⁷⁴ The Ammon episode is thus just a coincidence, and no changes were needed to be made to the text of Ctesias. Trips to the oracle were also, frankly, quite common for famous personalities, and they were nothing that extraordinary.⁷⁵

5. Indian campaign

The legend of Semiramis then brings us to her campaign in India. It is one of the most detailed episodes in the account of Diodorus,⁷⁶ but still very brief in comparison to the long descriptions of Alexander's battles in that area.⁷⁷ The results of both campaigns are very different, and Alexander clearly surpassed his supposed idol on this occasion. How do they fare here? India was the last land in Asia still not under the rule of Assyrians. Semiramis prepared a large-scale invasion of the rich country. Her opponent was king Stabrobates.⁷⁸ Semiramis lacked any *casus belli*; the king even warned her of impending defeat, to which the queen replied only with laughter and further remarks. Semiramis took her time and spent three years preparing her army. The numbers are, as one would expect, completely overblown, as she commanded the army of three million foot soldiers, two hundred thousand cavalymen, and one hundred thousand chariots. Lacking real elephants, she devised their dummies to surprise Indians. Even though her effort was

⁷² Semiramis' expedition to Egypt is mentioned by Diodorus in the first book of *Bibliotheca* with Ctesias as the source as well (D.S. 1, 56, 5). This time it is connected to the foundation of Egyptian cities.

⁷³ ECK (2003: 136); LENFANT (2004: 242, n. 210). The journey of Cambyses to Siwa is mentioned by Diodorus (D.S. 10, 14, 3).

⁷⁴ Hdt. 3, 25–26.

⁷⁵ LENFANT (2004: 242–243, n. 211).

⁷⁶ D.S. 2, 16–19.

⁷⁷ The Indian campaign occupies almost two books (5 and 6) in *Anabasis*, the same can be said about Curtius (books 8 and 9). Diodorus dedicates about twenty chapters to it (D.S. 17, 84–105); Plut. *Alex.* 57–66.

⁷⁸ For the name (of Iranian, not of Indian origin), see EILERS (1971: 24, n 24); BONCQUET (1987: 114); ECK (2003: 139–140); SCHMITT (2006: 280–282).

huge, Stabrobates amassed an even greater army and many well-armed elephants. The battle of the Indus, if we can use this name, started in favour of Semiramis. Her boats took command of the river. Then she built a large bridge over the river and crossed it with most of her army. The attack of cavalry by Stabrobates was in vain, as the horses were scared by camels. Nevertheless, the charge of elephants proved to be decisive. The army of Semiramis was crushed by the beasts, Stabrobates himself attacked Semiramis and even injured her. The queen fled, and many of her soldiers drowned in the river during the retreat. Then she cut down the bridge and returned to Bactria, soundly defeated.

If Alexander wanted to surpass Semiramis, then the stakes were honestly not that high. The queen crossed only the river Indus and lost the battle, while Alexander made much more of an impression during his Indian campaign. Since Semiramis' invasion was short-lived, there are not many points where we can draw comparisons to Alexander. The most notable would be the battle of Hydaspes and the return from India (see below). Where Alexander was victorious, Semiramis failed. The rest of the campaign is naturally different. Alexander continued to the river Hyphasis, where his army refused to go further. Then the Macedonian king turned southwards and made his way to the ocean before crossing the desert back to Persia.

We can safely say that the campaign of Semiramis is a legend.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, she was a competitor alongside Cyrus to Alexander,⁸⁰ whose successes in the East were eventually greater than his models'. Are there any similarities in the battles and campaigns? The invasion of India was featured already in *Persica*,⁸¹ it was hardly an invention of a later author, especially when the military operations do not completely mirror one another. In fact, in the account of Semiramis' invasion, we can find more parallels to the campaigns of Ach-

⁷⁹ However, the battle itself might reflect real events – the Assyrian campaign to Elam and the battle of river Ulai. See ECK (2003: 143); DALLEY (2003: 183–187).

⁸⁰ ECK (2003: XVI–XVII).

⁸¹ It is mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus (only very briefly – Nic.Dam. *FGrH* 90 F1 = *Exc. De insid.* 3, 24) and by Eusebius (quoting Cephalion – Euseb. *Chron.* 29), therefore it is assumed that Ctesias' *Persica* already contained this episode – STRONK (2017: 531).

aemenid kings rather than to Alexander's.⁸² This would mean that Ctesias was reacting to Herodotus and the expedition to India was never meant primarily to be parallel to Alexander, who could potentially have been inspired by the legend. There are, indeed, hints that the text of Ctesias was slightly changed after the time of Alexander, but the campaign was a reference to Cyrus, Darius, and maybe even Xerxes, although Megasthenes even denies that Cyrus or Semiramis ever campaigned in India.⁸³ Semiramis employs Phoenicians for the building of the ships, just as Darius did.⁸⁴ Semiramis builds a pontoon bridge, then crosses the natural boundary and is heavily defeated.⁸⁵ Two Achaemenid kings also campaigned in India or ruled over Indians, Cyrus and Darius.⁸⁶ The use of camels by Semiramis refers to the battle between Cyrus and Croesus where camels scared the enemy cavalry.⁸⁷ If we are looking for parallels, then the campaign of Cyrus against Derbices⁸⁸ also features similar elements including the defeat of the ruler (in the case of Cyrus, even his death), crossing a natural boundary, and most of all – elephants. The Indian campaign of Semiramis was thus not completely reworked or even created by one of the Hellenistic authors to suit the narrative of Alexander's conquest.

However, we can still find bits and pieces of later additions to the text. If we want to compare the battles of the generals, then both again face the same situation. Semiramis and Alexander had to fight against an enemy with plenty of elephants.⁸⁹ The battlefield was also divided by a great river (Indus and Hydaspes) and crossing was not an easy task. The way both generals solved this problem is not the same: Semiramis built a bridge, and Alexander found a ford. The battle of Hydaspes itself could have been a model for (or at least had a con-

⁸² BONCQUET (1987: 113); ECK (2003: 31, n. 3); LENFANT (2004: 243, n. 233); RUFFING (2011: 358); STRONK (2017: 113, n. 130); WATERS (2017: 45).

⁸³ Arr. *Ind.* 5, 7; 9, 10; Str. 15, 1, 6.

⁸⁴ BONCQUET (1987: 117).

⁸⁵ Outcome similar to Darius' invasion of Scythia and Xerxes' of Greece – LENFANT (2004: 234, n. 223).

⁸⁶ No account offers many details – Cyrus (X. *Cyr.* 1, 4; Str. 15, 1, 5; Arr. *An.* 6, 24, 3) and Darius (Hdt. 4, 44).

⁸⁷ Hdt. 1, 80.

⁸⁸ WATERS (2017: 124, n. 48).

⁸⁹ Arr. *An.* 5, 9; D.S. 17, 87; Curt. 8, 44.

siderable influence on) the fight between the Assyrian queen and Stabrobates, even though the results varied unless it was the other way around – the battle of Hydaspes was an homage to Semiramis. Most of the similarities are connected to the elephants and their use in the battles. The sources pointed out that the horses are scared of elephants,⁹⁰ and the cavalry charge of Stabrobates against dummy-elephants even failed (although due to camels). Stabrobates and Porus used the same formation – elephants in front,⁹¹ followed by foot soldiers; their cavalry (and chariots in the case of Porus) proved to be useless. Both Indian kings mounted the greatest elephant.⁹² The beasts were equipped in such a way as to cause terror among enemies.⁹³ Elephants caused a great slaughter in both battles, among friends and foes alike.⁹⁴ They became the decisive factor in

⁹⁰ D.S. 2, 17, 2; Arr. An. 5, 10, 2; 5, 15, 4.

⁹¹ Both Semiramis and Stabrobates fielded real or dummy elephants in front – D.S. 2, 19, 2; 2, 19, 4. We can also find a note that Semiramis deployed the dummies in equal intervals: καὶ τῶν κατεσκευασμένων ἐλεφάντων πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν ἴσοις διαστήμασι τεταγμένων. This matches the description of the deployment of elephants by Porus (D.S. 17, 87, 4): τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας καταπληκτικῶς κεκοσμημένους κατὰ μέτωπον ἐν ἴσοις διαστήμασιν ἔστησεν. Arrian even adds a precise length of intervals (Arr. An. 5, 15, 5): πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μείον πλέθρου. Cf. Curt. 8, 13, 6.

⁹² D.S. 2, 19, 4: τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου θηρίου ποιούμενος; D.S. 17, 88, 4: τεταγμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ἐλεφάντων. Plut. Alex. 60, 6: καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας.

⁹³ Repeated two times in connection to Stabrobates – D.S. 2, 16, 2: ἐλέφαντες πολλοὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημένοι τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς; 2, 17, 7: ἐκόσμησεν ἅπαντας τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς λαμπρῶς. And once to Semiramis, 2, 16, 8: εἶδωλα τούτων τῶν ζώων, ἐλπίζουσα καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. Diodorus then repeats the description during the battle of Hydaspes – D.S. 17, 87, 4: τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας καταπληκτικῶς κεκοσμημένους.

⁹⁴ D.S. 2, 19, 6. The attack of elephants by Stabrobates:

Διόπερ πολὺς καὶ παντοῖος ἐγένετο φόνος, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποπιπτόντων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀνασχιζομένων, ἐνίων δὲ ταῖς προβοσκίσις ἀναρριπτούμενων. Συχνοὺ δὲ πλήθους νεκρῶν σωρευομένου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς ὁρῶσι δεινὴν ἔκπληξιν καὶ φόβον παριστάντος, οὐδεὶς ἔτι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως ἐτόλμα.

D.S. 17, 88, 1. The attack of elephants by Porus: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐλεφάντων ταῖς τε τῶν σωμάτων ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς δεόντως χρωμένων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων συμπατοῦμενοι μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων θραυομένων τῶν ὁστῶν ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δὲ ταῖς προνομαῖς περιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἑξαρθέντες πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐράττοντο καὶ δεινοῖς θανάτοις περιέπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁδοῦσι συγκεντούμενοι καὶ δι' ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων τιτρωσκόμενοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ ζῆν ἑστερίσκοντο.

A shorter description of bloodshed and chaos is also mentioned by Arrian (An. 5, 17, 6): ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φιλίους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον.

the battle against Semiramis, but Alexander managed to overcome this obstacle. Despite the victory, he was soon forced to leave the country as well after a mutiny of his army. Nevertheless, he outshined the Assyrian queen.

To what extent could one description of a battle influence the other one? The account of the battle by Ctesias is lost, but we can assume that Diodorus (or his source) changed some passages in the wake of the battle of Hydaspes. The campaign itself and the outcome stayed from the original text. If Diodorus followed Ctesias closely, then the unsuccessful expedition to India mirrors the defeats of Achaemenid kings elsewhere or, perhaps, it serves as an echo of the campaign of Darius to India (see above). If later authors wanted to celebrate Alexander over Semiramis, then there was no need to change the outcome of the invasion written by Ctesias. Where the queen failed, Alexander won the battle and went much farther. Most of the similarities come from the use of elephants. Diodorus employs similar wording and style when he speaks about the beasts. He is very likely simply quoting himself if the same vocabulary was not featured in his sources for Alexander's campaign already. The fascination with the beasts is not limited to the time after Alexander only. Ctesias himself describes elephants and their use in a war in his *Indica*.⁹⁵ The elephants were known to Greeks before Alexander and even earlier to Assyrians.⁹⁶ Ctesias could be writing in a similar tone when it comes to the elephants, but from the quotes above it should be clear that Diodorus' expedition of Semiramis owes something to the battle of Hydaspes. If we take a different stance, someone (Cleitararchus?) could have taken the account of Ctesias that already contained a description of extremely powerful elephants and embellished it further. In this case, again, the extant sources would have needed to copy this information independently of one another, and Diodorus would have to have kept this updated version over the original text of Ctesias, whom he was using.

From other possible later additions to Ctesias' text, we can find an anachronism that could not appear in *Persica*. The elephants of Stabrobates car-

⁹⁵ For example, Ael. *NA*. 17, 29; Phot. *Bibl.* 72 §7. For elephants in the account of Ctesias, see SCULLARD (1974: 33–36).

⁹⁶ GOUKOWSKY (1972: 474); cf. SCULLARD (1974: 28–29). Alexander encountered elephants in the battle of Gaugamela for the first time – see CHARLES (2008).

ried towers on their backs.⁹⁷ This is known only from the Hellenistic period onwards, and it was probably an addition to the text by Diodorus.⁹⁸ Another passage possibly altered in later times was the battle order and the position of Stabrobates who takes command on the right wing of his army, thus occupying the same position as Alexander. In the battle, he supposedly used an oblique order,⁹⁹ a tactic not employed until 371 BC, after Ctesias finished his works. While this could mean that Ctesias' work was rewritten, the alteration of the text is disputed, and it is probably a literary device to pit two generals directly against each other.¹⁰⁰

The Indian campaigns have varied results. Alexander clearly outshone Semiramis, who was defeated immediately after crossing the river of the Indus. The Macedonian king was more successful this time. The battle of Hydaspes is echoed in the expedition of Semiramis, most notably in the usage of elephants during the battle. Now, there is one last point connected to the campaigns and their similarities – their aftermath. Alexander topped Semiramis' deeds in India, then he wished to surpass her during the return trip to the core of the empire. To achieve this, he planned to cross the Gedrosian desert. According to Nearchus (who points out at local stories),¹⁰¹ Alexander wanted to exceed both Cyrus and Semiramis, who made it through with only a handful of men, Semiramis with twenty, Cyrus with seven. Alexander's journey through the inhospitable region was equally disastrous, as he lost many men along the way. Nevertheless, he returned with more men than Cyrus and Semiramis, therefore it would count for his achievement and desires.

By what kind of legend was Alexander inspired? Nearchus (quoted above) said that Semiramis returned through the desert after her defeat, and

⁹⁷ D.S. 2, 17, 8: τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν θωρακίων κατασκευὴν. Diodorus later repeats this during the battle of Hydaspes where the elephants themselves resemble towers (D.S. 17, 87, 5): ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐλεφάντων στάσις τοῖς πύργοις. Cf. Curt. 8, 14, 13.

⁹⁸ GOUKOWSKY (1972: 475, n. 10). See also BONCQUET (1987: 120); STRONK (2017: 117, n. 146). For the towers on the backs of elephants, see also SCULLARD (1974: 240–245).

⁹⁹ GOOSSENS (1940: 41–42); AUBERGER (1990: 149).

¹⁰⁰ ECK (2003: 142–143).

¹⁰¹ Arr. *An.* 6, 24sq; Str. 15, 1, 5; 15, 2, 5. Arrian and Strabo explicitly name Nearchus as their source. The same story of crossing the desert by Alexander, but without a reference to Semiramis, can be found in other sources: D.S. 17, 105; Curt. 9, 10, 8–17; Just. *Epit.* 12, 10, 7.

Cyrus made an ill-fated expedition to India through Gedrosia. Megasthenes claims that there were no campaigns by either.¹⁰² There are no mentions of any Indian campaign of Cyrus by Herodotus and Ctesias.¹⁰³ Save for the tradition mentioned by Nearchus, we also do not have direct evidence that Semiramis (or Cyrus) crossed the desert. When we look at the fragments of Ctesias, this part is missing, if it ever existed. In the account of Diodorus (very likely taken from *Persica*), we can find information that contradicts the claims of Nearchus and his supposed sources. After her defeat in India, Semiramis made her way to Bactra with only one-third of her original force.¹⁰⁴ Diodorus mentioned the exact number of her army before, thus she would have returned with one million soldiers. Even though the casualties were severe, it is still nowhere near close to the twenty men stated by Nearchus. With the lack of mention of any desert crossing, we would assume that in the case of this episode, the legend of Semiramis that served as an inspiration for Alexander did not come from the work of Ctesias. At the same time, however, we cannot claim with any certainty what happened to his text between his time and the usage of it by Diodorus (who could simply have dropped the episode), therefore we would not take the aforementioned statement as a matter of fact.

Who would want to compare Alexander, Cyrus, Semiramis, and their desert suffering is difficult to trace. Nearchus' statement is very vague, Alexander is simply fuelled by excelling his predecessors,¹⁰⁵ but there is complete silence in the sources older than Alexander on the supposed campaigns of Cyrus and Semiramis. If Alexander was really inspired by existing legends,¹⁰⁶ then they come from a source we do not have access to. Moreover, Nearchus could not adjust the episode to Semiramis post quem, since Alexander would have to have known it beforehand, as Nearchus was his contemporary. The

¹⁰² See n. 83.

¹⁰³ BICHLER (2014: 60).

¹⁰⁴ D.S. 2, 19, 10: δύο μέρη τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβεβληκυῖα.

¹⁰⁵ Arr. An. 6, 24, 3: καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κῦρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν.

¹⁰⁶ NAWOTKA (2010: 331).

comparison is obvious¹⁰⁷ if we simply read Nearchus, but the legend becomes more complicated with Diodorus' account in hand. If there was some reworking done before or after Alexander's conquest, or a parallel legend of Semiramis existed cannot be answered due to the lack of sources.

The Gedrosian episode is also important from another perspective. We were focusing on the comparisons between Alexander and Semiramis and how could the deeds of one ruler influence the other. It should be then noted that in the main sources for Alexander's campaign, Semiramis is almost not present. She is mentioned by name three times in *Anabasis* (twice in connection to Gedrosia), once by Curtius, and not at all by Diodorus (in book 17), Plutarch, and Justin. Strabo has the same information as Arrian. From Alexander's wish to emulate the successes of past rulers, we might get an impression that Semiramis is omnipresent in the account, but that is very far from the truth, and even the crossing of the desert is questionable (see above). If Alexander raved about the Assyrian queen that much, then it is not fully reflected in the sources. Cyrus is more prominent, and his name appears more frequently, but the comparison between him and Alexander is a topic for further research.

6. Conclusion

In this article, we focused on the comparisons between the lives of Semiramis and Alexander and how certain episodes could have been transmitted from one source to another. We have chosen three episodes where the similarities can be found: the siege of Bactra or the Rock, the trip to Siwa, and the Indian campaign followed by the crossing of Gedrosia. The problem of the original text and the source for the episodes remains. Diodorus' account of Semiramis, where he used Ctesias, Cleitarchus, and other possible authors, will always be marked with an asterisk, as his sources are not extant. Unfortunately, the same can be said about the accounts of Alexander's life and campaign since we are missing the works by the authors living in the time

¹⁰⁷ EDDY (1961: 123).

of Alexander and shortly after. If we suppose that the comparisons were drawn by one of the authors whose work is not preserved, then there will always be a void of uncertainty and no direct evidence can be shown. Let us now summarize the accounts.

We have three very similar descriptions of the sieges in the lives of Semiramis and Alexander. Both faced the enemy encamped in a well-fortified position, and both successfully conquered the place. Semiramis captured the city of Bactra, Alexander the Rock of Sogdiana or the Rock of Ariamazes. The places differ, but the process and the outcome remain the same. The Assyrian queen observed the defences and travelled through difficult terrain with soldiers skilled in climbing the rocky terrain. She made it to the top of the fort and gave a signal to the rest of the army. Alexander chose soldiers skilled in rock climbing who scaled to the top of the Rock and waved back down to Alexander. The defenders were on both occasions perplexed and surrendered. We can find similarities in the usage of language as well. There is also a disputed name of the local king, which was very likely not copied between the sources. Many different variants of the name show that the name stated by Ctesias (and quoted by Diodorus) was not the same as the name of the Sogdian king. Alexander and Semiramis find their loved ones during the siege, but the historians of Alexander do not agree on the place of the meeting with Rhoxane.

Where this episode came from is difficult to answer with any certainty. The accounts show too much resemblance to one another, therefore all three authors likely shared one common source. But who could that have been? They are too many possibilities floating around due to the lack of extant sources. The most logical creator of the episode would be Cleitarchus. Diodorus and Curtius used his writing. Arrian quotes different sources, but he possibly gathered this story from him as well, unless it also appeared in the works of Ptolemy, Aristobulus, or Nearchus. We should not forget that Diodorus wrote about Semiramis, so there is also another aspect of transmission. Whether Diodorus himself simply used a later episode for the life of Semiramis, reworked the pre-existing story in *Persica* along the lines of

Alexander's conquest, or directly quoted his source for Assyrian history is not certain, but the second option seems the most probable, especially when we compare his account of the Indian campaigns of both generals. There is even a distinct possibility that this episode with the siege could be a reference to Herodotus and the siege of Sardis, where we can find a similar account of the conquest of the fort, therefore we could look for the real source somewhere else.

In the case of the visit to the temple of Ammon, the similarity lies in the visit itself. Alexander and Semiramis have different questions for the god, the prophecies are not exactly the same, then they both go different ways. It was pretty common for famous personalities to visit this site, and both rulers are just names among others on the list.

The Indian campaigns have very different outcomes. Semiramis is swiftly defeated, Alexander is victorious but eventually forced to return. We can find similarities in the fight against Indian king and most notably in the descriptions of elephants. This is mostly the work of Diodorus. He uses the same language when it comes to the battle tactics, strength, equipment, and havoc caused by elephants. It is hard to tell whom he followed since all the sources appear to be absolutely fascinated by these animals and their battle abilities. Diodorus' account of Semiramis' campaign also shows hints of other later additions to the text of Ctesias, possibly made by Diodorus himself. The crossing of Gedrosian desert is the only time when we can find direct comparison between Semiramis and Alexander. The Macedonian king wished to eclipse Cyrus and Semiramis, who suffered great losses during the crossing, only to see the great suffering of his own army. This episode is mentioned by Nearchus and was probably his creation. We have no traces of campaigns of Cyrus and Semiramis across the desert and the primary sources for the Assyrian queen, Ctesias/Diodorus, let her leave India for Bactra. In a paradoxical situation, when we have explicit comparison of the two rulers, then the particular episode might have never been a part of the legend in the older period before Alexander.

Let us summarize the Alexander's wishes to overcome the Assyrian

queen. Her name appears very sparingly throughout the sources, and explicit comparison is made only in the case of the crossing of the desert. Two further episodes, the siege in Central Asia and the battle against the Indian king with many elephants, shows many parallels and should come from one common source (in the case of the siege) or were added to the legend of Semiramis in the aftermath of Alexander's campaign in India. If Alexander knew the legend and was really inspired by it, then there are still only a handful of moments where he reacts to the Assyrian queen. What kind of legend he knew is also a question. The original account was written by Ctesias whose work could have been adapted in the later times to add the episodes connected to Alexander.¹⁰⁸ The legend itself could come from the Mesopotamian area and was recorded by Cleitarchus, who drew the parallels with Alexander.¹⁰⁹ Or Diodorus himself was actively trying to portray Semiramis as his heroine with Alexander as a model for her.¹¹⁰ These conclusions suggest quite a significant reworking of the text, but the extant account of the legend by Diodorus shows parallels between Semiramis and the Achaemenid kings as well.¹¹¹ As we have shown above, some episodes were indeed slightly reworked in later times and indicate parallels between Semiramis and Alexander, but the core of the tales of Semiramis was already present in *Persica*.

We should not forget one aspect – that Alexander reacted to the continuity of one empire stretching across Asia and some neighbouring areas and wished to become the master of the known world just like the Assyrians and Achaemenids had been before him, with Semiramis and Cyrus as the prime examples.¹¹² The continuity of the empires is a staple in the Greek imagination.¹¹³ Alexander was not going to uproot this tradition. He achieved great goals just like the previous rulers of Asia, namely Semiramis and Cyrus.

¹⁰⁸ GOOSSENS (1940: 38–44); BRIANT (1984: 31); AUBERGER (1990: 149).

¹⁰⁹ EDDY (1961: 123–124).

¹¹⁰ SZALC (2015); SULIMANI (2015).

¹¹¹ See n. 82.

¹¹² STRONK (2017: 533–536).

¹¹³ LANFRANCHI–ROAF–ROLLINGER (2003); STRONK (2017: 534).

Since he wished to be venerated as legendary ruler, he had to go toe-to-toe with those kings and queens and face the same troubles and challenges. He came off no worse than them and even surpassed them on several occasions as we have seen in this article as well, thus he rightfully belonged among the greatest commanders of all time.

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Water colder than boreal snow: an analysis of the motif of drinking cold water in the epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum

In this paper I analyse the motif of drinking cold water in the poems of Leonidas of Tarentum, showing the relation of his epigrams to the works of Anyte and of other Hellenistic poets, focusing on metaphorical and programmatic meaning. Epigrams 16 and 18 GP of Anyte are interpreted as opening poems of a collection. The famous metaphor of drinking from the sacred fountain, instead of a polluted river, comes from Callimachus Hymn 2, 108–112, which is similar to the opposition in Leonidas' 86 GP. The ecphrasis of a cup represents poetic work in Theocritus Idyll 1. By comparing these texts, I argue that epigrams of Leonidas are related not only with Anyte's poems, but also with the works of other Hellenistic authors and the drinking motif should be read metaphorically, as referring to poetic activity, not as a simple bucolic scene.

Keywords: Leonidas of Tarentum, cold water, cup, poetic program, Anyte, Callimachus, Theocritus

'Stranger, rest thy weary legs under the elm...' ¹ – so begins the poem of Anyte, inviting a wanderer to stop, rest and enjoy the shade and a cold stream. This epigram became a model for many later poets, including epigrammatists writing on bucolic subjects, such as Nikias 5 GP = AP 9, 315. Streams and springs are an important part of the pastoral landscape represented in Theocritus' *Idylls*, some of which appear to be influenced by the poems of Anyte. The motif is also developed in the epigrams of another Hellenistic poet, Leonidas of Tarentum. He is known for poems describing simple folk,

¹ Anyte HE 18 = AP 16, 228. The translations of all the epigrams are from the *Greek Anthology*: W.R. PATON (1916–1918).

artisans and scenes of a pastoral or rural nature, such as in epigram 86 GP = AP 16, 230, which includes the motif of drinking cold water. In this paper, I analyse those epigrams of his which concern drinking from streams and the gifts offered at springs, and juxtapose the epigrams of Leonidas with the works of other Hellenistic poets, showing how the Tarentine reworks the subject and how it is related to the other poetic programs of the time.

Leonidas 86 GP = AP 16, 230²

μὴ σὺ γ' ἐπ' οἰονόμοιο περίπλεον ἰλύος ᾧδε
τοῦτο χαραδραίης θερμόν, ὀδίτα, πίης·
ἀλλὰ μολὼν μάλα τυτθὸν ὑπὲρ δαμαλήβοτον ἄκραν
ταύταν, παρ κείνα ποιμενία πίτυϊ
εὐρήσεις κελαρύζον ἐϋκρήνου διὰ πέτρης
νᾶμα, Βορειαίης ψυχρότερον νιφάδος.

Traveller, drink not here in the solitude this warm water so full of mud from the torrent, but go a little farther over this hill whereon the heifers are grazing, and by the shepherds' pine there you will find a fountain bubbling up through the generous rock, colder than the snow from the north.

For this poem, epigrams 16 and 18 GP of Anyte seem to serve as a model. However, Leonidas is not simply imitating the poetess, as he also reverses some elements to create a new meaning for his work:

Anyte 16 GP = AP 9, 313

ἴξευ ἅπας ὑπὸ καλὰ δάφνας εὐθαλέα φύλλα,
ὥραίου τ' ἄρυσαι νάματος ἀδὺ πόμα,
ὄφρα τοι ἀσθμαίνοντα πόνοις θέρεος φίλα γυῖα
ἀμπαύσης, πνοιῇ τυπτόμενα Ζεφύρου.

² The edition of all the epigrams is the *Greek Anthology*: H. BECKBY, ed. (1965–1968).

Sit here, quite shaded by the beautiful luxuriant foliage of the laurel, and draw sweet drink from the lovely spring, that thy limbs, panting with the labours of summer, may take rest beaten by the western breeze.

Anyte 18 GP = AP 16, 228

Ξεῖν', ὑπὸ τὰν πετελέαν τετρυμένα γυῖ' ἀνάπαυσον·
 ἄδύ τοι ἐν χλωροῖς πνεῦμα θροεῖ πετάλοις·
 πίδακ' ἄ τ' ἐκ παγαῶς ψυχρὸν πίε: δὴ γὰρ ὀδίταις
 ἄμπαυμ' ἐν θερμῷ καύματι τοῦτο φίλον.

Stranger, rest thy weary legs under the elm; hark how sweetly the breeze murmurs in the green leaves; and drink a cold draught from the fountain; for this is indeed a resting-place dear to travellers in the burning heat.

The first difference is at the beginning of the poem with the advice given to the wanderer. Anyte invites a traveller to stop or sit; Leonidas instead exhorts him to go on until he reaches a better place to rest. Likewise, the Tarentine in the opening lines tells the passer-by not to drink (μὴ σὺν ... πίης), while the poetess invites him to do so. Smaller analogues can also be found in the poem of Leonidas, but with slightly changes, such as a naming of the wind – in AP 9, 313 it is Zephyrus, whereas in AP 16, 230 it is Boreas. Leonidas names this wind to underline the coldness of the water: it is even colder than the snow in the north, making the contrast between cold and warm even more striking than in Anyte's poems. The word οἰονόμοιο, meaning either 'solitary' or 'feeding the sheep', also occurs in the other poem of the poetess, 3 GP = AP 19, 291.³ This term is used to describe the stream, warm and muddy, unlike the fountain of Anyte and the further spring with cold water situated next to the pine, which in poetry is considered a typical pastoral tree,⁴ and appears here with an epithet, ποιμενία ('of shepherds').

³ GOW-PAGE (1965: 386).

⁴ SENS (2006: 152).

Cool water also plays an important part in epigrams 3 and 5 GP of Leonidas. Both poems belong to the votive type and describe the gifts offered at springs:

Leonidas 3 GP = AP 6, 334

αὐλία καὶ Νυμφέων ἱερὸς πάγος, αἱ θ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ
 πίδακες, ἧ θ' ὕδασιν γειτονέουσα πίτυς,
 καὶ σὺ τετραγλώχιν, μηλοσσόε, Μαιάδος Ἑρμᾶ,
 ὅς τε τὸν αἰγιόβτην, Πάν, κατέχεις σκόπελον,
 ἴλαοι τὰ ψαιστὰ τό τε σκύφος ἔμπλεον οἴνης
 δέξασθ', Αἰακίδεω δῶρα Νεοπτολέμου.

Caves and holy hill of the Nymphs, and springs at the rock's foot, and thou pine that stands by the water; thou square Hermes, son of Maia, guardian of the sheep, and thou, Pan, lord of the peak where the goats pasture, graciously receive these cakes and the cup full of wine, the gifts of Neoptolemus of the race of Aeacus.

Leonidas 5 GP = AP 9, 326

πέτρης ἐκ δισσῆς ψυχρὸν κατεπάλμενον ὕδωρ,
 χαίροις, καὶ Νυμφέων ποιμενικὰ ξόανα,
 πίστραι τε κρηνέων, καὶ ἐν ὕδασι κόσμια ταῦτα
 ὑμέων, ὧ κοῦραι, μυρία τεγγόμενα,
 χαίρετ': Ἀριστοκλέης δ' ὅδ' ὁδοιπóρος, ᾧ περ ἀπῶσα
 δίψαν βαψάμενος τοῦτο δίδωμι γέρας.

Hail, thou cold stream that leapest down from the cloven rock, and ye images of the Nymphs carved by a shepherd's hand! Hail, ye drinking troughs and your thousand little dolls, ye Maidens of the spring, that lie drenched in its waters! All hail! And I, Aristocles the wayfarer, give you this cup which I dipped in your stream to quench my thirst.

Epigram 3 GP accumulates elements related to the pastoral world and common in Anyte's epigrams and the bucolic *Idylls* of Theocritus:⁵ the cave, the springs, the pine, the rural gods with a description underlining their function (μηλοσσόε – 'guarding the sheep', αἰγιόβτην, Πάν, κατέχεις σκόπελον – 'Pan, who watches over a hill where the goats pasture'). Also the gifts offered are simple and proper for a herdsman. In this context, the dedicator revealed in the last line is somewhat surprising – Neoptolemos, a sovereign. I will not discuss here the historical context of the poem, as it is quite uncertain,⁶ but more important for the purpose of this paper are the motifs of the stream and of the gifts: a cup and its contents – the wine. However, in this case, the water serves more as a part of a landscape rather than a means for satisfying thirst.

Epigram 5 GP presents an offering by a grateful wanderer who has already satisfied his thirst, as the passer-by was exhorted to do in Leonidas' 86 GP or 16 and 18 GP of Anyte. The entire poem is concerned with water, and various expressions related to water are repeated throughout the epigram (ὕδωρ – 'water'; πίστραι τε κρηνέων – 'a drinking-trough of springs'; ὕδασι (...) τεγγόμενα – 'drenched in waters'; ἀπῶσα δίψαν – 'having satisfied the thirst'). The donator calls himself wayfarer, but as Kathryn Gutzwiller notes, his name suggests that he is from the upper echelons of society,⁷ as in 3 GP. In this poem too, the water is cold, a detail that is underlined by the epithet ψυχρὸν placed in the very first line. Although the gift is not named, the most probable votum for such an occasion would be a cup, as in a similar epigram of Anyte 3 GP = AP 16, 291, which may have served as an inspiration for the Tarentine:

Anyte 3 GP = AP 16, 291

Φριξοκόμα τόδε Πανὶ καὶ αὐλιάσιν θέτο Νύμφαις
δῶρον ὑπὸ σκοπιᾶς Θεύδοτος οἰονόμος·

⁵ Cf. D'ACCINI (1958: 308–309; 311–313).

⁶ GOW (1958: 113); KLOOSTER (2019: 311).

⁷ GUTZWILLER (1998: 98).

οὔνεχ' ὑπ' ἀζαλέου θέρεος μέγα κεκμηῶτα
παῦσαν, ὀρέξασαι χερσὶ μελιχρὸν ὕδωρ.

To shock-headed Pan and the Nymphs of the sheepfold did the shepherd Theodotus set this his gift here under the hill, because, when he was sore tired by the parching summer heat, they refreshed him, holding out to him sweet water in their hands.

Anyte of Tegea is considered the first to introduce descriptive, pastoral epigrams,⁸ and it is usually assumed that her poems were imitated by many poets of the time, such as Theocritus and Nicias. However, as a result of the difficulty in establishing the dates of individual poems, we cannot be sure of the direction of borrowings between the poems or whether the common source is not in fact in the no longer preserved works of, for example, Philittas.⁹ Gutzwiller interpreted epigrams 16 GP = AP 9, 313 and 18 GP = AP 16, 228 as programmatic and suggested that they may have served as an opening to Anyte's epigram book, arranged by the poetess herself, and that the poems were inviting the traveller-reader to sit, rest and enjoy the new type of poetry, as refreshing as cold water.¹⁰ As I have mentioned previously, there are some common elements between epigram 86 GP of Leonidas and 16 and 18 GP of Anyte, but the Tarentine's retention of some elements and addition of new ones may serve to propose his own meaning and message for the reader. Unlike Anyte, Leonidas tells the traveller-reader not to stop and not to drink from the stream, which in his poem is muddy, but to go further, where the water is cold and clean. If the epigrams of the poetess are to be read programmatically, so epigram 86 GP of Leonidas may be read in a similar context, but with a quite different message. The voice from the poem exhorts the reader to enjoy poetry which is as fresh as cold water and not poems which are like a muddy stream. The motif of cold water in epigram 1

⁸ GUTZWILLER (1993: 71; 88).

⁹ SENS (2006: 158–159); GUTZWILLER (1993: 88).

¹⁰ GUTZWILLER (1993: 86–88).

GP of Asclepiades can similarly be read as a direct response to Anyte, as the poet denounces the humble subjects explored by the poetess of Tegea and others, and instead takes up erotic themes.¹¹

Asclepiades 1 GP = AP 5, 169

Ἡδὺν θέρους διψῶντι χιῶν ποτόν, ἡδὺν δὲ ναύταις
 ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν Στέφανον·
 ἦδιον δ' ὅποταν κρύψῃ μία τοὺς φιλέοντας
 χλαῖνα καὶ αἰνῆται Κύπρις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

Sweet in summer a draught of snow to him who thirsts, and sweet for sailors after winter's storms to feel the Zephyr of the spring. But sweeter still when one cloak doth cover two lovers and Cypris hath honour from both.

Perhaps the Tarentine's epigram had a similar function. It appears to be a response to Anyte's poem, and a comparison with Asclepiades' use of the motif taken from the poetess of Tegea to underline his interest in an entirely different subject suggests that we can read the Leonidas' poem in a similar way. Although Leonidas writes on pastoral themes and describes scenes from rural life in his poetry, and may have been inspired by the poetess of Tegea, his works do not represent the bucolic world in an idealized way as Anyte or Theocritus do. Leonidas' poetry is more realistic and shows the harshness of life in the country. His herdsmen are forced to defend their flock from predators and they then offer at a temple a bloody weapon, just like warriors (49 GP = AP 6, 236). Other professions, such as fishermen and artisans, have to struggle with everyday work to make a living. Therefore, unlike in Anyte's epigram 16 and 18 GP, Leonidas advises not to stop at the closest stream, which is muddy and warm, but instead to take the effort to go further to drink from the spring by the pastoral pine (ποιμενία πίτυϊ) with its truly cold water. Perhaps Leonidas is advising his audience to dare to go further in a metapoetic sense and

¹¹ GUTZWILLER (1993: 87).

not stop at the idealized bucolic world of Anyte or Theocritus, but to come to a more realistic world represented by the purer flow of water at its very spring. By reversing the motif Tarentine may be showing that he chooses a slightly different way to presenting the same topics.

Some interesting parallels for the motif of drinking the water from the stream in Leonidas' epigrams may be found in Theocritus *Idylls*. In the Tarentine's epigram 3 and 5 GP, the gift offered at the springs is a cup. In the poems of Theocritus, various types of drinking vessels appear, especially those used by rustic folk. In epigram 3 GP of Leonidas, the word denoting the cup is σκύφος. Although in this poem it is dedicated by a sovereign, according to the LSJ Dictionary the term means 'cup, can, esp. used by peasants, of wooden milk-vessels'.¹² The word choice therefore makes the contrast between the high social status of the dedicator and the pastoral setting of the poem more prominent. The same word is also employed by Theocritus in *Idyll* 1, 143, denoting a bowl for milking goats. Also in *Idyll* 1, the craved cup is the price for a song, but also represents the poetry itself.¹³ In this context it is interesting to look closer in epigram 5 GP of Leonidas and 3 GP by Anyte at the dedications of the cups. Évelyne Prioux also sees a metapoetic meaning in the multiple, humble statues of nymphs in epigram 5, which represent the numerous poems of Leonidas, which are small, because of their epigrammatic form, and concerned about simple folk and their offerings.¹⁴ In the work of the poetess, the person offering a gift is a herdsman, whereas in the Tarentine's poem it is a traveller, which provides a parallel with the advice given in his epigram 86 GP to a passer-by. Given that epigrams 16 and 18 GP of Anyte and 86 GP of Leonidas may be read programmatically and appear suitable for the opening of a poetry book or section, these two poems seem quite apt for the ending of the book. Here the herdsman or wayfarer, having satisfied his thirst and been refreshed by the cold water representing poetry, shows his gratitude by making an offering by the spring, giving to

¹² LSJ (1940: 1618).

¹³ SENS (2005: 206).

¹⁴ PRIoux (2017: 13).

the gods a vessel, which itself serves as a symbol of a poem. It is possible that the source of this metaphor of a cup and the motif of drawing the water from the stream may be traced even further as various types of drinking vessels also appear in the fragments of Philitas.

Philitas constituted an important source of inspiration for the Hellenistic poets, but because of the preservation state of his texts it is difficult to establish the (possibly numerous) borrowings from his poetry. In the preserved fragments of Philitas one can find different terms denoting a cup, mainly rustic or coming from various regions of Greece.¹⁵ Scholia to Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 indicate that the spring of Bourina in this poem is taken from the poems of Philitas,¹⁶ which indicates that the links between these two authors also relate to the water motif. Furthermore, there are other examples of borrowings of this motif, such as in Propertius 3, 3, 51–52,¹⁷ where water becomes a metonymic term for the poetry of Philitas, which is supposed to have inspired the Roman poet: *talia Calliope, lymphisque a fonte petitis / ora Philitea nostra rigavit aqua*. In the light of the literary references mentioned above, it is quite probable that the motif of water in Leonidas' epigram is supposed to be a reference to the poetry of Philitas. Perhaps the search for better water in epigram 86 of Leonidas could also be read as a metaphor of seeking the better poetic inspiration, especially as it is presented in the form of advice – to take the water from the cold spring which is situated further away, not from here, where the stream is warm and muddy.

This opposition in epigram 86 GP of Leonidas is strikingly similar to the famous programmatic statement of Callimachus¹⁸ in *Hymn* 2, 108–112:¹⁹

Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει

¹⁵ Fr. 31–37. The accumulation of these words may be due to the source of the quotation, the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus, concerned mostly with convivial topics. Nevertheless, the number of such terms is quite notable.

¹⁶ Σ Theoc. VII 5–9 k: WENDEL ed. (1914: 79–80).

¹⁷ GUTZWILLER (1993: 88).

¹⁸ GUTZWILLER (1998: 113).

¹⁹ Edition and translation: CAPPS–PAGE–ROUSE (1921: 58–59).

Δηροῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.

Great is the stream of the Assyrian river, but much filth of earth and much refuse it carries on its waters. And not of every water do the Melissae carry to Deo, but of the trickling stream that springs from a holy fountain, pure and undefiled, the very crown of waters.

This represents the poetic program of the poet – he prefers small but refined poetry instead of long poems of debatable value. It may also mean the choice of topic – not a popular one, but a new and refreshing one. This is also expressed in epigram 28, where the poet declares that he does not drink from public fountains as he avoids everything that is public:²⁰

Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
 χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὦδε καὶ ὦδε φέρει,
 μισῶ καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
 πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
 Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναιχὶ καλὸς καλός – ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
 τοῦτο σαφῶς Ἦχώ, φησί τις 'ἄλλος ἔχει'.

I hate the cyclic poem, nor do I take pleasure in the road which carries many to and fro. I abhor, too, the roaming lover, and I drink not from every well; I loathe all common things. Lysanias, thou art, yea, fair, fair: but ere Echo has quite said the word, says someone, 'He is another's'.

A very similar message is included in Leonidas' epigram 86 GP, as it contains both a polluted stream and a hard to reach spring.²¹ This epigram of Leonidas contains further conceits related to the poetic program of Callim-

²⁰ Edition and translation: CAPPS-PAGE-ROUSE (1921: 156–157).

²¹ GUTZWILLER (1998: 113).

achus such as levity or purity.²² Water is also used in other programmatic metaphors in the poems of Callimachus. In *Aitia* fr. 1, 30–34, the poet declares that he wants to be like a cicada feeding on the dew, which represents sophisticated poetry. Both cicada and dew occur in Leonidas' epigram 91 GP = AP 6, 120, which also contains a probable programmatic statement, as has been analysed by Nicola Piacenza.²³ In fragment 178, 11–12 of the *Aitia*, the drinking of wine can be read metaphorically as it should be done moderately, in a small cup and mixed with water.²⁴ In this context it is also interesting to compare the offering made by Neoptolemos in epigram 3 GP as he gives a rustic cup filled with wine.

As we have seen, the water motif was used by many early Hellenistic poets in metapoetic and programmatic poems. A later poet, Antipater of Thessalonica, even used the term 'water-drinkers' to designate the authors of that time with their new type of poetry, which he criticized:

Antipater of Thessalonica 20 GP = AP 11, 20

Φεύγεθ', ὅσοι λόκκας ἢ λοφνίδας ἢ καμασῆνας

ἄδετε, ποιητῶν φύλον ἀκανθολόγων,

οἳ τ' ἐπέων κόσμον λελυγισμένον ἀσκήσαντες

κρήνης ἐξ ἱερῆς πίνετε λιτὸν ὕδωρ.

σήμερον Ἀρχιλόχοιο καὶ ἄρσενος ἡμᾶρ Ὀμήρου

σπένδομεν· ὁ κρητήρ οὐ δέχεθ' ὕδροπότας.

Away with you who sing of loccae (cloaks) or lophnides (torches) or camasenes (fish), race of thorn-gathering poets; and you who practising effeminately decorative verse drink only simple water from the holy fount. To-day we pour the wine in honour of the birthday of Archilochus and virile Homer. Our bowl receives no water-drinkers.

²² PRIoux (2017: 14).

²³ PIACENZA (2010).

²⁴ KNOX (1985: 111).

The ‘water-drinkers’, as opposed to the ‘wine-drinkers’, can be understood as Callimachus and the followers of his new type of poetry:²⁵ refined, complicated and designed for a small circle of educated literates. Nevertheless, Piacenza has noted that the beginning of epigram 20 GP of Antipater shares the first word of the incipit to epigram 37 GP = AP 6, 302 of Leonidas and seems to allude to it (Φεύγεθ’ ὑπὲκ καλύβης).²⁶ Furthermore, the water is described as λιτὸν, ‘simple’, which constitutes an important concept in Leonidas’ poetry. That may suggest that the term ‘water-drinkers’ could be understood more widely, as denoting also other poets, such as Leonidas.

Leonidas in his epigram 86 GP does not simply use the motif of Anyte’s poems, but also reverses it to add his own views on poetic and programmatic matters. He then adds allusions to other Hellenistic authors and their poetic programs, as suggested by the opposition of clean and polluted streams, in common with the statement of Callimachus’ *Hymn* 2. In Leonidas’ other poems which develop the water motif, such as the offering of gifts at springs, we can find elements common not only to other contemporary poets such as Theocritus, but also to the shared sources which can be traced even further back, for example to the lost poems of Philitas. I have not tried to establish the precise bounds between the poems of various Hellenistic poets and Leonidas, but rather to show that he took part in the poetic discussion of the time and prove that the Tarentine’s poems should not be read as simple scenes from rural life, as they also have metapoetic and programmatic meaning.

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*Qui finis erit discordiarum?*¹ Two rhetorical speeches in Livy

Abstract: The usage of inserted rhetorical speeches is a crucial point of ancient historiography. After an introduction to the basic arguments of the evaluation of ancient historiography and its connection with theatricality, supplemented by the ‘accusation’ of tragic history I move over to the examination of two speeches found in Livy’s narrative. In order to understand the style of Livy more and more precisely his practice of editing and inserting speeches into the narrative this paper will give a closer look at the initial moment of this particular part of his editorial work. The two speeches in question are from Quinctius Capitolinus and Gaius Canuleius.

Keywords: Livy, rhetoric, inserted speeches, Canuleius, editing, suaser, dissuaser, moderatio, concordia

The speeches inserted in Livy’s narrative have particular importance, so related research is a recurring topic of the scientific discourse. Besides the categorization and the rhetorical analysis of these speeches, the question of insertion into the narrative comes naturally and therefore the question of Livy’s editorial work. Moreover, these speeches have a somehow dual nature: they break the rhythm of the narrative and at the same time they blend into it. To understand better the essence of the Livian style the analysis of this dual nature and the practice of insertion, as being part of the editorial technique, can be rather helpful.

¹ Liv. 3, 67, 10.

The tradition of inserting rhetorical and political speeches into historical works can be derived from Herodotus, and with the adaption of the Greek historiography's paradigm, the later Roman authors adapted this tradition too.² However, concerning the usage of the speeches they received a tradition with an ununified and unclear system of rules. This Greek historiographical tradition contained 3 different practices: 1. the practice of writing fictitious speeches which are already rooted in the historical and rhetorical tradition – in reported speech. 2. the practice of rewriting these in direct oration. 3. And lastly the practice of stepping away from tradition and writing own speeches. This ununified, mixed tradition left a mark on Roman historiography. Because of the absence of a fixed set of rules, the three different ways of inserting speeches could cause problems. But the existence of the speeches in the narrative is necessary: they serve to demonstrate the author's rhetorical capability, the characterization of given historical personalities, and enhancement of the dramatic situation.³ Although the absence of the rule system gives space to the author to create his own rhetorical style. But with the enhancement of dramatic situations by inserted speeches the author can manipulate the emotion of the reader, which can stretch apart the boundary of the genre.

Livy's usage of rhetorical speeches is quite unique. First, he uses them much more frequently than other contemporary authors, and yet he doesn't overdo it, as Dionysios Halikarnasseus. The first 35 books contain in a total of 407 direct speeches. These of course differ in length and become more frequently used in the later books. The richness in speeches of the *Ab urbe condita*, according to the earlier evaluation of the academic research, categorized Livy's work as tragic history. This is somewhat shaded by the fact that Livy's aim, which is clearly stated in his preface⁴, is the same as the trag-

² See more of the Greek origins and beginning of Roman historiography DILLERY (2009: 72–90).

³ MILLER (1975: 46).

⁴ hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum. omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod uites. (Liv. praef. 10).

ic-history-criticizing Polybius'. Learning from the past is made possible and accessible by that it can be viewed as a monument and metaphorically visible – according to Livy. But this perception of the past is also not Livy's own idea and can be derived from the idea that contemporary readers found the visual expressions more comprehensible and more acceptable than modern research.⁵ According to this thought the usage of visual expressions is rooted deeply in the thought about narrative style. In the Greek-Roman rhetoric, the concepts of *enargeia*, *demonstratio*, and *illustratio* are expressing this also.⁶ So history appears in ancient thinking as the 'visible' reconstruction of the events of the past.⁷ In Livy's preface besides the monumental being of the history it rises, as a secondary meaning, the possibility that with the description of the past, the *Ab urbe condita* itself becomes a *monumentum*: this is the monument-like observable past, from which the Roman people can learn.⁸ This way is how the inserted speeches into the narrative and the editorial work are serving the process of the history becoming observable.⁹ The overdoing of disclosure of speeches as a tool and with this the affection, and manipulation of emotions as an aim is in contrast with the fact that Livy follows

⁵ Pauw explains the dramaticism of Livy's narrative by three possible reasons: 1. The nature of Rome's early history is dramatic in itself, because it's characterized by heroic acts and pathos. 2. It is widely influenced by the conventionality that he depicts the history by a pathetic-tragical technique. 3. He has to bear in mind the expectations of his readers, who are expecting a 'scientific' work and at the same time a work of art, with the moving and exciting descriptions of events. PAUW (1991: 44).

⁶ FELDHERR (1998).

⁷ All of this is in contrast with Aristotle's statement on tragedy-writing, that the tragedy-writer's task and work method should be imitation. Duris of Samos transplants the theory of mimesis into the doctrine of historiography. WALBANK (1960: 219) (I am planning to address the issue of the question of the theoretical difference between the act of imitation and act of making the history observable in my upcoming dissertation.).

⁸ MOLES (1993: 153).

⁹ The importance of editing is also present in the arrangement into *pentades*, furthermore sometimes even some books are formed as an artistic unit: for example, the first book as a whole covers only the history of the kings, and the fifth book only the occupation of Veii and the Gallic sack of Rome etc. WALSH (1961: 173) Beside this he breaks down the stories themselves to episodes and he composes them according to the Aristotelian editing principle. WALSH (1961: 178) The importance of Livian editing was analysed by Takács also, although he focused on the link created between the first and the second *pentad*, in this created link Livy's main tools are also inserted speeches. TAKÁCS (2008: 30–47).

faithfully his sources¹⁰ and he waits until the events themselves are allowing the possibility to enlarge dramatic situations or to create one.¹¹ So Livy is not moved into the direction of tragic history by the aim of manipulation of the reader's emotion, but by the desire of making the history observable – or it can be seen like he does. But it can be rather fruitful if we discard the classical term of 'tragic history' in the case of Livy's narrative and rather focus on the exact theatrical elements. Since the expected behaviour from the readers and the act of observation undoubtedly creates a link with the culture of theatre. Livy's aspiration to visuality derives from the aim, that his readers can see the history before their eyes as they see the stage performances of their everyday life and as they see the built *monumenta* of their environment. This duality exceeds the, in the ancient thinking, already present thought, that historiography is the visible reconstruction of the events of the past.

On the matter of the placement (of speeches) in the narrative we can say that at the end of the 3rd Book and the beginning of the 4th is where the most important feature of Livy's editorial technique is formed. The following books are usually open with a direct speech inserted into the narrative and end with one also. The opening speech is usually foreshadowing the book's main topics and questions, the closing one summarizes the turning points of the book.¹² In this paper, I would like to give a closer examination of the initial moment of this editorial practice. The two speeches in question are Titus Quinctius Capitolinus', a consul's speech¹³, and Gaius Canuleius', a tribune of the plebs' speech¹⁴. Both these speeches are placed into the situation of a *contio*: an informal meeting of the plebs, which main function was to inform the people of the political elite's inner debates and decisions.¹⁵ In the past 20 years there was a turning point in the research of the Roman political culture: now it is more fo-

¹⁰ Sometimes even too faithfully: sometimes the critical tone, expected by Polybius, is missing, and it is a recurring practice of him, that he builds his text only on one source, which is also quite reprehensible. WALSH (1961: 139–142).

¹¹ WALSH (1961: 178).

¹² OGILVIE (2003: 516).

¹³ Liv. 3, 67–68.

¹⁴ Liv. 4, 3–5.

¹⁵ LINTOTT (1999: 51–54).

cused on the political culture and its aspects outside of the institutional framework of politics. From this new point of view the *contio* meetings have gained importance.¹⁶ This special importance resonates with Livy's narrative also: for the author of the 1st century BC the *contio* was such an essential part of politics that he projects back its importance into the early history of the Republic. The context of the two speeches in question is a *contio* meeting. Moreover, in the case of Quinctius Livy explicitly mentions it too: *Quinctius consul ad contionem populum uocauit*. (Liv. 3, 66, 6) In the case of Canuleius is not explicitly written but we can assume certainly from the situation itself: while the consuls are giving a speech in the senate, Canuleius speaks to the people.

Although the situation is the same, the tone is obviously not. The Roman theory of rhetoric distinguishes two different attitudes from which an orator can speak. The two attitudes or, using the theatre metaphor, rules are the *suasor* and *dissuasor*. These rules are derived from the political-rhetorical apprenticeship, which, as Russel states, 'was based on an adversarial courtroom model.' Then follows with a comment on the rhetorical handbooks concerning this practice: 'In their relatively brief discussions of deliberative oratory, the rhetorical handbooks which have come down to us assume without question that every bill has a *suasor* and a *dissuasor*.'¹⁷ The *suasor* is the traditionally senatorial way of speaking: the orator's attitude is rigid and temperate and speaks with superiority as a father would speak with his children. The most markedly used rhetorical figure of this type is *sententia*, as Canter explains *sententia* only works appropriately 'in men of known self-control, of distinction, personal or official, of advancement in years and experience, and of real wisdom withal in the subject discussed.'¹⁸ The short and wisdom-wording sentences contribute to the image of the temperate and wise senatorial orator. On the contrary, the *dissuasor*'s main characteristic is the reckoning of the senatorial elite and which is the traditional rule of the tribunician rhetoric. The *dissuasor*'s attitude can be ironic,¹⁹ sarcastic,

¹⁶ For example: STEEL-BLOM 2013; STEEL-BLOM 2018; MORSTEIN-MARX 2004.

¹⁷ RUSSEL (2013: 106).

¹⁸ CANTER (1917: 133).

¹⁹ 'en unquam creditis fando auditum esse, Numam Pompilium, non modo non patricium

and this is mostly achieved by the usage of rhetorical and interpellation and with a carefully constructed climax.²⁰

I.

As reading Quinctius' speech is rather eye-catching how the lead-in sentence is already creating a link with the historical tradition: *ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio* (Liv. 3, 67,1). This *accipio* includes the work of a historian, and the process of the historian's work, meaning 'I know the tradition, and this is how I understand it.' The usage of *accipio* can be familiar from Sallust too: *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani* (Sal. Cat. 6, 1). It is safe to say it's somewhat commonplace to use as an introduction with the aim to mark the following part of the narrative as part of the tradition. Livius does not use it here either as an empty word: as Ogilvie states the speech shows 'detailed discrepancies from the surrounding narrative' so it's rather possible that it was composed separately. The most obvious reason for this is that it was taken from a different source, moreover, many sentences are imitating Cicero and Demosthenes.²¹ Even if it wasn't exactly taken from a different source with the imitating sentences Livy places it in the rhetorical tradition also. The topic of the speech in summary is the following: during Quinctius' 4th consulship the senate propose a drafting of soldiers, but the plebs are resisting, so the consul tries to convince them to take up the fight against the Aequians and the Volscians. The key concept of the speech is *concordia* as an admirable state of the Republic and *discordia* as the current situation between plebeians and patricians through Book III. Quinctius as a consul, and as a member of the ruling political elite, speaks to the plebs, therefore in his speech the contrary of *us* and *you* naturally appears. As O'Neill states it is the Roman elite's crucial interest to see the plebs as a unified body, which primary function is

sed ne ciuem quidem Romanum, ex Sabino agro accitum, populi iussu, patribus auctoribus Romae regnasse?' (Liv. 4, 3, 10).

²⁰ 'cur non sancitis ne uicinus patricio sit plebeius nec eodem itinere eat, ne idem conuiuium ineat, ne in foro eodem consistat?' (Liv. 4, 4, 11).

²¹ OGILVIE (2003: 517).

to legitimize the ruling elite.²² Livy's refined touch that this rhetoric creates a dialogue with the characters, Quinctius' key concept: *concordia*: this rhetoric of *us* (the ruling political elite) in opposition of *you* (the not obeying plebs) can be read as the exact definition of *discordia*. This division remains throughout the whole speech; thus, the addressee is continuously the plebs. Furthermore, Quinctius represents this opposition as a balanced-out situation, where the hatred is mutual so is the responsibility.²³ Even the matter of the responsibility of the orders is the same: not knowing the right measures: *dum nec nobis imperii nec uobis libertatis est modus* (Liv. 3, 67, 6) So both the patricians and the plebeians are lacking *moderatio*, but in opposite matters. Usually, the lack of *moderatio* and *temperantia* is part of the rhetoric used against the behaviour of the plebs but supplemented with the antithesis of *nobis imperii-vobis libertatis*, the rhetorical opposition continues. The image of the *moderatio*-lacking plebs influenced by its emotion and the concept that the tribunitian rhetoric evokes these emotions is a recurring element in Livy's narrative. This picture dominates the consuls' reported speech against Canuleius' law proposal. So, it's rather interesting how Quinctius steps away from that standard opposition which places the plebs driven by their emotions in contrast with the ideal statesman of the elite, who is completely in control of his emotion as a quasi-*exemplum* of *temperantia*. Although Quinctius includes the fathers in the sin of *immoderatio*, he does not let go of the emotion-driven plebs' topos, which appears in connection with the critique of the tribunitian rhetoric.²⁴ He

²² O'NEILL (2003: 136).

²³ The illusion of a balanced-out situation and opposition is recurring in the consuls' speech against Canuleius' law proposal at the beginning of Book IV. The 2nd *caput* starts with the image of the mutual and simultaneous incitement, which considers the responsibility of the current situation as common and indirectly through this thought considers the opposing parties equal. 'eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum et tribunus populum in consules incitabat.' (Liv. 4, 2, 1).

²⁴ 'tribuni uobis amissa reddent ac restituent? uocis uerborumque quantum uoletis ingerent, et criminum in principes et legum aliarum super alias ut contionum; sed ex illis contionibus nunquam uestrum quisquam re [fortuna] domum auctior rediit.' (Liv. 3, 68, 4). It is also the ruling elite's interest to see the plebs as an apolitical crowd, in order to maintain the hegemony over them. O'NEILL (2003: 136) The only thing that the plebs can gain from the tribunitian rhetoric is organisation – so Quinctius is not mentioning it on purpose, his interest is to see the plebs as an ad hoc crowd without the influence of the tribunes and the

harshly criticizes the rhetoric of the tribunes as being no more than flattery, adulation, and revolting speech which serves only their interests.

'natura hoc ita comparatum est, ut qui apud multitudinem sua causa loquitur gratior eo sit cuius mens nihil praeter publicum commodum uidet; nisi forte adsentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui uos nec in armis nec in otio esse sinunt, uestra uos causa incitare et stimulare putatis.' (Liv. 3, 68, 4).

Rather strangely, Ogilvie does not comment on the expression of *adsentatores publici*, furthermore, he dismisses this passage as a whole. It clearly echoes the usage of, in the 1st century BC, more commonly occurring *aurae popularis* and brings into conversation with the stories of the so-called *affectatores regni*²⁵. The common element of this *affectatores regni* stories, stories of men, who were accused of aiming to be kings, is the *affectator's* overly friendly behaviour towards the people. This behaviour is expressed by the phrase *aurae popularis captator*. This expression is used by Livy in the story of the decemvirate, notably describing the behaviour of the leader of the decemvirate, Appius Claudius.

'regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat fauore plebis, adeoque nouum sibi ingenium induerat ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator euaderet pro truci saeuoque insectatore plebis.' (Liv. 3, 33, 7).

Though Livy, by using *adsentatores publici* instead of *aurae popularis captator*, avoids the direct summoning of the 3rd book's central episode: the decemvirate and the fall of Appius Claudius, the tyrant. But the element of flattery and the pleasing of the people itself summons these stories of wannabe kings and the overall fear of kingdom in the ruling political elite. In these stories, the element of *immoderatio*, or the lack of *moderatio* is also present – as

aim of his speech that this vision of the plebs become reality.

²⁵ VASALY (2015: 90) brings the example of Caeso in Book III, which is also a story of a member of the *gens Quinctii*.

one of the main characteristics of the figure of the all-time tyrant, which was inherited from the Greeks.²⁶

Simultaneously with the critique of the tribunitial rhetoric Quinctius indirectly criticizes the plebs for their taste in rhetoric: *his ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio* (Liv. 3, 68, 9) – he knows what kind of speech the plebs would like to hear and sets contrast between tribunician flattery and truth. He follows: ‘uellem equidem uobis placere, Quirites; sed multo malo uos saluos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis.’ (Liv. 3, 68, 9) Quasi clarifying himself from even the hint of suspicion ahead of the accusation: he is not an *aurae popularis captator*.

Quinctius speaks in this tone in Livy’s narrative while he tries to convince the plebs of the drafting of soldiers. From the content of the speech, I distinguished 3 elements that are echoed in Canuleius’s speech too, not counting the obvious contrast between *concordia* and *discordia*. The first is the process of inventing new *magistrates*, and on this element, we can observe the rhetoric of *us* and *you* in the working. Quinctius gives an overview of the inventions of the decemvirate and the tribunate. In both cases, he associates the initial move with the plebs and gives the following pattern: the plebs wanting or desiring something and the fathers fulfilling these needs and tolerating the consequences. By this, he pushes the responsibility on the plebs in contrast with the opening thought of shared responsibility and the illusion of a balanced-out situation.

The second element is the reference to memory or the past itself. He starts his speech with the statement that the events of the recent past with the attack of the Aequians and Volscians will be part of the memory of future generations. The image of the enemy in front of the walls of the city will be a memory of shame: *si inde non pellitur, iam intra moenia erit et arcem et Capitolium scandet et in domos uestras uos persequetur*. (Liv. 3, 68, 7)²⁷ Besides

²⁶ The model figure of the rhetorical tyrant appeared first in Rome through the adaptation of Greek plays, not through rhetorical schools. DUNKLE (1971: 12).

²⁷ This image is echoing the description of the Gallic siege of Rome in Book V and the episode of Manlius and the geese. (Liv. 5, 47) (Furthermore, Vergil also famously writes the image of the climbing Gauls towards the Capitol. (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 652–662.)) And the remem-

the future generations' memory, he refers to his own and his audiences' recent past also: the second secession of the plebs along with the first one. He mentions these events as the plebs' actions against the fathers without mentioning the prelude of these events.

The third element is the idea of *mos maiorum* and the opposition between the old and the new political morals. In this, the rhetoric of *us* and *you* can be also observed. Meaning *us*, the ruling political elite who remained true to the *antiqui mores*, and *you*, the plebs who abandoned *your antiqui mores* and acted against them and still acting against them now when having objections against the drafting of new soldiers.

II.

We will see later how these elements are shaped in the speech of Canuleius, but firstly a brief description of his rhetoric in general. In the case of Canuleius Livy does not create the illusion of being part of the tradition and it seems like it truly is not in that sense as Quinctius' speech. No imitating sentences were noticed and with the connections to Quinctius', it is more likely that this speech is purely Livy's writing.²⁸ Furthermore, it is much more detailed and fits more into the narrative too. As for the tone it is alternating between the tribunician rhetoric described by Quinctius and the traditional *dissuasor* rule, which means that the addressee of this speech is not continuously one group of people. Canuleius alternately speaks to the plebs and the patricians and sometimes even directly to the consuls. As for the content of the speech he simultaneously defends his law proposal of mixed marriages between patricians and plebeians and the plebeian consulship and informs the plebs about the patrician attacks against him, and the plebeians through time. He tries to stir up the plebs' emotions and

branch of the future generation after a potential fall is also present in Camillus' speech after the defeat of the Gauls. (Liv. 5, 50–55).

²⁸ As Ogilvie states: 'its highly finished structure show that it is a free composition by L. himself.' OGILVIE (2003: 533).

stimulates them²⁹, and at the same time, he calls the patricians to account for their contempt. Besides these two parallel speeches and goals, I noticed some inconsistency in the usage of *us* too. In addressing the people Canuleius uses two types of *us*: 1. when it means the plebs and Canuleius together in contrast to the oppressive political elite and 2. when it means the whole Roman society, patricians, and plebeians together. This second type is a new element compared to Quinctius' speech, where this inclusive *us* is totally missing. The explanation for this new type of *us* can be derived from the status of Canuleius. As a tribune of the plebs, he belongs to two groups at once: he is part of the plebs whose interests he is protecting, and he is part of the political elite also. So, his dual affiliation gives ground for the extended usage of *us*. As for the connection between the two *uses* Canuleius argues that the *us* – the plebs is the primary one because the birth of Roman aristocracy was approved by the people. *Claudiam certe gentem post reges exactos ex Sabinis non in ciuitatem modo accepimus sed etiam in patriciorum numerum.* (Liv. 4, 3, 14) He brings the example of the *gens Claudia* stating, that arriving in Rome as foreigners the plebs voted their enrolment into the aristocracy. The priority of the plebs is expressed in his rhetorical question concerning who has the supreme power.

'denique utrum tandem populi Romani an uestrum summum imperium est? regibus exactis utrum uobis dominatio an omnibus aequa libertas parta est?' (Liv. 4, 5, 1)

What brought the overthrow of the kings? Did it bring *imperium* to the patricians or *libertas* to the plebs? In Canuleius' speech it is not an option to have both even if everybody practices *moderatio* and *temperantia*. It is an either-or situation that can be remedied only by admitting the plebeians into the supreme power and allowing them to apply for the consulship. And Canuleius' question concerning the holder of supreme power can be read as

²⁹ 'ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu uiuatis? Lucis uobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant; quod spiratis, quod uocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur.' (Liv. 4, 3, 8).

a response to Quinctius' statement about the shared responsibility and the balanced-out opposition of the orders, which fits perfectly into the rule of a *dissuasor* orator.

Moving away from the tone of the speech and searching for the elements echoing Quinctius' speech, the first one is much more detailed. Canuleius also gives an overview of the magistrates' invention, but he includes the birth of the Republic also. Arguing that in the beginning, the consulship was a new magistrate also, as everything in a newly founded state: the dictatorship, the aediles, the questors and tribunes of the plebs.

'nullane res noua institui debet? et quod nondum est factum – multa enim nondum sunt facta in nouo populo –, ea ne si utilia quidem sunt fieri oportet?' (Liv. 4, 4, 1)

The second echoing element, the idea of memory and past is even more detailed, and it is safe to say that this creates the main argument in Canuleius' speech. The example of the past is necessarily dominant because his main topic is the question of greater importance between ancestry and aptitude. He gives an overview of the kings focusing on their non-Roman ancestry in contrast to their aptitude to rule Rome. He mentions the recent past and the decemvirate also. The usage of *us* in this case is also interesting: he speaks in plural singular person: *we* elected the decemvirs and *we* removed them – in my opinion, in this relation, this is an inclusive *us* which means the whole Roman society. In opposition to Quinctius' explanation: *you*, the plebs, wanted decemvirs – *we*, the fathers gave you decemvirs, *you* grew weary of them – *we* allowed the noblest of us to suffer death and to go into exile³⁰.

The third element of the *mos maiorum* is evoked only by one sentence: *nemo plebeius patriciae uirgini uim adferret; patriciorum ista libido est* (Liv. 4, 4, 8) Which hints the story of Verginia and the fall of the decemvirate. It complements the

³⁰ 'decemuiros desiderastis; creari passi sumus. decemuirorum uos pertaesum est; coegimus abire magistratu. manente in eosdem priuatos ira uestra, mori atque exulare nobilissimos uiros honoratissimosque passi sumus.' (Liv. 3, 67, 7–8).

argument of ancestry or aptitude, meaning the decemvirs were aristocrats for nothing because they could not respect the *mos* which caused Verginia's death. Furthermore, in the second part of the sentence, some kind of plebeian moral superiority over the patricians is perceptible. The possibility of this moral superiority is not necessarily meaning a division between the plebeian and patrician *mos* – as Quinctius' speech suggests. But supplemented with the main message of Canuleius: the idea of the people's precedence before their aristocracy and the emphasis on the foreign origin of the patrician order hints a critique of the *gens* system and their *mos maiorum*, meaning it's useless to refer to the *mos maiorum* of your ancestors if the members of your own order are not respecting them – in contrast with the plebeians who are respecting these norms without being part of any *gens* and being able to claim ancestry.³¹

To summarize I would like to turn back to the question of the practice of inserting speeches into the narrative. We saw that the main issue is not the question of rewriting something from the existing tradition or writing something new, but the act of blending it into the narrative and creating links with other parts of the *pentad*'s narrative, and through these links and intertextuality brings new aspects into the current narrative. Although Ogilvie states that Quinctius' speech shows 'detailed discrepancies from the surrounding narrative' and it's true of course, in its close context, with reading Canuleius' speech we can agree that it blends into the narrative's bigger picture as creating a base for writing Canuleius' speech. Bearing in mind that this is the first time when Livy tries to make a connection between two following books by inserting speeches. The practice is logical too: firstly, he inserts a rewritten speech then, and based on this he writes a new one. The rewritten one is a traditional senatorian speech and then detached from the tradition he writes a tribunician speech. In this newly written speech, we can observe a plebeian rhetoric in which the *dissuasor* figure of the rhetorical theory is mixed with the stereotype of tribunes used by the senatorial rhetoric.

³¹ Hahn argued with the idea of the plebeians lacking any *gens*/family-based organisation, reasoning with that it's happening organically in every human society. He supposes a parallel so called pseudo-*gens* system in which the plebeians lived, outside from the acknowledged patrician *gentes*. HAHN (1974: 169).

This phenomenon can be explained by the idea that the rhetorical theory is being built onto the existing stereotypes, which means that Livy creates only the illusion of authentic plebeian rhetoric.

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Plato's Influence on Pseudo-Longinus' Περί Ὑψους

Pseudo-Longinus' On the Sublime or Περί Ὑψους has long been considered as one of the most influential texts from antiquity, which – through its impact on Boileau, Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant – defined the aesthetic and literary discussions of early modern times and beyond. Yet, since the exact origin of the tractate has remained unknown, much less can be established with utmost certainty regarding the exact philosophical and literary context of the anonymous author himself. The objective of this study is to provide an overview with regard to the reception history of this work and to give an update on recent research, while examining the different philosophical and cultural influences on Pseudo-Longinus' theory. Finally, I would like to investigate one special source of influence observable in the text: Platonism. By building upon the works of Robert Doran and James I. Porter in particular, I intend to examine which elements of the ancient treatise may have had Platonic precursors, and why this connection is vital in understanding the significance of this tractate.

Keywords: Pseudo-Longinus, Plato, Burke, Kant, sublime, ancient aesthetics

In a fashion, 18th-century dialogues on aesthetics were defined not only by pleasure, but also by displeasure: How can a work of art representing terrifying images be aesthetically pleasing at the same time? These discourses mainly revolved around a differentiation between traditionally beautiful objects and what they called *sublime*, based on *On the Sublime* (Περί Ὑψους or *De Sublimitate*): an ancient tractate considered to be 'the fountain-head of all ideas on that subject'¹ and covering all aesthetic experience involving 'delightful horror', as Edmund Burke so eloquently called it.²

¹ MONK (1935: 10).

² See BURKE's *Enquiry* IV, 6,7.

In his rather polemical work *The Sublime in Antiquity* (2016), James I. Porter proposes an alternative reception history of sublimity, arguing that the core of the concept (which might be best recapitulated as an experience which induces fearful awe in the observer, albeit under different names) had very much been present in Greek thought before the composition of the above-mentioned treatise.

After providing reasonable evidence as to why a new approach is needed (the ancient author himself is referencing another scholar, Caecilius; he does not treat the word ὑψος as an exclusive term for the phenomenon, occasionally using other words like μέγεθος as synonyms³), he embarks on a quest to find alternative precursors in antiquity. Overstepping the boundaries of rhetoric, he creates two primary categories: those of the ‘material’ and the ‘immaterial sublime’; the former covering experiences relating to nature, the latter the spiritual aspect, which dichotomy makes it possible for him to connect sublimity with virtually any ancient school of thought.⁴

His analysis remains controversial, as it scales down the significance of Περί Ὑψους itself. Porter talks about ‘misinheritances’ and ‘the bubble’ of ὑψος⁵, thus castigating the interpretive tradition that has given it more credit than it deserved, obscuring the actual, even more ancient roots of the notion of the sublime. This is one point which Stephen Halliwell, whose critical edition of Pseudo-Longinus’ work was published in 2022, finds quite unfortunate in his review. He also criticized the book for its ‘reductive formulae’ regarding the conception of sublimity, which method, he argues, works well only when one wishes to find analogies, yet is equally counter-productive when one would like to outline the reception history of a concept, set apart from others.⁶

The objective of this study is to revisit the former aspect of Porter’s book, and to attempt to prove that Porter’s otherwise thorough analysis of the ancient treatise largely seems to ignore a rather important element in favor of

³ PORTER (2016: 51).

⁴ PORTER (2016: 54–56).

⁵ PORTER (2016: 25).

⁶ See HALLIWELL (2016).

what Halliwell termed his 'conceptual expansionism'⁷, that is, the impact of Platonism on Περὶ Ὑψους itself.

This, however, ironically also supports another claim he elaborates on in a later chapter, namely that the notion of the 'immaterial sublime', a term he uses to describe a kind of divine experience that elevates the soul, is of Platonic origin.⁸ As such, this investigation would ultimately aim to serve merely as a minor correction to Porter's line of argumentation, not accepting his above-mentioned dichotomy, but at the same time agreeing with the idea that the notion of sublimity predates Περὶ Ὑψους as long as we look for these precursors in ancient Platonism, and not elsewhere.

Although he refuses to link the ancient author to any specific philosophical school, Halliwell himself accepts the fact that Pseudo-Longinus' work was significantly influenced by Plato.⁹ Beside building on his and Porter's invaluable insights, my study has much to thank especially to Robert Doran's *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (2015) which, surprisingly, was much more thorough in finding Platonic parallels in the text of *On the Sublime* than Porter himself.

Let us now examine the background of the tractate, a thankless task, given its fragmentary and rather insular nature. Unfortunately, the work does not seem to be referenced in any other ancient source, and only became more widely known when its *editio princeps* was published in 1554 (*De Grandi, Sive Sublimi Orationis Genere*) by the Renaissance humanist Francesco Robortello.¹⁰ His source material, in turn, had been found in a Byzantine codex dating to the 10th century BC, commonly referred to by scholars as *Parisinus Graecus* 2036. The unknown medieval scribe attributed the work to a Dionysius Longinus on the title page, whereas in the table of contents we find a 'Dionysius or Longinus' instead, which provided the basis of the still ongoing debate as to the treatise's authorship.¹¹

⁷ HALLIWELL (2016).

⁸ PORTER (2016: 391).

⁹ HALLIWELL (2022: xxvi).

¹⁰ See DORAN (2015: 29), PORTER (2016: 37).

¹¹ PORTER (2016: 1).

The first name most probably refers to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a literary critic living in the 1st century BC, whereas the second one to Cassius Longinus, a third-century Platonist, polymath and critic. Over the centuries, the latter was the more commonly accepted candidate, although, as Fyfe and Porter also point out, both assumptions remain highly problematic.¹²

First of all, Dionysius' many works on the subject are quite different in style and approach and secondly, there is also the question of discrepancies when it comes to content. For example, only one treatise on word order and word structures is attributed to Dionysius today, while the author of *Περὶ Ὑψους* says that he himself has written two books on the same subject.¹³ It is also important to note that the Dionysius we know was quite critical of Plato, which is in stark contrast to the views expressed in *On the Sublime*.¹⁴

Nevertheless, the belief that the treatise was the work of Longinus remained strong and virtually undisputed until the 19th century. Admittedly, there are some very strong arguments in favor of this approach.

Firstly, as Fyfe notes, only three ancient scholars used the term ὕψος in their writings, and Cassius Longinus is one of them as he once used the same term in a very similar way; however, this is only evidenced by a passing reference in Proclus' commentary to Plato's *Timaeus*.¹⁵

Secondly, there is also a considerable overlap in content between the ancient scholar's views on rhetoric and certain passages of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, such as the encouragement to imitate the greats of the past, or the importance of word arrangement, rhythm and melody.¹⁶

That said, there are notable differences in style and vocabulary as well, and some disturbing discrepancies in content. For example, there is never any reference to writers later than Cicero, Caecilius and Theodorus in the treatise. This is odd for an author who lived in the third century, especially since from other works of his, we learn that he thinks highly of the second

¹² See FYFE (1999: 145), PORTER (2016: 1), see also HALLIWELL's *Introduction* (2022: xi–xv).

¹³ FYFE (1999: 145).

¹⁴ DORAN (2015: 30).

¹⁵ See PRICKARD (1906: 100) cited by FYFE (1999: 145).

¹⁶ PORTER (2016: 136).

-century Greek orator Aelius Aristides. Why does he not mention the same author in this text?¹⁷

The final important objection is not different from the one raised above in the case of Dionysius: Cassius Longinus criticized Plato's 'poetic style', while one of the main aims of Περὶ Ὑψους seems to be, in a sense, to defend Plato's authority.¹⁸

In 1808, when the Italian scholar Girolamo Amati came across another medieval manuscript that also referenced the author as 'Dionysius or Longinus', the debate recommenced, yet the identity of the author has remained unknown ever since, apart from a few credible assumptions. The content of the text strongly suggests that it must have been the work of a Hellenic Jew living in the early imperial period of the Roman Empire, and it is this very cultural background that may also explain its somewhat outlandish nature.¹⁹

Naturally, the most obvious evidence to support the theory of the above-mentioned origin is first and foremost the *Fiat Lux*-scene from the *Genesis*, which the author references so honorably in chapter 9:

Soo, too, the lawgiver of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed a worthy conception of divine power and given expression to it, writes at the very beginning of his *Laws*: 'God said'- what? 'let there be light', and there was light. [...]²⁰

Also, we should not forget that the treatise is a direct response to Caecilius' treatise on the same subject and, according to the Byzantine *Suda* lexicon, Caecilius himself was a Jew.²¹

Yet, beside these subtle undercurrents of Jewish influence, the reader is properly inundated by the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman intellectual excel-

¹⁷ FYFE (1999).

¹⁸ FYFE (1999: 146).

¹⁹ DORAN (2015: 108).

²⁰ See *De Subl.* 9,9.

²¹ DORAN (2015: 32).

lence which the author exemplifies by the myriads of references to Greek literature and rhetoricians, to Cicero and to various schools of philosophy.

In light of this latter cultural influence, however, some shortcomings are even more striking; for example, very early on in the Greek literary tradition, the distinction between the ordinary and the grand styles was already common, with this concept famously evolving over the centuries into the theory of the *tria genera dicendi*: *humilis*, *mediocris*, and *gravis* or *sublimis*, as theorized by Cicero and Quintilian. This tradition, almost dogmatic in this period, seems surprisingly irrelevant to the author of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, even if we can find some minor parallels.²²

Quintilian, when writing about the sublime style, arrives at very similar conclusions to the ones in *On the Sublime* and, just like the latter, conjures up the image of a thunderbolt as a natural comparison²³, so the early Renaissance editors of the work could rightly have assumed that the identification of ὕψος and the sublime style was correct. Yet, others argue that this would ultimately be misleading because on closer inspection it becomes clear that, as Boileau already pointed out when he separated the concept of sublimity from the ‘sublime style’²⁴, ὕψος, as such, implies something more: a concept that goes beyond stylistic theories in the Ciceronian sense.

In Fyfe’s view, it seems more akin to the ‘additional virtues’ of Dionysius, or even more to the *ideai* (forms or tones of speech) established by the second-century rhetorician Hermogenes,²⁵ while Doran concludes that it is more correct to regard this treatise as a theory of creativity and of genius: the first treatise on the subject in Western thought.²⁶

As it has already been established, only a handful of ancient scholars used ὕψος strictly as a term, which seems to imply the existence of a somewhat independent critical tradition to which the author of our treatise must belong.

²² FYFE (1999: 153).

²³ PORTER (2016: 13).

²⁴ ‘Une chose peut être dans le style sublime, et n’être pourtant pas Sublime [...], that is: ‘A thing can be in the sublime style, and yet not be Sublime [...]’ as he states in the Preface to his *Traité du Sublime*.

²⁵ FYFE (1999: 152).

²⁶ DORAN (2015: 29).

Nevertheless, similar words and expressions were very much in use during this period and some of these also appear in various passages of *Περὶ Ὑψους*, as we have seen at the beginning of this study; sometimes even as synonymous with sublimity, such as μέγεθος (greatness), or δεινότης (fearfulness), which are also found, for example, in Demetrius' *On Style*. But again, it may be noted that the discussion of the sublime must go beyond these concepts as they appear in the latter's work on rhetoric, since it also involves a description of a certain state of mind or soul (see μεγαλοφροσύνη, or 'high-mindedness'), which ultimately sets it apart from all the other theories mentioned.²⁷

As Doran himself concludes that what the author's description of ὕψος ultimately establishes is that it is a notion (a) intrinsically related to Logos, (b) beyond style and (c) a universal and trans-historical concept.²⁸ The fact that the ancient treatise under analysis moves within the conceptual framework of λόγος, rather than the Aristotelian term λέξις, may serve as a final step toward discussing the influence of the Plato itself.

Porter, although devoting a whole chapter to exploring the Platonic antecedents of the sublime, says surprisingly little about the Platonic elements of *Περὶ Ὑψους*. Plato's name mostly comes up in a later chapter concerned with the 'immaterial sublime', which naturally focuses on the conception of exaltation within the text as the most important parallel. At the end of his book, a short final chapter is added regarding the immaterial sublime, but it is concerned mostly with Cicero and only mentions Plato sporadically.

In view of these circumstances, let us explore the philosopher's influence on the text in a more systematic fashion.

The first layer of Platonic influence can be found in the person of another, most renowned Hellenic Jew, Philo of Alexandria, whose impact is so evident in the text that some classicists have even suggested that Philo may in fact be the author of *Περὶ Ὑψους*.

First of all, it can be observed that the way the terms λόγος or λόγοι appear in the text is reminiscent to Philo's works, where they are used to refer

²⁷ DORAN (2015: 33).

²⁸ DORAN (2015: 34).

to the creative force of the universe and to the power that mediates between man and God.²⁹

Another relevant locus in the text is of course the already mentioned evocation of the *Septuagint*, which bears a notable resemblance to Philo's exegetical work.

Finally, the manner in which Pseudo-Longinus uses the term ἔκστασις, and the overall prominence given in his theory to divine frenzy (μανία or ἐνθουσιασμός) in relation to great works of art, are unusual among the orators of the period and, beyond the obvious primary influence of the *Phaedrus*, can also be traced back to Philo. For example, in the treatise 'Who is the heir of divine things?', Philo distinguishes four forms of μανία: the first being manic rage caused by physical circumstances; the second describing astonishment at unexpected phenomena; the third form is a state of calm meditative contemplation, whereas the fourth category relates to the divine inspiration of prophets. The term used by Pseudo-Longinus seems to be a combination of the second and the fourth aspects.³⁰

Further, it is also noticeable that the term θεοφορέω (to be possessed by God or to be divinized) appears twice in his treatise in a positive sense. This is a seldomly utilized terminus, yet it is used by Philo, which might be considered as further evidence of a connection.³¹

The discussion of this term leads us to an even deeper layer in our endeavor of textual excavation, namely, to Plato himself. Although the analytical character of the treatise is sometimes more reminiscent of Aristotle's methodological investigations, his master's role is much more prominent in the text as a whole, as already evidenced by the sheer number of references; the author mentions the philosopher up to twenty times, a number rivalled only by Homer. By comparison, Aristotle is mentioned by name only once.

In addition, it is Plato himself who is set as the finest role model for the effects of the sublime: he is even called a ἥρως, or divine.³² This is somewhat

²⁹ DORAN (2015: 35).

³⁰ DORAN (2015: 43).

³¹ DORAN (2015: 44).

³² See *De Subl.* 4,6.

surprising in light of the first mentioning of his name, which is in connection with one of the non-sublime elements: frigidity or ψυχρός. This occurrence can be found in the first chapter where Pseudo-Longinus – while discussing metaphor as the source of the sublimity – ironically concludes that Plato has taken it all a bit too far.³³

However, the philosopher is exonerated of this charge elsewhere: for in another passage Pseudo-Longinus points out, similarly to early modern theorists, that ὕψος does not lie in perfection; on the contrary, occasional errors are signs of the presence of great thoughts and emotions in the work, and therefore of the very existence of the sublime.³⁴

In chapter 12, the author also distinguishes between the sublimity of Plato and that of Demosthenes: the former is remotely reminiscent of Kant's notion of the more contemplative 'mathematically sublime', as he compares Plato's texts to a steadily rising tide, while the latter is more violent and therefore corresponds to Kant's 'dynamically sublime'.³⁵

The former parallel is also supported by the fact that while commenting on Plato's *Republic*, Pseudo-Longinus says that:

[...] though the stream of his words flows as noiselessly as oil (χεύματι ἀψογητὶ ῥέων), he none the less attains sublimity.³⁶

As Clewis and Porter also point out, the concepts of μανία or ἐνθουσιασμός, which Pseudo-Longinus often identifies as both the source and the effect of the sublime, owe much to Plato's ideas of divine frenzy described in the *Phaedrus*, the *Symposium* and the *Ion*.³⁷ This is perhaps the element that makes the parallel between the ancient concept of ὕψος and the early modern treatises on sublimity the most obvious, and is essentially the only motif that Porter discusses in detail in his chapter on the 'immaterial sublime'.

³³ See *De Subl.* 1,4.

³⁴ *De Subl.* 33.

³⁵ See Kant's *Critique of Judgement*, Book II (*Analytic of the Sublime*), A-B.

³⁶ *De Subl.* 13,1.

³⁷ See CLEWIS (2009: 11), PORTER (2016: 75).

The notion of erotic frenzy or ἔρως, which causes the hallmark ambivalent emotions of pleasure mixed with pain (reminiscent of the sublime) is another important Platonic element as Shaw also argues.³⁸ This notion is present not only through Sappho's poem quoted by the author, but also by the evocation of the idea of 'spiritual pregnancy' of the *Symposium*. In chapter 9, for example, he says that sublimity makes us 'pregnant with noble thoughts'.³⁹

However, to simply state that the presence of μανία is a sign of genius would, of course, be a somewhat simplistic reduction of the argumentation of Περί Ὑψους. After all, in the ancient author's view, the influence of ὕψος in literature or rhetoric can be traced back to *two* fundamental factors: one is related to φύσις, or spontaneous, natural tendencies (namely, the presence of great thoughts and strong emotions), and the other to technical bravado or τέχνη.⁴⁰ Here too, the author may have been influenced by the *Phaedrus*, which likewise argues for the importance of learning the craft of rhetoric, in addition to innate talent:

If you have a natural ability for rhetoric, you will become a famous rhetorician, provided you supplement your ability with knowledge and practice. To the extent that you lack any one of them, to that extent you will be less than perfect.⁴¹

All of the above, moreover, show a connection with Plato's later views on mimesis, which, like Pseudo-Longinus, encourage the emulation of classical ideals as a possible way of achieving the sublime. Although Plato initially condemns imitative arts, and in the most famous passages of the *Republic* we learn that works of art are three times removed from reality in the ontological hierarchy, in later texts he seems to think more favorably of mimetic art, provided that certain censorship is present for specific educational purposes. For example, in *Laws* he expresses outright admiration for Egyptian

³⁸ SHAW (2017: 31).

³⁹ ἐγκύμονας ἀεὶ ποεῖν γενναίου παραστήματος (*De Subl.* 9,1).

⁴⁰ *De Subl.* 1,2.

⁴¹ See *Phdr.* 269d.

artists, precisely because they did nothing but copy the style of ancient art handed down to them:

They compiled a list of them according to style, and displayed it in their temples. Painters and everyone else who represent movements of the body of any kind were restricted to these forms; modification and innovation outside this traditional framework were prohibited, and are prohibited even today, both in this field and the arts in general [...] simply a supreme achievement of legislators and statesmen.⁴²

The final important parallel to be discussed lies in the moral dimension of ὕψος. This is reflected in the distinction between true and false sublimities, which notion clearly relies on the Platonic juxtaposition of δόξα and ἀλήθεια as well as its moral consequences. As Pseudo-Longinus argues, empty outward display, rhetorical excess and flashiness are morally questionable and are diametrically opposed to nobility of mind and soul, which are the ultimate sources of sublimity. For Doran, this is very much reminiscent of Plato's views on true philosophers. Just as they seek truth beyond appearances, so do great writers or artists seek true elevation beyond mere artifice.⁴³

All of this is beautifully summed up in the Περὶ Ὑψους: 'The sublime is an echo of the noble mind'.⁴⁴ Porter also makes this connection in the final chapter of his book, when he quotes the following passage:

Greatness of mind wanes, fades, and loses its attraction when men spend their admiration on their mortal parts and neglect to develop the immortal.⁴⁵

In light of the above, we can therefore conclude that the treatise of Περὶ Ὑψους was strongly influenced by Plato and the Platonic tradition and as such, should still be seen as an integral part of the history of the sublime,

⁴² See *De leg.* 656e.

⁴³ DORAN (2015: 55).

⁴⁴ *De Subl.* 9,1.

⁴⁵ *De Subl.* 44.8. quoted in PORTER (2016: 616).

even if we accept Porter's reasoning that Platonism was its actual precursor; the tractate is not an unfortunate outlier that 'misled' literary historians, but rather an important step in the evolution of the concept, inextricably linked to Plato's dualistic world view and to his ontological hierarchy.

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Qaşr al-Bint Temple “Sanctuary of the Nabataeans”

Qaşr al-Bint Temple is one of the best-preserved freestanding structures in Petra beside it is the main temple of the ancient city. The Nabataeans built this Temple at about the same time as the famous Al-Khazneh (Treasury) was built, in the second half of the reign of King Aretas IV (ruled 9 BC–40 AD). I can surely say that this Temple is an outstanding and unique example of the fusion of Greco-Roman and Eastern elements in Nabataean architecture, which motivates scholars to study and write about it. The Nabataean's architecture, culture and religion still fascinate every scholar whenever they discover something new about them. Unfortunately, the Nabataeans did not leave many inscriptions that reveal all details of their life, but they left the most amazing archeological remains that will always be impressive and provide the motivation to learn and dig more to reveal more about their mysteries. In this paper, I will write in general about the Nabataeans origin, their settlement and location and their temples. Then I will write in detail about Qaşr al-Bint Temple which I will focus on in my paper, regarding its location, most important features and function.

Keywords: Petra, Qaşr al-Bint Temple, Jordan, the Nabataeans, Dushara, Petra, Qaşr al-Bint chronologic

Introduction

The Nabataean Kingdom was and still a mystery for many centuries. Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace back when exactly this powerful political entity put itself on the map between the fourth century BC and 106 AD, but some scholars date them back to the era under Trajan between 168 BC and 106 AD. The name Nabataean came from the root “Na-ba-ṭu” (نبطن), which means “distinguished man”; furthermore, their name was written in their

inscriptions as “*nbṭw/nabaṭu*”, but Dan Gibson says that the origin of the name is the Nabatu, meaning people who draw water.¹

The Origin of the Nabataeans

Originally the Nabataeans were nomads dwelling in the *Negev Desert* and some scholars believe that they emerged from the Aramaean Kingdom that was in Babylonia.² They are also mentioned in the Assyrian Annals of the prominent King *Tiglath-Pileser III* (745–729 BC),³ but this theory faced many objections. Lipinski, for example, due to his studies of the *Tiglath-Pileser III*’s Summaries, believed that they should be identified as the entity that reigned under the rule of Ashurbanipal.⁴ He also noticed that there was no mention of Nabatu, but in another case, while studying Sennacherib’s Inscriptions, there was a mention of the tribe.⁵ “The Ancient Records of Tiglath-Pileser III list, among the rebels, the *Hagaranu* (perhaps the descendants of Hagar, the mother of Ishmael), the *Nabatu* (perhaps the Nabataeans were descendants of Nebayoth, the son of Ishmael) and the tribe of Qedar. The Qedarites are mentioned in Genesis 25:13 as descendants of a son of Ishmael named Qedar”.⁶

Settlement and Location

From their early stages as nomadic tribes to their settled society (before the fifth century BC), the Nabataeans formed a significant culture and political entity that proved itself among great empires such as the Seleucid Empire, the Jewish Kingdom, South Arabian Kingdoms, and later on the Roman Empire. They chose one of the most strategic and safest places in the area. They chose

¹ GIBSON (2004: 9).

² WENNING (2015: 26).

³ SÁNCHEZ (2015: 25); GIBSON (2004: 9).

⁴ GIBSON (2004: 25).

⁵ SÁNCHEZ (2015: 25).

⁶ GIBSON (2004: 9).

it wisely, depending on their significant knowledge of the Arabian Desert, because they needed a place where they could be protected, at the same time, in the middle of the trading route, not too far from the water sources and not too isolated from the other kingdoms. Also, it was easily reachable for those who seek peace, knowledge, business and a dive cultural and knowledge exchange, but, at the same time, well protected. Therefore, they chose the city of *Rekem* or *Rekmu*, what is now known as Petra or The Rock City.⁷ They built their amazing capital city Petra in southern Jordan about 80 kilometers southeast of the Dead Sea in modern Jordan (30°19'N, 35°25'E).⁸ They used the mountain ridge that lines up from the eastern border of Wadi Arabah, which is the borders between Palestine and Transjordan, to the north of modern Saudi Arabia. They even expanded their Kingdom to the north close to Syria and to the west to reach the Oasis at Duma almost to the Nile Delta. With this expansion, they covered around 700 square kilometers.⁹

Before the Nabataeans, the city of Petra was nothing but a barren cannon. It is believed that, most probably, it was a graveyard for their dead.¹⁰ This place was never occupied by the Edomites as their capital city was Bushra, which is located in what is called present-day Tafila in the southern part of Jordan. But this does not revoke the idea that the Nabataeans were not living close to it and maybe within the Edomite's settlements, as some Nabataeans started their occupation of a mountain that was known as Selah.¹¹ Moving to the great new city and building those enormous or, in better words, engraving buildings did not mean that they completely abandoned their nomadic life¹² and their previous way of living. They kept having the tents settled and ready to have them in different places, in case they needed refuge for the women, children and elders, as well as they did not leave the cattle-raising behind them, so they needed those during their search for food and water.

⁷ More information will be provided on the Nabataeans' cities later on in this section of the chapter.

⁸ ERICKSON-GINI (2015: 309).

⁹ ALPASS (2013: 1–2); WENNING (2015: 394–409).

¹⁰ GIBSON (2004: 10–11).

¹¹ LEMCHE (2008: 154).

¹² HEALEY (2001: 27).

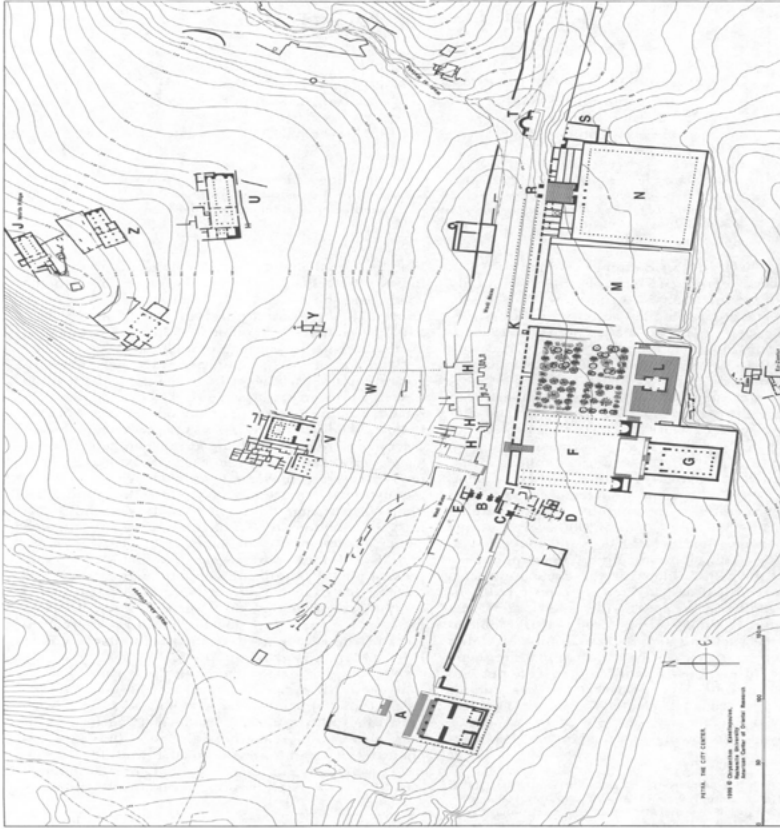


Figure 1: Map of the city of Petra, A: Temple of Dushara (Qasr Al-Bit); B: Temenos Gate; C: South Tower; D: Baths College of Priests, or Palatial Residence; E: North Tower; F: Lower Temenos of the Great Temple Complex; G: Great Temple and it's Upper Temenos; H: Bridges; J: Ridge Church; K: Colonnaded Street; L: Pool Complex (Lower Market); M: Middle Market; N: Upper Market (Arora); P: Bazantina Tower; R: Trajanic Arch; S: South Nymphaeon; T: North Nymphaeon; U: The Petra Church; V: Temple of Winged Lions or Temple of Al-'Uzza (Gymnasium); W: Royal Palace, Y: Area A; Z: Blue Chapel¹⁴

The Nabataean Temples¹³

The four Nabataean temples of ancient Petra, Qasr Rabbah, Khirbet edh-Dharih, Khirbet et-Tannur and Qasr al-Bint, are free-standing and all of them were built between the second half of the first century BC and the first quarter of the 1st century AD. Each temple competes with the Khazneh, the

¹³ For more information see: RAYMOND (2008: 54–76).

¹⁴ KANELLOPOULOS and AKASHEH (2001: 6).

rock-cut structure known as the "Treasury," in terms of size and style.¹⁵ The temples in the Nabataean capital constituted the largest and most ornate Nabataean religious constructions.¹⁶ Despite their similar exteriors (in antis' façades and Corinthian-Doric orders), locations (all structures are positioned within a 200 m radius) and dates (about 50 BC to 25 AD), each temple in Petra was a construction project with its unique issues.¹⁷ According to Healey,¹⁸ all the temples share in common:

The feature of an elevated platform in the cella of the temple reached by steps. Sometimes the temple is divided into three sections, of which the cella is the most enclosed (Qasr al-Bint, Dharih). The raised platforms sometimes show evidence of arrangements for steles or statues, while dividing walls, which are often plastered and painted, sometimes support engaged columns and contain niches which might also have contained steles or statues.¹⁹

Qasr el-Bint – The Palace of Pharaoh's Daughter

This great Temple was a focal point of the Nabataean society and was ornamented with some of the most remarkable art and architecture available at the time, with usage reaching back to the first century BC.²⁰ It is one of the three main temples in Petra, it is also known as the temple of Dushara. Petra is renowned across the globe for its stunning rock-cut façade for a long time ago.²¹

The most spectacular stone building in Petra, Qasr al-Bint, was erected between the second century BC and first century AD during the late Nabate-

¹⁵ HEALEY (2001: 74).

¹⁶ WHITING (2022: 194).

¹⁷ HEALEY (2001: 74).

¹⁸ HEALEY (2001: 74).

¹⁹ HEALEY (2001: 74).

²⁰ RENEL, et. al (2012: 39–42).

²¹ RENEL, et. al (2012: 39–42).

an period.²² It is also known as the Temple of Dushares,²³ the protector deity of the Nabataea as well as having the biggest portico (tetrastyle in antis, plan dimensions 32 x 32m)²⁴ standing on a massive and raised platform. Tetra

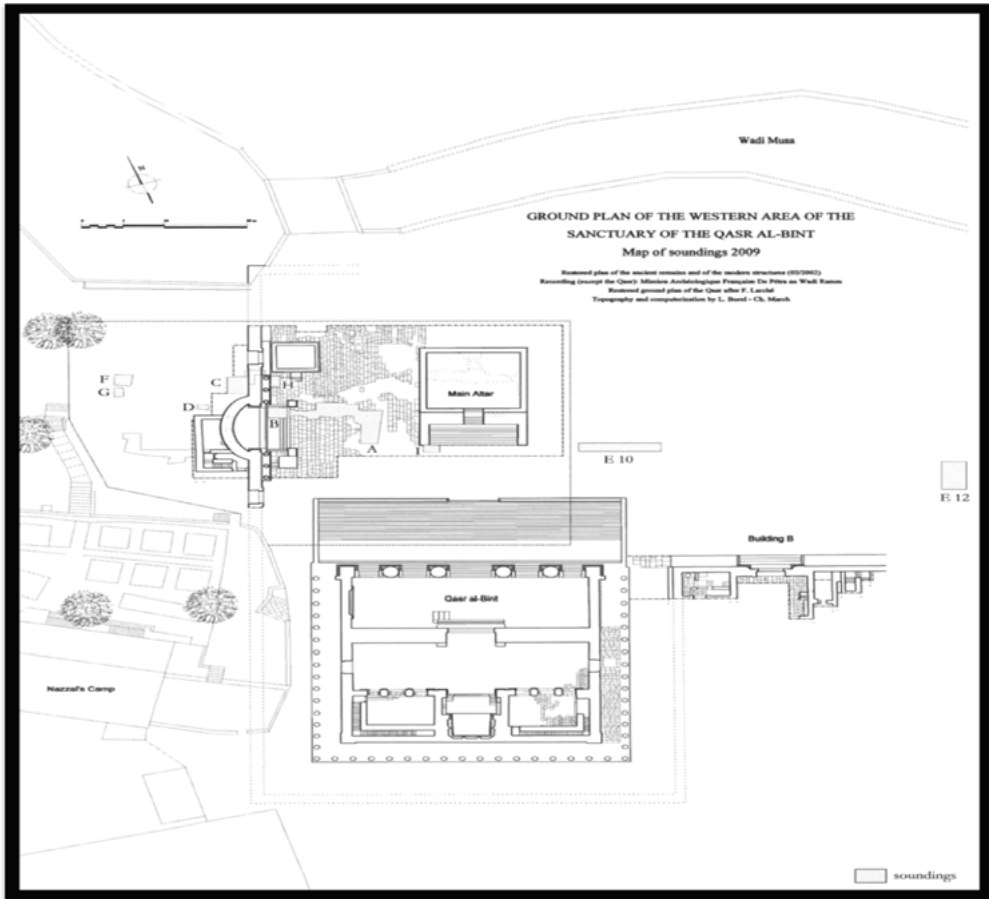


Figure 2: A general map of the soundings in the early levels at the Qasr al-Bint, Petra.²⁵

²² RENEL, et. al (2012: 39–42).

²³ Dushara was a supreme god, whose name means the lord of the mountain Al-Shara, which is a chain of mountains that encircle Mada'n Saleh and Petra, located on the rim of what is now known as Wadi Araba, Dushara was one of the day gods, and it is believed that he was the son of the goddesses Allāt, he was a daytime (the sun god) god, in contrast to Al-Qaum god, who was a night-time god, and his job was to protect people's souls while sleeping and be their protector during their journey in the heaven realms, back to Dushara was represented by a square block, and he was also one of the features of the Nabataean coinage (HEALEY, 2001: 83).

²⁴ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1358).

²⁵ RENEL, et. al (2012: 40).

style in *antis pronaos* with Corinthian columns, Doric frieze and pediment, all set behind a massive altar, are the Temple's only classical façade and the interior structure, obviously, was inspired from the Egyptian and the traditional Nabataean antecedents. Although the language was flawlessly and purposefully Hellenistic, as, in many Nabataean monuments, the function and geographical considerations were eastern.²⁶

The four separate stonewalls that made up Qasr al-primary Bint's structural components were a component of an ancient and defunct diaphragm. A visual inspection reveals that these walls are severely fractured and weakly attached at the corners; therefore, it is anticipated that each wall functions structurally independently.²⁷ The facade is covered in structural fissures and the mortar holding the stones together is seen as being flimsy and loose. The main wall's architecture is depicted in a drawing along with its measurements. It is 29 meters long, 5.5 meters wide at the entrance, 16.4 meters high with an effective construction height of 11.95 meters and an average stone-wall thickness of 2.60 meters. (The actual resistant wall height is the effective structural height.) The western wall's slight fissures and deteriorated mortar weaken the bonding effects. The western wall length is approximately 33 meters and its effective construction height is 11.33 meters and the wall thickness ranges from 1.5 to 2.0 meters.²⁸ The southern wall's large fractures can be seen all over it, which indicates that it has been subject to significant shaking and vibration. Using the original sandstone and wooden laces inserted between the stones, the eastern portion of this wall was repaired in 1962; however, significant deterioration of the laces contributed to the wall's dismantling and the expansion of the cracks. This wall's thickness ranges from 1.2 to 2.0 meters, and its span is 32 meters and the effective construction height is 12.9 meters.²⁹

The northern wall is an enormous span equivalent to those of the most important Ionic temples in Asia Minor. The center interaxial column spac-

²⁶ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1358).

²⁷ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1359).

²⁸ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1359).

²⁹ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1360).

ing and the architrave's matching length was 8 meters. It is important to note that, in this context, the larger center interaxial column space equates to the additional lengths of 4 triglyphs and 4 metopes and the remaining intercolumniations (axial distances 5,72 and 4,75 meters) correspond to such components in the frieze. Every other Doric metope had two rosettes that are alternated with metopes holding relief busts. Rich, painted relief, ornamentation and foreign materials (marble³⁰ for the staircase) were used in Qasr al-Bint together with unusually wide spans and bulky components that were closely fitted together.³¹

This massive tetrastyle-in-antis Temple with an almost square layout (27.90 x 27.62 meters) and 23 meters high rests on a pedestal. The large vestibule was accessible from the long stairway that faced north and was divided by a platform that took up the whole width of the podium. A portico placed on the platform and leaning against the Temple halfway up encircled it on the other three sides. From the spacious entryway, a huge doorway built in the thick wall 5 opened onto a spacious cella.³² Narrow stairs that appeared to be used to operate a concealed mechanism for covertly opening the doors ran along the length of the upper section of this wall, descending from the attic level to both ends of the lintel of the doorway. The whole width of the large cell was taken up by a tripartite adyton that was placed at the back. It was made up of a central aedicule with a platform that was 1.4 meters above floor level, surrounded by two-story lateral rooms.³³

On top of the E and W walls, which protected the attic level, were parapet walls that concealed its sides (Wright assumed a flat terrace roof). The pinkish native sandstone³⁴ ashlar, which were used to construct the temple,

³⁰ It should be emphasized that local stone, not foreign marble, was used to construct the "white marble" floor and the 80 cm high plinth veneer sheeting of the bottom section of the interior walls (personal communication; like in the case of the adjacent province of Judaea-Palaestina, the import of marble on a large scale did not commence here before the provincial period).

³¹ BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1360).

³² BANI-HANI and BARAKAT (2006: 1360).

³³ RENEL and FOURNET (2019: 53).

³⁴ Qasr al-Bint was constructed out of Cambrian sandstone, just like the other Petra monuments, from a lithographic perspective. This sedimentary rock has tiny grains (0.25 mm in

were primarily coated in stucco. Timber beams were used to strengthen seismic stability, except in the roof and ceilings.

It should be emphasized that local stones, not foreign marbles, were used to construct the "white marble" floor and the 80 cm high plinth veneer sheeting of the bottom section of the interior walls (personal communication, like in the case of the adjacent province of Judaea-Palaestina, the import of marble on a large scale did not commence here before the provincial period).

This enormous building was not built overnight. It needed months of hard work, material, labor and, most importantly, intelligence to construct such a magnificent building. It was built to glorify the god Dushara and, in other resources, it was built for the goddess Al-Uzza who was the protector of the city of Petra. The amazing evolution that the Nabataeans did by moving from their nomadic lifestyle to this magnificent Kingdom challenged one of the most powerful entities in the Ancient Near East. Despite the damage that happened due to the earthquakes that occurred in the area and the weather factors, the Nabataean buildings in Petra and in other Nabataean cities are still standing to witness this fabulous civilization.

The Function of Qasr al-Bint Temple

The Temple of Qasr al-Bint was built by the cult of Dushara, one of the supreme gods in the Nabataean community.³⁵ Dushara was a supreme god whose name means the lord of the mountain Al-Shara, which is a chain of mountains that encircle Mada'n Saleh and Petra and located on the rim of what is now known as Wadi Araba. Dushara was one of the day gods and it is believed that he was the son of the goddesses Allāt. He was a daytime (the sun god) god in contrast to Al-Qaum god, who was a night-time god and

size) and a moderately porous structure (10–20 percent of the volume is made up of pores). The nearly mono-crystalline quartz-only granular skeleton was cemented with a mixture of the microcrystalline carbonate, clayey materials, iron compounds, and secondary siliceous cement. The top layer (the worn crust) shows a considerable rise in salts, calcite, and ferric compounds, according to mineralogical analysis.

³⁵ PLEKHOV (2022: 9).

his job was to protect people's souls while sleeping and be their protector during their journey in the heaven realms. Dushara was represented by a square block and he was also one of the features of the Nabataean coinage.³⁶

Conclusion

The Nabataean civilization is one of the most impressive civilizations in the Southern Levant. They started their life as nomads and tribes dwelling in the desert and then they changed their lifestyle completely to the opposite and settled down, chose a strategic location and gained their knowledge in the desert to establish a successful trade which gave them a massive fortune and resulted to build their Kingdom with its capital city Petra. Petra was full of temples and other buildings and Figure 3 shows the distribution of Nabataean extra-mural cultic and funerary sites in southern Jordan and the Negev outside Petra. These buildings and their decorations are excellent case studies for religious appropriation because they show how cultures have interacted and how Greek, Near Eastern, and local art and religion have influenced the architecture and art.

The range and size of the rock-cut installations and buildings discovered next to several façade tombs in Petra suggest that the majority of the funeral rituals were performed outside the burial chambers. Most of the participants in this ceremonial action congregated on the platform or courtyard directly in front of the façade or in nearby triclinia. Gatherings, libations, offerings, and feasting appear to have been among the types of activities that occurred, whether at funerals or other events. According to the existence of cisterns, reservoirs and basins throughout the complexes, water appears to have been essential to many of these activities. The placement of the tomb's inside and outside portions suggest that the ceremony was centered on the graves within the chamber.

³⁶ GIBSON (2003: 174).

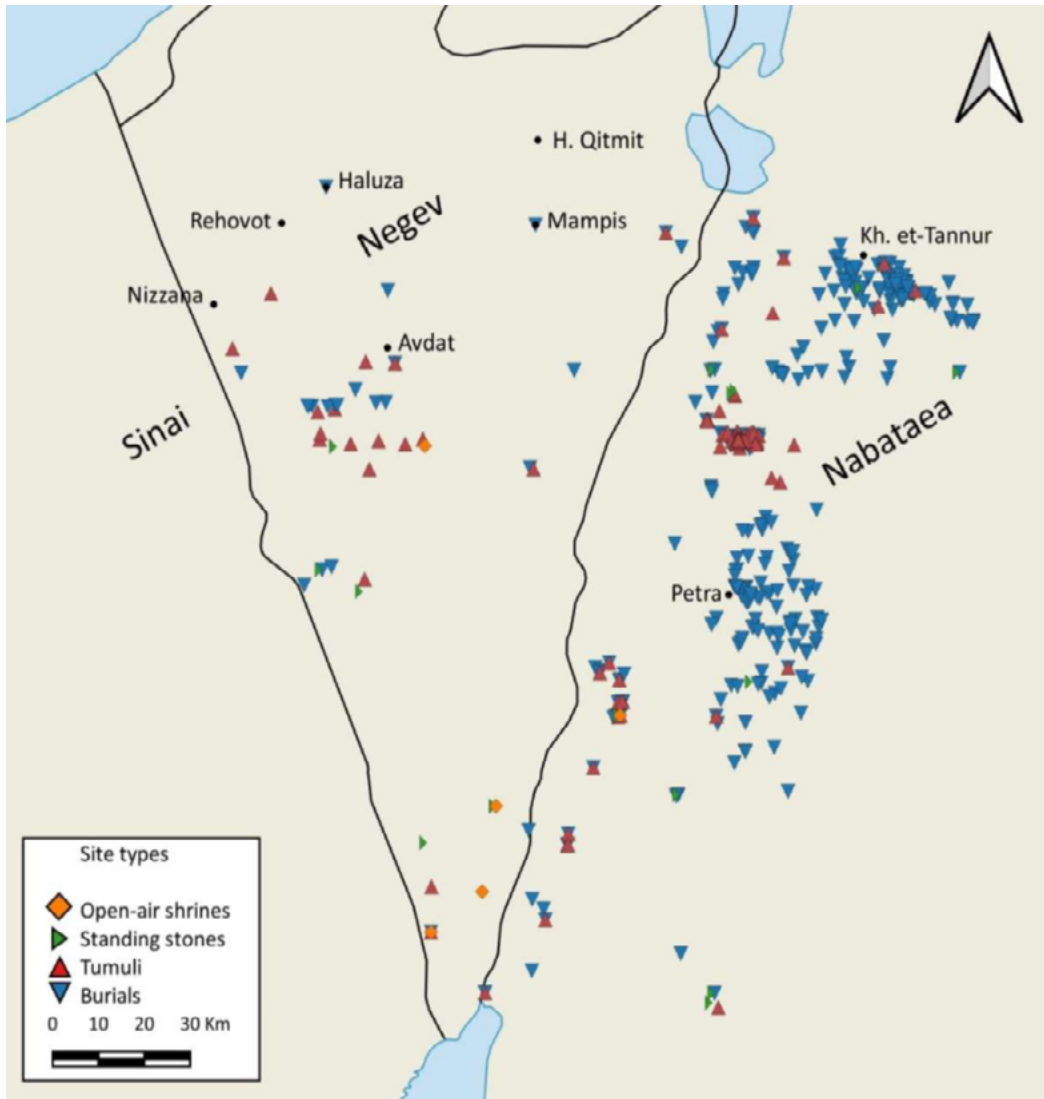


Figure 3: Distribution of Nabataean extra-mural cultic and funerary sites in Southern Jordan and the Negev outside Petra³⁷

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³⁷ TEBES (2020: 336).

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“I Know That I Hung, on a Windy Tree” The Parables of the Indoeuropean Jesus

The god who dies but rebirths is an often-reappearing legend in many religions. Amongst the numerous deities sharing these features, it seems that the self-sacrifice narrative regarding the Germanic Odin and Celtic Esus gives perhaps the most valuable insight into the Indo-European belief system. According to the data, human victims offered to both deities were hung on a tree and stabbed by a spear. This paper investigates whether were first Christians inspired by these polytheistic teachings, presumably incorporating non-Semitic ideas into the Parables of Jesus Christ. Especially the remarkable resemblance between the name of Jesus and Esus, and by examining connected linguistic and archaeological hints, an overall conclusion will be proposed.

Keywords: Jesus, Odin, Esus, Self-Sacrifice, Indo-European, Religion

If we think about Christianity as solemnly of Semitic export in Europe we can easily fall into the trap of a hasty conclusion, because it seems that things were not utterly straightforward. Truth is Christianization never had a one-way route, even from the period when it was spread orally in Aramaic and Greek, followed by written information.¹ Moreover, there has always been a kind of parallelism as it absorbed indigenous components just as indigenous beliefs engaged with the aspects of Christianity. For instance, while expanding, it immersed the values of the converting Roman aristocracy, like pagan rites and their calendar.² Seen as an odd entity in the beginning, it

¹ Zoroastrianism impacted Jewish teachings and neo-Platonism influenced early Christians, see BARR (1995).

² KAPLAN (1995).

competed with the Roman-worshiped divinities by transferring their roles onto Christian figures in an effort to limit their power.³ Question is, were there any ‘barbarian’ godlike figures that could be integrated into the rising Christian doctrine? ‘Syncretism is an incorrect description [...]’ as to old Europeans ‘Christianity was a self-characterization’,⁴ which perhaps could be the core reason why accumulated citizens of the Late Empire effortlessly accepted the new religion.

Wotan, Id est, Furor

According to the 10th-century accounts of Ibn Rustah, the Persian explorer, in the area of the city of Novgorod was a practice in which ‘any medicine man could seize a man or animal, put a rope around his neck and hang him until he dies, saying he is a sacrifice to God’.⁵ As Robert Dutton suggested in his PhD. thesis, the Lord of Death to whom the writer is referring is, without doubt, reminiscent of the widely revered Germanic deity Odin (the term Germanic is perceived as most accurate when addressing the mythology of the people belonging to the Germanic language family, along with interchangeable Norse, Scandinavian, and Icelandic).⁶ And the heading of this chapter is possibly the finest interpretation of Odin’s divine character out there, provided by Adam of Bremen in his 11th-century script, explicitly associating Odin with ‘rage’.⁷ Indeed, the etymology of his name is self-revealing his functions and the reason for the deity’s high position in the vast Pan-Germanic pantheon: OG *Wotan/Godan*, ON *Óðinn*, and OE *Wōden*, which all stemmed from Pre-Gmc **Uoh₂-tós* (eng. God-inspired) and PGmc **Wōdanaz* (**wōdaz* ‘rage’ + **-naz* ‘master of’), with a possible link in PC **wātis* (eng. seer) and LT *vātēs* (engl. prophet).⁸

³ SALZMAN (2002), RAUSING (1995).

⁴ LOTMAN (1990: 130).

⁵ LUNDE et al (2012: 127).

⁶ DUTTON (2015); CAWLEY (1939). Yet, we shouldn’t write off Slavic presence there, see: HRAUNDAL (2014: 84).

⁷ ORCHARD (1997: 168–69).

⁸ PUHVEL (1987: 167), DE VRIES (1957: 27; 1962: 416).

In classical manuscripts, Odin, the Dumézilian one-eyed sovereign of magic and fury,⁹ is usually concealed under the Roman label as Mercury [Tac. *Germ.* IX] or in the Early Medieval period as Mars [Jord. *Get.* IV, 40–41]. As we are told by the cited authors, human sacrifices were offered as a pledge to the alleged Odin’s equivalents. As well, Plutarch noted that Cimbrian warriors were sacrificed after being defeated by Romans in a way by hanging [Plut. *Vit.* 27]. Well, the reason why Odin is often brought into connection with the deity to whom hanged and speared human sacrifices are bequeathed is the data coming from the Old Norse oral tradition, finally gathered and written down by Christian authors, primarily Icelander Snorri Sturluson. We learn that Odin self-sacrificed himself to himself, particularly in the passage from the poem *Hávámál*, as he hung and starved for nine nights on a windy tree while wounding himself with the magical spear *Gungir*; all in order to pursue intellectual arts, that is, runes carved within the tree – which is by all means *Yggdrasil*, the World tree (most likely ash or perhaps willow tree). The fact the oral tradition was documented by Christians goes in favor of the Christian influence.

However, Odin’s dramatic soliloquy, from stanzas 138–141 below, is so intriguing that it has been the subject of an academic debate for over a century, even up to the recent discussions:

(138) I know that I hung on a windy tree,
All of nine nights, Wounded by a spear
and given to Odin,
self to myself, on that tree
which no one knows
of what roots it sprang.

(139) For loaf they did not give me,
nor for some horn,

⁹ Which is opposite to god Týr, whose area is justice and war, see DUMEZIL (1987) and GRUNDY (2014: 128–141).

I peered down, I took up secrets,
 screaming I grasped,
 I fell back from there.

(140) Nine mighty songs
 I took from the wise son
 of Bolthor, Bestla's father,
 and drink I did get
 of the precious mead,
 drenched with Odrerir.

(141) Then I began to thrive,
 and be wise and
 grow and be satisfied,
 Word to me of word, directed word,
 deed to me of deed, directed deed.

A scientific consensus regarding Odin's self-immolation is generally that by this deed he is gaining occult wisdom, the foresight to a cosmic event, and access to another world – resulting in new abilities for development in mental as well as bodily capacities upon returning from his ordeal.¹⁰ 'The point is not for the initiand to die for real [...] as in an execution',¹¹ since Odin's myth itself is not strictly about sacrifice and death, but rather a reflection of a rite of passage handled by the worshipers of the actual cult. As advocated by Daniel Bray: ' [...] within Norse religious practice, a sacrificial ritual was one of the most central acts of religious observance'.¹² As the matter of fact, this kind of activity was observed by Adam of Bremen: 'Every nine years [...] nine heads of every living male creature are offered [...] the bodies are hanged in a grove which stands behind the temple. The grove is so holy for

¹⁰ KURE (2004) and EVANS (2004).

¹¹ DUTTON (2015: 71).

¹² ON *blot*, see Bray (2002: 123).

the heathens that each of the separate trees is believed to be divine [...].¹³ At this point, we can observe the actual ‘embodiment’ of an oral institution, as this sentence corresponds with the *Hávámál*’s line where Odin is suspended for nine nights on a hallowed tree. Supplementary, the fabled echo of the ritual reenactment is attested in the legendary Norse lore where hero Starkad is sacrificing king Vikar by strangling him with a noose of willow around his neck and finally piercing him with the javelin.¹⁴

For those acquainted with the Crucifixion found in the Gospel, you may have by now noticed some resemblances. Parables of the Christ portray Jesus of Nazareth having been pierced in the ribs by the ‘Holy Lance’ while being suspended on the Cross, a wooden structure: *Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exevit sanguis et aqua* [JN 19/34]. With remarkable likeness, in both cases, the weapon as a symbol of power is ending the ceremony. To be precise, Jesus is voluntarily sacrificing himself (God the Son) to himself (God the Father) to save the world, while Odin is trying to prevent Ragnarok, the end of the Norse gods and men.

After the path of exhausting martyrdom and death, they both miraculously come back to life. The ‘dying-and-rising god’ narrative, confirmed in a number of mythologies, was promoted by Sir James Frazer. The scholar claimed that all the essential features of Christianity could be found in the earlier religions (chiefly subsequent resurrections of Attis, Dionysus, Osiris, Innana, etc.); and let us add that *Interpretatio Christiana* was even promoted by the Church itself.¹⁵ Regardless of the mentioned, assumptions that the central story and other parts from the New Testament could be of (Indo-) European origin are mostly rejected by modern scholars.¹⁶

Nonetheless, some other parallels between Odin and Jesus may advocate that Frazer’s claims are not so old-fashioned. For example, coming from the poem *Griminsmol*, Odin is bound between two pillars of blazing fires, while Christ hangs between two crosses holding criminals. Also, Jesus is

¹³ Ibid, 129.

¹⁴ PUHVEL (1987: 245).

¹⁵ BARSTAD (1984). See more at: METTINGER, TRYGGVE (2004).

¹⁶ For example by EHRLMAN (2012).

offered vinegar, and in stanza 140 tree-suspended Odin is drinking precious mead. Furthermore, Odin dies on the 9th day, and the commemoration of Christ is on the 9th hour, a number often brought into connection with Indo-European cosmologies and folklore.¹⁷ In other sequences Jesus is capable to replicate fish and bread, he possesses powers of healing, and he can communicate with the other world, all in the interest of common folk. Perhaps more egoistically, Odin magically replicates gold rings, preaches and heals, and travels between different realms.

At first sight, these parallels could support Joseph Cambell's monomyth theory, however, it would be an explanation too simplified to offer. Yin/Yang situations rather display inherited IE functions in the case of Odin, later adhered to Jesus, and not Jung-type meaningful coincidences, immensely promoted by Cambell's followers.¹⁸ As it happens, could similarities stand as a daily-political result of the incorporation of 'barbarian elements' into the Roman religious doctrine?

But for now, let us go back to the central scene. Numerous authors dealing with this topic are warning about its lack of information. For instance, Odin's last nine nights are opposed to the unattested length of time that Christ spent on the Cross. Whereas, if we apply Oliver Freiberger's method, the accentual context is the act of hanging, despite variances.¹⁹ Folklorist Alan Dundes argued that exactly the absence of Jesus's childhood and youth illuminates 'precisely the case for almost all heroes of tradition'.²⁰ If the latter is not spot-on, why the Cross was metaphorically described as a tree in a way like it should mimic the heathen story of the Dundes' hero:

Acts 5:30: 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and
hanged on a tree'

Acts 13:29: 'And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they

¹⁷ Number 9 is considered a divine number in the Indo-European belief system, see COHEN (2019).

¹⁸ CAMBELL (1949).

¹⁹ See FREIBERGER (2019).

²⁰ DUNDENS (1980).

took him down **from the tree**, and laid him in a sepulchre'

Galatians 3:13: ' [...] for it is written, cursed is every one that **hanged on a tree**'

Peter 2:24: "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body **on the tree** [...]"

Considering the above said, it is aware the World tree is essential to the shamanic figure, as Cosmic Mountain is to Greek Prometheus.²¹ One of the main traces often attached to Odin is an aspect of shamanism, a complex religious phenomenon non-exclusive to Siberia and Central Asia. His myth corresponds with the initiation rites of many cultures, and namely, Odin's followers were known for techniques of trance. Mircea Eliade postulated that 'the fundamental power of the shaman is ecstasy, that is the ability of the shaman's soul to move out of the shaman's body and then wonder in the whole world [...] for different purposes, especially healing, and divination, and also guiding souls of the dead toward the netherworld', and that 'the principal function of the shamanism is magical healing and ability to communicate with the dead, without thereby becoming their instrument'.²² Thus, a shaman is a Mercury-like mediator, a prophet, and a seer (all in connection with Odin's function), with mastery over elements, and a shape-shifter accompanied by animals (parallel to Odin's metamorphosis, his two ravens and 8-legged steed). As defined by Jan Kozak, Odin's self-immolation brings to mind internal and external aspects of the factual ritual experience, allowing him later to receive Sacred Mead.²³

It is noteworthy that all the above-mentioned can be as well used while describing Jesus' characteristics, even if we confess there is no definitive image of him due to many teachings that existed and still exist today in Christology. The functional approach focuses on Jesus' identity concerning his functions as a preacher and healer,²⁴ evidently found in the other Indo-Eu-

²¹ ELIADE (1951: 266, 270). See more at FORNEUT (2020: 13; 19).

²² Ibid, 3–4, 5, 215, 379–83.

²³ The so called 'Stereomyth' proposed by KOZAK (2017: 187).

²⁴ ELIADE (1951: 8).

ropean religions. All shamans must go through some form of initiation, Via Dolorosa in this case. 'This experience, which may take the form of sickness, visions, or dreams all entail a 'symbolic death' and resurrection after suffering, enchanting his status through suffering'', becoming a 'wounded healer'.²⁵ It is no amazement that, during conversion to Christianity, some African tribes were syncretizing Jesus and *nganga*, their healer and psychopomp, as noted by John Daniel Dadosky, who explored the notion of Christ as the shamanic figure.²⁶ Besides, Native Americans rejected the word Shaman as foreign, as they preferred the term 'medicine man' or 'spiritual elder'.²⁷

If we search further, Jesus draws his power from his close relationship with God like a mediator to actualize healing, '[...] a major concern in the Gospel depiction of Jesus'.²⁸ For example, he uses prayer to heal [MK 9:29], and the power of God to do so [MT 12:28]. Others heal by touching his cloak [MK 5:25–34, MK 6:56], and let us not forget the epiphany of Odin the Hooded-one (ON *Grímnir*). Jesus is using mud mixed with his saliva to cure the blind man [JN 9:6–7]. Other commonly invoked shamanic techniques are laying on the hands [Mark 6:5, LK 22:51], the power of visions [MK 10:32], going out of his mind [Mk 3:21], or better to say – out of himself.²⁹ Jesus controls spirits [LK 10:17, MK 1:12], and he was accused of practicing witchcraft and sorcery by the Romans. Whilst Odin created certain things (Midgard and runes), Jesus is the Creator of all things [JN 1:1–3], which is again only different in Freiburger's manner.

Now, if we took into consideration these traits mutual for Odin and Jesus, naturally we must ask ourselves which is older and who influenced who? Even if the author of this paper considers that neither is true, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the archaeological perspective is necessary. Ma-

²⁵ Ibid, 33, and BORG (1989: 116). Odin performed another form of self-sacrifice by surrendering his left eye so he might take a drink from Mimir's well; it is also noted that Jesus had damaged eye [MT 5:29].

²⁶ DADOSKY (1993: 18) calls Eliade's attempt to define shamanism the least hazardous of them all.

²⁷ GOULD, KOLB (1964: 38).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid; 40.

terial confirmation of neck-hanging victims, like those of Tollund Man found in Denmark, predates the arrival of Christianity in Northern Europe by almost 1500 years.³⁰ Not to mention, Scandinavia has a multitude of surviving place names specifically denoting sites of hanging, and it is hard to believe these are all Christian influences.³¹ Indeed, it is reported that the Norse poems were the works of many men, from many different times, but the 'mythological poems seem strongly marked by pagan sincerity [...]' and '[...] it seems likely that [...] the poems dealing with the gods antedate the year 1000'.³² To put it more simply, the hanging myth could not have been inspired by Christian stories because Christianity was not there at the time – it arrives 2–3 centuries before most of the stories were written by Christians.

An unparalleled example of intermixed both pagan Nordic and Christian culture is a massive carved rune stone from the 10th century, found in the town of Jelling in Denmark. It was ordered by king Harald as a symbol to advertise the emergence of new Christian statehood, an obligatory condition for any state wishing to participate in international medieval politics. The stone, undoubtedly representing ancient shamanic rock art, depicts a figure of what should be a crucified Christ, standing in the shape of a cross, but entangled in what appear to be branches of a tree.³³ The sentence carved under the image demonstrates that Jesus' function substituted the one of Odin in medieval Scandinavia: 'Behold, Christ has taken the place of Odin' (**Figure 1**).

A tremendous amount has been written about Odin and the aspects of the cult that surrounded him,³⁴ yet little progress has been made beyond general regarding his synthesis with the legacy of Jesus Christ. Odin's self-immolation as solemn proof of the Indo-European origin of Jesus' characteristics is still lacking solid grounds. It is hard to agree that Odin, an immortal who is

³⁰ See GLOB (2004).

³¹ DUTTON (2015: 89–90).

³² BELLOWES (1936: 17–18).

³³ KURE (2004: 68–73).

³⁴ INSOLL (2004: 5) declares 'cult' a pejorative term due to its connotations of marginality and 'freakish' nature.

also mortal, influenced the Parables of Christ, and the Semitic traditions did not. For example, traces of shamanic figures in ancient Israel do occur, like Elijah and Hanina ben Dosa.³⁵ Although we do concur that Odin's story was a perfect substrate for incoming faith, this doesn't explain why the hanging motive was widely familiar in the early Empire, if we know that Germanic tribes were integrated in the later centuries. From that standpoint, our aim is not to question already established opinions of the subject, but to supplement them with additional data.



Figure 1. Interpretatio Christiana on the Jelling stone (after Teglbjærg 1982, 8, fig. 57).

The missing link

The holy places of IE tribes were woods and groves, and they applied the names of deities to that hidden presence that is seen only by the eye of reverence [Tac. *Germ.* IX]. Certainly, hanging ceremonies were made to be grasped and strongly recognized in the collective memory of the worshipers. And besides Prometheus, Old European pagan culture is full of transcendent fig-

³⁵ DADOVSKY (1993: 30–34).

ures resembling modern-day shamans. The historically judgmental tone of the term pagan, put aside how important part were shamanic customs in everyday life in Europe, for example, in the case of Etruscan auspices or Herodotus' shape-shifting Neuri. Additionally, one other shaman-like deity worshiped in Britain and Gaul could be a reason why the hanging motive prevailed for so long in Europe, and as argued, divine auto-sacrifice was something not reserved for Christianity.

Even if the Gaulish deity Lugh could be a decent successor of shamanic traits discussed in this paper, it is in god Esus where we find the most similarities with functions attributed to both Odin and Jesus. Known for a few monumental statues and a line in Lucan's text, Esus is a quite peculiar deity, to whom, according to the later commentators on Lucan's work, human victims were sacrificed by being tied to a tree and flogged to death.³⁶ Right here is where Jan de Vries finds ground for comparison between Esus and Odin.³⁷ Supplementary, Esus is mentioned as part of the magical formula to invoke aid in curing throat trouble, apparently as a healer figure [Marc. *De Med.* 15, 106], and was conflated with Roman Mercury by *Interpretatio Romana*.

Recorded variants of the deity's name are *Esus*, *Aisus*, *Hesus*, and *Aesus*.³⁸ A brief origin of it can be found in widespread u-stem attested in Umbr. *eso-no-* (divine, sacred), Etrusc. *aeasar* and Venet. *aisu-* (god, divine), perhaps in connection with Latin *herus* (lord, master).³⁹ Further, this masculine u-stem could be based on a PIE root **eis-* (fury), making the name semantically the same as the Germanic *Wotanaz*. As well, the name Esus could stand for a Romanization of an original form, perhaps of **Aisus*, derived from PC *wesu-* (noble, respected).⁴⁰ Archaeological data provide documented personal names in obvious connection with the deity, like *Esunertus*, *Esumagos*, *Esugenus*, and most likely the tribal name of the *Esuvii* from Northwest Gaul.⁴¹

³⁶ OLMSTED (1994: 321).

³⁷ DE VRIES (1954: 98).

³⁸ DOTTIN (1920: 60).

³⁹ See BEELER (1956).

⁴⁰ DE VRIES (1954: 98).

⁴¹ ELIADE (1951: 167).

The imagery of Esus is also challenging in terms of understanding. On the pillar from Paris, he appears as a bearded deity wearing a loose tunic while cutting branches from a tree with his axe (**Figure 2**).⁴² Here is regarded as *nautae* in Latin (sailor), with a link to Odin's chthonic character as 'god of cargoes'. On the Trier pillar, Esus is accompanied by a bull and three birds.



Figure 2. The Gallo-Roman Pillar of the Boatman, 1st century BC (after Lachevardiere 1846).

Now, the query is why Esus is chopping the tree unless this too has somewhat to do with the death and rebirth of the tree itself, echoing the death and rebirth of the victims sacrificed to it. What we know is that hero-gods are always ambivalent; their authority extends into many areas of a mortal's life. The more important question we are seeking is does Esus has any connection with the image and function of Jesus Christ? Esus's characteristics and the ritual around him are linked with those of Odin, and Odin, as we settled

⁴² GREEN (1992: 103–104).

formerly, is replaced by the image of Jesus. However, the difficulties we are dealing with here are a lack of archaeological and historical data regarding Esus, even if it seems he was quite an important god in the Celtic pantheon. A possible explanation for this could be *Damnatio Memoriae* staged during the Principate, and the only reason for that would be precisely the deity's powerful background or rather a rising cult.⁴³

Pioneer comparisons between the names of Esus and Jesus were made early as the 19th century,⁴⁴ but up to these days, striking resemblances are considered coincidental. Yet, Esus's traits are remarkably close to those of Jesus described in the Gospels. First, Biblical Jesus is a carpenter, and Esus is a woodcutter. Second, Esus also heals, and third, he is a soul carrier. Pathway to knowledge is hidden in Esus' case, but his myth was akin to that of Odin, giving to the victims offered to him by hanging and stabbing with a spear to imitate god's deed. Therefore, Esus is equally a divine shaman figure as it gives the impression, followed by rites and animals.

On the other hand, there are speculations that Esus's name could simply be a title, as 'Our Lord'. Even if this is true, we can still find some parallels with Odin, who is often entitled as the 'All-father'. Perchance **Óðinn** is standing as a reflection of 'myself', 'one-self', and 'one-eye'. A possible IE source of 'The One' is maybe supported by OCS *ѹдинъ*, and Russian *один* (the one). Heathen's formula 'The only (one) Lord' would be a plausible reason for Romans to trans pass divine epithet onto Jesus, a human manifestation of 'One true God', including the functions and the cult, at least of Esus. Given that proposition, we know that Aram. *lēsous* stands for 'healer, savior', comparing it to earlier said. We should take into consideration the potential form of **Aisus* and the fact Jesus was historically noted as *Lesus* in Latin. This could again be related to Pro-Sl **lěsъ* (forest, woodland). The connection of the word 'Jesus' with Hebrew *Yeshua* should carefully be questioned by scholars, regardless of the skepticism and the established paradigm, as it is not the historicity of Jesus put to the test here, but the revelation of 'Crypto-Paganism'.

⁴³ Esus is no longer attested epigraphically during the Principate, see more at Kos (1999).

⁴⁴ MORGANWG (1862). Paralles were made between Jesus and Caesar also, see CAROTTA (2005).

Possible interpretation

The modern understanding is that 'Myth's function is to explain' and 'the ritual's to obtain.'⁴⁵ Hanging rites were obviously in vogue since the Celtic and Germanic protohistory until the final Christianization of the Norse heathens in the Middle ages, even if various scholars are critical in implementing archaeological data for a ritual explanation.⁴⁶ The ecstatic agony of a shaman can be applied to both religious figures of Odin and Jesus Christ, and similarly, Esus's cult is akin to shamanism and shouldn't be ignored, even if we lack valuable information about the Celtic deity.

Christianity had become a major presence in Rome by the late 40s AD, and ever since it exchanged and absorbed elements of its worshipers who were previously labeled as heathens. As documented, numerous Celtic populations were engaged in Roman society after the Gallic wars. Assimilation, and thus incorporation of the language, customs, and beliefs gradually became 'Roman' in a way it was accepted. Wide use of the Celtic warriors in Roman legions and cults worshiped by them must have strengthened the power of Esus, hence, it would be reasonable and quite easy for Christian missionaries to convert those who already worship an old hanging god to revere a more powerful hanging god.⁴⁷ While each Indo-European people has a specific tendency as regards mythology, it is Romans who 'rewrote some sections of their mythology as the early history of Rome'.⁴⁸ In the same manner, as *Interpretatio Romana* did, giving a new cloak to the revered Celtic deity with *Interpretatio Christiana*, by absorbing the myth and the name of the influential god, would enhance the success of the religious program propagated by the correctors.

When finally proclaimed as the official state religion in the fourth century, Christianity was gradually adjusted by Roman sovereigns (who were already influenced by other Eastern cults like Mithraism) to the majority of the Empire's subjects with different ethnic backgrounds, lastly becoming

⁴⁵ SCHJØDT (2008: 69).

⁴⁶ HINES (2003).

⁴⁷ CHANEY (1960).

⁴⁸ FORTNEUT (2020: 18).

a byproduct of versatile Roman(ized) citizen. Further on, the fusion of the Germanic element in the civil and military system possibly did the same to Wotanaz as to Esus, as did later to Norse Odin. Whereas Odin and Esus truly share notable IE similarities, the ‘hanging’ of Jesus is likely not the monomyth’s result, as there are no such parallels coming from a Semitic genius. The sanction of Esus itself is rather more political and deliberately calculated by Constantine and his successors, with merging pagan and Christian teachings, repeated often throughout history.

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Eating With The Eyes: The Visual Appearance of Food in Horace's *cena Nasidieni* (Satire II.8) and Juvenal's *cena Virronis* (Satire 5)

*That visual imagery and food are salient components of Roman verse satire is evident, but the interaction between food and the eyes is rather elusive. The factors which determine that a food-item be included in a satiric meal are, oddly enough, superfluous to the proper reason for cooking and eating: colour, shape, size, portion – not the basic criteria by which one normally assesses a food – dominate most of the dishes in Horace's *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal's *cena Virronis*, whereas more relevant properties, such as smell and flavour, seem to have been relegated to a secondary position. This article examines the visual dynamics of the food described in Horace's *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal's *cena Virronis*, aiming to: i) explain how and why the eyes usurp the place of the nose and/or the mouth; ii) argue that the eyes' prominent role accords with the satirists' self-appointed mission to observe the world around them.*

Keywords: Roman verse satire, food, *cena*, eyes, Horace, Juvenal, *cena Nasidieni*, *cena Virronis*

Introduction

'Food is in the guts of Roman satire', as Gowers aptly remarks,¹ not only as a theme in its own right,² evidently playing upon the functions of the grotesque

¹ GOWERS (1993: 109).

² Besides, the very name *satura* is culinary by origin. The fourth-century AD grammarian Diomedes offers four possible explanations of the derivation and the meaning of the word *satura*, two of which connect satire with food: *satura autem dicta sive a Satyris, quod similiter in hoc carmine ridiculae res pudendaeque dicuntur, quae velut a Satyris proferuntur et fiunt: sive satura a lance quae referta variis multisque primitiis in sacro apud priscos dis inferebatur et a copia ac saturitate rei satura vocabatur; ...sive a quodam genere farciminis, quod multis rebus refertum*

body which has a major place in a literary genre as self-consciously ‘low’ as satire,³ but also as a symbol laden with connotations, thus constituting an appropriate vehicle for the satirist’s commentary,⁴ whether social-moral (the satirist derides the epicures, and denounces the extravagant preparation and excessive consumption of food, as he sees this situation through the lens of his own moderate and plain diet –itself bearing a metaphorical charge) or stylistic-aesthetic (culinary vocabulary applies both to food and to literature –the satirist’s self-referential/metapoetic, intertextual, literary-critical references in particular). Recent scholarship has considerably advanced our understanding of Roman verse satire’s approach to food,⁵ but one aspect that has not been adequately studied is the heavy emphasis on the visual features of many foodstuffs which are found in the works of the satirists. It is my contention that, oddly enough, the factors which determine that a food-item be included in a satiric meal are, for the most part, superfluous to the proper reason for cooking and eating: colour, gloss, shape, size, number of pieces, portion –not the basic criteria by which one normally assesses a food or food ingredient–dominate most of the dishes in Horace’s *cena Nasidieni* (Satire 2, 8) and Juvenal’s *cena Virronis* (Satire 5), whereas more relevant properties, such as smell and flavour, seem to have been relegated to a secondary position.

The importance of visual imagery and food as two of the salient components of satire has long been recognised. But beyond this, more precise deductions about the interaction between food and the eyes do not come easily. This article takes a closer look at the (neglected) visual dynamics of

saturam dicit Varro vocitatum. ...alii autem dictam putant a lege satura, quae uno rogatu multa simul comprehendat, quod scilicet et satura carmine multa simul poemata comprehenduntur. Diomedes, Grammatici Latini (Keil) 1.485. See the full discussion of COFFEY (1989: 11–18). Also, HOOLEY (2007: 73; *passim*).

³ On the bodily grotesque in Roman satire, see MILLER (2009) with further references.

⁴ KEARNS (2019).

⁵ The pioneering study of GOWERS (1993) on the representations of food in Roman literature is the natural foundation for further work in the area. Also, the matter is treated at large by HUDSON (1989); BARTSCH (2015); HOOLEY (2007: 72ff. and *passim*); GOWERS (2018); FERRIS-HILL (2022: 48; 68ff.; *passim*), to mention only a few scholars. Moreover, there is a very contemporary drive in Classics that seeks to re-think the role of the senses in the Greco-Roman World. On sight, SQUIRE (2016) offers the best discussions.

the food described in Horace's *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal's *cena Virronis*,⁶ aiming to: i) explain how, in these two dinners, the eyes usurp the place of the nose and/or the mouth, and, concomitantly, why the food creates a visual appeal and stimulation instead of an olfactory and/or a gustatory one; ii) argue that the prominent role given to the eyes is in accordance, *inter alia*, with the satirists' self-appointed mission to observe the world around them. What is about Horace's *cena Nasidieni*? A lot, it seems. Red honey-apples, green rockets, white pepper, the liver of a white goose parade about in an overly luxurious and ostentatious show. Similarly eye-centred, Juvenal's *cena Virronis* is a lavish *versus* miserly food selection of: a snowy-white bread, a lobster with long breast, eggs cut in half, a fish spattered with grey blotches, and a fattened fowl.⁷

I agree with Barkan that both Horace's *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal's *cena Virronis* deserve to be read for the food.⁸ But before we attempt to determine the purport of food in the two satiric dinners here under examination, we are confronted with the preliminary question: what is a literary *cena*? Roughly put, very differently from the *symposium*, which is concerned primarily or exclusively with the conversation of the guests, the *cena* is concerned with what is served at a dinner.⁹ The *cena* has as its focus of attention food, not conversation, while even the stifled conversation in the continuous flow of dishes is saturated with gastronomy, not philosophy.¹⁰ It is this form that concerns us here. Needless to say, Horace in the *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal in the *cena Virronis* are carrying on the tradition of Lucilius, who was the first to establish the *cena* in Latin satire.¹¹ For with all the fertility of innovation

⁶ SHERO (1923: 134) is right in saying that 'In the brief corpus of Persius' writings we find no satire or elaborated passage carrying on the tradition of the Lucilian-Horatian *cena*'.

⁷ This is not the place to get into a long discussion about all the other viewable possessions displayed during these dinner-parties, such as: furniture, appurtenances, fine tableware and tablecloths, well-dressed servants, serving practices, wall paintings and decoration items, etc. For our present purposes, we will focus mostly on a network of food-related issues.

⁸ As BARKAN (2021) reads them.

⁹ On this, see SHERO (1923).

¹⁰ GOWERS (1993: 136).

¹¹ That the *cena* does occur in Lucilian satire, despite its fragmentary state of preservation, is undeniable. PLAZA (2006: 108, n.110).

which the two successors display, their debt to Lucilius is obvious –further evaluation and study of either Horace’s or Juvenal’s imitation of Lucilius in their dinner-satires, however, is beyond the scope of this article.

cena Nasidieni (Horace, Satire 2, 8)

Satire 2, 8 is an account of the pretentious dinner-party given by the conceited upstart Nasidienus Rufus;¹² a dinner-party characterised by lavish and unwonted pomp and ostentation.¹³ The dramatic fiction of Satire 2, 8 has Horace *qua* character missing the *cena Nasidieni* and hearing about it only on the following day from Fundanius, who was one of the guests. Horace, who was not present himself,¹⁴ asks Fundanius about the food served, not the conversation (*Da, si grave non est, / quae prima iratum ventrem pacaverit esca* ‘Tell me, if you don’t mind, what was the first dish to appease an angry appetite?’,¹⁵ Satire 2, 8, 4–5). In response to Horace’s interested prodding, Fundanius reports the courses.

Satire 2, 8 is a dinner gone wrong; but not for the obvious reason, that is the final fiasco: the falling wall-hanging and fleeing guests. The meal proper at Nasidienus’ party is much easier to the eyes than to the stomach. Let us

¹² Among all the scholarly attempts to interpret Nasidienus’ role in the poem, particularly relevant for our argument is GOWERS (1993: 169) and FREUDENBURG’S (2001: 121) remark that there must be a point to the name Nasidienus. It looks like a well-chosen pun on *nasus* (NASidienus ‘Mr. Nose’), implying that Nasidienus’ pseudo-artistic, *haute-cuisine*, creations would be perceptible through the nose.

¹³ The majority of scholars to treat Satire II.8 dismiss it as a weak ending to both the second Book and the *Satires* as a whole, or, even as a slight entertainment. See, for example, FRAENKEL (1957: 137; 144); RUDD (1966: 213–223); COFFEY (1976: 89); CASTON (1997) with further references. For other aspects of Satire II.8 (its Lucilian model, Nasidienus’ role, its structural and thematic design, etc.) see indicatively: O’ CONNOR (1990: 31ff.); GOWERS (1993: 166ff.); MUECKE (1997: 227ff.); FREUDENBURG (2021: 289–296); CLASSEN (1978); BERG (1995); OLIENSIS (1997); MARCHESI (2005); LOWE (2010); SHARLAND (2011).

¹⁴ On Horace’s absence from Nasidienus’ dinner, see BAKER (1988: 226–227); FREUDENBURG (1995: 217); MUECKE (1997: 228); CASTON (1997: 241ff.) See also GOWERS (1993: 166–167), on Fundanius as an *alter ego* of Horace; KEANE (2006: 119–120). KEANE (2015: 64) finds a similarity between Horace’s absence from Nasidienus’ dinner and Juvenal’s non-involvement in Virro’s dinner.

¹⁵ For Horace, I follow the Loeb text and translation of H. R. FAIRCLOUGH (1929, reprinted 2005).

come to a detailed analysis of some of the foodstuffs provided in the meal. Nomentanus –to whom was delegated by the host, Nasidienus, the significant duty of drawing the guests' attention to the finer points of the fare—¹⁶ informs the guests that the apples served owe their rich red colour to the fact they were picked beneath the light of a waning moon (*post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem / ad lunam delecta* 'After this he informed me that the honey-apples were red because picked in the light of a waning moon', 2, 8, 31–32).¹⁷ Clearly the general body of Horatian commentators cannot be wrong in maintaining that 'melimela',¹⁸ 'honey-apples' are so called because of their extraordinary sweetness.¹⁹ In the case of the red honey-apples served at Nasidienus' party, however, there is not the slightest reference to their taste. We do learn that the apples are red because they were picked when the moon was less than full,²⁰

¹⁶BAKER (1988: 221). cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 102; *Sat.* 1, 8, 11; *Sat.* 2, 1, 22; *Sat.* 2, 3, 175; *Sat.* 2, 3, 224. RUDD (1966: 142–143); FREUDENBURG (2021: 305 *ad* 23): 'already in the first satire of book one, the name is a byword for reckless expenditure and self-indulgence'; FREUDENBURG (2021: 305 *ad* 25): because Nasidienus is anxious to show Nomentanus off to Maecenas as his own personal dining guru, and an enthusiastic veteran of his *recherché* foods and fine wines, he positions him *summus in imo*, where he himself would otherwise be expected to recline. The expertise possessed by Nomentanus is that of comic cooks and parasites.

¹⁷MUECKE (1997: 234 *ad loc.*), rightly observes that apples belong to the dessert, a later stage in the dinner. They could be mentioned without being on the table at this point.

¹⁸DUNBABIN (1917: 139): 'Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen* 198-9, cited by Friedländer on Martial I.43.4, 13.24, thinks *melimela* are quinces made into jam. His reasons apparently are that the Spanish *membrillo* and the Portuguese *marmelo*, which are derived from *melimelum*, mean a quince, and that he misunderstands Mart. 13.24 *si tibi Cecropio saturata Cydonia melle | ponentur, dicas 'haec melimela placent'*, where the point of the epigram would be lost if *melimela* were quinces. But *delecta* here shows that *melimela* cannot be quince-jam, while *rubere* shows that they cannot be quinces; for quinces are yellow and jam is not 'picked.' Also Pliny, *N.H.* 15, mentions them, not in §§ 37-8 under *cotonea*, but under *reliqua mala* in § 51. Gow says *melimela* 'appear to be a kind of apple produced by grafting on a quince.' But this would not explain why the quince came to be called *marmelo* in Portuguese and *membrillo* in Spanish; and Pliny, who mentions the grafting of several kinds of fruit, 15, §§ 38, 41, 42, 43, 49, 52, 57, says nothing of the grafting of *melimela*. The simplest explanation is that *melimela* are some sweet kind of apple (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 15, § 51 'mustea a celeritate mitescendi [sc. traxere nomen], quae nunc melimela dicuntur a sapore mellis'), and that in Spain and Portugal the name was transferred to the quince, cf. Irish Peach, Jerusalem Artichoke, Cape Gooseberry. The reason for the transference was doubtless that an early variety of quince was also called *musteum* (Plin. *N.H.* 15, § 38).'

¹⁹MUECKE (1997: 234 *ad loc.*) and FREUDENBURG (2021: 306 *ad loc.*).

²⁰MUECKE (1997: 234 *ad loc.*): 'this is taken variously as the new moon and the waning moon. Behind this precept is a large body of superstition about the moon's effect on vegetation, often connected with the idea that growth of plants was nourished by dew, thought to be

but the question is whether or not the weather conditions and the phases of the moon had contributed in any efficient way to either the taste or the smell of the apples. 'What difference that makes, you would learn better from himself',²¹ says Fundanius (*quid hoc intersit ab ipso / audieris melius*,²² 2, 8, 32–33). What is more, the description of the apples here has little of the gustatory effect of the preceding lines. Preceded by the catalogue of lines 27–30 (*cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis, / longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum; / ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque / ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi* '[we] eat fowl, oysters, and fish, which had a flavour far different from any we knew, as, for instance, was made clear at once, after he had handed me the livers of a plaice and a turbot, a dish I had never tasted before') which includes foodstuffs that are eaten and have a flavour far different from any the guests knew, the presentation of the honey-apples serves to show by contrast that they are only characterised by a perceptible quality, i.e. their red colour, lacking every other quality that could have made them especially savoury.²³

Seemingly inconsequential is the remark about the white pepper (*pipere albo*, 2, 8, 49) and the green rockets (*erucas viridis*, 2, 8, 51),²⁴ which appear among the ingredients of the sauce accompanying the moray eel-dish. The pepper has reverse colour, while the green colour of the rockets could be affected after boiling. And it may perhaps be of interest to note that the green rockets are juxtaposed with another ingredient, the elecampane, also to be

moisture sent down by the moon... It was therefore considered important to time agricultural operations according to moist or dry phases of the moon...'. On the allusions to witchcraft in the poem, see FREUDENBURG (1995: 209–210).

²¹ FREUDENBURG (2021: 306 *ad loc.*), argues that Fundanius is unable to recollect the lecturer's abstruse line of reasoning.

²² PALMER (1885: 376 *ad loc.*), glosses the 'hoc' as 'their being gathered so'.

²³ As GOWERS (1993: 4–5), has observed, an apple on a table is graspable and obvious. The fact that we can reach out and touch it, smell and taste it, makes it seem like the essence of uncomplicated matter. The pieces of honey-apples on Nasidienus' table, however, can only be detected by the guests' sense of sight, their colour is seen.

²⁴ FREUDENBURG (2021: 309–310 *ad loc.*): 'an especially bitter and biting ancestor of modern rocket/arugula. It was a reputed aphrodisiac: "this vegetable is obviously heating, so that it is not easy to eat on its own without mixing some lettuce leaves with it. But it has also been believed to generate semen, and to stimulate the sexual drive" (Galen *On Foodstuffs* 639, trans. Powell 2003); cf. *Mor.* 84, Col. 10.1.372, *Mart.* 3.75.3, *Priap.* 46.7–8. The leaves and seeds of rocket appear in several "Apician" recipes, including one sauce recipe, [Apicius] *De re coquinaria* 9.10.'

boiled in the sauce, one, however, that is characterised by its bitter taste (*inulas ... amaras*, 2, 8, 51), whereas the rockets are described as just green. The fact that *garum* fish sauce was used in Roman cooking as a condiment and added an extra taste to food is hardly open to doubt.²⁵ But, one is compelled to ask: if all the ingredients of the sauce were processed, boiled, fermented, and blent into one mass, what need would there have been for Nasidienus to point out the colours of those ingredients when the colour, first, could not have been discernible in the sauce, and second, would have little to do with the taste and the smell of the end product? Even if we suppose that the readership of Horace was already familiar with the taste and the smell of those ingredients, and that any reference to them would have been superfluous in that case, the colour still seems to be brought in as an instrumental factor for the inclusion of the two ingredients in the sauce.

Even more suggestive than the colour of the pepper and that of the rockets is the size of the moray eel served with shrimps swimming all around it. In line 42, the word ‘murena’ is positioned between ‘swimming shrimps’ (*squillas ... natantis*) to suggest the visual layout of the dish itself.²⁶ Moreover, the fact that the moray eel is “outstretched” (*porrecta*) on a platter alludes to its impressive length.²⁷ The dish consists of a moray eel caught pregnant to ensure tenderness; after spawning, its flesh would have been inferior.²⁸ The result is that, although the moray eel certainly calls for an elaborate gastronomic description, the emphasis on its size, a quality alien to both taste and smell, is very problematic.

The moray eel-dish is created solely to be aesthetically pleasing; it has not been chosen for either its flavour or smell. After all, it is destined to remain untasted. For midway through the meal, a tapestry (i.e. a hanging used to decorate the dining space) suspended over the dining-room col-

²⁵ For detailed discussion of the use of *garum* in Horace’s *Satires*, see GRAINGER (2021: 62–64; 87; 107–108; *passim*).

²⁶ GOWERS (1993: 173, n.224), well comments that the word-order suggests the arrangement on the plate.

²⁷ FREUDENBURG (2021: 308 *ad loc.*).

²⁸ GRAINGER (2021: 178).

lapsed, bringing clouds of thick dust down onto the moray eel-dish, which Nasidienus had so carefully served up to his guests with a detailed commentary.

Surprisingly enough, the sequence of Nasidienus' menu does not follow a proper order of courses; after the appetizer of boar comes the magnificent moray eel-and-shrimps showpiece, and the trencher with mutilated limbs is the last dish to arrive. The serving-tray is immense in order to hold all of the delicacies described in lines 86–89, a choice selection of animal-joints: the dismembered limbs of a crane, the liver of a white goose fed on rich figs, the torn-off shoulders of hares, blackbirds served with breasts burned off,²⁹ and pigeons without their rumps. No animal heaped onto this very huge platter is served whole; each is described by Fundanius as if it had undergone some carefully devised dismemberment or torture. This is partly a mockery of gastronomic fussiness, but it also has other shades of meaning; among them, Gowers' reading of the dish as a tragic *sparagmos* is of special importance.³⁰ From the appearance standpoint, Nasidienus serves the scattered limbs in the most impressive manner possible; but the dish turns out to be both eye-turning and stomach-turning. In the end, the guests' appetite is taken away by the sight of this very strange dish. It may be Nasidienus' commentary that causes the guests' disgust, but we have reasons to believe that the food on the platter could have been irritating as well. How to explain the attention centred on the colour of the goose, whose liver is also contained in the dish (*iecur anseris albae*, 2, 8, 88) is a problem apart, which calls for further analysis, and since the matter is of basic importance to our view of the poem we had better examine the evidence. We are to imagine Nasidienus pointing out the goose's colour as of gastronomic significance. Muecke comments: 'the [white] colour of goose defines it as the best do-

²⁹ RUDD (1966: 219), argues that the blackbirds were only crisped, for if they were burnt, the *suavis res* of the very next line (92) would make no sense; MUECKE (1997: 238 *ad loc.*), holds a similar view: *pectore adusto* must mean 'crisped' not 'spoilt', to avoid a contradiction with 'delicious things'; GOWERS (1993: 176–177): '*pectore adusto* should mean 'with breasts burned off' rather than 'with burnt or crisped breasts', as usually suggested.'; FREUDENBURG (2021: 316 *ad* 90), argues that the word may imply that the breasts have been blackened and nicely crisped.

³⁰ GOWERS (1993: 176–178) and FREUDENBURG (2021: 316 *ad* 90).

mesticated kind.’.³¹ This would for a start explain the curious emphasis on an optic characteristic. We are told specifically that the colour of the goose is white, but what we are not told is whether its meat is tender, or what its meat tastes like. Moreover, from the same line we learn that the goose (and not its liver) was fattened on rich figs,³² a detail which again highlights a visual quality, namely, the size of the whole goose itself, although only its liver is contained in the dish.

Our attention centres now on lines 25–26, where ‘seeing’ and ‘showing’ are definitely the pivotal elements around which this passage –and, I suggest, the whole satire– hinges:

Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito:

Nomentanus was there to see that if anything perchance escaped our notice, he might point it out with his forefinger;

Nomentanus was showing the finer subtleties of the foods which were on display while the guests were seeing them. The verb *vidimus* in line 91 adds to this impression. Palmer glosses *vidimus* as ‘we looked on while they were served, did not touch them’.³³ The mood of the whole piece is summed up in the phrase *nihil omnino gustaremus* (line 94): the guests left in rush without tasting the latter part of the meal.³⁴ After all that visual attention, Nasidienus’ meal turns out to be nothing more than a spectacle,³⁵ attended by guests–observers; Nasidienus has eyes, not palates to appease.

³¹ MUECKE (1997: 238 *ad loc.*): ‘geese force-fed on figs to produce *paté de foie gras*, a luxury highly prized by the Romans’.

³² FREUDENBURG (2021: 315 *ad loc.*), argues that *pastum* is better suited to the goose than to its liver.

³³ PALMER (1885: 379 *ad loc.*).

³⁴ It is usually assumed that the guests left in a rush, but some critics argue that we should not suppose that they left rudely while the meal was still in progress but that they stayed to see but not to taste the rest of the meal. See MUECKE (1997: 239 *ad* 93–95).

³⁵ There are, of course, references –albeit less frequent– to the taste of food in the *cena Nasidieni*, e.g.: *acria* (line 7), *suavius* (line 89), *suavis* (line 92). On these terms, see GOWERS (1993: *passim*).

cena Virronis (Juvenal, Satire 5)

Juvenal's Satire 5 takes us to an iniquitous dinner-party.³⁶ Here we have a description of two contrasting, unequal, meals, one luxurious and one demeaning. The central theme of the poem, i.e. the total breakdown of the patron-client relationship – a theme prominent in the whole of Juvenal's first book – is localised specifically in the particular items of food served. Except for Trebius the client, the rest of the guests are not mentioned by name and they take very little part in the action. We learn that Trebius is summoned to take the lowest place on the third and lowest couch (*tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto* 'so the third cushion on some empty couch won't be vacant', 5, 17),³⁷ and that he (and apparently others, *vos* in line 28 and *amicis* in 146) is distinguished from the *libertorum cohors* of line 28 and the *reliqui Virrones* of line 149. There is no conversation: host and guest never speak to each other, beyond the two-word invitation in line 18 (*una simus*). Trebius the client dines apart from Virro the patron, although he is dining with him. Not even their menus, taken in the same room, have anything in common.³⁸ Juvenal

³⁶ MORFORD (1977: 229–230): 'In composing the fifth satire Juvenal was combining two streams of satirical tradition. The *cena* derives from Lucilius and Horace, while the importance of food as a literary subject is shown by the didactic *Hedyphagetica* of Ennius and the *Peri Edesmaton* of Varro. This tradition gives the poem its context and gastronomic detail. Although the *cenae* of Lucilius and Horace deal to some extent with the relationship of host and guest, it is from the other tradition that Juvenal draws more inspiration. ... This tradition is concerned with the position of the *amicus*, at its lowest as shown by the comic *scurra* or parasite, and in its commonest setting by the relationship of patron and client. Horace had frequently dealt with the theme, and *Epistles* 1.17 and 18 are closer to Juvenal's subject matter. It is Flavian literature, however, reflecting the social customs of the time, that links the *cena* most explicitly to the breakdown of the social order and the humiliation of Roman citizens. Pliny's letter (2.6) and many of Martial's poems are evidence for the customs attacked by Juvenal. Juvenal, however, created in his fifth satire an original work by combining the two satiric traditions and treating them with his own weapon of *indignatio*, more penetrating than the *lascivia* of Martial and the irony of Horace.'

³⁷ BRAUND (1996: 279–280 *ad loc.*); MORFORD (1977: 231), points out that the fact that Trebius has the lowest place at dinner (line 17) allows us to infer who are the superior guests (line 28). MAYOR (1966: 246 *ad loc.*): between the guests were placed pillows (*culcitae*) on which they rested their left elbows.

³⁸ MORFORD (1977: 220–221).

skilfully develops the sumptuous meal of Virro and the humiliating dishes set before Trebius in parallel,³⁹ to stress the contraposition all the more.

In his selection of details, Juvenal illustrates the dominant role that sight plays even in a food-centred dinner.⁴⁰ It is in the size and the colour of the different foodstuffs served that the hollowness of the relationship between Trebius and Virro is most clearly seen. Let us consider some of the 'visual dishes'. The bread handed to Trebius is stale and mouldy, too hard to be cut, that has with difficulty been broken into rough lumps;⁴¹ so, Trebius chews in vain,⁴² the bread resists every attempt at biting (*panem / vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae, / quae genuinum agitent*,⁴³ *non admittentia morsum* 'bread that is hardly breakable, hunks of solid dough that are already mouldy, to keep your molars busy without letting you bite',⁴⁴ 5, 67–69). The kind enjoyed by Virro is soft and snowy white,⁴⁵ kneaded from the finest type of wheaten wheat (*sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus / servatur domino* 'But for the master is reserved soft and snowy-white bread kneaded from fine flour', 5, 70–71). What is more, respect for the bread-baskets, from which the client can take his bread, must be tactfully maintained.⁴⁶ But in order to use the proper basket, the client ought to know the colour of his own bread, i.e. black (*panisque tui novisse colorem* 'and don't forget the colour of your own bread', 5, 75). Therefore, the descriptions of the breads are rich not only in texture but also in colour information. The whiteness of Virro's bread contrasts with the dark colour of the bread proffered to Trebius. And

³⁹ ANDERSON (1982: 248–249) argues that Juvenal shows less concern with the objective entities of the contrasting menus than with a purpose of provoking an emotional response towards each item on the list. Therefore, Juvenal's rhetorical handling of the food destroys the impression of a mere menu.

⁴⁰ To my knowledge, the only attempt to read Satire 5 in the context of colours was made by HOPMAN (2003).

⁴¹ MAYOR (1966: 256 *ad* 68) and COURTNEY (2013: 205 *ad* 68).

⁴² cf. *pressoque diu stridere molari*, *Sat.* 5, 160.

⁴³ cf. Persius' portrayal of Lucilius (*genuinum fregit*, 1, 115) indicating the latter's satiric ferocity.

⁴⁴ For Juvenal, I follow the Loeb text and translation of S. M. BRAUND (2004).

⁴⁵ BRAUND (1996: 288–289 *ad loc.*): 'The patron's bread is described in terms of sexual attractiveness (*tener, niveus, mollis*), as if it were a beautiful slave-boy; it is the object of almost religious awe (*reuerentia*).'

⁴⁶ BRAUND (1996: 289).

while we do not learn why Trebius' bread is black, namely, if a certain ingredient or the baking process are some of the factors responsible for the colour, what we can say with relative certainty is that colour characteristics are involved here to highlight the fact that Trebius' bread was hardly edible; it could mainly be recognisable by its colour, and not by its taste.

The courses are served up in succession. The starters are announced by the empathic verb of seeing 'Aspice' in line 80,⁴⁷ which functions as a heading followed by an explicit explanation of the visual composition of the two different dishes of seafood brought to the diners at this stage. Virro' starter is a huge lobster, garnished with choice asparagus (*Aspice quam longo distinguat pectore lancem / quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta / asparagis, qua despiciat convivium cauda* 'Look at the lobster that's brought to the master: look how its long breast makes the dish distinctive, how it's walled on all sides by fine asparagus, how with its tail it looks down upon the company',⁴⁸ 5, 80–82), whereas Trebius' is a crayfish hemmed in by an egg cut in half, crouched on a tiny platter (*sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo / ponitur exigua feralis cena patella* 'But you are served with a crayfish hemmed in by an egg cut in half, a funereal supper on a tiny plate', 5, 84–85). Four aspects deserve a closer examination here: the length of the lobster's body, the portion of the egg, the colour of the greens, and the size of the plate set before Trebius. The presentation of the lobster dish is undoubtedly visual, to begin with. The long breast of the lobster alone is enough evidence to support a reasonable inference that a lobster of that size needs to be put in a capacious plate –not to mention the asparagus with which it is fenced round–,⁴⁹ but the plate offered to Trebius, by contrast, is tiny suggesting that its content is minuscule as well. Trebius' crayfish is served with half an egg, something that

⁴⁷ PLAZA (2006: 109): 'The passage begins with an imperative, "look"', and though the appeal is formally directed at Trebius, the reader is in effect urged to gaze up at the haughty dish'.

⁴⁸ There is an additional visual hint here. COURTNEY (2013: 206 *ad loc.*): 'It seems to look down scornfully on the clients from its elevation; they are despised by the very fish as well as the servants.' Also, PLAZA (2006: 110).

⁴⁹ BRAUND (1996: 290 *ad* 80–81): 'with what asparagus it is walled in on all sides, cf. *constrictus* 84. *saepta* figures the lobster as a king or prisoner surrounded by a bodyguard; the asparagus was perhaps presented erect like spears.'

again diminishes the size and significance of this dish. Moreover, Trebius' salad is broccoli; and indeed, colourless (*pallidus ... caulis*, 5, 87). So, it seems that Trebius' greens are not green at all.

Next, Virro is served with a lamprey, the biggest to come forth from Sicily's straits (*Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit / gurgite de Siculo* 'Virro is served with a lamprey, the biggest that comes from the Sicilian whirlpool', 5, 99–100). Waiting for Trebius is an eel, the long thin water-snake's cousin, or a Tiber bass covered with grey blotches (*vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae / aut glaucis sparsus maculis Tiberinus* 'What's waiting for you is an eel, cousin of the long snake, or a Tiber fish spattered with grey blotches', 5, 103–104).⁵⁰ Size and colour are again the most prominent visual features of the seafood served at this stage of the dinner. The *muraena* was a delicacy, particularly that from Sicily. Here is described only in association with its size. The alternative is river-fish spattered with grey blotches. The fish's blotches (*maculis*) and the sewage and sewer through which it swims introduce unsavoury associations.⁵¹ What, however, makes the river-fish distinctive here is its coloured blotches.

If any lines can be selected as setting the keynote of the satire they would be lines 114–124:

Anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
 altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
 spumat aper. post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
 tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
 maiores. 'tibi habe frumentum' Alledius inquit,
 'o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
 structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
 saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
 cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri

⁵⁰ On the geographic differentiation between exotic and local foodstuffs, see esp. UMURHAN (2018: 85–88).

⁵¹ BRAUND (1996: 293 *ad* 104–106).

omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.

Before Himself is placed the liver of a huge goose, a fattened fowl the size of a goose and a frothing boar, worthy of blond Meleager's weapon. His next course will be truffles, if it's then spring and the longed-for thunder makes the menu longer. 'Libya,' says Alledius, 'keep your corn to yourself, unyoke your oxen, provided you send us truffles.' Meanwhile, to complete your humiliation, you'll watch a carver gyrating and gesticulating with flourishes of his knife, while he performs in full his professor's instructions. Of course, it's a matter of vital importance to carve the hare or chicken with the right gesture.

Maybe the most visually powerful and significant part of the two menus is found in the description of Virro's three meat dishes to Trebius' none. In front of Virro is the liver of a huge goose (*foie gras*), a fattened fowl as big as a goose, and a boar –a dish which otherwise ought to be shared–, while next on his menu are truffle mushrooms (provided it is spring and the longed-for thunder makes the menu longer, by adding yet another dish to the menu).⁵² After repeatedly juxtaposing the luxurious food served to Virro with the scant fare served to Trebius in visual terms, Juvenal describes the centre-piece of the *cena*, i.e. the meat course, in the most visual manner possible. And so here we have another size-focused description, to contrast the host's hyper-abundance with the guest's mere scraps. At this stage in the dinner, however, there are no equivalent dishes for Trebius, something that quickly emerges as the central issue of the passage. As my comments have previously suggested, the food's visual features stand out so prominently from the frame of all other features. It comes as no surprise, then, that 'spectes' in line 121 seems to be the dominant impression of the description, not only of the carver slicing a hare and a hen, but also, I contend, of all the

⁵² BRAUND (1996: 295–296 *ad* 116–18): '[Juvenal] incorporates gastronomic lore that truffles grow most tender in spring and most vigorously in thunderstorms (Plin. *N.H.* 19.37), a tradition rejected by Plutarch at *Qu. Conv.* 4.2 = *Mor.* 66₄b–66₅e.'

dishes discussed so far. In lines 120–124, Juvenal describes a carver, whose office was to slice a hare and a hen, which he did with artistic flourishes. The humble client is compelled to watch the carving of the meat while the others are eating, and “spectes” emphasizes his role as mere spectator.⁵³ The lack of a contrasting image is the more telling because Trebius didn’t get a share in this part of the meal;⁵⁴ he was only watching.⁵⁵

Conclusions

Several scholars have argued convincingly that satire and food are inextricably linked in a number of ways. My purpose in this article has been largely introductory in seeking to walk through what has seemed to me an interesting pattern of visual emphasis on food in Horace’s *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal’s *cena Virronis*. The two *cenae* mainly present us with food for the eye. The question which now needs to be addressed is: why do these two *cenae* come to be looked upon as spectacles, both carefully planned to provide plenty of food attractive to the eye, with less care –if my reading of the two *cenae* is correct– whether the food tastes appetising and/or whether the food smells appealing? In what follows, I will shortly offer a few considerations which could contribute to some extent to this multidimensional issue.

When looked at from a content standpoint, the stress placed on the food’s visual features in the *cena Nasidieni* can be read as yet another argument for the fondness for culinary expertise and ostentation. In the *cena Virronis*, the difference in the size and colour of the foodstuffs served Virro and those served Trebius vividly illustrates the gap between host and lower-status guest. However, a polemic against the excessive refinements of gastronomy and against the ill-treatment of poor clients by their wealthy patrons forms only one side of the picture in Horace’s Satire 2, 8 and Juvenal’s Satire 5, respectively. The other side is taken up by satire’s fundamental pretext to un-

⁵³ BRAUND (1996: 296 *ad* 120–124) and COURTNEY (2013: 211 *ad loc.*).

⁵⁴ MORFORD (1977: 234).

⁵⁵ RIMELL (2005: 84) well observes that Trebius leaves the dining room even hungrier.

mask folly, to strip the skin off society, revealing the rot beneath the shining exterior. Both *cenae* seem biased towards the distinction between appearance and inner worth, caustically lending more emphasis to externals. Within the context of satire's moral mission, the act of removing flashy, glinting surfaces to reveal the lurking despicability at the core becomes a full-out battle on the decline in the moral standing of Rome. The satirists inspect and brand what deserves to be assailed; their personal observations provide the material of their satires. And it is actually through the eyes that Horace and Juvenal find an effective way of involving their audience, testing their moral sensibility, and requiring their critical judgement as well. The satirist and his audience are in the relationship of director and spectator, respectively. From the 'visual food' which abounds in the two dinners, it can be inferred that when referring to Horace's *cena Nasidieni* and Juvenal's *cena Virronis*, it is more accurate to talk of 'visual taste' rather than of actual taste.⁵⁶

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⁵⁶It bears mentioning, too, that the food-miscellany presented in the two dinners can also be interpreted as a metapoetic reference to *satura* itself. Lack of space forbids dilation on this topic; the main points are to be found in FERRIS-HILL (2022: 68ff.).

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“Bull in the Boat” – A New Interpretation for One of the Depictions of Mithraic Iconography

For more than a century, the history of Mithras mysteries has been a his topic in religious history research. Countless works have been written on this subject since Franz Cumont. Numerous monographs have also been written on the subject of Mithras iconography, but there are elements that have not really come into the studies. Most of these works deal with the motif of tauroctony, the astronomical significance of which has been authentically proven by several excellent researchers. Among the iconographic elements that have survived in fewer numbers, there are several for which no acceptable interpretation has been found so far. One of these is the depiction of a bull in a moon-shaped boat, which occurred mainly in the Danube regions. In my presentation, I undertake to demonstrate the prevalence of this motif in the field of Mithraic representations and to try to give a new interpretation to this iconographic element that has so far been little studied.

Keywords: Roman history, religion, Mithras, iconography, bull, boat, astronomy

This paper will focus on a less researched element of the Mithraic iconography, the bull in the boat. I have been studying in detail the major elements of the Mithras symbol system, with a special focus on the representations from the Danubian provinces. It is important to clarify that these are not representations of the Persian god Mithra, but of the Roman cult of Mithras. The aim of my research was to attempt to interpret these representations and to try to determine the origin of the symbol.

To examine the representations, I used partly textual descriptions and figurative sources from the CIMRM, partly from the roger-pease.com online database photo library, and also my own photographs. I also examined all

previous works on the subject in the Mithras literature. For astronomical questions, I consulted specialist astronomical portals.

About the motif

The "bull in the boat" motif is usually depicted as a sub-plot of the Mithras reliefs depicting the killing of the bull (tauroctony). Of the total Roman Mithras monuments, 31 instances of this representation have been found.¹ Of these, 5 are damaged or fragmentary. The 31 reliefs are spread over 6 Roman provinces. 16 of these were found in Dacia,² while far fewer were found in other provinces. The second largest proportion was found Moesia Inferior

¹ CIMRM 1019 (Köln, Germania Inf.) – <https://www.roger-pearse.com/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm1019>; CIMRM 1128 (Nida, Germania Sup.) – Lupa 7181; CIMRM 1422 (Lauriacum, Noricum); CIMRM 1475 (Siscia, Pannonia Sup.); CIMRM 1740 (Alcsút, Pannonia Inf.) – Lupa 13180; CIMRM 1815 (Sárkeszi, Pannonia Inf.) – Lupa 12826; CIMRM 1920 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Lupa 21938; CIMRM 1926 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 7.; CIMRM 1935 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17299; CIMRM 1958 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19324; CIMRM 1974 (Apulum, Dacia); CIMRM 1975 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19290; CIMRM 2000 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17466; CIMRM 2036 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 118.; CIMRM 2037 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 42; CIMRM 2051 – Lupa 17604; CIMRM 2054 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2086 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2111 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2189 (Dacia); CIMRM 2201 (Biljanovac, Mosia Sup.); CIMRM 2202 (Skopje, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2214 (Janjevo, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2244 (Tavalicavo, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2272 (Sexantaprista, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2291 (Acunar, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2292 (Acunar, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2310 (Callatis, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2315 (Scythia minor?, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2338 (Kurtowo-Konare, Thracia); CIMRM 2359 (Kabyle, Thracia); LISSI-CARRONA (1986: 36–37). (Rome, Mithraeum. S. Stephano Rotondo / Castra Peregrinorum).

² CIMRM 1920 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Lupa 21938; CIMRM 1926 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 7.; CIMRM 1935 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17299; CIMRM 1958 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19324; CIMRM 1974 (Apulum, Dacia); CIMRM 1975 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19290; CIMRM 2000 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17466; CIMRM 2036 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 118.; CIMRM 2037 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 42; CIMRM 2051 – Lupa 17604; CIMRM 2054 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2086 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2111 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2189 (Dacia).

and Superior with 9 in total.³ 3 from Pannonia,⁴ 2-2 from Thrace⁵ and Germania,⁶ and 1 from Noricum⁷ and Italia.⁸

Interpretations up to now

So far, science has been unable to find a satisfactory explanation for the meaning of this motif.

Jason Cooper has addressed this question in his work *Mithras: Mysteries and Initiation Rediscovered*. He has stated that the "bull in a boat" motif was a common depiction of the moon as a boat in antiquity, but has not interpreted the depiction beyond that.⁹ Mastrocinque refers to Turcan's *Mithras Platonicus*, in which the author derives the motif from the Bundahisn treatise and interprets the bull in the moon-shaped boat as symbolizing the purification of the bull's semen in the moon.¹⁰ In my opinion, due to the Iranian origins of the Mithras-religion may have contributed to the metaphor from the world of Bundahisn to root the motif in the Mithras-religion, the relationship between the bull and the moon may have been present in Mithraic thinking before the appearance of the "bull in the boat", but like other major motifs, its development may have had an astronomical background. In her doctoral thesis, Vittoria Canciani mentions a depiction of a ship in an Ostian Mithraeum associated with Isis, while at the same time stating that it is a sanctuary of Isis converted into a Mithraeum. He also does not claim

³ CIMRM 2201 (Biljanovac, Mosia Sup.); CIMRM 2202 (Skopje, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2214 (Janjevo, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2244 (Tavalicavo, Moesia Sup.); CIMRM 2272 (Sexantaprista, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2291 (Acunar, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2292 (Acunar, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2310 (Callatis, Moesia Inf.); CIMRM 2315 (Scythia minor?, Moesia Inf.)

⁴ CIMRM 1475 (Siscia, Pannonia Sup.); CIMRM 1740 (Alcsút, Pannonia Inf.) – Lupa 13180; CIMRM 1815 (Sárkeszi, Pannonia Inf.).

⁵ CIMRM 2338 (Kurtowo-Konare, Thracia); CIMRM 2359 (Kabyle, Thracia).

⁶ CIMRM 1019 (Köln, Germania Inf.) – <https://www.roger-pearse.com/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm1019>; CIMRM 1128 (Nida, Germania Sup.) – Lupa 7181.

⁷ CIMRM 1422 (Lauriacum, Noricum)

⁸ LISSI-CARRONA (1986: 36–37). (Rome, Mithraeum. S.Stephano Rotondo / Castra Peregrinorum).

⁹ COOPER (1996).

¹⁰ MASTROCINQUE (2017: 156).

that the bull in the boat was moved from Isis symbolism to Mithraeum symbolism, there is no bull in the same depiction. He herself sees no convincing explanation for the motif.¹¹

In his work, Manfred Clauss discusses at length the identification of the bull's horns with the moon, the *cornua lunae* phenomenon, which has been attested from several directions in Mithras symbolism, and compares the bull in the boat to this, and associates the body shape of the dying bull with the crescent moon.¹²

The identification of the bull's horns with the moon is a relevant approach, but it does not seem realistic that *cornua lunae* is represented twice in a given motif (by the horns on the bull's head and the moon-shaped boat at the same time). Moreover, in the case of other motifs, the figurative elements of the figures can be identified with a single celestial body participating in a particular astronomical constellation. And the crescent-shaped boat is not a reference to the death of the bull, as it is not the last of the sub-plots depicted, so there is still more to come before the bull is killed in the myth of Mithras.

Only one work in Hungarian Mithras literature mentions this motif. Here it is mentioned as one of the elements of the water miracle,¹³ which in my opinion is mistake, more on this later. I consider Vermaseren work from 1963 *Mithras. the secret God*, in which he made it clear that the boat with the bull in it is identified with the moon because of its shape, but he did not propose a specific astronomical phenomenon, to be of pioneering importance among the earlier hypotheses, and he also considered the image of the bull in the boat and the representation of the bull in the house as one motif, which can also be refuted.¹⁴ My investigation of this is described in more detail below.

Campbell, in his 1968 work, associates the motif with Indian mythological figures, forgetting that, as I have already mentioned, in the Roman myths of Mithras only Mithras and the two torch-bearers and the killing of the bull (but not in this form) are derived from Indian and Persian mythology, and

¹¹ CANCIANI (2022: 28–29; 124–125).

¹² CLAUS (2000: 81–82).

¹³ LÁSZLÓ (2005a: 191).

¹⁴ VERMASEREN (1963: 81).

that in this work he confuses it with the motif of the hanging of the spring, although the two representations are not at all always shown side by side, as will be discussed in more detail later. In addition, the bull in the boat is seen here as having the same meaning as the image of Mithras riding the bull, although they are not both depicted on the same relief. In this work Campbell also identifies the image of the bull in the boat with the bull-riding image of Mithras carrying the bull on his shoulders, but this is contradicted by the fact that there are reliefs which show both (e.g. CIMRM 1974, Apulum v. CIMRM 1019, Cologne), and why would they depict the same phenomenon in the same place in two different ways. The author, like Turcan, associated the motif he called *scapha lunata* with the semen of the bull and the *Bundahisn*, interpreting it as the substance of creation and the generative liberating power of the celestial bull. It cannot be ruled out that the bull in the boat motif contributed as a secondary meaning to the importance of the bull in the boat motif in the symbolism of Mithras, but it is likely that its primary meaning was not this but an astronomical phenomenon.¹⁵

Proving that a motif is separately from other motifs

After collecting the 31 representations, I started my investigations with the hypothesis that this motif could not be interpreted together with or as an element of other representations in Mithraic symbolism.

I classified the different motifs or sub-motifs into 9 groups according to their juxtaposition:

1. Water-miracle, bull in the boat, bull in the house: CIMRM 2036 (Sarmizegetusa), CIMRM 2037 (Sarmizegetusa), CIMRM 1910, (Potaissa), CIMRM 2051 (Sarmizegetusa) CIMRM 1935 (Apulum), CIMRM 1475 (Siscia), CIMRM 1972 (Apulum)
2. Bull in the boat, water-miracle, bull in the house: CIMRM 1974, CIMRM 2000

¹⁵ CAMPBELL (1968: 252; 255–257; 336; 338).

3. Water-miracle, Mithras climbs a tree, bull in the boat, bull in the house: CIMRM 1958 (Apulum)
4. Bull in the house, water-miracle, bull in the boat: CIMRM 1740 (Alcsút, Pannonia)
5. Bull without house, Oceanus or Saturnus, Petra genetrix, Part of Mercury, lost piece, , bull in the boat, water-miracle (CIMRM 1815, Sárkeszi, Pannonia)
6. Water-miracle, bull in the house, bull in the boat: CIMRM 2292 (Acunar, Moesia)
7. Bull in the boat one row down from the water-miracle and the bull in the house: CIMRM 2244 (Tavaličev, Moesia)
8. Bull in the boat, Mithras holds the boat (fragment): CIMRM 1926 (Potaissa)
9. Water-miracle, bull in the boat (fragment, no bull in the house, but the picture is broken): CIMRM 2272 (Sexantaprista, Moesia)



CIMRM 2244



CIMRM 1958

Although in many cases the bull in the boat and the water-miracle, or the bull in the boat and the bull in the house, are depicted side by side, there are also some cases where they are not:

CIMRM 2244, CIMRM 1958: the bull in the boat is depicted separately from the water-miracle. CIMRM 1740, CIMRM 1974, CIMRM 2000, CIMRM 1815: these are four cases of the bull in the house when depicted separately from the bull in the boat or there is no representation of the bull in the house. Their existence is consistent with the fact that the bull in a boat is a separate motif from other Mithraic motifs.



CIMRM 1740

An attempt to make sense of the Bull in the boat

As I have mentioned above, several attempts have been made to interpret this motif, and my arguments against them are well known: the obscurity of the literary parallel and the dead-end nature of deriving it from Persian mythology in the analysis of the Roman Mithras mysteries, the small number of interpretations beyond the unsatisfactory explanations of the Isis parallel, and the independence of the motif from other Mithraic images, make it entirely unacceptable. I would like to present a proposal for a radically different interpretation, but one that fits in with the practice of interpreting other Mithraic images. I do not, of course, intend to claim that the interpretative framework I have sketched out is without doubt the only correct interpretation of the motif that is the subject of my presentation, but merely to open up a new perspective in the discourse on the interpretation of representation.

According to my thesis, the meaning of the depiction of the Bull in the boat is an astronomical phenomenon. I want to support this idea, first of

all, by pointing out that several representations associated with the Mithras mysteries are also attributed astronomical meanings.¹⁶ For example, the animals and objects depicted in the tauroctony are identified with their corresponding constellations, which were observed in this arrangement in 92 and 93 AD.¹⁷ An astronomical explanation is also attributed to the image of the spring hanging, the Eternal Spring, which is associated with the constellations Sagittarius and Gemini and the formation of the Milky Way.¹⁸ The birth of Mithras is associated with the winter solstice. These opinions have also supported me in suggesting that the Taurus in the boat is a graphic representation of an astronomical phenomenon in which the Moon and Taurus constellation play a role. Such phenomena are certain occultations of the Moon, three of which can be linked to the major stars of the Taurus constellation: the first is when the Moon occults the stars of Pleiades, the second is when the Moon occults the stars of Hyades, and the third is when the Moon occults Aldebaran. In my opinion, the illustration may represent the third case. The Pleiades and Hyades are formed by certain stars of the two horns of the bull, but the bull itself is emphasised in the representation, not the horns of the bull. The star that forms the eye of the Taurus constellation, and is the brightest of all the stars in it, and is more of a defining element of the constellation, so it can be represented by the whole bull, rather than the horns. Aldebaran's connection with the religion of Mithras may be suggested by the depiction of Cautes holding a bull's head, in which case the bull's head is also identified with the star.¹⁹ Aldebaran was also important to other astronomical cultures: 5000 years ago, the rising of the star marked the beginning of the Babylonian New Year.²⁰ The occultation of Aldebaran

¹⁶ BECK (2006: 31–36; 49–52; 60–63; 194–196).

¹⁷ LÁSZLÓ (2005b).

¹⁸ LÁSZLÓ (2005a). In most cases, a man is seen near the archer Mithras, catching the spill. However, in seven depictions (CIMRM 1584, Poetovio, Pannonia Sup., CIMRM 1958, Apulum, Dacia, CIMRM 1920, Potaissa, Dacia CIMRM 2036, Sarmizegetusa, Dacia, CIMRM 1292 Osterburken, Germania Sup. CIMRM 1301, Besieghheim, Germania Sup. CIMRM 1815 Sárkeszi, Pannonia Inf.) there are two male figures near Mithras, in my opinion in these cases the two male figures represent the constellation Gemini.

¹⁹ SZABÓ (2015).

²⁰ BAILEY (2012: 143).



Moon Aldebaran occultation in 1997 July, photo by Bart Benjamin

by the Moon is a common phenomenon it was recorded in the sixth century.²¹ The first known occultation of Aldebaran is dated to 509, and the phenomenon has been observed in several other important cases: in 1497 by Copernicus, in 1607 by Fabricius, and in the 19th century in several other places.²² It was captured in June 1997 on photo by Bart Benjamin,²³ and was visible in different parts of the world between 2015 and 2018,²⁴ so this shows that this phenomenon occurs every few decades, so we can be certain that it surely occurred on one or more occasions during the Roman occupation of Dacia, between 106 and 271 AD. In other words, a phenomenon that also occurred during the Mithras mysteries could have inspired one or more Mithras priests to tie a solemn occasion to the occurrence of this astronomical conjunction, similarly the tauroctony or the water-miracle, and based on the spatial distribution of the finds, this could have happened in Dacia.

²¹ Japanese records first mention it in the sixth century: STEPHENSON 1968.

²² JOHNSON (1885); JOHNSON (1887).

²³ <https://www.constellation-guide.com/aldebaran/>

²⁴ <https://www.universetoday.com/110706/observing-alert-watch-the-moon-cross-the-hyades-this-week/>

Special cases of occurrence of the motif

Among the depictions found, there are two that do not merely show the bull in a boat.



CIMRM 1926

One of these is one of the two reliefs from Potaissa (CIMRM 1926), a fragment showing Mithras on the left pushing or holding the boat with the bull in it. Of course, we cannot give a definitive explanation for this either, but I believe that in this case it is conceivable that Mithras, if identified with the star image of Perseus, could be a representation of the star Algol, whose occultation by the moon is a pre-existing astronomical phenomenon revered in ancient Egypt.²⁵ Algol is located close to Aldebaran, so in this case we can think of an occultation where the Moon occulted both Algol and Aldebaran.

This solution can of course only work if Mithras can be identified with Perseus.²⁶ Of course, since this is a fragment, we can also think of Mithras being depicted in some other image and this situation being caused by the images being too close together.

The other is a relief (CIMRM 2310, fragment from Callatis, modern Mangalia), with Oceanus holding it on the right. In this case, one might think that Oceanus would represent Aquarius and then depict a Moon-Aldebaran-Aquarius phenomenon, or that the bull in this case would not repre-

²⁵ JETSU-PORCEDDU (2015).

²⁶ ULANSEY (1989: 26–40; 60–67).

sent Aldebaran but the Hyades and that the depiction would imply that the Moon was covering it, since in mythology the father of the Hyades was Oceanus, however in my opinion this is not the case, yet simply what I have suggested in the previous case: another image closely juxtaposed with the bull in a boat motif and interpreted as an image by Vermaseren. Indeed, this image is also shown in another representation, then combined by the author with another image of Mithras mounted on a chariot, from CIMRM 2338 Thrace, this one depicted above Oceanus and a vase or rhyton.



CIMRM 2310

Investigation about the place of origin of the motif

In the absence of written sources or archaeoastronomical evidence, we cannot say for sure when and where this motif originated and entered into Mithraic iconography. However, if we look at the occurrence of the motif in relation to the spatial distribution of the Mithras monuments that have been found, two things are striking. Firstly, the fact that only 8 Danubian provinces (Germania, Noricum, Pannoniae, Dacia, Moesiae, Thrace) have been found to depict this motif, so that the place of origin is to be found in these provinces, and secondly, the number of monuments from Dacia, as already mentioned, is clearly outstanding, with 16. The only exception is the Mithraeum under the Stephano Rotondo cathedral in Rome, which was reconstructed in the 1970s and is not included in Vermaseren’s database, but Italian researchers have concluded from the elements of the whole relief

that it could have been made by a person who moved from Dacia to Italia.²⁷ The second largest number of finds was from Moesia, 10 in number, almost one and a half times the number from Dacia, which is significant even if one takes into account that not all the finds have survived for posterity. These data, together with the large number of Mithraic monuments in other provinces along the Danube, suggest that there is a strong possibility that Dacia may have been the site of the motif, although Moesia cannot be excluded.

Within Dacia, the spatial distribution of the depiction is as follows: the largest number was found in Sarmizegetusa, from a single mithraeum: 6 pieces.²⁸ The same number of finds as those from Sarmizegetusa were found in Apulum,²⁹ in the centre of Dacia Apulensis. A total of 2 instances of the representation have been found from Potaissa,³⁰ and one from an unknown site in Dacia.³¹ Taking all this into account, it appears that in Dacia the motif was most widespread in Sarmizegetusa, where, moreover, all the cases from the city were found in a single sanctuary. Although we cannot be certain, the possibility arises that the motif may have originated in Sarmizegetusa. In addition to the reliefs from the Sarmizegetus foot depicting the motif that I have studied, other reliefs, in many cases found in other places, may have been made in a workshop in the city, which can be identified by certain iconographic features.³² Since the reliefs were commissioned by the faithful and initiates, and not by the artistic freedom of the stone carvers, it can be assumed that the iconographic features are an imprint of the Sarmizegetian version of the Mithras religion. An additional clue to the Dacian origin is the single Italian example mentioned earlier, which researchers believe was made by an emigrant from Dacia.

²⁷ LISSI-CARRONA (1986: 38).

²⁸ CIMRM 2036 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 118.; CIMRM 2037 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 42; CIMRM 2051 – Lupa 17604; CIMRM 2054 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2086 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia); CIMRM 2111 (Sarmizegetusa, Dacia).

²⁹ CIMRM 1935 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17299; CIMRM 1958 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19324; CIMRM 1974 (Apulum, Dacia); CIMRM 1975 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 19290; CIMRM 2000 (Apulum, Dacia) – Lupa 17466.

³⁰ CIMRM 1920 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Lupa 21938; CIMRM 1926 (Potaissa, Dacia) – Sicoe, 2013, Kat. Nr. 7.

³¹ CIMRM 2189 (Dacia).

³² SICOE (2013: 113–121).



Fragments of the Stefano Rotondo basin relief

The dating of the reliefs and the motivation for their creation

Of the reliefs examined, only four date to the period of the province of Roman Dacia (three from Apulum and one from Potaissa), all of which date between 106 and 271 AD, and one from Pannonia, dated to 150 AD. Dated to the third century AD. From these we cannot draw any firm conclusions as to when the motif may have been created, but we can only be certain that it existed during the period in question. With one exception, the datable reliefs are on altar stones with text, so we know that they were usually commissioned by soldiers or officers as a vow to Mithras, and the fact that such reliefs were commissioned from stone carvers shows that in their circles (i.e. among the worshippers of Mithras in Dacia) the Bull in a boat was known at this time.

The geographical distribution of the motif suggests that we are dealing with a local specificity that actually developed in Dacia. Given the spatial distribution of the places where the reliefs were made, Sarmizegetusa was probably the place of origin. As in other religions, the central myth of the Mithras cult did not cover all the details of the cult, but provided a flexible framework which could be supplemented by different details for each local

community.³³ This was particularly the case in the rural provinces of the Danube, which could explain why in Dacia, for example in Sarmizegetusa, an astronomical phenomenon (whose Dacian significance may be confirmed by the rare representation of Cautopates with a bucranium) plays a prominent role in the local experience of the Mithras cult and thus appears in the reliefs made there.

Summary

We can conclude that the depiction of the Bull in the boat is one of the elements of Mithraic iconography that has certainly not yet been fully deciphered. My study has shown that it is a motif in its own right, not part of the source hanging or the "bull in the house" image. The spatial distribution of the specimens recovered shows that it was most frequently found in Dacia, and we can therefore assume that it originated there. Within Dacia, it was most abundant in Sarmizegetusa, and in a sanctuary, so that its origin there is possible, although it cannot be proved. The meaning of the motif is, in my view, an astronomical phenomenon, the covering of Aldebaran by the moon, where the moon is represented by the moon-shaped boat, Aldebaran by the Bull. This would fit into the scheme that holds true for many Mithraic motifs of depicting astronomical phenomena associated with festivals. On the other hand, this phenomenon was certainly seen on several occasions during the Roman rule of Dacia. Research has not provided a satisfactory answer as to when this motif may have originated, but it has been established that it may have been known by the Mithras worshippers in Dacia from the middle of the second century AD until the abandonment of Dacia in the end of the third century AD.

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Legitimization strategies of Gordian III

The Paper seeks to highlight the legitimisation-strategies of Gordian III by exploring the situation leading up to his reign and his self-representation thereafter. A focal point of this study will be Gordians engagement with his predecessors, mainly his grandfather and uncle Gordian I and Gordian II as well as his former co-rulers Pupienus and Balbinus, additionally we will see how Gordian's strategy evolved during his comparably long rule for third-century standards. Therefore, two key issues represent the focus of this paper: Firstly, the use of divine ancestry to legitimise Gordian's rule, essentially represented by epigraphical material mentioning Gordian I and Gordian II who had been divinised by the senate after their death at the hands of the Numidian legate Capelianus. Secondly, Gordian's propagation of the Persian war in Rome by ritualistic means. The key premise underpinning this study is a break in the continuity of imperial rule after Maximinus Thrax had violently ended the Severan dynasty, and by extension the Antonine monarchy, with the murder of Alexander Severus in 235 AD. As a consequence of this and the chaotic situation of 238 subsequent emperors had to explore new strategies to legitimise their rule, leading to experimentation and reform. Gordian III perfectly exemplifies the issue that divine ancestry alone was not enough to legitimise one's position as emperor, rather it became increasingly necessary to combine ancestry with competence, personal deeds and virtue to make a convincing case for one's rule.

Keywords: Roman Empire; Gordian; Legitimization; divi; third century

Introduction

The following paper seeks to explore the lead-up to the sole rulership of Gordian III, as well as his legitimisation strategy at the beginning of his reign. After the rule of the military man Maximinus Thrax, the reign of the Gordians and Pupienus and Balbinus represents a shift back to a 'Severan'

order. The rule of the Gordians was sanctioned by the senate and whilst Gordian I. and II. were killed after a very short reign, Gordian III managed to cling to power for around six years. The main purpose of this paper is to show, how Gordian III. dealt with his predecessors in constructing his own imperial legitimacy. Methodically the investigation will mainly rely on the rich epigraphic evidence that is still extensive for the reign of Gordian III.

The year of the six emperors: 238 AD

In the last year of the reign of Maximinus Thrax, a usurpation occurred in the North African province of Africa Proconsularis. The comparatively minor political significance of the uprising is based on the fact that it occurred in a province without any notable military presence, which meant that there was little potential to carry out a successful coup. Nevertheless, this was the situation in 238, when the provincial population, presumably under increasing pressure from the taxes levied by Maximinus Thrax to finance his prolonged campaigning, rose up and murdered the imperial procurator.¹ Herodian's report points to a rather spontaneous action carried out by the local *iuvenes* and supported by the wealthy *decuriones*, which seems plausible, especially since the planning of a usurpation in a legionless province must be considered hardly feasible. After the murder of the procurator, the conspirators found themselves in a tight spot and had to reckon with imperial reprisals, which is why they tried to win the provincial governor over to their cause, i.e. they now intended to consolidate their uprising as a usurpation against the emperor.² M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus, the governor, came from a senatorial family probably from Galatia or Cappadocia and was rather at the end of his career at the time of his proconsulship of Africa Proconsularis. From a military point of view, he was not a blank slate, especially as he had held the praetorian governorship of Britannia Inferior in 216, but his further career was increasingly

¹ Hdn. 7, 4–5; HUTTNER (2008: 169).

² Hdn. 7, 5, 1.

of a civil-administrative nature.³ According to Herodian's account, which remains the main source for the period under discussion, Gordian was already about 80 years old at the time of his proconsulship. Against this background alone, the author's narrative that Gordian was more or less forced into his elevation seems more obvious than the alternative.⁴ Older research had sometimes seen a larger-scale initiative by senatorial elites,⁵ but in this case one ought to follow the ancient author in his assessment that it was a spontaneous uprising, a fact that is also emphasised by Dietz, who correctly states that a usurpation in the province of Africa Proconsularis can hardly be a well-planned conspiracy.⁶

The recognition of the new ruler needed to be announced throughout the empire and military and political support had to be gathered if Maximinus and his partisans were to be successfully opposed. What turned the comparatively insignificant elevation into a matter of political significance was the surprising reaction of the senate in Rome, which unequivocally sided with Gordian and his son. The recognition of Gordian was followed by the declaration of Maximinus and Maximus as *hostes publici*, which ultimately legalised the coup.⁷ This seems surprising insofar as the members of the senate tended to support usurpations rather hesitantly, due to understandable fear of countermeasures from the imperial side. In the case at hand the senate as an institution had immediately sided with the obviously militarily weaker candidate and burnt all bridges between him and Maximinus, who was on the Danube with a massive force.⁸ As far as the senators' motivations are concerned, it can only be conjectured what motivated them to react so quickly in favour of the Gordians. In addition to the resentment of the senators themselves against Maximinus, later events such as the murder of the

³ OKOŃ (2017: n. 79); KIENAST-ECK-HEIL (2017: 180); HÄCHLER (2019: n. 24; 269–273); BIRLEY (1981: 181–186); A possible governorship of Syria Coele under Alexander Severus is uncertain, cf. BIRLEY (2005: 340).

⁴ Hdn. 7, 5, 3–6.

⁵ See especially TOWNSEND (1955: 83–97).

⁶ DIETZ (1980: 320–321).

⁷ Hdn. 7, 7, 2; HUTTNER (2008: 171).

⁸ PISO (1982: 232–233).

Praetorian prefect Vitalianus and other supporters of the emperor such as the *praefectus urbi* Sabinus,⁹ seem to indicate that the mood of the population was also clearly directed against Maximinus. One could see either an overlap of the interests of senators and the population in this matter, or a reaction of the senate to an already existing and visibly discharging resentment towards Maximinus among the population. In this context, it is of particular interest that the senate appears to act as "the senate", which is remarkable because it did not usually act as a unified body in political matters, but rather as individual interest groups of senators. The senate (or the senators in Rome) may have overestimated the sentiment against Maximinus, for the call to the provinces that was issued seemed to meet with less response outside Rome than in the city itself.¹⁰ Basically, it is difficult to decide to what extent the provinces fell away or remained loyal to Maximinus; in any case, a uniform reaction cannot be assumed.¹¹ Ioan Piso credibly shows that the Danubian provinces remained loyal to Maximinus, since otherwise it would have been almost impossible for him to march on Italy.¹² John Drinkwater, too, considers it likely that a majority of the military provinces sided with Maximinus.¹³ In view of some of the inscriptions from Asia Minor and Gaul for the Gordians, one could also assume that they were more popular in the non-military sector, but it is not possible to verify to what degree this was the case.¹⁴ The changes of allegiance from Maximinus to the Gordiani by some provinces is attested on milestone inscriptions, but these are inscriptions in honour of Pupienus and Balbinus. In principle, it would be obvious

⁹ Hdn. 7, 7, 4; whether it was really the city prefect is unclear: on the person of Sabinus see DIETZ (1980: 227).

¹⁰ At least Decius' and Capelianus' loyalties do not seem to have wavered; the extent to which this was the case for other provinces cannot be reliably ascertained. Moreover, the answer from the provinces will probably not have reached Rome before the death of Gordians (see WHITTAKER (1970: 203, n. 1).

¹¹ WHITTAKER (1970: 204–205, n. 1).

¹² PISO (1982: 232–233).

¹³ DRINKWATER (2005: 31).

¹⁴ Some of the cities of Asia minor seem to have fallen to the Gordiani rather quickly, as indicated by several inscriptions for them: CIL XIII 592 = AE 1987, 768; AE 1961, 127 = RRAM 3.2, 54a; RRMAM 3.2, 41.

that the provinces in question had already fallen away under the Gordians, but lacking evidence doesn't allow us to confirm this. The provinces in question are Galatia and Cappadocia.¹⁵

Numidia, The neighbouring province of Africa proconsularis, was particularly problematic for the Gordians, especially as *legio III Augusta* was stationed there under the praetorian legate Capelianus, who sided with Maximinus.¹⁶ The sources agree on a personal enmity between Capelianus and Gordian due to a legal dispute, whether this is actually true or was of significant importance for the partisanship of the Numidian governor cannot be determined here. Nonetheless the story provides, if it is taken as accurate, further evidence that the usurpation of Gordian was not planned, for Gordian would undoubtedly have known who the governor of the neighbouring province of Numidia was and would not have placed himself at the mercy of a personal enemy.¹⁷ Herodian also reports that Gordian immediately tried to have the Numidian legate deposed, but failed, prompting Capelianus to move against him.¹⁸

As was to be expected, the offensive against the Gordians went well for Capelianus, whose trained legion and auxiliary troops soon overcame the makeshift units of Africa proconsularis. The son of the elder Gordian died in the fighting, after which he hanged himself in Carthage.¹⁹ The usurpation of Gordian I and Gordian II ended around the 20th of January 238 and thus lasted about 20 days,²⁰ but its consequences were far-reaching in having pushed the senate into a clear position against Maximinus Thrax, which is why there was now an urgent need for action in Rome.

After the unambiguous partisanship of the senate for the Gordians and against Maximinus, the possibility of returning to the emperor's favour was

¹⁵ Cappadocia e.g.: CIL 3 6953; Galatia e.g.: AE 1961, 127.

¹⁶ That Capelianus was the senatorial governor of Numidia is now undisputed. The author of the *Historia Augusta* still tries to make him appear differently as *cum Maurois Maximini iussu reget veteranus* (SHA Gord. 15, 1); on the person: DIETZ (1980: 109–120).

¹⁷ Cf. SHA Gord. 15, 1; Hdn. 7, 9, 1–3; 10–11.

¹⁸ Hdn. 7, 9, 3–2; cf. DIETZ (1980: 320–322).

¹⁹ Hdn. 7, 9, 4–9; HUTTNER (2008: 172).

²⁰ KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 180).

no longer open to the senate, even after the Gordiani's deaths. In this respect, it was necessary to establish an opposition to Maximinus' regime, i.e. the renewed elevation of a counter-emperor in order to meet the *hostes publici* on an equal footing. In a sense, this was a unique situation, as it was one of the last occasions of the senate becoming active as a body in matters of imperial policy. However, this did not happen based on a unique contempt for Maximinus, but out of political necessity. In any case, one must not interpret this as a rebellion of the old aristocracy against the new type of "soldier-emperor", but rather an emergency measure to save one's own skin. The first step of the senatorial opposition to Maximinus was the divinisation of the Gordiani.²¹ The new emperors acclamated by the senate were M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus und D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus heading a committee of 20 senators the *XXviri rei publicae curandae*.²² Ultimately the senatorial candidates managed to succeed against Maximinus Thrax, when his troops murdered him during the siege of Aquileia.²³

Pupienus, Balbinus and the acclamation of Gordian III.

The main theme of the new dual leadership was the unanimity of the two Augusti. This is advertised to the greatest extent by the reverse legends of their first coin-emission, which read for example *CONCORDIA AVGG*,²⁴ *FIDES MVTVA*,²⁵ *PIETAS MVTVA AVGG*.²⁶

With regard to the epigraphic findings, the same applies as in the case of the Gordians. The reign of the new emperors lasted about 3 months (99 days) and there is no extensive epigraphic material here either.²⁷ In addition,

²¹ Vgl. HUTTNER (2008: 171–173).

²² *XXviri*: SHA *Max.* 32, 2; Aur. Vict. 26, 7; Hdn. 7, 10, 3; SHA *Max.* 5, 9; Hdn. 8, 6, 6; 8, 7, 8; BARBIERI (1952: n. 99; 108; 974; 1006; 1496; 1532); KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 183); SHA *Max.* 5, 9; Hdn. 8, 6, 6; 8, 7, 8; OKOŃ (2017: n. 359); BARBIERI (1952: n. 99; 974; 1496).

²³ Hdn. 8, 5, 8–10.

²⁴ RIC 4.2, Balb. 1 (Balbinus); RIC 4.2, Pup. 1.

²⁵ RIC 4.2, Balb. 11.

²⁶ RIC 4.2, Balb. 12; DIETZ (1976: 385–386); HUTTNER (2008: 174).

²⁷ KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 187).

the dual leadership proved to be politically unsustainable and during the senate session on the elevation of Pupienus and Balbinus, riots broke out in the city in which the population, according to Herodian, at the instigation of friends and relatives of the Gordians, demanded representation of the family.²⁸ To what extent the impetus for the installation of Gordian I's grandson and Gordian II's nephew as Caesar came from the people or from agitators of a Gordian "lobby" is difficult to assess.²⁹ It can certainly be assumed that the Gordians had some supporters in Rome, who, however, had to be at least to a large extent congruent with the party of Pupienus and Balbinus, especially since the real concern of the approaching Maximinus created a unified grouping of interests. Sünskes Thompson's suggestion that the people feared a cut-off of the food supply from Africa, the centre of Gordian usurpation, if they took sides with Pupienus and Balbinus and did not recognise Gordian, seems unlikely. First, Africa was no longer under Gordian control at this point, but was back in Maximinus' hands,³⁰ which must also have been known to the population, otherwise the recent acclamation of new emperors in Rome would have made little sense. Secondly, it seems unlikely that the people analysed the reciprocal connections of the real political circumstances so precisely in advance of their activities. On the other hand, one can agree with the statement that a certain dynastic orientation seemed to have permeated the population since the time of the Iulian-Claudian dynasty.³¹ Thus, a general mood of the people for the elevation of a descendant of the Gordians, especially after their divinisation, seems to be indicated.

In the present situation we see that the dynastic idea had obviously permeated the population on a large scale, how else should one evaluate its insistence on the consideration of the Gordiani? These were *de facto* obscure emperors who had reigned for barely three weeks and had not been to Rome since their elevation (a circumstance Maximinus is regularly reproached

²⁸ Hdn. 7, 10, 6.

²⁹ Cf. HUTTNER (2008: 175); SÜNSKES THOMPSON (1993: 47).

³⁰ See HERZ (1978: 1188–1189) for the chronology.

³¹ SÜNSKES THOMPSON (1993: 47); on the importance of the dynastic system see also DE BLOIS (2020: 238–239).

for).³² Their popularity had nothing to do with personal achievements, but with an opposition to Maximinus Thrax, whose harsh fiscal policies had apparently turned the population against him.³³ But the function of opposition against Maximinus Thrax could just as well have been filled by Pupienus and Balbinus, so for what reason should the *plebs urbana* insist on Gordian III. The question of a Gordian lobby has already been discussed above and this may have played a role, but central here, is the divinisation of Gordian I and II carried out by the senate and the associated sacralisation of Gordian III's family tree. It seems almost like an oversight on the part of the senate to divinise the Gordians and not take them into account in the future appointment of emperors. However, one must bear in mind the familial situation of Gordian III., for he was not the son of Gordian II, but his nephew and thus a grandson of Gordian I.³⁴ Perhaps the faction of Pupienus and Balbinus therefore believed that they could bypass the nephew of Gordian II, for it should be assumed that the lobby of the Gordians was not considered too strong and one could reasonably suppose that the loyalties within the senate were sufficiently known during such central events. In contrast, it should be noted that the "finding" of Gordian III by the *plebs*, as described by Herodian,³⁵ was certainly no coincidence. The senate here perhaps did not sufficiently consider the receptivity of the population to the maintenance of dynastic continuity, especially after the official legitimisation and divinisation of the Gordians. The fact that the young Gordian III was subsequently "found" was certainly due to the efforts of a pro-Gordian faction. Herodian also makes the curious remark that the people had been duped (ἑτόν δῆμον ἐσοφίσαντο) by presenting the young Gordian to the people. Whittaker notes that it does not seem clear in what way the people were duped here and suggests that this was due to the fact that his name was not yet Gordian at this point and he was only acclaimed as such.³⁶ However, this does not alter the fact that

³² Cf. SHA *Max.* 8, 6; BURIAN (1988: 239).

³³ Hdn. 7, 3, 5–6; SHA *Max.* 13, 5.

³⁴ KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 187).

³⁵ Hdn. 7, 10, 7–8.

³⁶ Hdn. 7, 10, 7–8; WHITTAKER (1970: 231, n. 2).

he was still the closest relative of the deceased emperors; in the absence of a party being duped, it is difficult to see any trickery in this. The subterfuge in question, in my opinion, could be understood from Herodian's point of view as referring to the Caesar's age, since he was only 12 years old and Herodian emphasises this ('ἤν τι παιδίον νήπιον [...]').³⁷ One might suppose that the ruse against the people was that Gordian's involvement consisted in the appointment of a child easily controlled by the two Augusti. One may assume that the classification as a ruse does not necessarily constitute a negative evaluation of it. At any rate, this must become clear when one considers the concluding words of Herodian's work, in which, in the context of the death of Pupienus and Balbinus, he contrasts their achievements and high birth with the rule of a child emperor.³⁸

The end of Pupienus and Balbinus came by the hands of the Praetorians, who feared that they would be disarmed and deprived of their position, as Septimius Severus had once done after their murder of Pertinax.³⁹ Herodian sees the main reason for their downfall as the waning of the *concordia* of the two Augusti, which had been so strongly advertised. In the context of their murder, he refers to an episode in which Balbinus interpreted the warning of the approaching Praetorians as a ruse of Pupienus, which ultimately resulted in both being murdered.⁴⁰

Gordian III as Augustus

After the death of the two Augusti, the Praetorians now raised the remaining Caesar to the rank of Augustus in May/June of the year 238.⁴¹ One of the earliest measures taken by the young emperor was the reversal of the *damnatio memoriae* of Alexander Severus and his divinisation. The literary sources are

³⁷ Hdn. 7, 10, 7.

³⁸ Hdn. 8, 8; WHITTAKER (1970: 310–311, n. 1): His dislike of very young emperors is already visible in the vitae of Commodus, Caracalla, Elagabal and Alexander Severus.

³⁹ Hdn. 8, 8, 2.

⁴⁰ Hdn. 8, 8, 4–8.

⁴¹ Hdn. 8, 8, 8.

basically silent on this, but in the *Codex Iustinianus* there is a mention of *divus* Alexander by Gordian.⁴² First and foremost, this is a conscious distancing from the supposed arbitrary tyranny of Maximinus with a restoration of the previously existing, Severan order.⁴³ The invocation of Alexander Severus, however, never reached the level of a genuine dynastic connection, but can rather be subsumed under a fundamental pietas motif of the emperor. The dynastic connection rather followed his real family ties, meaning that Gordian III officially showed himself as the successor of his divinised grandfather and uncle; this is expressed primarily on milestones, but absent in the coinage. In Gordian's case, the phrases *divi Gordiani nepos divi Gordiani sororis filius*⁴⁴ and *nepos divorum Gordianorum*⁴⁵ or merely *divi nepos* are preserved.⁴⁶ The greatest accumulation of these inscriptions is found in North Africa (Africa Proconsularis, Mauretania Caesariensis and Numidia),⁴⁷ probably due to the prominence of the older Gordians in this area. The exact specification of the filiation as *divi nepos* and *sororis filius* is interesting insofar as the official line takes into account the exact familial relationships. This means that the existing family connections must have been known to such an extent that Gordian could not simply call himself *divi filius*.⁴⁸ The importance of Gordian's descent, especially in the African provinces, becomes apparent not only through the milestones, but also through honorary inscriptions, which adopt the filiation several times. In fact, most of the inscriptions containing this phrase come from the above-mentioned provinces.⁴⁹ Apart from the large accumulation of these inscriptions in Africa, we find the filiation

⁴² Cod. Iust. 9, 51, 6.

⁴³ Cf. LORiot (1975: 728–729).

⁴⁴ See e.g.: AE 2016, 1897 and AE 2015, 1819.

⁴⁵ CIL 08, 22593 in the Mauretania Caesariensis.

⁴⁶ AE 2012, 1712 in Cappadocia.

⁴⁷ HUTTNER (2008: 180).

⁴⁸ On the importance of divinisation for imperial legitimization see GESCHE (1978: 377–390).

⁴⁹ Inscription bearing the reference to Gordian III.'s divine ancestry in North Africa: Africa proconsularis: CIL VIII 25371; CIL VIII 922; CIL VIII 848; CIL VIII 11138; AE 2016, 1882; AE 1942/43, 40; CIL VIII 00907 = CIL VIII 11169; AE 2013, 2087 = AE 2015, 1819; Mauretania Caesariensis: AE 1973, 653; CIL VIII, 22586 (Gordian III. still as Caesar) Numidia: AE 1969/70, 708; AE 1969/70, 708.

on three milestones in Cappadocia,⁵⁰ on three more in Pontus and Bithynia, all in Nicomedia,⁵¹ as well as one on a building inscription in Sardinia.⁵² In Greek inscriptions we see this reference to Gordian's ancestors on two inscriptions at Kainepolis in the Peloponnese ('θεῶ[ν Γορδιανῶν νίωνόν, Σε]βασ[τόν]')⁵³ and at Aigiai in Lycia et Pamphylia ('καὶ θεοῖς Γορδιανοῖς8 προγόνοις τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Γορδιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)')⁵⁴. The former inscription is, however, largely reconstructed, especially concerning the relevant lines, and is therefore not compelling evidence, but the divine filiation seems to be indicated by the 'θεῶ' being still quite legible and can quite plausibly be interpreted in this manner. The latter inscription from Aigiai, however, can be seen in the context of coins which may have been minted there for Gordian I and II already during their reign, although there is also the possibility that these were minted as commemorative coins only under Gordian III.⁵⁵ It is difficult to determine how widespread this form is in Asia Minor compared to Africa, especially since we find far fewer inscriptions there, but what can be considered certain is the fact that the filiation played no role whatsoever in either the Western or the Danubian provinces.

In principle, this shows the elasticity of imperial self-portrayal, which takes local conditions into account and accordingly finds an echo in less official media, especially in North Africa. Certainly here, it was the case, that the elder Gordiani were prominent enough not to require an introduction via imperial messaging. It was rather the case that the emperor could build upon his well-known family ties within this geographical area.

In this context, the *Historia Augusta* notes in the Vita of Balbinus and Pupienus, as well as in that of Gordian III, the latter's supposed popularity with the people and the soldiers and provides the reason that his grandfa-

⁵⁰ RRMAM 3.3, 50a; RRMAM 3.3, 44; RRMAM 3.3, 40= AE 2012, 1712 (text restored on the basis of RRMAM 3.3, 44).

⁵¹ AE 1983, 898; RRMAM 2.1, 582; AE 1983, 899.

⁵² CASAGRANDE (2019: 2).

⁵³ IG 5.1 1242; generally the attribution to Gordian III is not in question since his full name is mentioned ahead of the filiation in question.

⁵⁴ SEG 32:1312.

⁵⁵ SALLET (1880: 140).

ther and uncle had fallen in Africa for the Roman people (and the senate) in opposition to Maximinus.⁵⁶ The author may be correct that this was in fact partly in line with public opinion. The relative inconspicuousness of the elder Gordiani's reign, which lasted barely three weeks, thus takes a back seat to the heroic death in confrontation with a "tyrant". This dynastic legitimacy of Gordian, which is based purely on this circumstance⁵⁷, is also never disputed in the literary sources. Eutropius only knows that Pupienus and Balbinus were of obscure origin (*'obscurissimo genere'*), but Gordian was of nobility (*'Gordianus nobilis'*). He explains Gordian's noble descent with the proclamation of the elder Gordian, whom, however, he describes as the father of Gordian III, the reason probably being a confusion with Gordian II.⁵⁸ We also see the *Historia Augusta* imbuing the family of the Gordiani with extended noble ancestry by dynastically linking Gordian I.'s father to the Gracchi and his mother to Trajan.⁵⁹ The short report of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* does not make any explicit assessment of Gordian's reign, but it does give the correct origin of the emperor.⁶⁰ Aurelius Victor's report summarises Gordian II and III in one person, the report on Gordian's sole rule is short and basically has a positive connotation, here too we again encounter Gordian's assassination by Philip.⁶¹

Of further interest is also the treatment of Gordian's immediate predecessors Pupienus and Balbinus, who in any case, unlike the older Gordians, are not divinised. It is also probably not the case that they were subject to a *damnatio memoriae*; their names are eradicated in isolated cases, but not consistently enough to assume a *damnatio memoriae*.⁶² The treatment of Pupienus and Balbinus is difficult to interpret, but it seems understandable not to base one's own legitimation on the predecessors murdered by the Praetorians, possibly to account for their preferences. On the other hand, the lack

⁵⁶ BRANDT (1996: 185); SHA *Gord* 22, 6; SHA *Max. et Balb.* 9.5.

⁵⁷ Hdn. 7, 10, 7–8; KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 187).

⁵⁸ Eutr. 9, 2, 1

⁵⁹ SHA *Gord.* 2.

⁶⁰ Epit. de Caes. 27.

⁶¹ Aur. Vict. 26–27.

⁶² KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 185).

of *damnatio* certainly indicates incomplete distancing from their reign, for it remains to be considered that it is a decidedly rare phenomenon to carry out neither divinisation nor *damnatio memoriae*.⁶³ One could speculate that there was a senatorial faction of supporters of the "senatorial emperors" whom the princeps intended to favour, but on the one hand there is no concrete evidence of such a faction, and on the other hand the question arises as to whether their appeasement would be satisfied with half measures. One indication of such a faction could be seen in the usurpation of Tullius Menophilus, whose name was eradicated on Moesian inscriptions, which is why such a faction seems at least conceivable.⁶⁴ Menophilus was presumably Moesian governor and he is secured as a member of the college of the *XXviri ex senatus consulto rei publicae curandae* under Pupienus and Balbinus, in which capacity he had also defended Aquileia together with Rutilius Pudens Crispinus.⁶⁵ However, none of this can be proven with sufficient certainty.

Moreover, a notable aspect of Gordian III's reign is the opening of the temple of Janus Geminus in the run-up to his Persian campaign in 242, which involved the symbolic commencement of martial activities.⁶⁶ This event is documented by Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, the *Historia Augusta* and Orosius, who cites Eutropius as a source.⁶⁷ Augustus had made use of the symbolic closing of the temple of Janus three times,⁶⁸ and after him only Vespasian, who had the temple closed in 72 after the end of the Jewish war. This news again comes from Orosius, who reproduces Tacitus.⁶⁹ If we assume that the event is historical, the measure represents first and foremost a charming anachronism, which was last carried out 170 years earlier. It speaks to a certain sense of tradition on the part of the government on the one hand and

⁶³ See KIENAST–ECK–HEIL (2017: 72; 206).

⁶⁴ AE 1902, 115; AE 1926, 99 (name erased); In FHG IV 186–187, Frg. 8: referred to as δοῦξ μυσίας [ACCENTS?]; GERHARDT–HARTMANN (2008: 1146); HÄCHLER (2019: n. 274; 601–603).

⁶⁵ SHA *Max.* 21, 6–22, 1; SHA *Max. et Balb.* 12, 2; Hdn. 8, 2, 5; HÄCHLER (2019: n. 274; 601–603).

⁶⁶ Regarding the historicity of the various closures of the temple see: SYME (1979: 188–212).

⁶⁷ Aur. Vict. 27, 7; Eutr. 9, 2, 2; SHA *Gord.* 26, 3; Oros. 7, 19, 4.

⁶⁸ SYME (1979: 188–205).

⁶⁹ Oros. 7, 3, 7; SYME (1979: 205).

demonstrates the function of the Persian War for it on the other. It was not so much a measure of crisis management, as was so often the case in the advancing third century, but an imperial expedition, ostentatiously for domestic as well as foreign policy purposes, with the traditional goal of conquering Ctesiphon.⁷⁰ In my view, the central theme of imperial self-portrayal was to be constructed from an extensively advertised Persian war, which Gordian could use throughout the empire. Gordian apparently had no central legitimising theme that he used empire-wide to define his rule. His divine descent, or rather the older Gordians seem to have been too little known outside North Africa, as demonstrated above, to propagate his rule on the basis of dynastic continuity, and since, unlike Maximinus before him and Philippus Arabs after him, he did not yet have an heir, dynastic stability aiming at the future could not be brought to bear either. In addition, Gordian's reign probably suffered from the fact that he was only 16 years old at the beginning of his reign, which was undoubtedly associated with a certain stigma, to which our literary sources often bear witness.⁷¹ In any case, a personally led campaign as an instrument of emancipation was a good way for Gordian to rid himself of the stigma associated with child emperors. In this respect, it makes sense to celebrate the beginning of the war with every available ritualistic pomp and to strive for a triumph along with a renewed closure of the temple of Janus. As a comparison, the Persian War of Iulian comes to mind, whose focus was also probably more on domestic rather than on foreign policy.⁷² It is also the case that Gordian is to some degree remembered in this manner, as one of victors over Persia, as laid out by Ammianus Marcellinus in a speech by the emperor Julian addressing his troops.⁷³

The *Agon Minerviae* in Rome, initiated by Gordian, should be seen in the same context. Like the opening of the temple of Janus, it was held immediately

⁷⁰ The conquest of Ctesiphon was one of the greatest achievements of Septimius Severus, see CAMPBELL (2005: 7).

⁷¹ Cf. SHA *Tac.* 6, 4–5.

⁷² WIRTH (1978: 461).

⁷³ Amm. Marc. 23, 16–17.

before the start of the Persian campaign, probably in June 242.⁷⁴ Louis Robert has convincingly argued that these Greek agon were games in honour of *Athena Promachos*, the deity who had helped the Athenians to victory at Marathon. They are thus to be seen explicitly in the context of the planned Persian campaign, with an archaising element that places it in the tradition of the Persian wars.⁷⁵ The sources for the Agon are, on the one hand, Aurelius Victor, who recognises here a continuation of the Neronian games of the year 60, while the so-called Chronograph of 354 explicitly refers to it as *Agon Minerviae*.⁷⁶

Conclusion

At first glance Gordian III.'s legitimation scheme seems to rely on his kinsmen Gordian I. and Gordian II., whilst completely ignoring his former co-rulers Pupienus and Balbinus. As indicated by the epigraphic evidence, it seems to be the case though, that Gordians divine ancestry was not as heavily advertised as one might think would be the case, rather this seems to have been concentrated first and foremost in the North African provinces, which makes sense considering the fact that the elder Gordian's usurpation originated there. Outside of a few inscriptions in Greece, Asia minor and Sardinia, the divine filiation is conspicuously absent, especially in the western part of the empire. This shows in my view two things, firstly that the emperor and his staff had a clear understanding of local sensibilities and knew exactly what messaging would be best received in different places. Secondly it shows more specifically for Gordian that his main legitimization strategy was not based in dynastic continuity. Rather Gordian was aiming to present himself as a conqueror when he ostentatiously prepared to defeat the Persians in a large-scale military campaign, a view that is also reproduced by later sources.

⁷⁴ Regarding chronology see: WALLNER (2004: 228).

⁷⁵ ROBERT (1970: 15–17; 27).

⁷⁶ Aur. Vict. 27, 7; *Chron. Min.* I, 147.

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Hippomenes, Pelops and Hercules: Receptions of an Ovidian Sequence in Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris

The motif of bloody trials that suitors must endure to win the hand of a princess as a prize is widespread in Latin literature. Ovid, in epist. 16, lists in sequence the exempla of Hippomenes, Pelops and Heracles, three heroes who, unlike Paris, had the opportunity to obtain their beloved in marriage as the prize of a contest. The Ovidian sequence will continue its fortune in Late Antiquity, in the verses of Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris. Claudian employed the sequence in his Laus Serenae with two political purposes, a clear one and a hidden one. Sidonius, while reusing the sequence, borrows from Claudian the political context in which the examples are inserted and adapts it to his own needs. The aim of the paper is to analyse the different functions of this mythological sequence, Claudian's role in the acquisition of a new political meaning, and Sidonius' intertextual mechanisms.

Keywords: allusion, Claudian, intertextuality, Late Antiquity, Pelops, propaganda, Sidonius Apollinaris, synkrisis

1. Introduction

The works of Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris are characterized by a dense and intricate intertextual pattern and, in their verses, multiple reminiscences (content citations or verbal echoes) overlap. This feature of the style of these authors, which is part of the general tendency toward intertextuality typical of late antique poetry,¹ has been studied repeatedly, including in recent years.²

¹ CHARLET (1988: 75–77) speaks of neoclassicism and neo-alexandrinism regarding late antique Latin poetry. On intertextuality in late antique poetry see also KAUFMANN (2017); on late antique poetic style in general see ROBERTS (1989).

² See, e.g., HINDS (2016) in relation to Claudian and GUALANDRI (2022) in relation to Sidonius Apollinaris.

In relation to Claudian's work the image of a mosaic has been proposed,³ in which different *tesserae* converge. In his poetry, indeed, literary quotations are interwoven, and they are superimposed on each other in innumerable levels of intertextuality: that often make it difficult to identify a single model. In addition to the Virgilian one, among Claudian's favorite models a prominent role – repeatedly highlighted by scholars⁴ – is undoubtedly played by Ovid, whose presence in Claudian's verses is capillary. The poet's imitation of Ovid is not limited to verbal echoes or to the reprise of *iuncturae*, but also invests the stylistic level, with the fondness for the paradoxical pun that the two poets share, as well as a preference for rhetorical figures capable of conveying it.

Sidonius Apollinaris's style is also strongly intertextual, and in his verses references to the classics follow one another almost mechanically, in a profusion of erudition that often exploits the reuse of individual elements that are completely abstracted from their source context.⁵

Both Ovid and Claudian are among the poets most influential on Sidonius.⁶ On the one hand, as is well known, Sidonius is frequently inspired by Claudian, for example in the production of hexameter panegyrics, *praefationes* with an epigrammatic scheme, or in the very structure of the panegy-

³ See GUALANDRI (1969: 7–8): 'Si può dire a questo proposito che in lui sia caratteristico il gusto e il compiacimento di trascogliere, qua e là, dagli autori più vari, nell'immenso materiale che la sua educazione di letterato gli mette a disposizione, frammenti che, vere e proprie tessere di un variopinto mosaico, vengano a comporre un quadro, non nuovo nelle linee generali del disegno, ma in cui, nei momenti più felici, i vecchi colori sembrano acquistare nuova luce e nuova brillantezza, solo in virtù di nuovi accostamenti'.

⁴ The presence of Ovid in Claudian verses has been highlighted as early as EATON (1943), who provided a catalog of parallel passages, distinguishing between 'definitely Ovidian' and 'possibly Ovidian' quotations and quotations in which it is not easy to distinguish between the Virgilian and Ovidian models. CHARLET (1995) approaches the subject more critically, limiting his work to the *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti*. In recent years see, on the topic, the works of HINDS (2016), on the Ovidian influence in *De raptu Proserpinae*; CHARLET (2018b), on the Claudian mechanisms of Ovid's *aemulatio*, particularly in relation to the theme of *gigantomachia*, extremely fortunate in Claudian; LUCERI (2018), who analyzed the Ovidian presence in some *carmina minora*; PARAVANI (2018), on the influence exerted on Claudian by the *Metamorphoses*.

⁵ On the style of Sidonius see CONSOLINO (1974), GUALANDRI (1979). In relation to Sidonius' intertextuality, see especially GUALANDRI (2022).

⁶ See e. g. GUALANDRI (2022: 285).

rics, which fuses epic and rhetorical tradition.⁷ However, he is also familiar with Ovid, whom he frequently quotes through verbal echoes, even reusing Ovidian compositional mechanisms.⁸

To summarise, both in Claudianus and Sidonius the quotations from Ovid – as well as the reuse of Ovidian compositional mechanisms – are often capillary. Moreover, in Sidonius's work, they are quite frequently mediated precisely by Claudian's intervention.⁹

This article intends to examine the intertextual games that link these three authors from different periods, in relation to the reuse of a specific sequence of mythological *exempla*. Indeed, this sequence, of Ovidian coinage, knew a new fortune in the late antique age. The sequence quotes the *exempla* of three heroes: Hippomenes, Pelops and Hercules. It evolves over time and changes form and purpose depending on the context in which the author lives and works. The article intends to show how, in the history of its reception, Claudian's role is essential, as he, being a link between the other two authors, contributes to the sequence's acquisition of political significance.

2. The origin of the sequence

In the stories of all three heroes mentioned in the sequence, there is a motif widely found in Greek and Latin literature. It is the motif of the bloody competition that the suitors of a princess had to endure to obtain her in marriage, risking their own lives. These were, often, trials forced upon them by the future father-in-law, the king and father of the princess, who for different reasons intended to hinder his daughter's suitors.

⁷ On the adaptation of Claudian models in Sidonius' panegyrics see especially SCHINDLER (2009: 181–215). On Sidonius' *praefationes*, that are of clear Claudian inspiration, see e. g. BRUZZONE (2014: 305).

⁸ On the presence of Ovid in Sidonius Apollinaris see, e.g., GUALANDRI (1979: 87–88), who examines two Sidonian passages modeled on the same Ovidian verses, and MONTUSCHI (2001), in which some mechanisms of Sidonian imitation of Ovid are studied; see also BRUZZONE (2014) in relation to the presence of Ovid in Sidon. 6.

⁹ See, e.g., BRUZZONE (2014: 322–323, n. 19), who, regarding Sidon. 6, writes: 'all'esperienza di Ovidio si somma quella di numerosi altri scrittori [...] marcata e pervasiva la mediazione di Claudiano'.

As is well known, Hippomenes must run faster than Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, to marry her; Pelops must race his chariot against the king of Pisa Oenomaus to obtain the hand of the princess Hippodamia; Hercules must fight against the river Achelous, the other suitor of Deianira, to obtain her in marriage. The former succeeds in his intent thanks to the stratagem of the golden apples thrown in as a diversion,¹⁰ the second – according to one of the most widespread variants of the myth –¹¹ achieves his aim by bribing the charioteer Myrtilus and convincing him to tamper with the king's wheels. Hercules finally rips the horn of the river Achelous during the fight.¹²

Ovid, the first author to mention the three heroes together in the sixteenth of the *Heroides*, is the poet who marks the beginning of the story of this sequence of mythological *exempla*. In the letter, Paris writes to Helen to declare his love for her and to attempt to seduce her. At a certain point, he lists the exploits of the three heroes, introduced by the expression *pretium magni certaminis*. This *iunctura* establishes the connection between the protagonists of the *exempla*, who all obtained their princess as the prize of a competition.

Di facerent pretium magni certaminis esses,
teque suo posset victor habere toro,
ut tulit Hippomenes Schoeneida praemia cursus,
venit ut in Phrygios Hippodamia sinus,
ut ferus Alcides Acheloia cornua fregit,
dum petit amplexus, Deianira, tuos
nostra per has leges audacia fortior isset,
teque mei scires esse laboris opus.
Nunc mihi nil superest, nisi te, formosa, precari...¹³

¹⁰ A full description of the race is in Ov. *met.* 10, 560sqq.

¹¹ See e. g. Hyg. *fab.* 84; Paus. 8, 14, 11: the hero, before the race, had bribed Myrtilus with the promise to share the kingdom with him (or to give him Hippodamia for the wedding night).

¹² Ov. *met.* 9, 1–97.

¹³ Ov. *epist.* 16, 263–271; the text cited is that of KENNEY (1996). 'Ah, might the gods make you the prize in a mighty contest, and let the victor have you for his couch! As Hippomenes bore off, the prize of his running, Schoeneus' daughter, as Hippodamia came to Phrigian

The episodes are listed in a rapid succession, without any details, to express the lament of Paris who, unlike Hippomenes, Pelops and Hercules, has no chance to prove his courage or to conquer Helen by winning a competition. The only path left to him is, on the contrary, that of words that of the letter he sends to seduce her and that of pleas.¹⁴

Ovid's aim, therefore, is to achieve a triple *synkrisis* between the three heroes of the myth and Paris.¹⁵ The procedure of *synkrisis*, which will become typical of the encomiastic and panegyric genre, is thus used here in an elegiac context.¹⁶ The purpose of the comparison, however, is not to show Paris's greater abilities compared to the heroes of the myth, but rather to emphasise his disadvantaged position.¹⁷ This is probably an expedient to amplify and increase the pathos of the letter itself. The letter, and not a competition, is the instrument that will enable Paris to obtain Helen as a prize.

3. Claudian's sequence

In Late Antiquity, the Ovidian sequence of the *Heroides* is given a new lease of life, starting precisely with Claudian.

Claudian's revival of the sequence fits into the context of complex intertextual games and frequent Ovidian quotations that, as has been said, characterise his verses. Claudian, in fact, albeit in a more complex and detailed manner (and, as will be seen, with different aims), in the *Laus Serenae*¹⁸ ex-

embrace, as fierce Hercules broke the horns of the Achelous while aspiring to thy embraces, Deianira. My daring would have boldly made its way in the face of conditions such as these, and you would know well how to be the object of my toils. Now nothing is left to me but to entreat you' (translation by G. Showerman).

¹⁴ See KENNEY (1996: 115): '*mei ... laboris* is predicative and emphatic, contrasting with the entreaties and supplications which are all he can actually offer'.

¹⁵ Note the description of Pelops, referred to as a Phrygian foreigner, just like Paris.

¹⁶ A relationship between the *Heroides* and the *suasoriae* has often been identified: see JACOBSON (1974: 322–330). In this epistle, in which Paris expressly intends to convince Helen to follow him to Troy, this relationship is particularly evident.

¹⁷ In the passage, moreover, a comparison between the heroines of the myth and Helen may also be implied, aimed at emphasizing the number of suitors Helen herself had before Paris, in order to praise her indirectly; see e. g. CONSOLINO (1986: 109).

¹⁸ *Carm. min.* 30, 162–180.

pressly recovers the triple *synkrisis* of Ovidian coinage, about four centuries after his predecessor and model.

The *Laus Serenae* is the unfinished panegyric that Claudian dedicates to Serena,¹⁹ Theodosius' niece and adopted by the emperor as his daughter, after the death of his brother. Serena, later, became the wife of Stilicho, who after the death of Theodosius was regent to the young emperor Honorius and, consequently, to the Western Empire. Claudian operates in this political context and, as a propagandist poet (according to Cameron's famous definition) at the Western Court, often directs his verses to convey the political ideology of both Stilicho and his wife Serena.²⁰

Carm. min. 30 follows the rhetorical precepts in relation to the composition of imperial panegyric, and traces Serena's life. After recalling her noble family, her homeland, her childhood and growing up, Claudian presents her as ready to marry and describes Theodosius' concern. The emperor is indeed eager to find a husband worthy of his niece and the enormous fortune that such a marriage would bring him.²¹ Claudian, therefore, inserts the three mythical *exempla* at this point, in a comparison with Stilicho himself, once again adhering to the rhetorical instructions which prescribed that space should be left within the panegyrics for general or partial comparisons.²²

This time, to be contrasted in the *synkrisis* are explicitly the ways in which the princesses were obtained in marriage. It is a negative comparison,

¹⁹ On the *Laus Serenae* see the commentary by CONSOLINO (1986), or the notes by CHARLET (2018a: 159–174).

²⁰ See. CAMERON (1970). See also CHARLET (1988: 79–80): Charlet identifies triumphalism ('i.e. the confident, celebratory and ceremonial expression of imperial ideology') as the third characteristic trait of late antique Latin poetry (along with neo-Alexandrianism and neoclassicism) and, in relation to Claudian, writes that 'in Claudianus' case it is the praise of the successful policy pursued after Theodosius by Stilicho in the name of Honorius'.

²¹ Claud. *carm. min.* 30, 159sqq: *iam nubilis aetas / principe sollicito votis erexerat aulam / incertis quem tanta tori fortuna maneret.*

²² On the application of the rhetoricians' indications in Claudian's panegyrics, and specifically in relation to the *synkrisis*, see STRUTHERS (1919: 83): 'the rhetores recognize two kinds of comparison, the general where the whole subject is brought into a comprehensive comparison with one of like magnitude, and the partial, where one phase of the subject or a single quality is likened to some other'.

that describes the stratagems and deceptions of the three mythical heroes, which are inferior to the way in which Stilicho was instead chosen as Serena's husband.

Antiquos loquitur Musarum pagina reges,
 qui dira sub lege procos certare iuberent,
 empturos thalamum dubii discrimine leti,
 (165) et sua crudeles gauderent pignora mortis
 ambitione peti. Curru Pisaea marino
 fugit tela Pelops (nam perfidus obice regis
 prodidit Oenomai deceptus Myrtilus axem);
 Hippomenes trepidus cursu ferroque secutam
 (170) aurato volucrem flexit Schoeneida pomo;
 Herculeas vidit fluvio luctante palaestras
 moenibus ex altis Calydon pretiumque labori
 Deianira fuit, cum pectore victor anhelo
 Alcides fremeret retroque Achelous abiret
 (175) decolor: attonitae stringebant vulnera Nymphae;
 saucia truncato pallebant flumina cornu.²³

The expression *pretium labori* (v. 172), although not at the beginning of the *synkrisis*, recalls the verse with which Ovid introduced his sequence, speaking of *pretium magni certaminis*. Even the way Claudian chooses to begin his sequence underlines its dependence on other poetic models (*antiquos loqui-*

²³ Claud. *carm. min.* 30, 162–176; the text cited is that of HALL (1985), apart from the lesson *deceptus* (see below, paragraph 4). 'The pages of the poets tell how ancient kings bade suitors contend on the hard terms of purchasing the bride at hazard of their lives, and rejoiced that death should be the wooer of their daughters. Pelops escaped the weapons of Pisa's king, thanks to the chariot Neptune gave him, for it was Myrtilus who tricked King Oenomaus by withdrawing the lynchpin from the chariot-wheel. Panting Hippomenes got the better of Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, who followed close on his traces, a sword in her hand, by means of the golden apples. The inhabitants of Calydon watched from their high battlements the struggle of Hercules with the rivergod when, Deianira being the prize of victory, the panting hero shouted in triumph and Achelous paled and shrank away, shorn of his horn, the wound whereof the astonished river nymphs sought to heal' (translated by M. Platnauer).

tur Musarum pagina reges), and it cannot be excluded that the reference is precisely to Ovid, whose citation is sanctioned by several verbal echoes, as well as by the clear resumption of the choice of mythical *exempla* included in the sequence.²⁴

The meaning of the *synkrisis*, however, is no longer the Ovidian one, the simple *amplificatio*, but is influenced by the historical and political context in which Claudian writes and is made explicit immediately after the sequence.

Te non Hesperidum pomis, non amne subacto,
non socerum fallente rota, sed iudice dignus
Augusto variis Stilicho spectatus in armis
(180) accipit et regni dotes virtute paravit.²⁵

The three *exempla* are intended to show that there was no competition, no deception, but that it was precisely the future father-in-law Theodosius who considered Stilicho worthy of Serena, thanks to the virtue he had demonstrated.

The purpose of the *synkrisis*, in Claudian, is clearly political. The poet, Stilicho's official propagandist, wants to communicate to the public the general's virtue, his honesty and especially his close relationship with the emperor Theodosius (Serena's adoptive father after and therefore Stilicho's father-in-law).²⁶ This is clearly intended to legitimize the pre-eminent role played by Stilicho at the Western court.

Claudian clearly takes up from Ovid the choice of the three *exempla*, as well as that of employing them in a triple *synkrisis*, though this time with a political and not elegiac purpose, nor one of mere *amplificatio*.

²⁴ See also CONSOLINO (1986: 109).

²⁵ Claud. *carm. min.* 30, 177–180. 'But it is neither to the apples of the Hesperides nor to victory over a river nor to treacherous tampering with a chariot-wheel that Stilicho owes the winning of thy hand; the emperor himself adjudged him worthy thereof, for that his valour had been proved in countless wars; his own courage won him an empress to wife' (translated by M. Platnauer).

²⁶ A further and more hidden political allusion is then present in these verses (see below, paragraph 4).

Claudian's intertextual mechanisms are complex, however, and quotations – lexical or content-related – from different authors and works often overlap in his verses. In this case, Claudian takes the sequence of the *Heroides* as his basic model. Of each episode, he then identifies the element on which Ovid focuses on and expands it with more detail. In this procedure, an overlapping of models can be observed, since the lexical choices Claudian uses to expand these episodes are often derived from another Ovidian model: that of the same episode as narrated in the *Metamorphoses*.²⁷ The dependence on the Ovidian model is thus unequivocally established.

Claudian, therefore, like the Ovid of the *Heroides*, focuses on the race of Hippomenes and Atalanta and on the broken horn of Achelous during the fight with Hercules.²⁸

More important than the similarities, however, and precisely because they are placed in such a narrow context of imitation, are the two main differences from the Ovidian sequence, both of which concern the *exemplum* of Pelops.

Firstly, Claudian reverses the order and places the myth of Hippodamia's suitor first. The episode, then, is much more detailed than that of the Ovidian model, and Claudian introduces an important element into his narrative: the presence of Myrtilus, Oenomaus' charioteer, whom Pelops bribes to win the race against his father-in-law. These choices, as will be seen, allow Claudian to add a further, political, and allusive meaning to his sequence.

²⁷ See e.g. the v. 163, *qui dira sub lege procos certare iuberent*. The verse owes much to the passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that introduces the myth of Atalanta and Hippomenes, see Ov. *met.* 10, 574: *venit ad hanc legem temeraria turba procorum*. The verse clearly inspires the Claudian one, and the reference to the cruel condition (always indicated by the term *lex*) was also in Ovid, a few lines earlier: *ea lex certaminis esto* (*met.* 10, 572). Ovid, however, called reckless the crowd of suitors, whereas Claudian prefers to emphasise the cruelty of the competition they undergo (*dira...lege*) in a way that is functional to the objective he intends to pursue. Claudian *synkrisis*, in fact, is intended to emphasise the diversity of the way in which Stilicho obtained Serena's hand, rather than the value of the suitors. See also: *empturos thalamum dubii discrimine leti* (v. 164), that recalls Atalanta's doubts in Ov. *met.* 10, 611–613 (*quis deus... / ...caraeque iubet discrimine vitae / coniugium petere hoc*); *Schoeneida* (v. 169) and Ov. *met.* 10, 609 (in which the girl is referred to by the nominative *Schoeneia*); the nexus *pectore anhelo* (v. 173) and Ov. *met.* 9, 59, in which Achelous is called *ahnelanti*: Claudian, here, recovers the same term and attributes it to Hercules, as noticed CONSOLINO (1986: 114).

²⁸ In these cases, he uses the same terms as Ovid: see *cursus* and *cornua* in Ov. *epist.* 16, 265 and 267; *cursu* and *cornu* in Claud. *carm. min.* 30, 169; 30, 176.

In a clearly Ovidian-inspired context – in which there are more than one intertwining Ovidian models – Claudian's intervention acts on subtle but essential differences to adapt the sequence to his own needs as a propagandist poet.

4. The hidden political significance in Claudian's sequence

Let us consider Claudian's sequence more closely, and in particular the *exemplum* of Pelops, which Claudian chooses, unlike Ovid, to place first.

...curru Pisaea marino
fugit tela Pelops (nam perfidus obice regis
prodidit Oenomai deceptus Myrtilus axem).²⁹

In relation to v. 168, many modern editors believe that there is a problem in the text given by the manuscripts. These all give the lesson *deceptus*, with the participle in the nominative referring to Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus. Indeed, in the myth, Pelops bribed Myrtilus by promising him half the kingdom if he agreed to tamper with the wheel of Oenomaus' s chariot. After his victory, however, Pelops did not keep his promise, and killed Myrtilus. Myrtilus, therefore, the deceiver of Oenomaus, was himself deceived by Pelops.

However, the nominative *deceptus* is today discarded by most editors and commentators, who prefer Heinsius' correction: *deceptum*.³⁰ In this way, the participle is grammatically agreed with *axem* and referred by enallage to Oenomaus.

The participle grammatically agreed with Myrtilus, in fact, entails some problems on the stylistic and content level.

First, from a stylistic point of view, the nominative creates an imbalance in vv. 167–168,³¹ in which two adjectives refer to Myrtilus (*perfidus* and *de-*

²⁹ Claud. *carm. min.* 30, 166–168.

³⁰ So do, for example, HALL (1985) and CONSOLINO (1986).

³¹ CONSOLINO (1986: 111–112).

ceptus) and not one to *axem*, and this is unusual in Claudian, who is always careful to seek balance in his verses.³² Heinsius' intervention restored this balance within the verse and allowed *deceptum* to be referred to *Oenomai* with an enallage entirely consistent with the poet's style.

In addition to the stylistic reason, agreeing the participle with Myrtilus entails a further problem, which has contributed to the scholars' decision to adopt Heinsius' correction. The nominative *deceptus* presupposes Claudian's reference to the later development of the myth, and scholars argued that the reference to the deception perpetrated by Pelops after the race is forced, because Claudian's focus, here, should be just on the race, to pursue the intentions of the *synkrisis*. Also on a content level, therefore, it seems necessary to refer the participle to king Oenomaus, either explicitly³³ or with an enallage.

Other hypotheses that have been formulated to amend the passage and solve the problem posed by the given *deceptus* include Heinsius' second proposal, which associated Myrtilus, along with *perfidus*, with the nominative *deceptor* (a neologism coined by Seneca in relation to the charioteer).³⁴ The form implies an active meaning, hence the solution of the content-related problem, but doesn't explain the imbalance of the verses. Among modern editors, the only one to maintain the codices' lesson, together with the usual passive meaning of the perfect participle, is Charlet, who assumes – as Birt had already done –³⁵ that the poet is indeed referring to the deception suffered by Myrtilus.³⁶ Nevertheless, not even Charlet provides an explanation for his choice.

However, it is possible to assume a more specific response to both arguments against the form *deceptus*. This form, indeed, might be functional to communicate a hidden political meaning.

³² Claudian, indeed, often seeks such balance in his verses and prefers hexameters composed of two pairs of nouns and their epithets, not infrequently combined in a golden verse. See Fo (1982: 143–148).

³³ JEEP (1876–1879: 65) conjectured *decepti*.

³⁴ Sen. *Thy.* 140.

³⁵ BIRT (1892: 325): *Sed enim Myrtilus a Pelope revera postea deceptus est, idque simul indicasse voluit poeta.*

³⁶ CHARLET (2018: 170): 'le trompeur Myrtil fut à son tour trompé et tué par Pélops'.

If one considers the possibility that the poet's intention is to highlight not only Pelops' chariot race, but also – and perhaps even more – the deception that the hero had perpetrated against Myrtilus himself, both arguments in support of *deceptum* lose their meaning.

The creation of the imbalance in the verse would depend on a precise choice by Claudian and would be motivated precisely by the desire to place greater emphasis on the deception suffered by Myrtilus. Such an expedient would not be new to Claudian, who also elsewhere seeks the audience's attention through a departure from the customary, which is exploited to give emphasis to the passage.³⁷

The intentionality of the imbalance is confirmed by the paradoxical linguistic play that the participle makes when grammatically agreed with Myrtilus. *Deceptus* would actually be the second adjective referring to Myrtilus in the space of two verses, but it would create with *perfidus* a perfect contrast of an antithetical nature that is well suited to Claudian's fondness for the paradoxical and its realisation using rhetorical figures (such as antithesis and oxymoron).³⁸ The charioteer, who betrayed and deceived Oenomaus by tampering with the chariot wheel, had in turn been deceived by Pelops.

A further element that might suggest the poet's intentions is given by the juxtaposition of the terms Pelops and *perfidus* in v. 167, which appear divided by *nam* alone and concordant in the case, while the mention of the charioteer, although the adjective actually refers to him, is postponed to the next verse. In the immediacy of the recitation for which the panegyric was intended, therefore, what must have been evident to the audience was the juxtaposition of Pelops and *perfidus*. *Perfidus* is, properly, the one who breaks the *fides*, that means not only 'trust', but also 'promise'.³⁹

The image is not new, however, and Hyginus, for instance, also expressly depicted Pelops as *perfidus*.

³⁷ CECCARELLI (2004: 101) notes how, from a metrical point of view, Claudian often deviates from the norm to demand the reader's attention.

³⁸ See Fo (1982: 165–172): the scholar points out oxymoronic techniques among Claudian's main stylistic features.

³⁹ *ThLL* (*fides*: 663, 31).

Itaque Myrtilo aurigae eius persuasit regnumque ei dimidium pollicetur si se adiuvaret. Fide data Myrtilus currum iunxit et clavos in rotas non coniecit; itaque equis incitatis currum defectum Oenomai equi distraxerunt. Pelops cum Hippodamia et Myrtilo domum victor cum rediret, cogitavit sibi opprobrio futurum et Myrtilo fidem praestare noluit eumque in mare praecipitavit, a quo Myrtoum pelagus est appellatum.⁴⁰

Claudian's desire to emphasise the deception carried out by Pelops – a necessary statement if one accepts *deceptus* – can be explained if one thinks of the consequences that this deception, in the myth, entailed. Pelops, by betraying his promise to Myrtilus, had in fact drawn the curse of the dying charioteer to his house, condemning his own sons Atreus and Thyestes to ruin and being himself at the origin of the discord between the two brothers. Sophocles, in the chorus of *Electra*, explicitly attributes the reason for the misfortunes of the family to this deception, and the same idea appears in Euripides;⁴¹ the version of the myth given by the tragedians was undoubtedly the most widespread.

In addition, the desire to allude to the tragedy of Atreus and Thyestes is implicit in the very choice of quoting Myrtilus in the few verses that summarise the myth of Pelops; in fact, Pelops would not need to be provided with the deception of Myrtilus to win, because the horses given to him by Neptune would suffice: the charioteer's narrative function is precisely, traditionally, that of being the mythical cue for the curse of the Pelopides. He is in fact mentioned by Seneca in the *Thyestes*, whereas he is absent from Pindar's version of the myth,⁴² in which the whole narrative is aimed at giving the hero lustre. Not even the models from which Claudian draws inspiration for these verses mention the charioteer.⁴³ Consequently, his citation is a conscious and therefore most significant Claudian innovation.

⁴⁰ Hyg. *fab.* 84.

⁴¹ Soph. *El.* 504–515; Eur. *Or.* 989–996.

⁴² Pind. *Ol.* 1. Among the versions of the myth in which Myrtilus is absent see also Om. *Il.* 2, 100–108, in which just the leading role of Pelops is emphasized; see DOLCETTI (2011: 81).

⁴³ See not only Ov. *epist.* 16, 266, but also Stat. *silv.* 1, 2, 41–42: *hanc propter tanti Pisaea lege trementem / currere et Oenomai fremitus audire sequentis.*

The *synkrisis* between Stilicho and Pelops should then be read on a two-fold level and would suggest a superiority of Stilicho not limited to the favourable judgement of his father-in-law, with which he obtained the hand of Serena (178–179: *iudice digus / Augustus*), nor to a generic concept of virtue that would have allowed him to merit such a judgement (180: *regni dotes virtute paravit*). Unlike Pelops, Stilicho is not guilty of any deception and he cannot, as a result, be in any way the cause of fraternal discord.

Consequently, in these verses, it is possible to read on the one hand the wish for concord between the brothers Arcadius and Honorius, as a contrast to the well-known discord between the Pelopids, and on the other hand the promotion of Stilicho as regent of both sons of Theodosius, instead of Honorius alone. The theme of the regency of both the emperor brothers is indeed central to Stilicho's propaganda, and Claudian frequently refers to it, both explicitly⁴⁴ and allusively, exploiting *exempla* (positive or negative) of fraternal relations, drawn from myth or reality.⁴⁵

Although Stilicho is not the natural father of the two emperor brothers, he implicitly reveals himself, in this *exemplum* of the *synkrisis*, to be fit to fill the role upon Theodosius' death. If at the origin of the discord between Atreus and Thyestes was the deception of Pelops, Stilicho's behaviour, quite different from that of the mythological hero, made him by contrast a worthy regent of the two *Augusti* and the legitimate guarantor of their concord (and consequently of the harmony of the Empire).

Furthermore, a pun very similar to Claudian's one, precisely in relation to Myrtilus, can be found in the *Thyestes*, where Seneca defines *Myrtilus* with the two antithetical adjectives *proditus* and *deceptor*: *proditus occidit / deceptor*

⁴⁴ See. *III Cons.* 142–162, in which Claudian describes Theodosius' dying act of appointing Stilicho as regent for both his sons. On the *commendatio* of Theodosius see also CAMERON (1969); CAMERON (1970: 49–50).

⁴⁵ Among the numerous fraternal pairs mentioned in Claudian verses see e. g. Jupiter and Pluto in *rapt. Pros.*, the Catanian brothers of *carm. min.* 17, or the Dioscuri, often cited as an *exemplum* par excellence of fraternal love; the poet also alludes to the episode of Atreus and Thyestes in *Gild.* 397–402, in which the Pelopides are compared to Gildon and his brother Mascezel, in the implied wish that the relationship between the Augustan brothers would be of a different kind.

domini Myrtilus.⁴⁶ Claudian would take up the Senecan model in the antithetical play, varying the terms used to realise it to suit his own purposes: the term *perfidus* is, in fact, particularly pregnant,⁴⁷ especially when juxtaposed with the term Pelops (see above). Claudian's choice to employ this precise adjective may have been prompted by the desire to recall here, even more explicitly, the idea of the betrayed *fides*, from which he categorically excludes Stilicho.

The Senecan tragedy was, moreover, well known to Claudian,⁴⁸ and the quotation of the verse is grafted here onto the Ovidian model, in a procedure of overlapping of the two models – Ovidian and Senecan – that has also been identified elsewhere in the poet's works.⁴⁹

It is easy to assume, then, that in these verses Claudian intends to quote the Senecan verse, with a pun entirely consistent with his own style. Consequently, it is also possible to assume Claudian's desire to refer to *Thyestes*, the very tragedy centred on the discord between the Pelopides.

The model of the *Thyestes*, together with the consideration of the consequences that, in the myth, the deception perpetrated by Pelops on Myrtilus entailed, thus contribute to the interpretation of these Claudian verses and suggest a possible ideological motivation behind the poet's stylistic choices.⁵⁰

To summarise, the emphasis on Pelops' deception might be a political allusion, perfectly consistent with the poet's allusive style and which must have been easily understood by an educated audience aware of the historical moment in which they lived, as well as of Stilicho's claims, which were constantly publicised by Claudian in his works.

Pelops behaved as a *perfidus* and was the cause of fraternal discord, whereas Stilicho would never do so. For this reason, Stilicho was the perfect

⁴⁶ Sen. *Thy.* 139–140. 'Myrtilus fell, / his own master's betrayer betrayed' (translation by A. J. Boyle).

⁴⁷ The concept of *fides* plays an essential role in the Senecan *Thyestes*, in which the noun *fides* occurs 18 times, see BOYLE (2017: 124); the very term *perfidus* is attributed by Atreus to his brother (*Thy.* 235).

⁴⁸ Cf. Claud. *Gild.* 397–402; 180–184, and the pattern of Sen. *Thy.* 778–781.

⁴⁹ See WARE (2004: 101).

⁵⁰ This allusion to a theme dear to Claudian and significant in the ideology of Stilicho and Serena, however, would be lost if one were to discard the manuscripts' lesson, *deceptus*, preferring Heinsius' correction.

guarantor of harmony between the brothers Honorius and Arcadius. This is what Claudian intends to communicate, with the aim of propagating Stilicho's ideology on a further level.

5. Sidonius Apollinaris' sequence

Sidonius Apollinaris, whose tendencies towards intertextual references have been discussed above, employs the sequence three times. Indeed, one of the characteristic features of Sidonius' style is that he often rewrites, and reworks material already employed elsewhere in his own poetry.

In the reuse of Ovid's *synkrisis*, however, Sidonius makes choices that denote a clear dependence on Claudian, who thus proves to be the mediator between Ovid and Sidonius. The sequence of *exempla* appears first in the epithalamium for Ruricius and Iberia and in the *praefatio* of that for Polemius and Araneola.⁵¹ Sidonius, in his epithalamia, is inspired by the tradition that, starting with Statius, finds its most famous exponent in Claudian. They are indeed composed for weddings that actually took place, enriched with mythological and divine *exempla*. These epithalamia both belong to the poet's disengaged production, that of the so-called *nugae*, which, although characterised by marked celebratory elements, have no political purpose.

In the epithalamium for Ruricius and Iberia, Sidonius repropose the *exempla*, quoting Pelops, Hippomenes and Achelous in a dry list and three nominal syntagmas. The myths have, here, for the first time in the history of the sequence, the function of positive rather than negative *exempla*. In the context of the epithalamium, in fact, Venus intended to praise the beauty of the bride-to-be, by stating that the three heroes would also contend for Iberia with all sorts of competitions. In this case, therefore, the comparison with myth ennobles reality⁵².

⁵¹ Sidon. *carm.* 11, 86–87; 14, 10–20.

⁵² See MONTONE (2015: 96).

Te quoque multimodis ambisset, Hiberia, ludis,
 axe Pelops, cursu Hippomenes luctaque Achelous,
 Aeneas bellis spectatus, Gorgone Perseus.⁵³

In the *praefatio* for the epithalamium for Polemius and Araneola,⁵⁴ then, Sidonius recovers the sequence, extending and readjusting it to his own new requirements.

(10) Non hic impietas, nec hanc puellam
 donat mortibus ambitus procorum;
 non hic Oenomai cruenta circo
 audit pacta Pelops nec insequentem
 pallens Hippomenes ad ima metae
 (15) tardat Schoenida ter cadente pomo;
 non hic Herculeas videt palaestras
 aetola Calydon stupens ab arce,
 cum cornu fluvii superbientis
 Alcides premeret, subinde fessum
 (20) undoso refovens ab hoste pectus.⁵⁵

In this case, Sidonius follows the Claudian model more closely, for he discredits the examples of myth in favour of reality. Here too, however, the function of the *synkrisis* is aimed above all at the exaltation of the maiden to be praised.

⁵³ Sidon. *carm.* 11, 86–88; the text cited, here and elsewhere, is that of ANDERSON (1936). ‘Her also would men have wooed by all manner of exploits, Pelops attesting his prowess by his chariot, Hippomenes by running, Achelous by wrestling, Aeneas by wars, Perseus by the Gorgon’ (translated by W. B. Anderson).

⁵⁴ This epithalamium, composed around 461, is preceded by a bipartite *praefatio*, consisting of a dedicatory epistle and 30 verses.

⁵⁵ Sidon. *carm.* 14, 10–20. ‘Here there is no unnatural enmity; this girl is not being bestowed through the deaths of rival suitors. Here no Pelops listens to the bloody terms of Oenomaus in the racing-ground; no Hippomenes pale with dread at the lower turningpoint of the course retards the maid of Schoeneus with thrice-falling apple; not here does Calydon behold in amazement from her Aetolian height the wrestling of Hercules, when he forced down the horn of the arrogant river, refreshing his breast ever and anon from his watery foe’ (translated by W. B. Anderson).

What is most interesting to appreciate the evolution of *synkrisis* in a political sense – and thus Claudian's mediation – is, however, the way in which the three heroes appear quoted together in Anthemius' panegyric, which belongs to a genre and is written for a quite different context than that of the epithalamians. It is, in fact, the panegyric Sidonius wrote for the Western emperor Anthemius in 468.

In the verses considered here, the object of the poet's attention is Ricimer, the Goth general who had assumed power under Avitus and then maintained it, remaining the effective holder of power even under Anthemius' reign. To facilitate cohesion between the emperor and Ricimer, the latter had married the emperor's own daughter, Alypia.

At this point in the panegyric, the personification of Rome is described as asking the personification of Aurora to have the eastern nobleman Anthemius as Emperor of the West. To this public request, she then adds another request of a private nature, and hopes for the marriage that will seal the agreement, making Anthemius and Ricimer kin.⁵⁶ This marriage, precisely because of the consequences it would entail (at least in Sidonius' hopes), would therefore be superior to those of myth.

Rome, therefore, through the *synkrisis*, wants to discredit famous weddings in favour of the union between Alypia and Ricimer.

(487) ...Circumspice taedas
antiquas: par nulla tibi sic copula praesto est.
(490) ... reparatis Pisa quadrigis
suscitet Oenomaum, natae quem fraude cadentem
cerea destituit resolutis axibus obex;
procedat Colchis prius agnita virgo marito
crimine quam sexu; spectet de carcere circi
(495) pallentes Atalanta procos et poma decori
Hippomenis iam non pro solo colligat auro;

⁵⁶ Sidon. *carm.* 2, 483–484: *adice praeterea privatum ad publica foedus: / sit socer Augustus genero Ricimere beatus.*

Deianira, tuas Achelous gymnade pinguis
 illustret taedas et ab Hercule pressus anhelo
 lassatum foveat rivis rivalibus hostem.
 (500) Quantumvis repetam veteris conubia saeculi,
 transcendunt hic heroas, heroidas illa.
 Hos thalamos, Ricimer, Virtus tibi pronuba poscit...⁵⁷

Sidonius' structure and words are the same as Claudian's. Let us observe the very beginning of the sequence, with the *iunctura taedas/antiquas* which recalls the *antiquos...reges* in Claudian's first verse, the terms *poma* and *auro*, which cite Claudian's *aurato pomo* (v. 170), the identical choice of *anhelo* in the narration of Hercules' episode (v. 173), the term *fraude*, which recalls that idea of deception on which Claudian had insisted so much, and above all the nexus *axibus obex*, which cites Claudian's words *obice* and *axem* (vv. 167–168). The term *obex*, which in Latin properly means 'obstacle' or 'impediment', had in fact assumed in Claudian a really specific meaning, not attested before:⁵⁸ that of the 'tinder' of the wheel, i. e. the awl that served to prevent the wheels from slipping out of the chariot.⁵⁹ Sidonius uses, here, the same meaning of *obex*, specifying moreover that the *obex* used by the

⁵⁷ Sidon. *carm.* 2, 487–502. 'Survey the nuptials of olden time, and no union such as this event can offer itself to thy view. [...] let Pisa bring back her four-horse chariot and revive Oenomaus, who fell by a daughter's guile, when the waxen linch-pins betrayed him, unloosing the axles; let the maid of Colchis come forward, who was brought to her husband's knowledge by her crime before he knew her as a woman; let Atalanta gaze on her pale suitors from the starting-place in the circus and no longer gather the apples of the comely Hippomenes for their gold alone; let Achelous, with the oil of the wrestling-school upon him, glorify the nuptials of Deianira, and, clasped tightly by the panting Hercules, refresh his wearied adversary with spiteful spate: recall as I may the marriages of the olden time, this man excels all the god-descended heroes, she the heroines. Valour hath this union in her charge' (translated by W. B. Anderson).

⁵⁸ *ThlL* (*obex*: 65, 77–79).

⁵⁹ In the acquisition of this technical meaning, the Greek term ἔμβολον, that is symmetrical to *obex* in etymology, may have played an essential role. The term had been used in Pherecrates *FGH* 3, F37, in the same context and exactly with the meaning of tinder of the wheel. Moreover, this is the first attestation of the variant of the myth that ascribed Pelops' victory to treachery rather than to winged horses, see DOLCETTI (2011: 84). Claudian, who had Greek as his mother tongue, might have had this passage in mind by adding the meaning of ἔμβολον to the signifier *obex*.

charioteer was made of wax, and that this is the reason why the axles came off the wheel.⁶⁰ The description of Pelops' exemplum is in general, among the three in the sequence, the closest to Claudian's dictation.

Among the major differences from Claudian's sequence, however, is the fact that Sidonius accentuates the negative connotation of the examples, not least through the inclusion of that of Medea and Jason alongside the other three. One can then observe a change of perspective, which shifts here to women. It is in fact Hippodamia, Oenomaus' daughter, who deceives her father, while there is no mention of Myrtilus.

The aim of the sequence, which once again exploits negative *exempla*, is to show how Alypia and Ricimer are the true heroes, because their marriage can save the empire. The political ideology present in these verses is made evident by the final *sententia*, which features a chiasmus and an etymological figure to emphasise the concept (v. 501).⁶¹ Sidonius, therefore, saw this marriage as an omen for the concord of the empire and hoped that the private *foedus* would be strengthened by the *adfinitas*, the marriage bond between Ricimer and Anthemius' daughter.

On all three occasions when he employs the sequence, Sidonius takes the order of the *exempla* chosen by Claudian, not that of Ovid, and places the episode of Pelops first. There are, then, all three times, many lexical reiterations of the Claudian model. In the first case we are dealing with nominal syntagmas, in which the episode is evoked with a single term (the tampered axle of the wheel, the race, the fights); in the second case, the Claudian take is more evident, especially in the case of the Hercules episode: Sidonius, like Claudian, chooses to narrate it from the point of view of Calydon, who watched the fights from above (*moenibus ex altis* in Claudian; *aetola Calydon ab arce* in Sidonius). In Anthemius' panegyric, the point of view is that of the women, but Sidonius does not renounce the lexical references to his Claudian model, which is particularly evident.

⁶⁰ Claudian, on the other hand, does not specify the way Myrtilus tampered with the *obex*, but uses the generic verb *prodidit*, which again evokes (as *perfidus* and *deceptus*) the idea of deception.

⁶¹ See MONTONE (2015: 97).

One can observe, therefore, in the three examples of Sidonius' rendering of this sequence, a gradual rapprochement to the Claudian model, which, not coincidentally, becomes stronger precisely in the *Panegyric of Anthemius*, the only one of the poems to have a clear and explicitly political meaning. It is here, indeed, that Sidonius is interested in employing a political function of the *synkrisis*, similar to Claudian's, although the propagandistic and practical purpose of Stilicho's official poet is replaced by a more general wish for concord, in an extremely dramatic historical moment for the Empire.

6. Conclusions

As mentioned above, the complexity of the intertextual network used by Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris has already been extensively studied, as well as the mediating role Claudian often plays between Ovid and Sidonius.⁶²

In continuing the late antique fortune of Ovid's elegiac sequence, Claudian followed a procedure typical of his style: he quoted one of his favourite models and reworked the original examples by adding details; he then introduced an explicitly political meaning, that of showing the virtue of Stilicho and, especially, his good relationship with Theodosius. Alongside this, Claudian inserted a further political allusion, this time implicit, to a theme very dear to Stilicho's ideology. In this way, he has sanctioned the transition of this sequence, born in an elegiac context and aimed essentially at *amplificatio*, to the political sphere. The role of the late antique poet is thus essential not only for the continuation of the fortune of the *synkrisis*, but also for its evolution in the political sense.

The intertextual link between Claudian and Ovid is clearly intentional here, but the allusion can be defined as non-referential, since it merely recalls the passage of the Augustan poet, while omitting the hypotext.⁶³ it

⁶² See e. g. ROSATI (2004), who studies the way in which Claudian and Sidonius transform the myth of Arachne from the model of Ov. *met.* 6, 1–145.

⁶³ On the terminology related to intertextuality, and in particular on the distinction between referential and non-referential allusions, see e.g. GUALANDRI (2022: 280–281): 'I shall therefore employ "intertextuality" as a broader term simply indicating that there is a relation-

was Claudian who added a deeper and additional meaning to the Ovidian sequence.

Drawing conclusions about Sidonius' mechanisms for reusing the sequence is more complex. His reuse of the (two) models deserves, therefore, a few more observations, to understand whether the Late Antique poet's greater fidelity to the Claudian rather than the Ovidian model is accidental (and perhaps due solely to the greater amount of detail in Claudian's text) or implies an intentional reference to the political hypotext introduced by Claudian in his verses.

In analysing Sidonius' intertextual mechanisms, it is never easy to establish whether the reminiscences are deliberate or unintentional, nor to identify a clear preponderance of one model over another, since the overlapping of quotations often makes them inseparable.⁶⁴ It is even more difficult to establish whether these are referential or non-referential allusions.

On the one hand, Sidonius' audience could have had an insufficient cultural level to recognize the authors quoted by the poet, or even to appreciate a possible reference to the hypotext.⁶⁵ On the other hand, it is possible that the Sidonian quotations, although difficult for the audience to decipher, should in any case be considered intentional and at times also referential.⁶⁶

The preference Sidonius shows for the Claudian model over the Ovidian one is made evident from the order in which the *exempla* are presented. The Claudian order is chosen by Sidonius in all three cases of reuse of the sequence, even where the political context is entirely absent. This suggests

ship between a text and an earlier text, which may be either unconscious on the author's part (determined by pure involuntary memory), or conscious and deliberate; in the latter case, I shall conform to current usage by speaking of "allusion". It might, in fact, prove useful in this context to observe the distinction [...] between "referential" allusions [...] which attain meaning precisely from the texts which they evoke [...] and allusions which, while clearly constituting intentional reminiscences, are not enriched by the hypotext'. In general, on intertextuality and allusions, see CONTE-BARCHIESI (1989).

⁶⁴ GUALANDRI (2022: 281).

⁶⁵ See GUALANDRI (2022: 282): 'we must not forget, though, that not every member of Sidonius' public, however learned, would have found him easy to follow'.

⁶⁶ See e. g. GUALANDRI (1979: 85), who identifies the complex and hidden interplay of references as one of the elements that most characterises Sidonius' style: 'un minuzioso lavorio che [...] con i suoi riferimenti celati sembra voler sfidare gli amici [...] ad una sorta di gara'.

that the *synkrisis* was taken up by Sidonius precisely through the mediation of Claudian. In addition, a referential context – which is absent in the first two cases – is suggested by several elements in the third reuse.

Let us first consider the different context in which the panegyric was realised, and the different purpose for which it was composed,⁶⁷ which itself embodied a political purpose.

In the panegyric of Anthemius, then, Sidonius left more room for Claudian lexical borrowings precisely in the example of Pelops. This element, given the political significance that the episode conveyed in the *Laus Serenae*, does not seem accidental.

Finally, of note is the way the *synkrisis* is introduced by the three authors, which makes the purpose of the sequence clear from its very incipit.

Ovid had introduced the three *exempla* with a reference to the competition that the suitors had to sustain (*pretium magni certaminis*), and that Paris was denied.

The element that Claudian chose instead to present as unifying the three *exempla* was that of the kings, the future fathers-in-law of the suitors (*antiquos loquitur Musarum pagina reges*). He had thus made it clear what was the main reason that made Stilicho superior to the heroes of myth: it was not only his military virtue or his demonstrated honesty, but rather the privileged relationship he could boast with Serena's adoptive father, Emperor Theodosius himself.

Sidonius, who in *carm.* 11 and *carm.* 14 had neglected to indicate a specific purpose, in *carm.* 2, 487–488 inserted in the first verses of the *synkrisis* the reference to the wedding itself, i. e. precisely to what interested him the most (*circumspice antiquas / taedas*). He thus sanctioned a direct dependence on the practical purpose that Claudian had introduced into his own sequence, but also vindicated the new purpose to which he had shifted the political meaning.

⁶⁷ Sidonius had been commissioned by the Roman senate to write a panegyric for the new emperor: on the historical context in which the poem is composed see e. g. MONTONE (2015: 4–5).

Sidonius' intertextual work, in the case of the *Panegyric of Anthemius*, might thus be included in the field of referential allusions; in this kind of allusions, the author intends to recall a precise meaning of the text quoted, to enrich his own. This passage, of course, can only and exclusively be considered in relation to the Claudian model: it is of Claudian that Sidonius intends to recall the political context, taking to a further level the very sequence that he evidently appreciated, and which up to that time he had exploited only as a non-referential allusion. The different literary genre in which the panegyric was inscribed, as well as its different objective, made Sidonius feel the need to take up the sequence once again through the mediation of Claudian, while also grasping, this time, its political significance.

In doing so, he always kept the reference to Claudian clear, but he adapted the significance to his own needs. He left out the underlying allusions to Pelops' unfaithfulness and to the discord between brothers, because anything related to this was not part of either Anthemius or Ricimer's political programme. Instead, Sidonius specified, from the very beginning of the sequence itself, what was his new – but still political – objective: to emphasise the importance of the marriage that was supposed to safeguard the peace.

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Managing Intertextuality in Ennodius' Corpus The Case of 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) *Dictio Ennodi diaconi in natale Laurenti Mediolanensis episcopi*

'There is too much literature between reality and him', said Labriolle: this seems such an adequate statement for Ennodius' corpus, since it is normal to stumble upon references or quotations by other authors, either pagan or Christian ones. This paper takes into account Ennodius 1V. (= dict. 1H.) as a case study and aims at examining in detail which works and authors Ennodius uses in order to arrange one dedication. The declamation has been divided in five thematic sections; each shows a different percentage of intertextual categories such as clear reference, self-quotation, altered reference and word collocation. Through statistical evidence, the author of this paper has thought back on Ennodius' over-all technique in making rhetorics: a good way of paying homage to the summi and the minores, or the easiest way to bundle up quotes and so to earn an entire piece of literature?

Keywords: Ennodius, intertextuality, Late Antiquity quoting, Dictiones, categories of intertextuality

This short study, born within the scope of PoBLAM Project,¹ aims at providing a model of classification of the intertextual phenomena in Ennodius.

¹ The acronym stands out for "Poésie Biblique Latine de l'Antiquité au Moyen-Âge": it identifies a pluri-inclusive project about 'intertextualité et réception grammaticale', which was born from the collaboration between a French and a German team. PoBLAM in fact involves the Universities of Strasbourg and Lyon (UDL), Bergische Universität Wuppertal and FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg, which try to communicate with a well-articulated work program and by organizing recurring meetings and conferences. Special attention is paid in PoBLAM to the study of intertextuality, as we said before. In particular, the research will try to achieve three main objects: a) meta-intertextual structures in Biblical Poetry from Antiquity to the Middle-Ages; b) the impact of Biblical-Christian poetry on sociability, cultures and identity constructions in Europe during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages; c) forms of reception of Biblical Poetry in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages. More information to be found here: <https://www.uni-wuppertal.de/de/news/detail/lateinische-bibeldichtung-im-fokus/>.

Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.)² has been taken as a case-study for examining in detail which works and authors – from Vergil to Iuvencus, via Terence and Cicero – Ennodius employs in order to pay homage to the figure of Laurence I (?–511 c.), Archbishop in Milan from 490 to 511. This focus is supposed to work as a good example for the aim of the whole project, which wants to study the relationship of osmosis between the work of exegetical-theological elaboration and the renewal of classical poetic forms, giving this way a complete explanation about the process of creating “new classics”.

We will try to deal with:

- Ennodius' attitude towards other authors, so the way he uses them within the writing of a supposed original content;
- The main categories in which such an attitude can be rationally nestled.

Augustin Dubois, doctoral graduated student at Paris-Clermont-Ferrand University, came out with his Ph.D thesis in 1903. In studying “*la Latinité d’Ennodius*”, he states something still valid after more than one century: observations dealing with the Latinity of “decadence” require a permanent and constant corroboration.³ Ennodius' activity should be seen as the ultimate intervention to save classical culture, within a context of turbulence, decline and fall for the Roman Empire through Barbarian peoples (fifth–sixth century).⁴ So Ennodius is almost the last track of a survival, the one of rhetorics as *ancilla theologiae*, in an education which was at this stage “moribond e anachronistic”.⁵

The whole corpus is strewn with quotes as a puzzle, even though it maintains a relative originality, which requires to be detected. Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is full of references: Ennodius writes it as a relative and secretary of Laurence I, for the anniversary of his consecration; hence, the document is the

² We chose to follow VOGEL's edition (1995², [anast. rist. 1885¹]); but the equivalence with HARTEL's (1865) is put between parentheses.

³ DUBOIS (1903: *praef.* 1).

⁴ See HERRIN (2020: 89sq.).

⁵ MARCONI (2013b: 5).

most important source we have to detect information about the Archbishop's life.⁶

First of all, 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) belongs to *dictiones sacrae*,⁷ a group of speeches – conventionally distinguished by Jaques Sirmond from the *scolasticae*,⁸ *controversiae*⁹ and *ethicae* –¹⁰ within Ennodius' corpus: this one is devoted to the celebration of a contemporary. We do not have to forget that such a classification is completely arbitrary and reflects Sirmond's ground and personal taste for classification: it has nothing to do with Ennodius' intention.¹¹ Unlike the *epistulae*, indissolubly linked to the current happening in a fairly

⁶ We should not forget the *emphasis* given to Laurence I in Ennod. 245V. (= *carm.* 1, 1H.) (p. 193, vv. 16–17), the famous *Itinerarium Brigantionis Castelli*, where Ennodius hints at a *vatis* – with no name – who asked him to complete a term of a diplomatic mission. The *vatis* he aimed at satisfying was Laurence of Milan, because the territory of the Cottian Alps belonged to the diocese of Milan and the *Itinerarium* took place between 502 and 506.

⁷ Together with Ennod. 98V. (= *dict.* 2H.) *In dedicatione basilicae apostolorum, missa Honorato episcopo Novariensi*; Ennod. 214V. (= *dict.* 3H.) *Dictio data Stephanio v. s. vicario dicenda Maximo episcopo*; Ennod. 277V. (= *dict.* 4H.) *In dedicatione, missa Maximo episcopo*; Ennod. 336V. (= *dict.* 5H.) *Dictio incipientis episcopi*; Ennod. 464V. (= *dict.* 6) [*De haeresi ecclesiarum orientalium*].

⁸ Ennod. 3V. (= *dict.* 7H.) *In dedicatione auditorii, quando ad forum tranaslatio facta est*; Ennod. 69V. (= *dict.* 8H.) *Praefatio dicta Lupicino quando in auditorio traditus est Deuterio*; Ennod. 85V. (= *dict.* 9H.) *Praefatio quando Arator auditorium ingressus est*; Ennod. 94V. (= *dict.* 10H.) *Gratiarum actio grammatico, quando Parthenius bene recitavit*; Ennod. 124V. (= *dict.* 11H.) *Dictio quae dicta est, quando Eusebi filius traditus est ad studia*; Ennod. 320V. (= *dict.* 12H.) *Dictio data Aratori, quando ad laudem provectus est*; Ennod. 451V. (= *dict.* 13H.) *Dictio [quando Paterius et Severus traditi sunt ad studia]*.

⁹ Ennod. 221V. (= *dict.* 14H.) *In legatum, qui patriam hostibus prodidit*; Ennod. 222V. (= *dict.* 15H.) *In novercam, quae cum marito privigni odia suadere non posset, utrisque venena porrexit*; Ennod. 223V. (= *dict.* 16H.) *In eum qui praemii nomine Vestalis virginis nuptias postulavit*; Ennod. 239V. (= *dict.* 17H.) *In eum qui seni patri cibos subtraxit, data Aratori*; Ennod. 243V. (= *dict.* 18H.) *In tyrannum qui praemii nomine parricidae statuam inter viros fortes dedit, data Aratori v.c.*; Ennod. 261V. (= *dict.* 19H.) *In aleatorem qui agrum, in quo parentes eius erant positi, pro ludi pretio dedit, data Ambrosio*; Ennod. 278V. (= *dict.* 20H.) *In eum qui in lupanari statuam Minervae locavit*; Ennod. 363V. (= *dict.* 21H.) [*In patrem quendam, qui cum filium a pirata captum redimere non dignatus esset, ab eo tamen ali petebat*]; Ennod. 380V. (= *dict.* 22H.) [*Contra legem*]: *de capta civitate hostium sacerdotes et Vestales virgines liberi dimittantur*; Ennod. 467V. (= *dict.* 23H.) [*In abdicatum qui patre necato matri quoque insidiabatur*].

¹⁰ Ennod. 208V. (= *dict.* 24H.) *Dictio ex tempore quam ipse Deuterius iniunxit [Verba Diomedis, cum uxoris adulteria cognovisset]*; Ennod. 220V. (= *dict.* 25H.) *Verba Thetidis, cum Achillem videret extinctum*; Ennod. 414V. (= *dict.* 26H.) *Verba Menelai, cum Troiam videret exustam*; Ennod. 436V. (= *dict.* 27H.) *Verba Junonis, cum Antaeum videret parem viribus Herculis extitisse*; Ennod. 466V. (= *dict.* 28H.) [*Verba Didonis, cum abeuntem videret Aeneam*].

¹¹ PIROVANO (2010: 17).

brief span of time,¹² and for this reason full of literary memory in spurts, the *dictiones* include sections about theory,¹³ so they can make room for the act of complete quoting.

It is necessary to conventionally identify some sections which 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is made up of:

1. Why the rhetorician should talk? A speech about ambition and reputation (§§1–5).
2. Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature (§§ 6–9).
3. Laurence's election and voters' reaction (§§ 10–12).
4. Back to the prestige of Laurence's life (§§ 13–15).
5. *Liberalia* vs *disciplina ecclesiastica* (§§16–24).
6. Greetings (§25).

Hence, a desirable outcome would be that we try to gather quotations and statistics, maybe in order to draw a criterion-line according to each section theme. Julia Kristeva (1941), a Bulgarian-French philosopher, literary critic, semiotician and psychoanalyst, is the starting point for this analysis, since she is noted for her work on the concept of intertextuality, based on the attempt of blending de Saussure's and Bakhtin's theories about signs, meanings and literature.¹⁴ Ultimately, this paper has to be intended but an inner discussion about Kristeva's plurality of meaning: the intertextual view teaches that the meaning of a text does not reside in the text itself, but it is a

¹² KENNEL (2019: 369): the interval taken into account goes from few years after the death of Epiphanius of Pavia (496) to Ennodius' ordination to the episcopate, which provides none of the *epistulae* we possess.

¹³ We cannot be certain about the precise time in which *dictiones* were written or born: sure enough that Ennodius has stopped writing them after being ordained. The *dictiones* seem to be linked to a specific phase of Ennodius' life, maybe when he worked as a teacher (still *dubium*), surely while being school related. For example Ennod. 466 V. (= *dict.* 28H.) clearly shows a deep knowledge of commentaries, attributable to a school system, cf. PIROVANO (2010: 31 *et passim*).

¹⁴ Cf. F. DE SAUSSURE 1962 (1916¹); cf. especially the famous definition of intertextuality given by KRISTEVA (1980: 37): «Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double».

combination between the reader's reaction and the complex network of texts which mediate and filter the reader's perception of the author's intention. As much as we try to define such relationships, they have sometimes to be interpreted as fluid, not fixable or always detectable.

Before starting with a rigorous classification, some preliminary problems have to be stated: at first, it is difficult for us to know which Latin Ennodius used in life and which Latin he preferred for writing. Such an approach summones diachronic theories¹⁵ and obliges us to deal with Ennodius' longing for Augustan Latin (where his models are cronologically located, from 14 AD), to be compared to his true (Christian and Late Antique) nature.¹⁶ Still, we cannot overlook synchronic differences among the literary and the colloquial Latin – going through the technical and vulgar one –, altered by the written means of communication. Furthermore, a very meaningful dichotomy in the whole Late Antiquity has to be roughed out: are we truly able to draft a boundary between (Ennodius') literary education and scholastic memory? For now, we must bear in mind that Ennodius' writing always fights against the cultural mediocrity of his time.

Instead of classifying the entire corpus through grammatical classes – like Dubois did –, we have tried to create functional (and simplified) categories in order to focus on the way, the intention with which Ennodius quotes other authors.

1. *Clear reference*: it is the luckiest category, because it leaves Ennodius' intention to the minimum chance; it may include quotations, the most direct form of reception; or plagiarism, and translation, similar to the previous way, but respectively in the form of *paraphrasis* and language-to-language transposition. They are mainly direct and intentional.
2. *Word-collocation*: this is a very ambiguous class, for it is often about crystallized expressions (mainly binomes) which Ennodius had in mind

¹⁵ TRAINA – BERNARDI PERINI (1996: 17sq), even though all information strictly comes and can be found in one of the best known marsterpieces for linguistics: *Cours de linguistique générale* written by Ferdinand de Saussure.

¹⁶ For a more precise stratification, see TRAINA – BERNARDI PERINI (1996: 23-24).

as a memory. Here he seems to be split between conscious and unconscious, on purpose and by chance. The theory of intertextuality would talk about “calque”: sometimes intentional, but rarely direct.

3. Altered reference: this group of cases does not include word-for-word quotations, but more likely a class in which similar ideas or concepts fall, either in the form of parody, of pastiche and simple allusion. These references are mostly direct and intentional, especially when long and substantial.
4. Another field to deal with is the one of Self-quotation, between intra- and inter-textuality; it welcomes Ennodius' words repeating themselves within the same work or, more frequently, corpus.

Introducing the first category, we run into two clear references to the Bible.¹⁷

1. Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §5): fugitiva gloriae est mens subiecta terrori, clamante Paulo apostolo ‘perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem’, hoc est dicere et indicio certo monstrare, quia non diligit qui pavescit. [*Vulg.*] I Ioh. 4, 18 Timor non est in caritate: sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem, quoniam timor poenam habet: qui autem timet, non est perfectus in caritate.
[*NT*] I Ioh. 4, 18: φόβος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, ἀλλ’ ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη ἔξω βάλλει τὸν φόβον, ὅτι ὁ φόβος κόλασιν ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ.
2. Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 3, §14): cum hostilis inruptio more pecorum Christianum populum per diversa distraheret, tu variorum generibus cruciatum capiebaris in omnibus, tu paterna conventus pietate sustinebas tormenta multorum, ut ait apostulus ‘quis vestrum cruciatum, et non ego?’ inter ista tamen fractum te non vidit adversitas. [*Vulg.*] II Cor. 11, 29 quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?

¹⁷ VOGEL (1995: 1).

[NT] II Cor. 11, 29: τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;

The source of Bible verses in Ennodius' corpus is debated and still studied; the same question interests Christian writers as a whole, in fact the coexistence of the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* in religious practice of this period is well-known. Ennodius would be using *Vetus Latina* for the translations of part of New Testament; while his *Mediolanensis cursus*, starting immediately after Bishop Epiphanius' death¹⁸ (21 Jan. 498), must have played a very important role in the choice of Bible sources.¹⁹ Jerome's *Vulgata* – the translation into Latin directly from Hebrew, shaped on exegetical works in Greek –, circulating in the North-Italian area, was surely known and used by Ennodius, especially for the Old Testament;²⁰ but we do not have to forget that it was not infrequently altered. The versions have much in common, but it is titanic to think about reconstructing them strictly. The role of memory in the quotation of the Fathers of the Church was very important as well.

Going back to the texts listed above, in the first case, we find a sort of invocation of authority: Paulus the Apostle should grant that things are said and shown with some judgment, because those who fear cannot be careful in any way. Ennodius summones his own mediocrity,²¹ which cannot afford saying good things about Laurence: the fear of veneration is the greatest

¹⁸ Ennod. 80 V. (= *opusc.* 3H.) (p. 108, §195) *nec non adiciebat de perfectione securus: 'confirmatum est cor meum in domino et exaltatum est cornu meum in deo salutari meo', ut hymnis et canticis et in morte resonans ad sedem suam caelestis anima remearet, quae quinquagesimum octavum aetatis annum duxit ad tumulum, triginta in hac sacerdotali, qualem etsi excerptim lector adtendis scalptam, conversatione exemi.*

¹⁹ Ennodius didn't manage the episcopate in Milan, but in Pavia (= *Ticinum*) in 513.

²⁰ Further studies, including philological and translation comparisons, are required in this field; we can only provide here a plausible theory from the geographical point of view, which summones Milan as a possible epicentre for Ennodius' knowledge of Scriptures.

²¹ We have detected a random memory of Statius' *Silvae* behind the profession of Ennodius' incompetence: the difficulty in saying is a matter of *mediocritas* (Ennod. 1V. [= *dict.* 1H.][p. 1, §5]): *sancti Laurenti aliquatenus pro mea mediocritate bona dicturus plenum quidem laboris opus adgredior*. Stat., *Sil.* 5, *praef.*: *post hoc ingratus sum, si lacrimas tuas transeo. praeterea latus omne divinae domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor. nam qui bona fide deos colit, amat et sacerdotes. sed quamvis propiorem usum amicitiae tuae iampridem cuperem, mallet tamen nondum invenisse materiam.*

enemy of purpose, so in order to obtain glory, he has to go through terror. Paulus' authority should function here as catalyst for a great message, which cannot be fully introjected because of *mediocritas*. On closer inspection, we notice that such an expression does not come from Paulus' *sententiae*: Ennodius must have mistaken Saint John the Beloved, the youngest of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus with Paulus the Apostle. The passage is well explained in:

Aug. *Serm.* 198, 4, 14–15: Scriptum est enim: timor non est in caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem. Iohannes hoc apostolus dicit. Si autem perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem, possideat primo pectus timor: nascetur ibi caritas, atque ita, quantum crescit caritas, decrescet timor; quantum illa augebitur, ille minuetur; cum illa perficitur, ille excluditur. Timor enim non est in caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem.

which shows a correct reference. The simplest explanation could be the most accurate one: Ennodius must have played (and failed) a memory game. Paulus is also seen as the authority on which one can lean in case of agony or obstacles:²² adversity must not break, fear must not kill and a bad moment must not be transformed in a complete tragedy. In 511 Ennodius wrote *Eucharisticon de vita sua*,²³ one of the most meaningful and useful witnesses for Ennodius' life, including birth and education.²⁴ At some point, abhorring the *poetarum gregis* he had taken part to, he leaves the reader to believe that his knowledge of classics had forerun the one of Christian authors. The overwhelming tendency of reproducing sacred lines as a word-for-word reproduction is visible in the whole *corpus* concerning Scriptures.²⁵

²² Cf. above II Cor. 11.29.

²³ Ennod. 438 V. (= *opusc.* 5H.).

²⁴ For which see also Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 310sqq.).

²⁵ At first glance, direct references to Scriptures can be found in: Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.), Ennod. 7 V. (= *epist.* 1, 4H.), Ennod. 8 V. (= *opusc.* 7H.), Ennod. 9V. (= *epist.* 1, 5H.), Ennod. 25 V. (= *epist.* 1, 2H.), Ennod. 43 V. (= *carm.* 1, 9H.), Ennod. 48 V. (= *epist.* 2, 13H.), Ennod. 49V. (= *opusc.* 2H.), Ennod. 51 V. (= *epist.* 2, 14H.), Ennod. 56V. (= *epist.* 2, 19H.), 80 V. (= *opusc.* 3H.), Ennod. 240V. (= *opusc.* 4H.), Ennod. 268 V. (= *epist.* 6, 3H), Ennod. 302V. (= *epist.* 6, 25H.),

Ennod. 1V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 4, §25): virī sanguinem et dolosi non dimidia-
bunt dies sui

[Vulg.] Psalm. 54(55), 24: virī sanguinem et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies sui

Ennod. 1V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 3, §15): cum infirmor, tum potens sum

[Vulg.] II Cor. 12, 10: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum

[NT] II Cor. 12, 10: ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι.

The complete adherence to the Scriptures provision depends on a matter of reverence. Completely aware that just one *dictio* is not enough to paint trustworthy results, as far as we have noticed, such an attitude is not perceivable in the act of picking up clear contributions from pagan authors. This statement enforces the idea according to which Ennodius' treatment towards authors is different, depending on their being Christian or not, so on the time they lived. In the case of pagan references, Ennodius tends to rework words: he wants to create, to challenge the model. '*Rescribenda vos scribitis*', says he in 45V. (= *epist.* 2, 11H.). Ennodius is permanently torn about whether to respect the authority of the source and to avoid the annoying repetitiveness of the content.

Ennodius gets the chance to list some of the qualities of Laurence and borrows a *sententia* from Terence's *Phormio*, in order to evaluate Laurence's fairness in being a bishop. The crew of clerics coming from anywhere is portrayed as follows:

Ter. *Phorm.* 454: quot homines, tot sententiae

Ennod. 1 V. (= dict. 1H.) (p. 4, §21): quot hominum genera, tot sententiarum
varietas

Laurence's extraordinariness lies in the ability in persuading and calming everyone down, as shown in the closest paragraphs:

Ennod. 311V. (= *epist.* 7, 6H.), Ennod. 320 V. (= dict. 12H.), Ennod. 336V. (= dict. 5H.), Ennod. 406V. (= *epist.* 8, 29H.), Ennod. 433V. (= *epist.* 9, 11H.), Ennod. 438V. (= *opusc.* 5H.), Ennod. 446 V. (= *epist.* 9, 22H.), Ennod. 447 V. (= *epist.* 9, 23H.), Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.), Ennod. 464V. (= dict. 6H.).

Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 6, §§21–22): tunc quo minacium impetus blandi-
mentorū melle domuisti, qua superbōrum corda venerandae humilitatis
erectione fregisti, qua labantium animos consilii radice fundasti, explicare
non valeo.

Going deeper, we discover that the same expression was used in Cicero's *de Finibus* 1, 15: *quot homines, tot sententiae*; not to count that such a concept was expressed through different words also by Homer's *Odyssey* 14, 228: ἄλλος γάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρεται ἔργοις,²⁶ Persius 5, 52: *Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus* and also Horace *Epistles* 2, 2, 61–62: *Tres mihi conuiuiae prope dissentire videntur, / Poscentes vario multum diuersa palato*²⁷ (*et passim*). The sentence is quoted as a *sententia*, which had probably become a commonplace; but our aim is to detect – and hypothesize – a sort of probable ancestor, without being sure of its usage, as it happens with *stemmata codicum*. If we were able to contemplate the fortune of a sentence, if we could handle its occurrence, if we found out exactly which authors were exactly chosen – keeping the patience of displaying their mutual relations – , we would expect to see a complex system of lines, most of which divergent. Some relationships would go down, impossible to be traced for the mere *usus scribendi*; others would interrupt as a prezygotic barrier, senseless to be imagined for a matter of knowledge and transmission of the model. Terence's use is widespread in the whole corpus,²⁸ Cicero was a schoolauthor, even though there's no reference to *De finibus* within Ennodius' corpus: so, which lineage should we follow? In studying Menander, Plautus and Terence's drama, Penniston defines expressions like *quot homines, tot sententiae* as “off-stage acquaintances”,²⁹ loved by comic playwrights: in Terence, they are used for helping create a picture of daily life behind the scenes. The in-

²⁶ Different men take delight in different occupations (tr. Cofano).

²⁷ It seems to me it is quite like three guests who disagree, / Seeking wide variety for their varying tastes (tr. Cofano).

²⁸ Cf. Ennod. 6V. (= *epist.* 1, 3H.) (p. 10, §9), Ennod. 7V. (= *epist.* 1, 4H.) (p. 11, §7), Ennod. 49V. (= *opusc.* 2H.) (p. 64, §115), Ennod. 56V. (= *epist.* 2, 19) (p. 72, §17), Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 314, §19) *et passim*.

²⁹ PENNISTON (1990-1991: 150sqq.).

tention seems to be different in Ennodius' *dictio* and words are varied in a more prosastic way, maybe with an impulse to strengthen; still, the expression is in the form of a behind-the-scenes spur. Either deriving from Terence, or from Cicero, the quotation is an example of "intertextuality of content"; depending on the "father" we choose for this quotation – Terence or Cicero –, the case should be included in the category of intentional *clear references* or in the common and accidental school reminiscences. We could talk about this expression for a very long time, without reaching a satisfying solution: there could be no need of choosing, but the presence of Terence in Ennodius corpus is so strong – and *de finibus* so weak – that for a mere matter of *usus scribendi* we must assume that Ennodius was keen on comic *sententiae*. What is more, Cicero's use is part of a longer reasoning and is strictly linked to the surrounding context, dealing with his opinion about how style should be in philosophical works.³⁰

The following scheme (Diagram 1) offers a summary about our first category – the one of *clear reference* – and grafically shows the precise difference in quoting a Christian and a rather pagan context. The table has been divided in two parts, which mark two different areas of interests; we notice a demarcation line between the Christian and the Pagan side, all lying on an axis, following the direction of the central arrow. As we can clearly see from the "plus (+)" sign, the trend is descending. The reception of pagan can be seen more like *modus operandi* or *cogitandi* in Ennodius. This implies that most Latin works were effectively known as stuck parts of a sort of *canon*, but mainly remembered as parts of a collective memory.

Unfortunately, 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) does not offer any example of another macro-class, the one of 'intertextuality of structure', mainly including *Self-quotations*, which applies to grammatical patterns. It is the rarest class to be found, because it gathers sentences with an irregular and repeated use of grammar. Since this paper is about a case-study for the creation of

³⁰ Cic. Fin. 1, 15: *oratio me istius philosophi non offendit; nam et complectitur verbis quod vult et dicit plane, quod intellegam; et tamen ego a philosopho si afferat eloquentiam, non asperner, si non habeat, non admodum flagitem. Re mihi non aequae satisfacit, et quidem locis pluribus. Sed quot homines, tot sententiae: falli igitur possumus.*

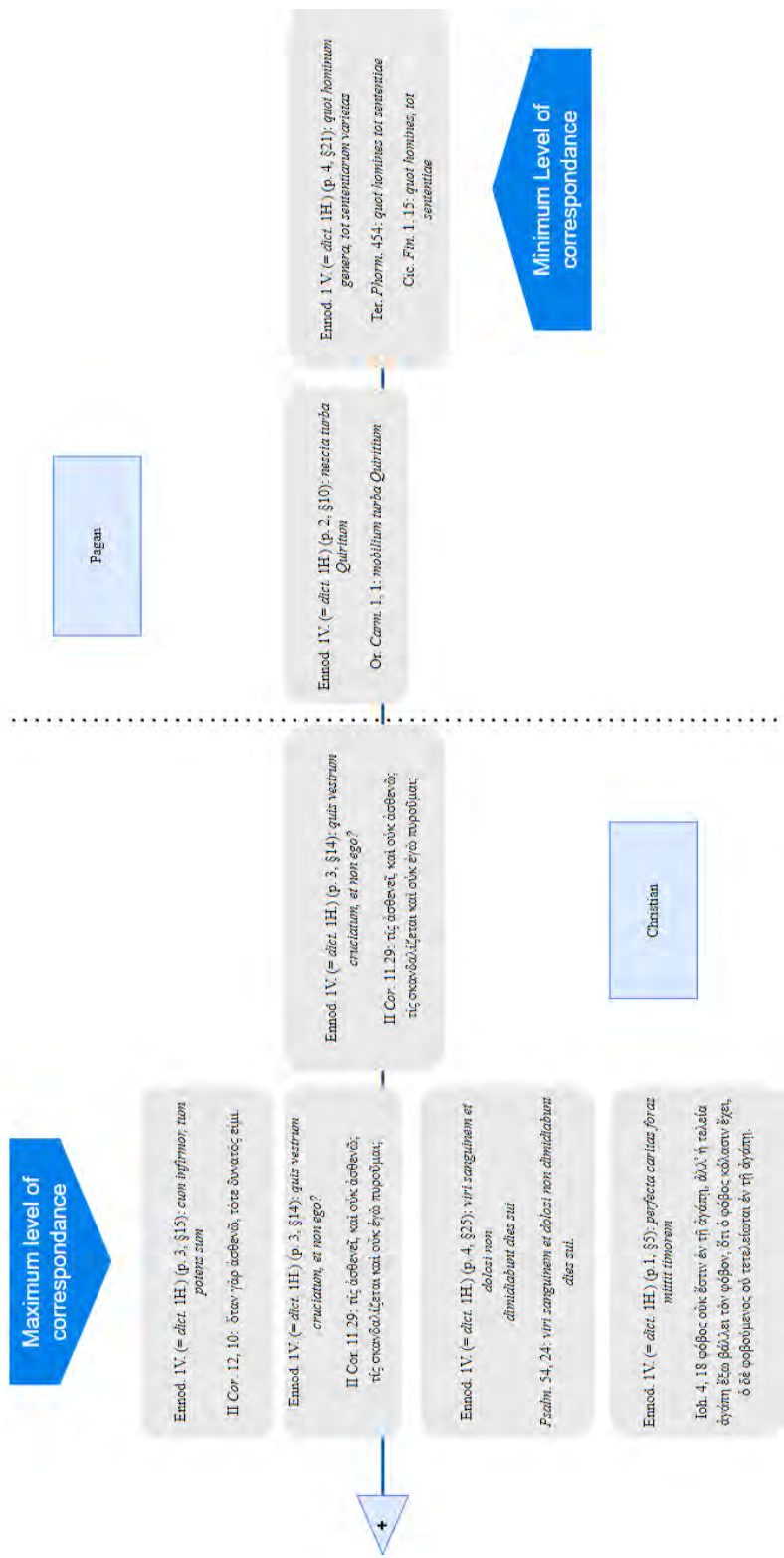


Diagram 1

functional categories, we will just try to present the category, through borrowing an example from Ennodius 19 V. (= *epist.* 1, 14H.) (p. 23, §6), where 'the possibility of intending an infinitive as an imperative'³¹ stands out as a full-Ennodian tendency:

Ennod. 6 V. (= *epist.* 1, 3) (p. 10, §4): et quae ex merito nostro ventura col-
legimus ex sua facit miseratione transferri³²

Ennod. 11 V. (= *epist.* 1, 7) (p. 16, §2): in eo de me facinus credi facis omnes
fallentibus³³

Ennod. 19 V. (= *epist.* 1, 14) (p. 23, §6): ea indicari faciat³⁴

But in order to fulfill the aims of this paper, we need to go back to Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.), and consider the previous short analysis as an *appendix*, which will be developed elsewhere.

A big trip among the most different authors can be made by analysing the class of *word-collocation*. We will see the case of a very obvious proximity between Ennodius and Orientius (450 – ?), a contemporary and converted Gaul, who became Bishop of *Augusta Ausciorum*, collaborating with Theodoric I as an ambassador. The expression *formido facessat* (Ennod. 1V. [= *dict.* 1H.] [p.1, §5]) is also in Orientius' (*carm. app.* 3.171), in the form of a request to God, an invocation of burdens and honors: «have mercy on me and my family: let the pain be far away, as well as worries and fear». Ennodius' use of such an iconic expression – which cannot be found elsewhere according to *TLL* – is inserted in section one, about *Why the rhetorician should talk* [: *a speech about ambition and reputation*]: «Thus comes also the fear of worshipping, which is enemy of purpose»,³⁵ especially when approaching the big deal of describing Laurence's value. In Orientius, the fear must be far away,

³¹ DUBOIS (2004: 464) and GIOANNI (2006: 129).

³² His mercy allows us to overcome the misfortunes that we believe have occurred due to our lack (tr. Cofano).

³³ You make people believe that I am capable of any crime (tr. Cofano).

³⁴ There is hope left that God will make you write only what is pleasant to know (tr. Cofano).

³⁵ Tr. Cofano.

for bringing about a good praise. It is likely that the quotation was direct, intentional, but still a word-binome.

This example is preliminary towards the others, for it shows that sometimes there is no context or idea that Ennodius “steals”: he is just keen on freezed expressions which were probably floating in his cultural context and embodies the society’s dialogic conflict over the meaning of words.

Differently from the previous scheme, we notice that in Diagram 2 there is no indicator about minimal or maximal adherence. This happens partially because Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is not the best case to take into consideration, since it shows an almost total adherence to Christian authors; but mostly because the process of using *word-collocations* does not require an inner precision. We could think about our modern *filler words*, mainly employed as an outcome of memory and repeating themselves in a weird form of inertia. This attitude seems to lower the level of accuracy, and in addition the one of willfulness towards the quoted part.

We could clearly experience such a mechanical disposition of Ennodius’ mind by analyzing the case of *militia Christi*, a very common and elegy-related transposition in Late Antiquity writers. The examples that follow:

Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H) (p. 2, §12): tironem pontificii expertissimum militem

Ennod. 452 V. (= *opusc.* 6H) (p. 311, §3, v. 21): Christi militis insitum rigorem

Ennod. 346 V. (= *carm.* 1, 15H) (p. 253, v. 18): qui bella Christi militat

Aug. in *psalm.* 9.5^{extr}: haec ei Christo militaverunt ad nostram liberationem
Cypr. *Epist.* 39, 2, 1: hic inter Christi milites antesignanus

Cypr. *Epist.* 58, 4, 2: spectat militem suum Christus ubicumque pugnantem

Ambr. in *psalm.* 38, 35, 1: nihil laxum, nihil molle verum Christi militem decet

Sidon. *epist.* 9, 12, 1: primum ab exordio religiosae professionis huic principaliter exercitio (sc. carminum) renuntiavi, quia nimirum facilitati posset

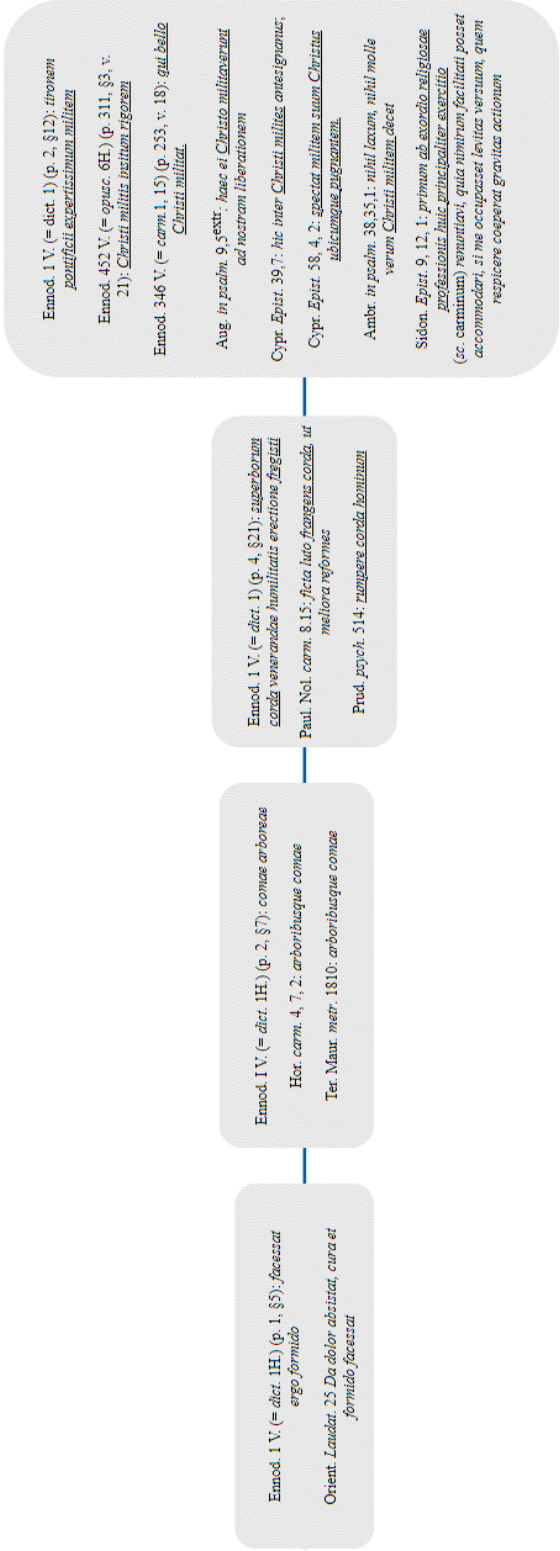


Diagram 2

accommodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat
gravitas actionum

tend to show a common ground, where believers – or generally speaking, those who strongly defend religion – are mostly seen as *milites*. But the allegory of the armor of God dates back to *New Testament* and *Vulgata* and can be seen as an explicit contrast with the idea of – and term – *paganus*, intended here as «a civilian, opposed to a soldier».³⁶ Knighthood gave authors the idea of strenght, power, effort and paved the way for identifying virtues as an equipement. It is useful to attach a passage from *Ephesians* (6, 13sq.), where Paulus describes the proper parts of *armatura Dei*:

Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo et, omnibus perfectis, stare.

State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induti loricam iustitiae et calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela Maligni ignea exstinguere;
et galeam salutis assumite et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.³⁷

Regardless of the observance of a general theme, we can detect a proof of Ennodius' tendency to employ *filler words* behind the use of an Horace's binome: *arboribusque comae*³⁸ appears in the varied form of *comae arboreae* in Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H) (p. 2, §7), which seems to be part of a less precise plan of recollection. Horace's line is a strongly heart-felt hymn for the act

³⁶ OLD, vol. 2, 1412, col. 2. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 53 *inter paganos corruptior miles*; 3, 43 *ipsi (...) pagani (...) futurae potentiae spe iuvare partis adnitebantur*; Iuv. 16, 33 *falsum producere testem contra paganum*; Suet. *Gal.* 19, 2 *dimota paganorum turba*; Dig. 35, 2, 96 (Scaevola libro singulari quaestionum publice tractarum) *miles si, dum paganus erat, fecerit testamentum*. See also ThLL, vol. 10, 1, fasc. 1, 79, col. 2 and Tert. *Coron.* 11, 1, 42 *apud Christum tam miles est paganus fidelis, quam paganus est miles fidelis*.

³⁷ Ef. 6, 13-17 (B. ALAND – K. ALAND – J. – C. M. MARTINI – B. M. METZGER (eds.) *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 2014 [1986¹]).

³⁸ Hor. *carm.* 4.7.2.

of coming back to life:³⁹ snow has disappeared, like soldiers put on the run; earth and trees are once again tinged with green, rivers are returning to flow.⁴⁰ Ennodius' echo seems to be intricate and insincere, lacking the complex state of purity that Horace's hymn can show. Ambiguity in such cases could also be a wanted effect, since it is also in names and places feeding the fuzzy nature of this work. As Gioanni points out, the 'ambiguïtés volontaire révèle au contraire l'habileté et l'invention de l'auteur'.⁴¹ Such a category – the intentional limited exactitude – has an illustrious precedent precisely in Horace: we are talking about *Itinerarius Brigantionis Castelli*,⁴² a journey through Montgenèvre and the Cottian Alps, for a diplomatic mission to Brigantio (= Briançon). Among the most ambiguous models, we can easily find Horace's *Iter Brundisinum*.⁴³

The most difficult cases to detect are of course *altered references*, and there is a limpid example that drags the beloved Vergil in:

Ennod. 1 V. (= *dict.* 1H.), (p. 2, §7): Nunc cum terrae sucus per venas aren-
tium virgultorum currit in germina et alvus sicci fomitis umore maritata
turgescit, cum in blandam lucem novelli praesegminis comae explicantur
arboreae et omnis ramorum plectura diffunditur vel quae intra tunicam
natura artaverat frondium decora solvuntur, cum avium cantilena com-
itur sapore modulato, cum vita segetum glebis sepulta hiemalibus quasi
repagulis algoris emissa et tempore fota concipitur.

³⁹ *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis / arboribusque comae.*

⁴⁰ CASTELNUOVO (2015: 180).

⁴¹ GIOANNI (2006: CVIII), and see also L. BASSET – F. BIVILLE (eds.): *Les jeux et les ruses de l'ambigüité volontaire dans les textes grec et latins*. In: *Actes de la Table Ronde organisée à la – Lyon 2 (23–24 novembre 2000)* 2005, 171–186.

⁴² Ennod. 245V. (= *carm.* 1,1H.).

⁴³ Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5. Horace's journey started in Rome and firstly reached Ariccia; *minus est gravis Appia tardis*, says Horace: they move through *Fundi*, *Sinuessa* and *Capua*. Then straight to Beneventum, «where the zealous innkeeper almost burned himself, turning his lean thrushes on the grill» [Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5, 71–72]. For a deep analysis of Ennodius' literacy in 245V. (= *carm.* 1,1), cf. F. MONTONE (2021: 35–59).

Now the juice of Earth flows into the parched bushes, up to the buds; the dry river bed begins to swell up with a fruitful juice; now the foliage show up in the soft light of a new crop of the day; the trees are in bloom and what nature had previously entwined in the tunic of its branches, melts into something beautiful, with the birds songs in the background, a lullaby with a moderate sound. The peasants collect the fruits buried by the winter clouds, as if spit out, despite the obstacles of the cold and nourished by the heat.

Verg. *Georg.* 2, 323sqq.:

Ver adeo frondi nemorum,⁴⁴ ver utile silvis;
 vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.
 Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
 Coniugis in gremium laetae descendit,⁴⁵ et omnis
 Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.⁴⁶
Auia tum resonant auibus uirgulta canoris⁴⁷,
 Et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus;
 Parturit almus ager Zephyrique trementibus auris
 Laxant arua sinus; superat tener omnibus umor,
 Inque nouos soles audent se germina tuto
 Credere, nec metuit surgentis pampinus Austros

germina *Burman* : gramina ω, gramine P

⁴⁴ CONINGTON (1858: 228, n. 323) clarifies that *nemorum* and *silvis* both mean “the trees in the ‘arbustum’”, while *frondi* reminds of food for cattle.

⁴⁵ It is rather interesting the identification provided by someone between *Aether* and *Tellus* respectively with Jupiter and Juno. Vergil’s passage contains a poetic language, which shows its dependence on physical hints; no theological view seems to be required here.

⁴⁶ *Alit* (...) *fetus* unifies the fruits of a marriage – the one between Heaven and Earth – and the idea of fertilizing showers; see CONINGTON (1858: 228, n. 327).

⁴⁷ See also Lucr. 1, 10sqq.: *Nam simul ac species patefacta est verna diei / et reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni, / Aeriae primum volucres te, Diva tuumque / Significant initum, percussae corda tua / vi.*

But spring helps the leafy groove. Spring helps the wood.
 Spring earth swells, asking for life-giving seeds.
 Almighty father, Aether, in long deep rains
falls to his wife's glad hug and, great and coupled
 with her great body, quickens all that grows.
In spring each pathless thicket rings with bird-song.
 In the sure days all herds find love again.
 Earth labors, teeming. Warm breaths of a West Wind
 loosen fields; in all things is tender moisture.
 Safely a grass-blade dares to trust new suns.
 The vine-spray does not fear a rising South Wind.

The beginning of our second section - *Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature* (§§6-9) – offers such a bucolic and idyllic scenario, due to Laurence's consecration: nature's in bloom, agriculture shows its luxuriant side. The Vergilian *fecundae imbres* (...) *in gremium* can be detected behind the Ennodian *sucus terrae per venas arentium* and the *umor maritata*; they are a blessing for a *siccus alvus* and they all tend to flow: *currere* and *descendere* are both motion verbs; Vergil's *avia virgulta* hide behind Ennodius' *avium cantilena*; and the *arboreae comae* echo a sweet and slow lullaby from birds. Spring makes *silvae* grow (cf. Vergil's *Georgics* 2, 323: *ver utile silvis*) and creates a *ramorum plectura* (Ennod. 1 V. [= *dict.* 1H.], [p. 2, §7]). The underlined words can prove at a glance that Ennodius' description of nature takes advantage from *Georgica's* lexicon and we have chosen to attach a translation in order to enforce this idea.

It is also interesting to focus on the word *germina*, employed by Ennodius as the finish line for the fluid juice of Earth. In Vergil's passage, *gramina* is the *lectio* of all the manuscripts, except for P (Vat. Pal. Lat. 1631, saec. V-VI), but most scholars and editors have read *germina*, trusting the authority of Celsus apud Philargus' commentary (Philarg. ad Verg.). Even though most of the supporters of *gramina* have taken Hor. *Od.* 4, 7, 1 as a proof (: *redeunt iam gramina campis arboribusque comae*), the textual problem is still very diffi-

cult, because maybe Vergil is giving a different meaning to the word, related to the vine. Burman's *coniectura* could have a valid foothold in Ennodius' passage, where Vergil's presence is not deniable. The quotation is too long, not to be direct and intentional, but Ennodius reworks it as an intersection of surfaces and lexica, by employing signifying practices for different purposes. We may say that it is a shot, a textual arrangement per images rather than per words: it sometimes happens in Ennodius' corpus.⁴⁸

The use of the word 'beloved' was no coincidence for identifying Vergil's role in Ennodius' literacy. We have detected a vague, but indeed plausible *altered reference* behind Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §1): *quousque meiners diffidentia intra angustum partitur penetrare delitescere*. Ennodius' will of sketching a portrait for the figure of Laurence cannot overlook his usual *molesta modestia*: because of a lazy apathy, his ability and enthusiasm in writing is hidden in an *angustum penetrare* like in Verg. *Georg.* 1, 379-80 (: *et tectis penetralibus extulit ova angustum formica, terens iter et bibit ingens*) the ant brings out the eggs from the burrows under ground, traversing a narrow path and they remain covered up, protected, but still the fatigue to take them out is high; Ennodius' need of time in processing information and bringing them out in an all-embracing *dictio* requires a very strong effort.

⁴⁸ The collaboration with PoBLAM Project has already reached some results in this field, highlighting fleeting images used by Ennodius and corresponding to other author's lines. Some examples from Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) can be provided in the present footnote, but we must be aware that a complete account of references is still a work in progress. Cf. Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 5, vv. 1-5) *Post canas hiemes, gelidi post damna profundi / Tranquillum quotiens navita carpit iter, / Maeret et infidi desperat prospera ponti / Quamque videt faciem non putat esse salis. / Sibilat aura levis, validas timet ille procellas: / fluctibus et blandas aestimat esse minas*; and Ov. *Trist.* 1, 4, 11-16 *Nauita confessus gelidum pallore timorem, / Iam sequitur euctus, non regit arte ratem. / Vtque parum ualidus non proficiencia rector / Ceruicis rigidae frena remittit equo, / Sic non quo uoluit, sed quo rapit impetus [undae.] Aurigam uideo uela dedisse rati*. And also Ennod. 2 V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 5, v.5sq.) *sibilat aura levis (...)* / *linthea si crispant Zephiri pendentia malo*; and Ov. *Epist.* 5, 54sq. *Aura levis rigido pendentia linthea malo / suscitae et remis eruta canet aqua*. Another suitable and iconic example comes from Ennod. 451 V. (= *carm.* 2, 150H.) (p. 309, vv. 1-4 *ut valeant aquilae formatos prodere fetus, / vitalis tenerum frangit tepor insitus ovum, / tunc pius artatam lacerat pater impiger aedem, / ut pariat rursus studio quos edidit alvo*, where the image of *fetus aquilae* is likely reworded from Luc. 9, 902-906, by means of Claud. *Carm. Min.* 6; 18; 23; 26. The allusion, although clear, shows some differences, as a sign of separation from the model and transformation of the image.

Gradually blurring the burdens of congruence among Ennodius and other authors, we end up recognizing a Quintilian theory behind an Ennodius' *sententia*. In 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §2) Ennodius claims that *superflua scribere res iactantiae est: necessaria reticere contemptus*. There is no common lexicon, no common context, but we are aware that Quintilian played a very important role in Ennodius' education. Suffice it to know⁴⁹ that Ennodius 363 V. (= *dict.* 21H.) is a sort of *ethopoeiac antilogy* towards [Quint]. *Mai.* 5, according to a definition we attempted to give in the simultaneous PhD dissertation we are writing, always aware of the difficulty in labelling similar works written in Late Antiquity. In Quint. *Inst.* 2, 2 (: *in laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus nec effusus, quia res altera taedium laboris, altera securitatem parit*), the reasoning structure is similar and it is based on a necessary and sufficient implication: *superflua* are a sufficient condition for *iactantia*; but *necessaria reticere* is necessarily a sign of *contemptus*: such a concept is a cornerstone of the theories of *brevitas* and *labor limae*, which Ennodius makes his own especially when writing *dictiones*. The same idea of concision is to be found in *laudandis discipulorum dictionibus*, in a challenging balance required to the teacher. Quintilian aims at pushing and reassuring, urging and praising students, but all moderately and fairly. The contact point between the two passages is visible in a sort of watermark. We do not know that much about the education in Late Antiquity but several hypothesis can be made on the basis of Ennodius' corpus. The aim of teaching and schooling was to make ancient models live again and help young people reach them through practice. Rhetorics is considered *the ars* in Ennodius' works.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ And we must not forget that Quintilian and Ps. Quintilian were considered the same at Ennodius' time.

⁵⁰ Cf for example Ennod. 362 V. (= *epist.* 7, 29H.) (p.259, §1): *urbanorum est exiguis producta subtrahere et sine aliqua necessitate paginas, quales poscit hominum mensura, formare. Quod in me de his, quae prefatus sum, subtile putaveris, festinatio non semper amica artis et casus exhibuit.* Ennod. 363V. (= *dict.* 21H.) (p. 260–261, §2) *Numquid fas est adversus Quintilianum nisi pro veritate dicere? Aut immemorem sui loquendi facit aviditas, qui tribuit verba iustitiae? Fallentes decet urbanitas, dum peniculo fucata mendacii peregrinum decorem laudanda verbo tenus sumit elocutio. Sine solacio oratoriae artis aequitas adseratur. Eligo pompam, quam probitas defensa parturiet. Procedat contra eloquentissimum virum caelestium favore munita simplicitas. De fiducia partium nostrarum oritur quod audemus.* Ennod. 452V. (= *opusc.* 6H.) (p. 313, §13) *in hac cautione*

The author was careful in respecting the ancient rhetorics' *praecepta*, but it is evident that the Barbarian crisis had exercised a very harmful pressure over Latin language. As Magani says, 's'hanno quindi in Ennodio tutti gli inconvenienti di un'epoca di transizione':⁵¹ more likely Ennodius is the real and exemplar son of his own era.

Another interesting class is the one of *Self-quotation*, which includes expressions or sentences, created by Ennodius and not inspired by other authors, which reappear once or more in the whole corpus. A limpid case is that of Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 1, §3), remembering himself and one of his linguistic frills:

Ennod. 1 V (= *dict.* 1) (p. 1, §3): *ceu si in alveum magni fluminis stillantis guttam fundas eloquii, nequaquam ad cursum proficis liquoris impendio, et vix humorem parturit, quod ad undas aptatur.*

Even a drop of sparkling speech (*gutta eloquii stillantis*) is lost in the sea of abundance (*cursum profici liquoris*), due to its size. Ennodius regrets the *pressa magnitudo* of his *exhaustum ingenium*, which will always fall in deaf ears, defeated by the abundance of speaking.

Ennod. 95 V (= *epist.* 3, 24H.) (p. 120, §4): *quod alveo quondam copiosi fluminis vix arentis gutta fundatur eloquii*

In 95V. (= *epist.* 3, 24H.), when justifying his abandoned *cura liberalium* (surely after his being ordained, when Ennodius' passion for *liberalia* had seemingly expired), he says something similar: the past *copiosum flumen*, the one of *eloquentia*, is at the time nothing but a *gutta eloquii*. Going further, with a

opus est, ut supra aetatis immaturae naturalem paene licentiam artis crescat affectio et de continua per pedagogos et indicta necessitate clari operis spontanea cura prosiliat.

⁵¹ MAGANI (1886: *praef.* VIII). It is very useful to add what Magani says about Ennodius' style, which was obscure, muddled and sometimes chaotic: grabbing what he wants to say is not that easy and always creates troubles in finding out if there is too much obscurity from the author himself or too few understanding from Ennodius' reader. '(...) Non si accorgeva che *verbosità e ricercatezza* nuocevano alla *lucidità* dell'espressione'.

careful reading of sources surrounding Ennodius, we reach another form of *gutta eloquii tenuis*, belonging to the converted Christian Paulinus of Nola (354–431):

Paul. Nol. *carm.* 21, 691: Sed et haec mihi gutta / eloquii tenuis, quo te loquar unde profecto / ducitur, unde etiam fluviis exundat origo.

In *carm.* 21, addressing to Christ, his *fons summa*, he apologises for the «thin trickle of (his) eloquence» (here in Walsh, P. G.'s translation), which is just a *gutta* if compared to the proper irrigation (*deserta rigare*) given to the author's inner desert. Ennodius' ability to mix quotation and literary memories is also visible in the reminiscence of *alveo fluminis*, both in Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) and Ennodius 95 V. (= *epist.* 3, 24H.), a vague recollection of Verg. *Aen.* 7, 33: *adsuetae ripis volucres et fluminis alveo*.

In addition, Ennodius' *sarcina* is always *gravis* to be carried (like also in Prosp. *Ad coniug.* 47: *non autem haec gravis est mansueto sarcina dorso*; in Pavl. Nol. *Carm. App.* 3, 51: *gravior ne sarcina plumbo*; and Paul. Petric. *Mart.* 5, 525: *gravis excusso reiecta est sarcina collo*), by the one who gets ready for a difficult purpose (*oneris immensitas*); it is always advisable to follow *caritas*, not fearing anything but being careful to every decision.

The strong grab of the anchor is metaphorically described as *morsus* both in Ennod. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) (p. 2, §8) and Ennodius 2V. (= *carm.* 1, 6H.) (p. 6, v. 16), showing a tight dependence with Vergil's *Aeneid* 1, 169 (: *unco non alligat ancora morsu*). Aeneas is trying to reach the beaches of Lybia: there are trees in the wood, sweet water and a cavern, home of the Nymphs. There, ships do not need any mooring, *ancorae morsus* is lighter and the act of the *ancorae* (sc. *mordere*), loosens his griep.

The case of *Self-quotations* is once again ambiguous, since it is very difficult to state whether Ennodius wanted to quote himself intentionally or accidentally. The cases analyzed before seem to include crystallized expressions, which Ennodius had learnt to use automatically. One thing has to be noticed, as a suggestion for further studies: Ennodius 5V. (= *epist.* 1, 2H.) (p.

9, §1)⁵² is very close to Ennodius 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) and – low and below – the expression *gravis sarcina* comes again, associated to the act of *capere duram provinciam*.⁵³ The fact that similar expressions occur in a row, in consecutive works, opens up new possibilities in a different field of studies concerning the order of the corpus. This corpus, whose arrangement is considered to date back to a tradition following Ennodius' death, can show an internally linked structure. Such a statement has to be intended here mainly as a suggestion; hence, it needs to be analyzed surely elsewhere, not overlooking the importance of intratextuality for structural deductions.

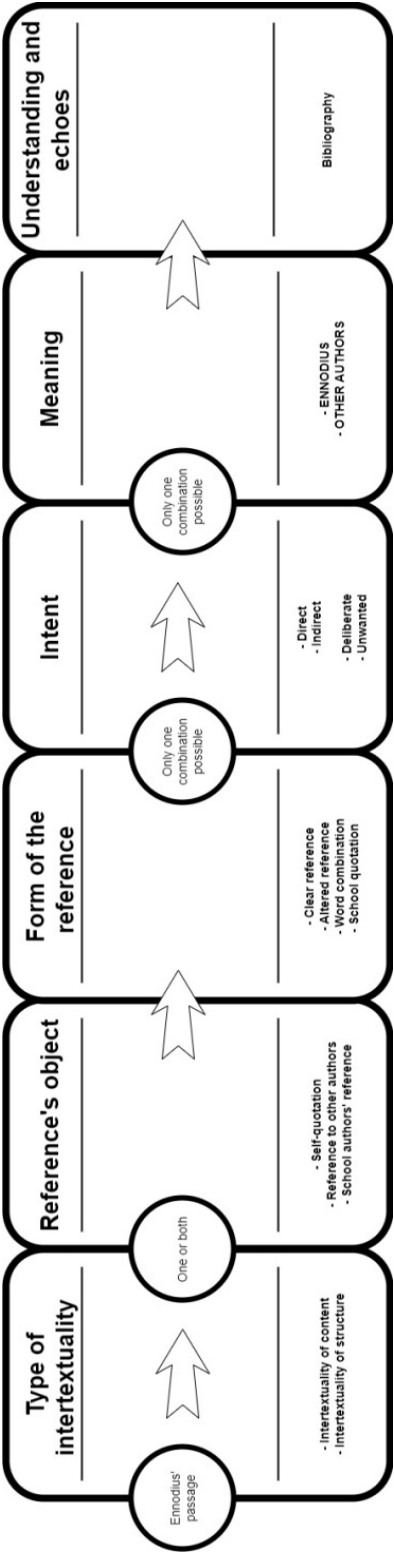
Conclusions

Reflection upon such a topic brings us to wrap up and draw some conclusions about Ennodius' culture and way of employing it. It would be wrong to think of Ennodius' work as a *cento*, sewing together phrases into a patchwork. We can find not much more than a quote for every ten-fifteen lines. According to most scholars, Classical and Christian messages are used in Ennodius as a moral training or – more practically – for the shaping of a ruling class. So the *dictiones*, apparently just traditional from the rhetorical point of view, can also be seen as a rather reactionary way by which to convey values in contemporary listeners and/or readers. Ennodius claims that *divinarum bona rerum* are raised 'as if they were illuminated by the light of a precious necklace'⁵⁴ only thanks to *studiorum liberalium diligentiam*. 1V. (= *dict.* 1H.) is a treasure chest concerning Ennodius' understanding and other authors' memory. Classification dealing with intertextuality should follow a progressive model: few *macro*-categories should pave the way to micro-features, which must be saved. Given such pre-conditions, every passage should be defined as follows (Scheme 3):

⁵² *Novi me duram cepisse provinciam et gravem sarcinam umeris infirmis adtollere, qui sublimitatem tuam quantum ad me quietam verborum stimulis excitavi.*

⁵³ Going back and reaching a starting point, we have to consider Ter. *Phorm.* 72–73: (...) *provinciam / cepisti duram!*

⁵⁴ Ennod. 452 V (= *opusc.* 6H) (p. 313, §10): *De praefatis virtutibus facessat studiorum liberalium deesse diligentiam, per quam divinarum bona rerum quasi pretiosi monilis luce sublimentur, quia (...) qui non sufficienter magnorum tetendit ad culmina, miserorum infima vix relinquit.*



How to manage such a complex model? Essentially a progressive definition is required, after a precise analysis of the context and a proper translation.

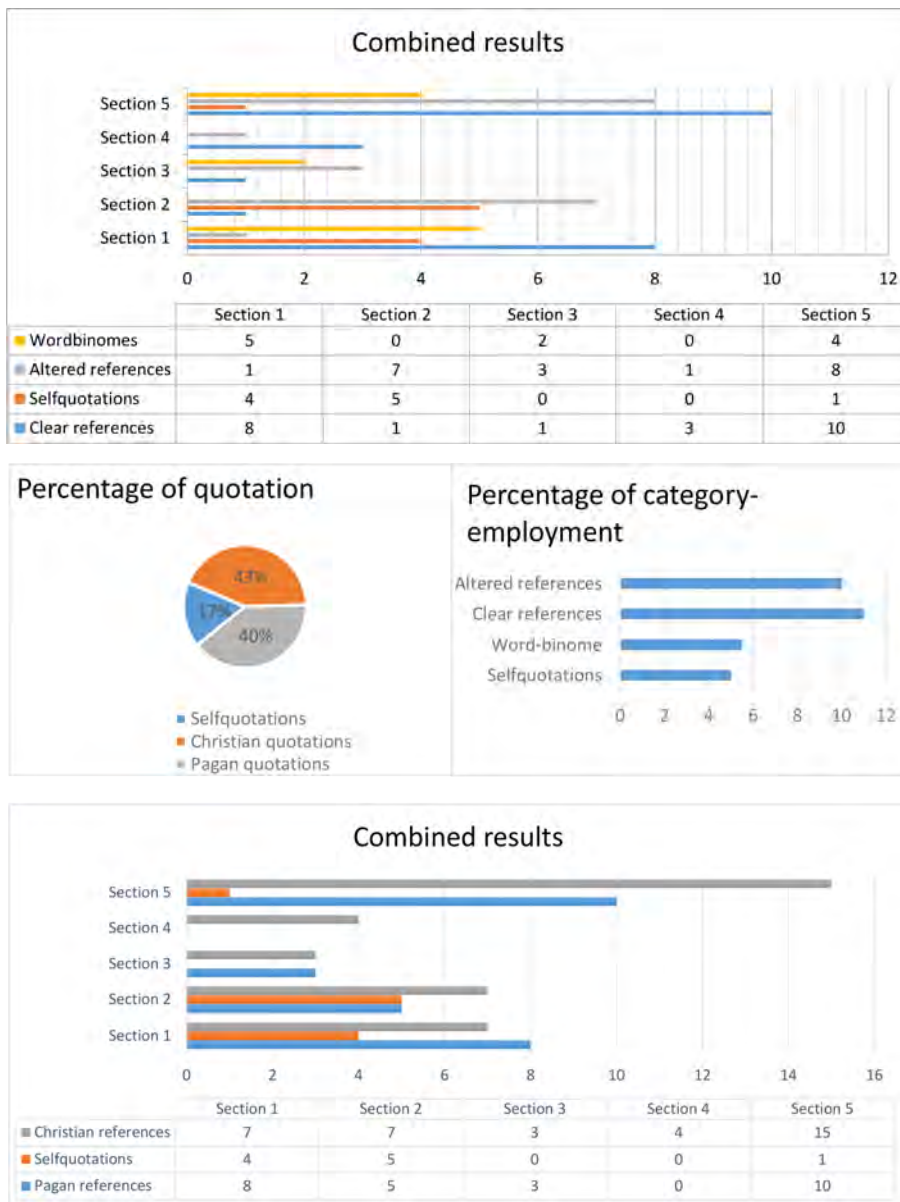
Such a study could have an impact in understanding still unclear information about Ennodius' writing and ultimately about his teaching activity: the combination between *artes liberales* and *disciplina ecclesiastica* would be giving an account of the inner and full-Ennodian contrast, rather than a handbook for understanding the fair use of secularity in a Christian era. It would oblige us to consider the context as a relevant neighbourhood, also when implying significative differences. Conclusions should be drawn, and it would be innovative to show statistics dealing with the type of quotes which have been classified before.

Let us remember the sections we defined:

1. Why the rhetorician should talk? A speech about ambition and reputation. (§§1–5)
2. Laurence's consecration as the re-birth of nature. (§§ 6–9)
3. Laurence's election and voters' reaction. (§§ 10–12)
4. Back to the prestige of Laurence's life. (§§ 13–15)
5. *Liberalia* vs *disciplina ecclesiastica*. (§§16–24)

And now let us take section 1 [*Why the rhetorician should talk, a speech about ambition and reputation*] and section 5 [*Liberalia* vs *disciplina ecclesiastica*], based on rethorical theory and mainly secular, as an example. Here, the activity of puzzling is mostly concentrated and it reveals a significative preponderance of *clear references*: the religious ones are equal in number to pagans concerning the 1st section, while they are in a 2:1 relationship in the 5th section. From the graphs, we notice that §§10-15 show up a very obvious prevalence of Christian references. Most results have no context in common with the original source. These statistical data uphold the idea that the section 1-5 are more likely scholastical ones, with memories directly coming from education and teaching.

This work does not want to show a presumption of being infallible or to stand out as the only way to classify intertextuality. The limited content taken



into account offers only partial results; it is the reason why PoBLAM Project is also working on the whole 470 works-corpus: to understand if the tendency is consistently respected.

One last thing has to be noticed: in classifying we had to make choices, which are still risky and uncertain. This awareness argues the narrowness and the precision required by any classification, calling out for a compromise.

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Amor est passio: The Authorship and Dating of De amore by Andreas Capellanus

Andreas Capellanus' treatise on love, De amore has been interpreted in many different ways. Scholars agree on only one thing: this work presents a scholastic understanding of love in a rigorous and structured way. We are not sure of the identity of the author from the surviving documents, but he wrote in Latin in a French context sometime in the 12th century. In my study, I will explore who Andreas Capellanus might have been, as well as the supposed date of the work.

Keywords: Andreas Capellanus, Marie de Champagne, courtly love, Hungarian King Béla III, *iuvenis*, Middle Ages

Andreas Capellanus' treatise, bearing the title, *De amore*, has been interpreted in many different ways. In analysing this theoretical treatise, scholars agree on only one thing about it: *De amore* presents a scholastic approach to the concept of love, with a thoroughness and structure characteristic to that school of philosophy.¹ In my essay, I would like to contribute to one aspect of the scholarly discussion: I summarize the scholarship on the authorship and the date of origin of the treatise *De amore* written by Andreas Capellanus.

The manuscript tradition and its introduction to scholarly discussion in the 19th century

The treatise was written in the 12th century, in the distinctly French context of the court of Marie de Champagne. It was written for a French audience,

¹ KŐSZEGHY (2012: 280).

but in the lingua franca of European culture, Latin. Andreas Capellanus' work consists of three books: the first book covers roughly two-thirds of the work, in which the author defines love as a concept, examines its origins, and considers between whom it can come about, how, and in what ways. In the second book, he talks about the preservation of love that has been acquired, its passing and its intensification. He discusses the question of infidelity and then lists the thirty-one rules given to him by the king of love, Eros. In contrast to all this, a kind of reversal of fortune appears in the third and concluding book, as the title (*De reprobatione amoris*) itself indicates. In this final book of *De amore*, the chaplain seems to completely retract his previous views, as if in a "palindodic" manner, and discusses the harmful effects of love as a veritable misogynist.

The critical reception of *De amore* started in the 19th century with Gaston Paris, who describes *De amore* as a codification of courtly love² in 1884, which certainly influenced Emil Trojel, who eight years later, in 1892 produces a critical edition of the treatise in Latin.³ Through the twelve surviving manuscripts known at the time, Trojel shows that *De amore* had enjoyed unbroken popularity from the 12th century onwards. He describes the provenance of the manuscripts and provides a descriptive catalogue. After the introduction, he presents the text of the treatise on love, and the textual variants in each manuscript in the annotated appendix. However, the history of the rediscovery of the treatise needs some clarification: it was not Gaston Paris who, after the printed edition of the treatise in 1614, first mentioned the love treatise and called it the founding work of the genre of courtly love in the 19th century. In his monograph *Aussprüche der Minnegerichte*, the eminent German publicist, historian, librarian and lawyer Johann Christoph von Aretin in 1803 quotes at length from the chaplain's work, including the 21 love judgments, the letter to the Countess of Champagne and her reply, the story of the Knight of Brittany, and the 31 rules of love.⁴ It was during

² KIM (2010: 589–606); PARIS (1888a); PARIS (1884b); PARIS (1872c).

³ TROJEL (1892a).

⁴ ARETIN (1803: 61–162).

his stay in Munich that von Aretin acquired the work of Johannes Hartlieb, who translated the treatise into the vernacular in 1440.⁵ At the beginning of the 19th century, the vernacular edition was much more popular in German-speaking areas.

Hartlieb's translation of the treatise incorrectly identifies the author as Albertano da Brescia instead of Andreas Capellanus. The misattribution happened due to the fact that Albertano also lived in the late 12th century, although not on French territory, but in northern Italy. Several *sermos* and treatises are associated with his name.⁶ For this reason, von Aretin raises the question whether the treatise was originally written in the vernacular or in Latin. Albertano's name suggests to him that the excellent lawyer wrote the love treatise in Latin because the vulgar language was still very primitive in the late 12th century.⁷ In his monograph, von Aretin publishes Hartlieb's translation together with corrections to the Latin manuscript available to him, of the above-mentioned extracts of the treatise, all in nineteenth-century German spelling. At the end of the book, he also includes passages in Italian not yet in print, taken from *Vocabulario della crusca*.⁸ Identifying the

⁵ ARETIN (1803: 3).

⁶ Hartlieb's mistake is due to the Latin source. In the Capellanus's manuscript tradition, the author's name may either not appear at all or may appear incorrectly. The name Albertano da Brescia is only found in one manuscript, so this was presumably Hartlieb's source, the incipit of the now lost Treviso manuscript: *Item libellus qui dicitur amoris et cortesie Albertani* (Treviso, Biblioteca del Convento di S. Margherita, Cod. 139). In another case the name of Alanus appears in the title of the work: *Alanus de Arte amandi Et remedio Amoris* (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Ross. 1097). The name of Poggius, a humanist from northern Italy, also appears in the title of one manuscript: *Poggius de amore et arte amandi et de remediis amoris*. (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. 71.20 Aug. fol.). Identification with Enea Silvio Piccolomini is found in the explicit tract of the Kremsmünster codex: *Explicit tractatus de amoris arte et eius remedio editus ut fertur ab Enea Silvio poeta Laureato* (Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod.) The Brussels manuscript, which only contains excerpts from the third book, identifies the author of the treatise as Boncompagno: *Liber qui dicitur amicitia magistri Boncompagni* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. 1890-1892). In six cases, the name of Gualterius appears, to whom the chaplain dedicated a treatise on love: Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine, Cod. 217, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preuß. Kulturbesitz, ms. lat. 4°239, Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Cod. 5230, Prague, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. XIV, E29, Brugge, Bibliothèque Publique, Cod. 479, Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Cod. Theol, folio 2°49).

⁷ ARETIN (1803: 5).

⁸ ARETIN (1803: 5–6).

source of the Latin manuscript does not seem difficult, as Aretin notes that the last chapter of the manuscript states that it was written in Berlin in 1451. This information applies only to one manuscript known today: the Munich manuscript, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 416. The name of the chaplain does not appear in the incipit or explicit of this codex; however, the explicit ends with *finitus in Berlin in 1451*. On the other hand, the literature on the manuscripts (Emil Trojel, Alfred Karnein) uses the title and opening or closing line of the work to identify the author. The name of the chaplain, Andrew, is found in the text in two places. First, it appears in the sixth chapter of the first book: *Nam ea caecus continetur et amens, quos ab amoris curia penitus esse remotis amatoris Andreae aulae regnae capellani evidenter nobis doctrina demonstrat*.⁹ The name's second occurrence is in the sixth chapter of the second book: *Sed non gaudeat Andreas de eo quod magis cupit in orbe [...]*.¹⁰ Both passages can be found in the Munich manuscript, therefore von Aretin's primary source must have been Hartlieb and not the Latin manuscript, which omits Albertano's name.

In 1817, Francois Just Marie Raynouard presented the fourteenth-century manuscript *De amore* in the Parisian codex ms. lat. 8758 in his anthology *Choix de poésies originales des troubadours*.¹¹ According to Raynouard, this treatise is one of the definitive works on courtly love.¹² In 1837, Arthur Dinaux reached a similar conclusion.¹³ It is therefore incorrect to attribute the assertion that Andreas Capellanus' treatise *De amore* can be considered a codification of courtly love to Gaston Paris alone, since von Aretin and later Raynouard had already made the same claim more than eighty years before Paris. However, Paris only reads and refers to Raynouard's treatise with a critical eye, correcting what he believes to be the incorrect transcriptions of

⁹ TROJEL (1892a: 148) For it welcomes even the blind and the insane, who must be excluded from the camp of Love, as the teaching of Andrew, the chaplain of the royal court, who is well versed in love, makes clear.

¹⁰ TROJEL (1892a: 262) But Andreas should not long enjoy what he desires in this world.

¹¹ RAYNOUARD (1817: 80–83).

¹² RAYNOUARD (1817: 83).

¹³ DINAUX (1837: 49).

the latter.¹⁴ Thus, *De amore* occupies a prominent position in the literature of the early 19th century, but its introduction into scholarly discourse is still linked to the name of Gaston Paris.

Problems of identification of Andreas Capellanus

There are different views in the literature as to who Andreas Capellanus was. The author refers to himself as Andreas Capellanus, however in this period the word *capellanus* meant something more than chaplain.¹⁵ In general, priests were called chaplains when they were ordained to perform priestly duties on secondment to a particular court. According to John F. Mahoney's 1958 study, Andreas Capellanus was the court chaplain of Marie de Champagne. Mahoney proves that the author is not a fictitious person through the seven occurrences of the name Andreas Chaplain in documents relating to the court of Marie de Champagne.¹⁶ Mahoney examined eight documents, but he found only two of them relevant, the other six mentions being, in his opinion, of another or even several different persons called Andreas Capellanus. In several instances of the name of a witness being put forward as evidence, we find the names Andreas Capellanus and Andree de Lueriis. Mahoney assumes that these two names refer to the same person, which he claims is based on a document dated 1182. At the same time, a date is found in the treatise: Countess Mary's letter can be found in the fifth chapter of the first book. The date 1 May 1174 appears at the bottom of the missive. However, this date does not correspond to the document from 1182. There is no doubt that seven documents from 1182 to 1186 confirm that Marie de Champagne's chaplain was a person called name Andrew.

¹⁴ PARIS (1883d: 459–534; 525–526). These transcripts include the date of Marie de Champagne's letter. This is interesting because Trojel indicates in his critical edition that this manuscript is also dated 1174, just as Raynouard, misreading Gaston Paris, gives 1176 in his study. Although this is one of the most legible manuscripts, the fact cannot be ignored that it is not possible to determine the date with absolute precision: Ab anno M.C.LXXIII R(?) Kal. mad. indictione VII.

¹⁵ BORBÉLY (2005: 306).

¹⁶ MAHONEY (1958: 1–6).

However, four years later, following Mahoney, John F. Benton refuted Mahoney's conclusion that Andreas Capellanus cannot be the same person as Andree de Lueriis. Some family-related documents of Andre de Lueris have survived. Benton contends that written records prove he was a poor man from a family of serfs who became a free man when he became a priest.¹⁷ Benton argues that the author of the treatise must have been fluent in Latin, which implies a classical education. In addition, he must have been well versed in the works of the ancient authors, and he must have been able to present social differences with sufficient distance in the intertextual references in the dialogues. A man due to his social standing, Benton writes, could not write about his own social situation with the irony and humour of the author that is known as Andreas Capellanus. Benton concludes by saying that Andreas, the author, was certainly a chaplain, although it is not at all certain that he lived and served at the court of Countess Mary.¹⁸ Benton raised his doubt about the position of Andreas Capellanus in the court of Countess Mary due to insufficient documentation of her court in the 13th century.

According to modern secondary literature, the first mention of the work is in 1238, so the terminus ad quem of the work is 1238, and the terminus a quo is 1174, i.e. the date of Countess Mary's letter in the second book of the treatise.

In his monograph, Alfred Karnein argues that it was written in the 1180s, in the court of Philip II. Karnein makes four arguments in support of this hypothesis: (1) in three surviving manuscripts, the author refers to himself as the chaplain to the French king; (2) Gautier le Jeune, to whom the chaplain dedicated the work, was a *iuuenis* at this time; (3) some royal documents between 1190 and 1191 mention two names as witnesses: *Andreas cambellanus* and *Andreas capellanus*, which, Karnein argues, shows the advancement in rank of the chaplain, so he must have written his work earlier; (4) two royal documents from the middle of the 14th century also make reference to the treatise.

¹⁷ BENTON (1962: 471–478).

¹⁸ BENTON (1962: 471–478).

A closer look at Karnein's arguments reveals the following. In order to identify the author, Karnein cites the three manuscripts in which either an incipit or an explicit part of the name of the chaplain of the King of France is found: one is in Rome, one is in Paris and the third one is in Florence. The earliest of the three manuscripts is the 13th-century manuscript in Rome,¹⁹ which according to the above mentioned Trojel, is also the oldest surviving copy of *De amore*. It is likely that this version was also the model for the 14th-century manuscripts of Paris and Florence, where the term *andrea francorum aule regie capellano* is also found. On this basis, Karnein argues that Capellanus was never at the court of the Countess Mary, the designation at the beginning or end of the manuscripts being evidence that he served as royal chaplain at the court of Philip II.

However, it is important to note that the author of *De amore* has hidden his name in the work: "Nam ea caecus continetur et amens, quos ab amoris curia penitus esse remotos amatoris *Andreae aulae regiae capellani* evident-er nobis doctrina demonstrate."²⁰ The name 'royal chaplain' appears in all the manuscripts that include the first book, so Karnein's argument does not seem to be fully justified. It is clear from the quotation above that the author calls himself 'Andrew the lovelorn', which links him to the royal court rather than to Champagne, but this would not guarantee that the chaplain served in Paris.

Several theories have been put forward about Walter himself. Walter is the Latin equivalent of Gualterius, to whom Andreas dedicates his work at the beginning of the treatise. Two 15th-century manuscripts, one of which is the Paris manuscript not known to Trojel, name Walter as the king's son,²¹

¹⁹ "Incipit liber amoris et curtesie ab andrea capelano regis francie compositus."

²⁰ The following text is used:

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/capellanus/capellanus1.html>

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/capellanus/capellanus2.html>

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/capellanus/capellanus3.html>,

which follows this edition: TROJEL (1892a). The Latin and French texts have been translated into English by the author of the present paper.

²¹ "Incipit liber primus Amoris laxiviedictus ad preces Gualterii regis filii Andree sacri palatii capellano."

while in the Codex Gaddianus (in which a copy of the text can be found) he appears as the king's nephew.²² Philip II had no child of that name, but the name Gautier is found in the family. The grandson of Peter Courtnay (1155–1219, the Latin emperor of Constantinople), who was a second cousin of Louis VII, was given this name, but he was too young to become the dedicatee of a love treatise. Walter must meet three requirements: he must be relatively young, have an excellent knowledge of Latin, and be somewhat well-known. Henri-François Delaborde (French historian 1854–1927) raised the third option. He has found evidence that a man called Gautier, nicknamed *chambellan* in the historiography, lived at the court of Philip II. However, he was born in Paris in 1125, too old to be the Gualterius of the work. His son was also called Gautier, who, continuing the family tradition, served as the king's chamberlain. The elder Gautier took part in the Crusade with Louis VII (1120–1180, King of France) in 1149, after which he served in Paris. His advancement in rank is indicated by the fact that he served as chamberlain for more than 50 years during the reign of Louis VII and his son Philip II. His political influence is also shown by the fact that in 1174 Louis VII appointed him to administer the chancellorship, a post he held for 30 years. The chancellery also the place where Capellanus fulfilled his duties and Gautier was therefore considered Andreas' superior. After his death in 1205, his son, the younger Gautier, took over the office of the chancellor.

Gautier le Jeune was born in 1163, and his surviving biography tells us that he successfully reconstructed the royal chancellery files that were lost in the Battle of Fréteval against the English, he introduced an administrative reform of archiving documents in the court of Paris. This information is also of interest because it reveals that Walter was not only educated, but he also knew Latin. In addition to his age and literacy, Karnein argues that Capellanus calls Walter a *iuvēnis: qualiter sibi tua imperita poterit obstarē iuvēntus?*, which is not a biological but a social term for the age at which a man has reached the age of majority (around 18) and has completed his military

²² "Explicit liber sapientissimo Andrea regis francie capellano compositus ad precum instantiam Gualterii nomine regis memorati nepotis."

training or initiation ceremony but does not yet have a family of his own to support.²³ The age of adulthood from individual to individual, but for the younger Gautier the *iuvenis* period began in 1181 and lasted until 1186, when he married Elisabeth de Mondreville and had a son, Adam.²⁴ Capellanus' work could not therefore have been dedicated to the elder Gautier, since the wide interval between the period of supposed production of *De amore* (1174–1238) and the *iuvenis* age of the elder Gautier would certainly precede this period. Another scholarist, George Duby believes that Capellanus dedicated his work to Walter only because he could not dedicate it directly to the king.²⁵ The person of Gautier le Jeune therefore supports the appearance of the name Andreas on the documents from the period 1182–1186 since his *iuvenis* age fits the dating of *De amore*.

Karnein was not the only one to see the substitution of the word *campbellanus* for *capellanus* in royal documents as a promotion in rank, since Pio Rajna an Italian philologist, literary critic and senator in the beginning of the 20th century also held the same view, as mentioned above. Peter Dronke, who was one of the 20th century's leading scholars of medieval Latin lyric, however, draws attention to an interesting fact: the author may have been a chaplain, but the word *capellanus* was not only used to refer to ecclesiastical persons, it was also used in a metaphorical sense, referring to something/someone who believes. Thus, for example, around 1200, the Archbishop of Salzburg says of Gebehard's *Vita* that Gebehard served the Virgin Mary with such zeal (*obsequium*) that he was rightly called *capellanus* - her believer. Furthermore, in a similar record from the 10th century, Hrotsvitha *Gallicanus*, the emperor calls the devil's worshipper his admirer, *diaboli capellanus*.²⁶ It is possible that Andreas was a chaplain to the French royal court, but it must also be taken into account that in the *capellanus* sense this epithet merely represented his attachment to the royal court.²⁷

²³ KARNEIN (1985: 32).

²⁴ KARNEIN (1985: 32).

²⁵ DUBY (2000: 313).

²⁶ DRONKE (1994: 55).

²⁷ DRONKE (1994: 55).

Andreas as a possible fictional name

Before the publication of the three-book work, Trojel briefly noted in the journal *Romania* in 1889 that a trouvère and a chronicler (Lambert d'Ardres) made references to a novel in the late 12th century, written in the vernacular about Andrew of Paris and the French queen—although unfortunately this novel has not survived.²⁸ Martín de Riquer a Spanish medievalist in the 21st century has collected the thirteen troubadours who mention this work. In these records, Andreas (who was then also known as Andreas the Frenchman) was celebrated as a hero by the people after he died for love. In one of his poems, Uc de la Bacalaria lists passionate lovers, including Andreas of Paris:

Qu'eu jur pels sans evangelis
 Que anc **Andrieus de Paris**,
 Floris, Tristans ni Amelis
 Ne foron d'amor tant fis.²⁹

Another troubadour also refers to the chaplain. Gaucelm Faidit, a poet from the late 12th century, tells his chosen mistress:

Car cel Andrieus, c'om romanssa,
 non trais anc tant greu martire
 per la reïna de Franssa
 cum ieu per vos cui desire;
 mas tant aut etz, per q'ieu m'albire,
 que ja non aurai jauzimen
 s'Amors vas mi no lo dissen...³⁰

²⁸ TROJEL (1889b: 473).

²⁹ AUGUIS (1824: 282).

³⁰ MOUZAT (1965: 323–324).

[For Andrew in his romance never suffered so great torments for the Queen of France as I have for you, but you are so exalted that I believe I shall never have pleasure unless Cupid brings you down to me...]

This extract bears a strong resemblance to that of chapter six of the second book of *De amore*, where the author deals with the question of infidelity and even names himself again:

Sed dices forte: Adeo talis mulieris amore languescit amator quod eius nullis potest artibus oblivisci vel suam ab ea retrahere mentem; huic ergo, magister, liberationis praesta remedium." Sed non gaudeat Andreas de eo quod magis cupit in orbe, sine quo etiam diu non potest corporali vita beari, si suum unquam ediderit homini tam infortunato remedium. Magis enim videtur hominum utilitatibus expedire, si proprio illum relinquamus arbitrio et eius tanquam mortui vulnera negligamus intacta, quam amoris eum remedia doceamus. [...] Quam regulam nostri quidem experimento cognoscimus esse verissimam. Nam et nos excellentissimi amoris concitatur aculeis, quamvis inde nullum sumpsimus nec speramus assumere fructum. Nam tantae altitudinis cogimur amore languescere quod nulli licet exprimere verbo, nec supplicantium audemus iure potiri, et sic demum compellimur proprii corporis sentire naufragia.

[But you may say, "This lover is so desirous of the love of that woman that he cannot forget her or take his mind from her. Master, then give him some remedy that will free him." But Andreas should not long rejoice in what is desirable for him in this world, and without which this carnal life would not be beautiful for him, if he had ever given such a wretched man a remedy. For we think it more profitable for this man to be left alone, and like a dead man, not to touch his wounds, than to teach him the cure of this love [...] And our experience has judged this statement to be very apt. For we ourselves are burning with the wound of the arrow of love for a very excellent lady, though we can neither receive nor even hope to receive any

of the fruits of that love. For we think that the word cannot express it, and dare not even beg to be heard. And so we feel that we ourselves are drifting towards shipwreck.]

In this extract, according to Dronke, the author recalls the story of Andreas of Paris, who was desperately in love with the Queen of France, and she exalted him to win at the game of chivalry. The result is that the character in the treatise takes the name of meaning that the name Andreas in itself is an intertextual reference to a lost literary work.³¹ The passage presented above, in which the author refers to himself as King Andrew's chaplain, suggests in Dronke's interpretation that the author appeals to the authority of the king's chaplain, who is passionate about love (*amatoris Andree, aule regie capellani*),³² writing the treatise in his name and exploring the issue of love in detail. The following quotation may support this:

Sunt et alia amoris praecepta minora, quorum tibi non expediret auditus, quae etiam in libro ad Gualterium scripto reperies.

[There are other, lesser commandments of love, which you don't need to listen to, as you will find them in the book written to Gualterius.]

In light of these examples, one might ask whether the name Andreas is merely a *nom de plume* rather than a literary device, and whether the author intended to use the name of a known lover, which had already been embodied in the form of an existing love figure and was later used by the troubadour. If this were the case, there is no need to look for the person of the historical Andreas Capellanus. However, the historical facts and the name on the documents suggest that this is not a fictional character but a real historical figure. The documents show that the chaplain took part in important events with the Countess in 1185 and 1186. He was present with Margie Ca-

³¹ DRONKE (1994: 54).

³² DRONKE (1994: 54).

pet when the Countess founded the church of Saint-Étienne in Troyes and ordered the chaplain to say a daily mass for herself and her son. He accompanied Mary to Paris with her almoner William and one of the clergy to the funeral of her brother Geoffrey with Odoval of Sézanne, and he was present when the Countess donated the Saint-Sauveur Cathedral in memory of her late husband.³³ All these historical facts narrow down the date of the work to 1182-1186, but to be certain of this, the arguments relating to the terminus a quo date of the work must also be examined.

As mentioned earlier, the author himself links the writing of the treatise to the year 1174. This date appears in Marie de Champagne's letter, at the end of the sixth dialogue of Book I (1 May 1174). It is interesting to note that the first day of May in 1174 was considered to be the feast of love, since the publication of Chrétien de Troyes' *Lancelot* was linked to this day.³⁴ It is also safe to say that the author of the work must have been familiar with Chrétien de Troyes' *Lancelot*, written in the mid-1170s, which tells of the love between the adulterous queen and the young knight, since the chaplain refers to it in his work.

Another theory, like the author, the dating of the work is a work of literary fiction, more likely to have been written between 1186 and 1190. The year 1186 marks the marriage of Béla III and Margaret of Capet. However, there are two references in the work that have a Hungarian historical relevance and are of particular importance in establishing the date.³⁵ The figure of King Béla III, the Hungarian king mentioned in Capellanus' work, may be based on the person and historical background of the Byzantine Béla-Alexios (1148-1196) who lived at the time the work was probably written.³⁶ In 1163, Emperor Manuel took Prince Béla III to his court and appointed him his successor, betrothing her daughter, Mary to the young Hungarian prince. He offered the thrones Croatia and Dalmatia as wedding presents.³⁷ However,

³³ EVERGATES (2019: 59).

³⁴ DUBY (2000: 314).

³⁵ EGEDI-KOVÁCS (2013: 52).

³⁶ EGEDI-KOVÁCS (2013: 53).

³⁷ MAGDALINO (1993: 79–81).

Manuel's second wife gives birth to a son and thus he becomes the heir to the throne instead of Béla. The engagement between Béla-Alexios and Mary is broken off. So in 1172, to compensate for the marriage and the loss of the imperial title, the Emperor helped Béla win the Hungarian throne. In addition the new wife of Béla (Agnes of Châtillon daughter of Rajnald of Châtillon) became the half-sister of the wife of Emperor Manuel (Maria Komnénos (Antiochian)).³⁸

Béla was crowned King of Hungary in 1173, which date would support the putative date of composing *De amore*, 1174.³⁹ Béla-Alexios appears on Capellanus's work twice: first, unlike his Italian contemporary, the Hungarian King's defective appearance does not correlate with his excellency as a ruler.:

Fertur etenim quendam in Italiae finibus degere comitem habentem subtilia crura et ab optimis parentibus derivatum et in sacro palatio clarissima dignitate pollentibus omnique decoris specie coruscantem, cunctisque fertur abundare rerum divitiis, omni tamen probitate, ut dicitur, destitutus est, omnesque ipsum boni mores ornare verentur, pravique omnes dicuntur in eo domicilium invenisse. Et econtra rex est in Ungaria intensa plurimum habens crura simulque rotunda, prolixosque et aequales pedes et omnibus fere decoribus destitutos. Quia tamen nimia morum invenitur probitate fulgere, regalis coronae meruit accipere gloriam et per universum paene mundum resonant eius praeconia laudis.

[For it is said that somewhere in Italy there lives a count with a rabbit's foot, and that he comes from one of the best families, whose members hold high offices in the Holy Palace. He himself boasts every edge of external beauty, and is said to abound in earthly goods. Yet he is reputed to be destitute of all merit, and while good morals fear to shun him, evil ones take up residence in his soul. On the other hand, there is a king in Hungary, who has a king's hooped leg, and a foot as broad as it is long, without a

³⁸ MAGDALINO (1993: 79–81).

³⁹ EGEDI-KOVÁCS (2013: 59).

form, and he himself will be destitute of all ornaments. But because he shines with his excellent virtues, he deserves to be adorned with a royal crown, and almost the whole world resounds with his far-reaching praise.]

Second, a lady expresses her opinion that she does not want to live a subjugated life, enriched by Hungarian money, she prefers to stay in her homeland instead:

Malo igitur aere modico Franciae contenta adesse et liberum eundi quo voluero possidere arbitrium quam Ungarico quidem onusta argento alienae subiici potestati, quia tale multum habere est nihilum habere

[I would rather, therefore, remain in France with vile money, and go where I please, than be subjected to foreign power with a rich supply of Hungarian silver, for even if we get much, we end up with nothing.]

Some scholars, taking into account both historical and philological elements, show that these two references to Hungarians may indeed indicate Béla III, although the scene mentioning the wealth of the Hungarians does not refer to Béla's second marriage to Margaret of Capet, but to his earlier marriage to Agnes of Châtillon, which supports the early dating of *De amore* mentioned by the author. However, an incorrect date is used, 7 May 1174 instead of 1 May 1174, which date could indeed come from the author. That being said, as explained above, on the one hand, the author uses a symbolic date in the letter; on the other hand, this is not a typo, but also a material error, since the end of the letter reads: *Ab anno MCLXXIII Kal. maii. Indictione VII.*

Conclusion

In my opinion, it would be imprudent to accept an early date of composing, namely 1174 knowing that the historical facts concerning the persons of Capellanus and Walter, and the repeated occurrence of the name of the

chaplain as a witness in royal documents suggest that the work was written between 1182 and 1186. Of course, the work should not be taken as a clear source, since the real life author's name is also the name of the fictitious author in the text, which is perhaps part of the author's fiction.⁴⁰ However, as explained above, the date given in the treatise, the person of Béla III, and the age of the intended reader, as well as his role at the royal court, suggest that Andreas Capellanus was an educated chaplain, highly trained in Latin, who served at the court of Marie de Champagne at the time of writing, but who, after a promotion, was already serving at the court of Philip II upon the completion of the work, as is shown in the royal documents. The exact date of the work cannot be determined, but in my opinion the late dating, the period between 1190 and 1238 is clearly refutable, and along the lines of the above arguments, the work can be shown to have been written between 1182 and 1186. There is no conclusive argument in favour of the date of 1174 stated in the first book, so, like the ironically written work itself, this date is merely part of the author's craftsmanship.

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⁴⁰ NÉMETH (2014: 312).

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On the Representation of the Corpse in Lothar of Segni's (Pope Innocent III.'s) *de miseria humanae conditionis* 3, 4

The incarnation of the soul is, especially in Christian culture, often regarded as the origin of all sin. In combination with an increasing interest in the body, death and dying, which is particularly apparent in the early Middle Ages, the aspects of vanity of human beings and sinfulness frequently appear in literature. The writing de miseria humanae conditionis, written by the later Pope Innocent III (1161–1216) during his time as a cardinal, addresses in three books the hopelessness and sinfulness of human life from conception until and beyond death. Following this, the origin of all sin is found in the contamination that occurs when the soul enters the body at conception. De miseria humanae conditionis, and especially the biblical quotations contained therein, have only been discussed briefly until now. This paper aims to close that gap a little by analysing and interpreting one chapter at example. For this purpose, the passage on the decomposition of the corpse was chosen, which is also associated with the calamity of human life. The research is based on the text, which will be examined in a close reading. The primary focus will be on the depiction of the corpse; furthermore, it will be investigated how the biblical quotations are instrumentalised and to what extent the quotes influence the passage. To offer an intermedia view of this motif in the Middle Ages in addition, representations of the corpse from contemporary medieval literature and art are contrasted using the method of wide reading and New Historicism.

Keywords: *contemptus mundi*, death, depiction of the human corpse, *de miseria humanae conditionis*, Innocent III., Lothar of Segni, Middle Ages

Introduction

In European medieval 12th century the corpse – probably in connection with the Christian conception of incarnation as the origin of all sinfulness – is seen

in an ambivalent perspective.¹ Whereas the care of a deceased person, especially one of higher status, was quite precisely defined and had to follow a specific scheme,² the dead body per se was usually regarded with a sense of scepticism – one might think of the numerous narratives of revenants from the High and Late Middle Ages, for example.³

Lothar of Segni (1161–1216), better known as Pope Innocent III., wrote a Latin treatise on the misery of human existence called *de miseria humanae conditionis* (in short: *de miseria*) during his time as a cardinal (1194–1195),⁴ in which he deals with all phases of human life. In the work of three books, the origin of all sin is traced back to the contamination that occurs when the soul enters the body at conception; furthermore, the sinful human life is described until death and beyond. After a description of the misery of human existence from conception to death, including the vices of human beings, the third book is about the happenings after death, including the decomposition of the body.

De miseria as an independent work by Lothar of Segni has so far only been dealt with briefly. In general, the focus is on questions relating to the work as a whole and its meaning;⁵ the contents and possible interpretations of individual chapters have not been given any particular attention in research so far. Furthermore, the biblical quotations, which make up a significant part of *de miseria*, as well as their impact on the text, have rarely been discussed.

The fourth chapter of the third book (*de miseria* 3,4) is about the corpse and the process of decomposition.⁶ The most striking, interesting aspect of

¹ SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 1).

² HECKMANN (2018: 252).

³ SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 444), KANERVA (2017: 40), BLACK (2017: 72).

⁴ HECKMANN (2018: 244).

⁵ First and foremost, the contributions of EGGER (1997), KEHNEL (2005) and HECKMANN (2018) should be mentioned. One of EGGER's main areas of research is the medieval papacy, which is why his work on Innocent III can by no means be limited to the aforementioned paper. Studies on the treatment of death and corpses in the Middle Ages are more numerous, with special reference to ARIÈS (2005) and SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014).

⁶ The striking contrast to the idea of the corpse of the saints, which neither decays nor smells, but is pleasantly fragrant and remains intact even after death, cannot be discussed

this chapter is probably that more than half of it consists of biblical quotations. Their impact on the chapter has not yet been investigated. My paper aims to close this gap and to answer the following questions: How is the decomposition of the human body depicted in the third book of *de miseria*, how are the biblical quotations instrumentalised and to what extent do the quotes influence the passage?

As a first step, the work *de miseria*, its audience and reception are introduced. Afterwards, the Latin text and a translation thereof are offered as a starting point for the study. The passage is then analysed using the philological method of close reading. In order to subsequently put the passage into a broader cultural and sociological context and to provide a view of how the corpse was depicted in other writings and media in the Middle Ages, further contemporary treatments of the (decaying) corpse are consulted and contrasted with the text according to the method of wide reading as well as considerations related to New Historicism.⁷ At the end of the paper, the results are summarised.

Preliminaries

Audience and Reception of *de miseria*

De miseria is considered – as EGGER (1997: 331) phrases – ‘one of the major works of medieval *Contemptus Mundi*-literature’.⁸ The focus of the treat-

in the context of this paper and is also not treated in *de miseria*. STÜBER (1976: 9), although not in connection with the writing *de miseria*, also mentions the contrast between the decaying corpse and the intact body of certain saints. For a discussion regarding the corpse of the saints and their intactness, see SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 115–163). The same applies to questions about connections to the Christian belief in resurrection. For a detailed exposition into the Catholic Church’s attitude towards resurrection see BOTTERWECK (1957), RATZINGER (1957a), RATZINGER (1957b) and SCHMID (1957). Such considerations, however, could certainly provide substantial results and have so far been a desideratum.

⁷ For a definition of close and wide reading, see HALLET (2010: 294); for an explanation of the concept of New Historicism see BASSELER (2010: 226–227).

⁸ ‘eines der Hauptwerke der mittelalterlichen *Contemptus Mundi*-Literatur’. For a Definition of *contemptus mundi* in the Middle Ages, s. GNÄDINGER (1986: 186–187): „Das Nichtachten, Geringachten, ja Verachten alles Diesseitigen und v. a. der weltl. Betriebsamkeit, die Ab-sage und Verweigerung, der Verzicht auf weltl. Aktivität, die Besinnung auf den rechten

tise lies on reflections on human existence – especially on human life in the body.⁹ As the writing of a cardinal, *de miseria* has often been considered as received primarily by the clergy and researchers have often argued that it merely offers a view into clerical life. Even if it can be assumed that the text was mainly accessible to the educated classes, the discourses are probably not only addressed to a clerical audience but a broader group of recipients,¹⁰ the large number of manuscripts, prints and translations suggests a high degree of popularity.¹¹

De miseria humanae conditionis 3, 4

Before I go into chapter 4 of the third book in more detail, I would like to briefly discuss the content of the previous chapters 1–3: The first chapter of the third book is about the shamefulness of human existence and the constant apostasy towards what is right;¹² even death, occurring at the end of human life, according to *de miseria* 3, 1, seems to be caused by the vileness of human beings.

The second chapter lists the so-called four ‘sorrows suffered by the vile in the face of death’ (*de miseria* 3, 2: *dolores, qui mali patiuntur in morte*). The first sorrow is suffered during the violent separation of the body and the

Gebrauch der Weltgüter, doch auch eigentl. Weltflucht (*fuga mundi, saeculi*), all dies gehört zu dem komplexen Begriff.“ – ‘The disregard, disrespect, even contempt of everything of this world and especially of worldly activity, the rejection and refusal, the abandonment of worldly life. The renunciation and refusal, the renunciation of worldly activity, the contemplation of the right use of worldly goods, but also the actual flight from the world (*fuga mundi, saeculi*), all this belongs to the complex concept (of *contemptus mundi*).’ See also WEHLE (1993: 227), PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (2020: 39).

⁹ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (2020: 11).

¹⁰ KEHNEL (2005: 35–36), HECKMANN (2018: 244, 255–256).

¹¹ From the 13th to the 16th century, there were more than 700 manuscripts of the text. EGGER (1997: 330–331), KEHNEL (2005: 27). For a compilation of manuscripts see MACCARRONE (1995: X–XX). Furthermore, MACCARRONE (1995: XX–XXI) lists some prints.

¹² In the edition of MIGNE (1855), the three chapters are placed at the end of the second book. According to his information, Migne follows a manuscript from 1575. Since the first three chapters deal with the topic of death – as the third book does –, MACCARRONE (1955: XXVI) argues that the chapters should be placed at the beginning of the third book and therefore transposes them in his edition, which is used here.

soul, at a time when the body is already completely weakened and starting to die. The second is felt when all the happenings of human life pass once more before their inner eye. The third sorrow is the suffering that comes to the soul when it finally begins to judge rightly (*de miseria* 3, 2, 18–19: *quando anima iam incipit tam iuste diiudicare*). The fourth sorrow cited is that which the soul suffers when it perceives the evil spirits that are going to sweep it away (*de miseria* 3, 2, 22–23: *quando anima adhuc in corpore | posita videt spiritus malignos ad rapiendum se paratos*).

In the third chapter, the moribund are divided into two groups. Each of them sees the crucified Jesus (*de miseria*, 3, 3, 2: *Christum in cruce positum*) in front of him when he dies (so-called *adventus Christi*) – the bad one then feels confusion and despair (*de miseria*, 3, 3, 3: *videt ad confusionem*), the good one joy, because Jesus has redeemed him from sins. Thereafter, in the fourth chapter of the third book, death and especially the process of decomposition are discussed:¹³

“Exibit spiritus eius, et revertetur in terram suam, in [1] illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum.” O quot et [2] quanta mortales de mundane provisionis incertitudine [3] cogitant, sed sub repentino mortis articulo repente cuncta que [4] cogitant evanescent. “Sicut umbra cum declinat ablatus [5] sum et excussus sum sicut locuste.” Exibit ergo spiritus [6] non voluntarius, sed invitus, quia cum dolore dimittit que [7] cum amore possedit, ac velit nolit, constitutus est ei [8] terminus qui preteriri non poterit, in quo terra revertetur in [9] terram. Scriptum est enim: “Terra es, et in terram ibis.” [10] Naturale siquidem est ut materiatur in materiam [11] dissolvatur. “Auferet ergo spiritum eorum et deficient, et in [12] pulverem suum revertentur.” Cum autem morietur homo, [13] hereditabit bestias, serpentes et vermes. “Omnes enim in [14] pulvere dormient et vermes operient eos.” “Sicut vestimentum [15] sic comedet eos vermis, et sicut lanam sic devorabit eos [16] tinea.” “Quasi putredo consumendus sum et quasi [17] vestimentum quod comeditur a tinea.” “Putredini dixi: Pater [18] meus es, mater mea,

¹³ The text follows the edition of MACCARRONE (1955). The translation is my own.

et soror mea vermibus.” “Homo [19] putredo et filius hominis vermis.” Quam turpis pater, quam [20] vilis mater, quam abhominabilis soror! Conceptus est [21] homo de sanguine per ardorem libidinis putrefacto, cuius [22] tandem cadaveri quasi funebres vermes adsistent. Vivus [23] genuit pediculos et lumbricos, mortuus generabit vermes [24] et muscas; vivus produxit stercus et vomitum, mortuus [25] producet putredinem et fetorem; vivus hominem unicum [26] impinguavit, mortuus vermes plurimos impinguabit. Quid [27] ergo fetidius humano cadavere? quid horribilius mortuo [28] homine? Cui gratissimus erat amplexus in vita, molestus erit [29] aspectus in morte. Quid ergo prosunt divitiae? Quid [30] epulae? quid honores? Divitiae enim non liberabunt a morte, [31] epulae non defendent a verme, honores non eripient a [32] fetore. Qui modo sedebat gloriosus in throno, modo iacet [33] despectus in tumulo; qui modo fulgebat ornatus in aula, [34] modo sordet nudus in tumba; qui modo vescebatur deliciis [35] in cenaculo, modo consumitur a vermibus in selpulcro. [36]

“Their (= dead human) soul will leave <the body>, and <the body> will return to its earth; on [1] that day all their thoughts will pass away.” Oh about how many and [2] how important things about mundane uncertainty regarding the foresight do mortals deliberate; [3] but at the very sudden moment of death all that [4] they deliberate about vanishes. “I am carried away like a shadow, when it draws to a close, [5] and I am driven away like a locust.” However, the soul [6] will not leave <the body> voluntarily, but reluctantly, because, after all, it gives up under pain what [7] it owned with love; and, whether <every human being> wants it or not, the day is set for him, [8] which cannot be passed by, on which he will return as earth into [9] the earth. Indeed, it is written: “You are earth and to the earth you will return.” [10] Of course, it is natural that <something made of> a certain substance dissolves into this substance again [11]. “So <death> will take away the souls of them, and they will die, and [12] will return back to their dust.” But when a human being dies, he will [13] bequest beasts, critters, and worms. “For all [14] will sleep in the dust, and the worms will cover

them." "Like clothing, [15] so the worm will eat them, and like wool, so will the moth swallow them [16]." "Like putridity I have to be destroyed, and like [17] clothing eaten by a moth." "I said to the putridity: [18] You are my father, my mother, and my sister with the worms." "Human being is [19] putridity, and the worm is the son of human being." What infamous father, what [20] worthless mother, what despicable sister! [21] Human being is received of the blood putrefied by the heat of lust; finally, worms stand by his [22] corpse as if they were part of the funeral procession. While alive [23] the human being brought forth lice and worms, dead he will bring forth worms [24] and flies; while alive he produced excrements and vomit, dead [25] he will produce putridity and foulness; while alive he made one human being fat, [26] dead he will make many worms fat. What [27] then <is> more disgusting than the human corpse? What <is> more dreadful than a dead [28] human being? To whom an embrace was very pleasant while alive, but [29] it will be an offensive look to behold in death. So what good is wealth? What [30] food? What good is honour? For the wealth will not deliver <us> from death, [31] food will not defend <us> from worms, honour will not snatch <us> away [32] from the stench. Whoever just sat honourably on a throne soon lies [33] despised in the grave; who just shone adorned in the palace, [34] will soon be despised, naked on the bier; who just ate delights [35] in the dining room will soon be eaten by worms in the grave. [36]

More than half of *de miseria* 3, 4 consists of biblical quotations (vv. 1–20a). The passages from which the quotations are taken as well as their interpretation in biblical exegesis have an impact on the text. In the following, I shall discuss this in detail and show what effect the quotations might have on the text.

The beginning of the chapter describes how the soul – at the moment of death – separates from the body (*exibit spiritus eius*, v. 1a) and that afterwards the body is buried (*et revertetur in terram suam*, v. 1b). Furthermore, it is pointed out that when the soul leaves the body, all ability to think is gone (*in illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum*, vv. 1b–2). The sentence is

a quotation from Psalm 146:4 (*Exibit spiritus ejus, et revertetur in terram suam; in illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum*). In this psalm, the transience of the world and all worldly goods are addressed; it is also emphasised that salvation is in God alone.¹⁴ In Hebrew, there is a reference to Gen. 3:3, where Adam is formed by God from earth into a human being. The same word for earth is also found in Hebrew in Psalm 146:4. The human is, thus, placed in the earth from which he was once formed by God.¹⁵ Through the quotation, these biblical passages are recalled here. The chapter on the corpse and decomposition is introduced with a sentence from a Psalm that deals with the transience of human beings in opposition to the omnipotence of God. This influences how the recipient enters the chapter.

In the next sentence (vv. 2b–5a), the idea of the passing away of all thoughts at the time of death is taken up again and expanded on (*O quot et | quanta mortales de mundane provisionis incertitudine | cogitant, sed sub repentino mortis articulo repente cuncta que | cogitant evanescunt*). Here, the quantity and importance of human reflections is highlighted especially with reference to their uncertainty about foresight. What is probably meant is that people think a lot and often about the omnipotence of God and life after death but cannot really know anything about it. It is also emphasised that – continuing the line of argument from the previous sentence – all thoughts in this regard also come to an end in death.

The next verse takes up the subject of the separation of the soul and the body: Here, the soul is depicted as a shadow in the form of a metaphor and is furthermore illustrated to be driven away like a locust (*sicut umbra cum declinat ablatus | sum, et excussus sum sicut locuste* vv. 5–6a). This sentence is a quotation of a Psalm 109:23; this is a psalm about someone in need asking God for help and salvation. The first part of this sentence (*sicut umbra cum declinat ablatus | sum*) is interpreted by Allen (2002: 105) as follows: ‘His worry has made him (=the prayer) a shadow of his former self’. Furthermore, one could think here of the shadows as which the deceased in the

¹⁴ ALLEN (2002: 377), NEUMANN (2016: 108, 117, 124).

¹⁵ HOSSFELD–ZENER (2008: 817).

underworld were imagined in antiquity (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 952). In addition to this, the shadow could also be understood as pronouncing the forthcoming night; the night in this regard would be illustrating the proximity of the prayer to death.¹⁶ The second part (*et excussus sum sicut locuste*) describes the prayer – and therefore here the dying person – as being driven away like a locust. In Psalm 109 this comparison serves to illustrate the distress caused by the enemies. The suppliant is treated by enemies like an insect that can be easily shaken off; one cannot defend against it.¹⁷ Using the quote of Psalm 109 the crying for help as well as the exposure to hardship are recalled here. Again, death is presented as inevitable and the human being as evanescent.

In the next sentence of the chapter, it is emphasised that the soul does not leave the body of its own accord (*Exibit ergo spiritus | non voluntarius, sed invitus*, vv. 6b–7a); there is even reference to the love felt by the spirit towards its mortal remains (*quia cum dolore dimittit que | cum amore possedit*, vv. 7b–8a). Despite the generally apparent aversion to the human body, there is nevertheless an admission that the soul has a close connection to its mortal vessel. The wording (*Exibit ergo spiritus*, v. 6b) recalls the beginning of the chapter (*exibit spiritus eius*, v. 1a) and thus links the sentence, which is not a quotation as itself, into the web of quotations. At the end of this sentence, God's omnipotence is taken up again, when it is said that the day of death for each human being is fixed and cannot be changed (*constitutus est ei | terminus qui preteriri non poterit, in quo terra revertetur in | terram*, vv. 8b–10a). Until the beginning of the clause, this part is a modified quotation from Job 14:5 (*constituisti terminos ejus, qui praeteriri non poterunt*). There, the transience and vanity of human beings as well as the all-embracing power of God over the beginning and end of life are dealt with; God sets the goal and limit of every life.¹⁸ So once more, the text draws on a quotation from a biblical passage in which these themes play an important role. Only the last part of the sentence is not quoted (*in quo terra revertetur in | terram*, vv. 9b–10a) but creating a close connection to the

¹⁶ HOSSELD–ZINGER (2008: 190). Cf. Psalm 102:12: *dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt*. – My days fade away like shadows.

¹⁷ ALLEN (2002: 105), HOSSELD–ZINGER (2008: 190).

¹⁸ HESSE (1992: 101), FOKKELMANN (2000: 375), WITTE (2018: 92).

Psalm 146:4 (*et revertetur in terram suam*), which was cited at the very beginning of the chapter (cf. Gen 3:19).¹⁹

This is taken up again in the following sentence: *Terra es, et in terram ibis* (v. 10b). Again, death as the end of life is presented as a return to the origin of human existence (cf. *et revertetur in terram suam*, v. 1b; *in quo terra revertetur in | terram*, vv. 9b–10). Here, too, one could think of Gen. 3:19: After Adam and Eve ate from the forbidden tree, God banishes them from paradise and condemns them to a life of toil and suffering, which finds its end only in their return to earth, that is, in death.²⁰ Following this, the burial in earth and the decomposition of the body are described as a natural phenomenon (*Naturale siquidem est ut materiatur in materiam | dissolvatur*, vv. 11–12a). Once more a connection to Gen. 3:19 is created.

After that, God's authority concerning human life is one more time mentioned as well as the returning to earth after death (*Auferet ergo spiritum eorum et deficient, et in [12] pulverem suum revertentur*, vv. 12–13a). This sentence is a quotation of Psalm 104:29 (*auferes spiritum eorum, et deficient, et in pulverem suum revertentur*). By *spiritus* can be understood not only the soul as such, but the breath of life that God inhales into human beings at the beginning of life and withdraws from them again at the moment of death.²¹ Here too, the power of God and the transience of human life are central motives. At the end of the sentence, man's return to earth is emphasised once more in this chapter. The return to earth can further be understood as a renewed process of creation by God.²² In death the earthly life ends, but the soul will live on.

Afterwards, a description of the corpse as a feast for reptiles follows (vv. 13b–17a). At first, the human being is, when dying, portrayed as bequeathing creepy-crawlies (*Cum autem morietur homo, | hereditabit bestias, serpentes et vermes*, vv. 13b–14a). This passage is taken from the book of Sirach

¹⁹ Gen. 3:19: *donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es*. – Until you return to the earth from which you were taken.

²⁰ METTINGER (2007: 41), FISCHER (2018: 257–258).

²¹ HOSSFELD-ZENGER (2008: 84), SCHNOCKS (2014: 138).

²² JANOWSKI-KRÜGER (2011: 28).

(*Sir.* 10:13: *cum enim morietur homo, haereditabit serpentes, et bestias, et vermes*). There God is portrayed as the ruler of the world who judges the arrogant as well as the righteous. The vanity of human beings is demonstrated by the fact that they bring forth vermin after death. Moreover, in the same chapter of the Book of Sirach, the human body is depicted as decomposing already during lifetime (cf. *Sir.* 10:9).²³ Again, the omnipotence of God in relation to the transience of human life is discussed.

Following on this, it is described that the buried human in the grave is covered by worms (*Omnes enim in | pulvere dormient et vermes operient eos*, vv. 14b–15a). This passage is an adapted quotation from the book of Job (*Job.* 21:26: *et tamen simul in pulvere dormient, et vermes operien eos*). There it is stressed out that in death all humans are equal and all of them are covered by vermin.²⁴ Once again the transience of human life is playing an important role too.²⁵ Furthermore, the return to earth after death is again emphasised as well.

In the next sentence, the worms and other creepy-crawlies start eating up the corpse and are compared to worms eating clothes and moths eating wool (*Sicut vestimentum | sic comedet eos vermis, et sicut lanam sic devorabit eos | tineas*, vv. 15b–17a). It is striking that in the sentence before, the worms were depicted like a blanket covering the corpse (v. 15a) and now they are devouring it as if it was a blanket. The picture given is, thus, turned around. The sentence itself is taken from the Book of Isaiah (*Jes.* 51:8: *sicut vestimentum, sic comedet eos vermis, et sicut lanam, sic devorabit eos tineas*). There it is a matter of fighting against enemies who shall ultimately perish like clothes by worms and wool by moths;²⁶ especially the transience of the enemies of true believers is highlighted.²⁷ Here in *de miseria* 3, 4, when the process of decomposition of the corpse is described by this sentence, a negative nuance is given to this representation by the quotation, or at least the negative drawing of human existence is thus supported.

²³ SNAITH (1974: 55).

²⁴ HESSE (1992: 136), WITTE (1994: 136).

²⁵ WITTE (1995: 24).

²⁶ LUBSCZYK-EISING (1972: 162), BERGES (2015: 135).

²⁷ SCHMIDT (2013: 168).

The depiction of the eating up of the corpse is continued in the next sentence (*Quasi putredo consumendus sum et quasi | vestimentum quod comeditur a tineae*, vv. 17b–18a), which is a quotation of the Book of Job (*Job. 13:28: quasi putretudo consumendus sum, et quasi vestimentum quod comeditur a tineae*). There, Job himself passes away like ‘like rot and a moth-eaten garment’ (WITTE 2021: 239).²⁸ Following on from the previous quotation, this sentence is particularly interesting, especially as in the Book of Isaiah the enemies are to be destroyed like clothes of worms and wool of moths, but here the protagonist himself is in danger of becoming a victim of them. Once more a quotation brings the transience of human life into foreground. The combination of the two quotes of Isaiah and Job demonstrates, once again, that in death all are equal.

The topic of rot is taken up again in the following sentence (*Putredini dixi: Pater | meus es, mater mea, et soror mea vermibus*, vv. 18b–19). Like the previous sentence this is also a quotation out of the Book of Job (*Job. 17:14: Putredini dixi: Pater meus es: mater mea, et soror mea, vermibus*). This quotation is taken from Job’s fourth speech; at this point the speaker’s hopelessness, almost a certainty of death, is conveyed.²⁹

The theme of decay continues in the next sentence (*Homo | putredo et filius hominis vermis*, vv. 19b–20a), which is again a quotation of the Book of Job (*Job. 25:6: quanto magis homo putretudo, et filius hominis vermis*). There, the human being is drawn as an insignificant, little worm compared to God. In addition, this chapter also points out the sinfulness of all human beings and stresses out God’s omnipotence as well.³⁰

Following on from the series of quotations on the process of decay, the motif taken from the quotation from the 25th chapter of the Book of Job is continued: If the human being is rottenness and the worm is the son of human beings, then human being is disgraceful at all (*Quam turpis pater, quam | vilis mater, quam abhominabilis soror!*, vv. 20b–21a). This depiction fits well

²⁸ „Fäulnis und einem von Motten zerfressenen Gewand“.

²⁹ WITTE (2021: 263).

³⁰ WITTE (2021: 390).

into the portrayal of miserable human life and its end. From this point on, the text consists no longer of biblical quotations.

The verses 21b–23a offer insight into where the sinfulness of life in the body is attributed to: Life begins at conception in the womb (*Conceptus est | homo de sanguine per ardorem libidinis putrefacto*, vv. 21b–22a), which is described as the result of lust and sexual impulse,³¹ and ends in the process of decay that creepy-crawlies and worms are driving (*cuius | tandem cadaveri quasi funebres vermes adsistent*, vv. 22b–23a). The wording here seems striking: The worms which will take a main part in the process of decay are depicted like participants at a funeral (*quasi funebres vermes adsistent*, v. 23a).

In the following section of the chapter, the output of a living person is juxtaposed with that of a deceased person, thus depicting human life, both dead and alive, once again as bringing forth filth and abominations (vv. 23b–27b). The following table serves to illustrate the comparative phrases.

output of a living body	output of a dead body
<i>pediculos et lumbricos</i> (v. 24a)	<i>vermes et muscas</i> (vv. 24b–25a)
<i>stercus et vomitum</i> (v. 25)	<i>putredinem et fetorem</i> (v. 26a)
<i>vivus hominem unicum impinguavit</i> (v. 26b–27a)	<i>mortuus vermes plurimos impinguabit</i> (v. 27b)

Figure 1: The outputs of a human being, alive and dead

In this comparison, the body as a ‘mortal vessel’ is presented as something bad and as producing bad things, whether dead or alive: Alive human beings produce lice and worms (v. 24a), dead worms and flies (vv. 24b–25a); alive human beings generate excrement and vomit (v. 25), dead putrefaction and stench (v. 26a); alive human beings make one body fat (v. 26b–27a), dead several worms v. 27b. The subsequent rhetorical questions imply that the corpse is to be regarded as the more disgraceful (vv. 27b–29a); according to the text, there is nothing more disgusting or dreadful than a corpse. The process of decay is also taken up, especially since it is emphasised that while

³¹ The author of the text also comments on the impurity of conception in the first book of the treatise: Cf. *de miseria* 1, 5–7.

alive, a person's embrace is very pleasant, but in death even the sight of it is distracting (vv. 29–30a).

The chapter ends in an exposition of all the luxuries and worldly belongings that enrich human life but are ultimately void in death (vv. 30b–36). It is argued that neither wealth nor worldly honours or food are worth anything in the face of death, as they cannot save people from death or the decay that it brings (*Quid ergo prosunt divitiae? Quid | epule? quid honores? Divitiae enim non liberabunt a morte, | epule non defendent a verme, honores non eripient a | fetore*, vv. 30b–33a). Finally, this is illustrated with examples and the motif of death as an equaliser is also taken up here, as it was already echoed in earlier passages of the chapter with the use of biblical quotations. Wealth in particular is portrayed as void (*Qui modo sedebat gloriosus in throno, modo iacet | despectus in tumulo; qui modo fulgebat ornatus in aula, | modo sordet nudus in tumba; qui modo vescebatur deliciis | in cenaculo, modo consumitur a vermibus in sepulcro*, vv. 33b–36).

The fourth chapter of the third book of Lothar of Segni's *de miseria* starts with representations about the process of dying and the separation of the body and the soul in the moment of death. More than half of the chapter consists of quotations, which give the passage an effect of a biblical message and charge it in its significance. In the second half of the chapter, there are no quotations used. The thoughts expressed in the quotations are nevertheless continued and incorporated into the text. The second part of the chapter focuses on the sinfulness and vileness of human life and death in the body. The transience of human life and the omnipotence of God seem to be striking components of the chapter.

Representations of the corpse in other media in the Middle Ages – a small excursus

To offer an insight into how death and the corpse were dealt with in the Middle Ages in other texts and media,³² selected examples of representa-

³² For a comprehensive study on death and the corpse in the Middle Ages, see ARIÈS (2005)

tions are to be discussed and compared with the chapter *de miseria* 3, 4 according to the method of wide reading and considerations related to New Historicism.

A disputacioun betwyx þe body and wormes

The Middle English text *A disputacioun betwyx þe body and wormes* (short: *A disputacioun*)³³ can be dated a few centuries after *de miseria* was written.³⁴ The dialogue between a corpse and the worms that devour it offers glimpse into how the dead body was represented in English literature in the Late Middle Ages. Furthermore, considerations about the decomposition process can be identified. The dialogue can be read as a special form of the numerous dialogues between the body and the soul, a sub-genre of debate-dialogues that seem to have been very popular in the Middle Ages.³⁵

The depiction begins with an anonymous pilgrim entering a church where the deceased are buried. The person stops next to one of the graves and suddenly hears voices (vv. 1–29). This is described as a kind of trance or dream. At this point, the narrative perspective switches to the dialogue between the corpse and the worms, which takes up the main part of the poem (vv. 30–204). At the end, there is a short statement from the pilgrim's point of view (vv. 205–218) which presents itself as a kind of admonition to piety.³⁶

The poem is about a corpse asking worms not to eat it, referring to the prestige it has received in life. The worms, however, argue that the dead body is their food source. An aspect of disgust towards the corpse resonates here, when the worms say they are glad that they do not have a sense of smell, so that they do not perceive the stench of the corpse.

and especially SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014).

³³ For the text including transcription into New English see RYTTING (2000: 220–232).

³⁴ Sources date it to early 15th century, but there is no exact year. RYTTING (2000: 218), BLUM (2016: 108).

³⁵ CONLEE (1991: XII–XX), RYTTIG (2000: 217–218).

³⁶ RYTTING (2000: 218).



Figure 2: Transi Tomb of Guillaume de Harcigny

Like *de miseria* 3,4, the decay of the human body after death is presented



Figure 3: Transi tomb of Guillaume Lefranchois Arras

here as an irrevocable certainty. Furthermore, both in *de miseria* 3,4 and in *A disputacioun*, worldly goods are presented as insignificant since they cannot defend human beings from death and its consequences. The poem offers an example of the fact that –in the Late Middle Ages at the latest – the theme of decay was also taken up and discussed in other areas of literary creation. It must be emphasised that in both texts worldly goods and honours are regarded as void after death (cf. *A disputacioun*, vv. 86–106; *de miseria*, 3, 4, 30b–36). In addition to this, the dead person in the grave is in both texts depicted quite figuratively as being devoured by worms (cf. *A disputacioun*, vv. 58–64; *de miseria*, 3, 4, 13b–21a). Moreover, the poem about the body and the worms is probably intentionally moralising just like its modal dialogues

between the body and the soul; moral tendencies can be detected in *de miseria* 3,4 as well, but the author does not seem to present himself as ‘religious admonisher’³⁷ (KEHNEL 2005: 37).

Transi tombs

Transi (lat. *transire*: to transgress) are a special type of gisants, which represent the deceased persons lying on the tomb and usually depict the dead as living humans sleeping. Gisants are primarily documented for the High and Late Middle Ages.³⁸ The gisant of Rudolf of Rheinfelden († 1080) is considered to be the first of its kind.³⁹ Transi pervert the artful gisants by illustrating the corpse decaying in the coffin. Transi can be assigned to the field of macabre art and are an example of how society in the Middle Ages might have imagined the corpse in the coffin.⁴⁰ In some cases, the corpse is already completely skeletonised:



Figure 4: The three living and the three dead; Cathedral of Atri (13th century)

In other cases, worms are depicted, which cause the decay of the dead body:

³⁷ ‘religiöser Mahner’.

³⁸ SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 105–106, 109), ROLLO-KOSTER (2017: 1). Before the 11th century, there are only a few tombs documented, on which the deceased is depicted, but not in the way the dead are represented on gisants. JANKEN (2017: 84).

³⁹ SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 105–106, 109), JANKEN (2017: 84),

⁴⁰ SCHMITZ-ESSER (2014: 109), BLUM (2016: 108).

Transi tombs offer a less detailed description of the process of decay, as in *de miseria* 3, 4 and *A disputacioun*, than a concrete snapshot. As public form of funerary art, Transi are accessible to the general public and could there-



Figure 4: The three living and the three dead; Cathedral of Atri (13th century)

fore provide a source for questions about social attitudes towards death and decay in the Late Middle Ages. Transi graves are probably intended to remind the living visiting the deceased in church of the ephemeral nature of their existence.⁴¹ Both *de miseria* 3, 4 and *A disputacioun* aim to have a similar effect on their recipients. The most striking parallel lies in the motif of decay and its unadorned depiction.

The legend of the three living and the three dead

The legend of the three living and the three dead is a widespread narrative; it can be encountered in many different forms, both in the artistic field and in various texts.⁴² The legend seems to have originated in a poem by Adi ibn Zaid (sixth century). In it, the poet reports that he and his companions met dead people who admonished them with the following words: 'We were what you are; you will be what we are'.⁴³

The focus of the legend is on the transience of life and the certainty of

⁴¹ BLUM (2016: 108).

⁴² I can only briefly discuss the motif and show a few examples. See KÜNSTLE (1908: 28–30), PACE (1993: 363–367).

⁴³ PACE (1993: 364).

death.⁴⁴ Depending on the depiction of the dead, the image can have different effects. Some of the dead appear as decomposing corpses in coffins, others as moving skeletons. In the Cathedral of Atri we find what is probably the oldest scenic representation of the encounter between the three living and three dead.⁴⁵

Another example is an image from a cave church in Melfi.⁴⁶ In comparison with the depictions from Atri, the skeletons there appear far more active; moreover, it is striking that worms seem to be oozing out of the abdominal area of the dead; in this respect, this illustration is closer to the depiction of the corpse from *de miseria* 3, 4, where also worms and other creepy-crawlies are depicted.⁴⁷

In comparative consideration with the process of decomposition shown in *de miseria* 3, 4, it becomes apparent that the idea of the human body's earthly existence and transience plays an important role in both media. The legend of the three living and the three dead is considered an example of the treatment of death in medieval art and literature, especially from the 13th century on.

Conclusion

De miseria 3, 4 – especially its first half – presents itself as a tightly woven web of biblical quotations. On the one hand, the text is charged with various biblical passages that expand the narrative and particularly highlight the transience of human life in counterpoint with the omnipotence of God.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the text offers a completely new narrative around death and the process of decay; the individual sentences are closely linked to each other in terms of composition and content.

⁴⁴ WEHLE (1993: 227).

⁴⁵ PACE (1993: 363).

⁴⁶ One can assume that three dead bodies were originally seen there.

⁴⁷ PACE (1993: 365–366).

⁴⁸ Potential ancient models could not be discussed in this paper. However, an investigation of the depiction of the corpse in *de miseria* 3,4 against the background of ancient representations would to a certain extent be worthwhile.

On the basis of the excursus, it could be shown that there are various descriptions and depictions of decaying corpses through almost the whole Middle Ages. From that point of view, *de miseria* 3,4 seems to be a component of a series of pictorial and written works that shift death and in particular the corpse more into the centre of human considerations.

De miseria 3, 4 offers a graphic, open, and blunt portrayal of how miserably human existence comes to an end below ground and – at a second level – connecting different biblical passages with each other in a new multi-layered way it accomplishes to contrast the omnipotence of God with the transience and vanity of human beings.

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'A Life Locked by Ink' or Variations on a Theme – The Youth of Erasmus of Rotterdam in His Autobiographical Letters

*The life of Erasmus is very well known to us, among others from his own autobiographical letters in quite detail.¹ We have three autobiographical-like texts from him in total: there is one letter from 1516, remaining in a 1529 edition, addressed to a certain Lambertus Grunnius² (Lambert Grunt), a papal scribe. There is another one from 1524, which is known as *Compendium Vitae*. Moreover, there is a third one from 1524, addressed to Gerard Geldenhauer.³ This paper is about the first one from 1516 and the second one, titled *Compendium Vitae* in four main parts: the first part is a brief argument about Erasmus' autobiographical letters in general. The second part is about the parentage of Erasmus, and the third one is about Erasmus' brother and their relationship according to Erasmus' own description. Last but not least the final part contains some conclusions drawn from the comparison of the autobiographical texts with each other.*

Keywords: Erasmus of Rotterdam, 16th century, autobiography, letter, neo-latin literature

¹ The most important monographies about the life of Erasmus: JORTIN (1808), SMITH (1923), MANN PHILLIPS (1949), HUIZINGA (1957), BAINTON (1969), TRACY (1972), MARKIS (1976), AUGUSTIJN (1991), TRACY (1996), RUMMEL (2004).

² Though it's a fictional name, however it certainly covers a real person. The name 'Grunnius' was borrowed from St. Jerome by Erasmus. He mentions 'the Hog that made his last Will and Testament, of which also, even S. Jerome makes mention' in the introduction of *The Praise of Folly* too. ALLEN ed. (1913: 3). Cf. ...nescio quis Grunnii Corocottae porcelli testamentum cuius et divus meminit Hieronymus.

³ Gerard Geldenhouwer (1482–10 January 1542) was a dutch historian and protestant reformer. He was born at Nijmegen. Between 1515 entered the service of the future Charles V and attached to Philip of Burgundy. He soon began sympathising with the ideas of Reformation, and after the death of Philip in 1525 he left Antwerp and went to Wittenberg attending the lectures of Luther. On 13 November 1526 he married. In 1532 he became professor of history and theology at the University of Marburg, where he lived quietly until his death in 1542. See also BIETENHOLZ (1986: 82–84).

1. Erasmus' autobiographical letters

The longest and the most detailed one is the letter to Grunnius from 1516, in which there is a quite long story told by Erasmus of a young man, named Florentius, who had been forced to make his profession and enter the convent, against his will. Practically speaking, the life of Florentius is the youth of Erasmus, which is told by him again later in the *Compendium Vitae*, though in a different arrangement. He chose a kind of form that makes it possible to change the content, performing smaller alterations and refinings in the text, without being caught at lie.

The most eye-catching difference between the letter to Grunnius and the *Compendium Vitae* is that the previous one is much longer and more detailed than the latter which is, in fact, the abridged version of the letter to Grunnius, otherwise the *Compendium* agrees with it in every detail, at least at first sight. The main question: is there any relevant difference in the content between the two texts? If there is, then in what and how can we catch out this difference?

The letter to Grunnius was published in 1529 at Froben's press in Basle. It was a text made for publishing, and for the general public. The original draft was written in August of 1516 in London, and originally it was a supplement of a request addressed to pope Leo X. Erasmus was hindered by his illegitimate birth to obtain benefices and to work up in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, since he was a bastard from the worst kind: he was born out of wedlock, and furthermore as a son of a priest.⁴ By this time, he had enough influence and fame to apply for dispensation to the pope in London through one of his best friends, Andrea Ammonio.⁵ Therefore, Erasmus wrote the original letter to Ammonio, reminding him how to present his issue to the

⁴ ALLEN (1910: 292).

⁵ Andrea Ammonio (c. 1478–17 August 1517) was an Italian cleric and Latin poet. Born in Lucca, sent to England by Pope Julius II, where he became Latin secretary first to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy from 1509, then by 1511 to Henry VIII. In 1512 he received a prebend in the Cathedral of St. Stephen, Westminster, and later received a canonry at Worcester. He had been one of Erasmus' best friends in England. See also BIETENHOLZ (1985: 48–50).

pope. Ammonio sent the letter to the pope with the help of Silvestro Gigli,⁶ the Bishop of Worcester in September. After Erasmus' request got positive feedback, they sent a draft about the dispensation, to which Erasmus made further remarks, and they wrote the final version of the document according to his remarks, then sent him in March of 1517.⁷ Though he already received a dispensation from pope Julius II in 1506, this document exempted him only from wearing the monastic clothes, and it was valid only in Italy. The letter written in 1516 basically was not an official document, it was not submitted as a request, but made as a justification for the request, aiming to confirm and widen his privileges, obtained earlier. He does not mention his illegitimate birth in the published letter.⁸ He emphasizes the wearing of clothes and the obligations attached to the profession, as well as their moral, psychic and physical effects to criticize the contemporary institutional practice of monasticism.

After all, he had been campaigning with the criticism of monasticism for his own dispensation and he reached his goal. All this makes clear what influence he had, and what could he afford, even against the pope.⁹ He embedded his message in a very carefully constructed narrative and presented it via his own life story in a plain and entertaining form, not without every didacticism. Taking everything into account, the letter to Grunnius' main object was to obtain the papal dispensation which is the returning leitmotif of the whole text: the detailed and elaborated telling of his youth, of his harms, and of the relationship with his brother serves the same goal: to support his dispensation.

The *Compendium Vitae* unlike the letter to Grunnius, specifically was written as an autobiography. It was published for the first time by Paul Merula, professor of the University of Leiden in 1607, titled *Vita Des. Erasmi Roterdami*

⁶ Silvestro de' Gigli (1463–18 April 1521) born in Lucca. He was the ambassador of Henry VII in Rome, and from 1497 the Bishop of Worcester. See also BIETENHOLZ (1986: 97–98).

⁷ MYNORS–THOMSON (1977: 6–7).

⁸ This fact was either in the original draft, or was presented to the pope just orally.

⁹ We don't know what was said presenting the request in words of course. Erasmus was very careful as was his custom, securing himself from all sides: he is indirect and circumstantial, says nothing, yet at the same time makes typically very clear allusions.

ex ipsius manu fideliter repraesentata. This text was also originally a supplement for another letter, sent to Conradus Goclenius,¹⁰ one of Erasmus' friends on April 12 of 1524 from Basle, on the very purpose to have a guideline for his biographers in case of his death.¹¹ At the writing of the *Compendium Vitae* Erasmus was almost sixty years old, therefore he was old enough to write a reminiscence like this, before he died.¹² Actually the *Compendium Vitae* is none other, than the extracted, abridged version of the letter to Grunnius, however it also contains several parts from the *Spongia*¹³ and the *Catalogus Lucubrationum*,¹⁴ almost word for word.¹⁵ On the other hand, the *Compendium Vitae* completes the letter to Grunnius, containing precise and accurate data about Erasmus' parentage, about the story of his parents, about the details of his birth (floating the fact of his illegitimate birth) and about his youth. The *Compendium Vitae* tells his life until 1516, when he settles down in Brabant. At the end of the letter, there is a brief characterization of him, and after that, the text turns into a postscript of the letter to which it was attached.¹⁶

2. The parentage of Erasmus

In the beginning of the *Compendium Vitae* he tells about his birth in detail. The story about the relationship of his father, Gerard, and his mother, Margaret, is fictional, and with a little exaggeration it could be an antique love-story

¹⁰ Conrad Goclenius (or in German 'Conrad Wackers' or 'Conrad Gockelen') was a Renaissance humanist, and Latin scholar. He was one of the closest confidant of Erasmus. He was born in Mengerlinghausen in 1490. When he was young he attended the school of Alexander Hegius von Heek in Deventer. In November 1510 he enrolled at the University of Cologne, then later moved on to the University of Leuven. His pedagogical methods were greatly esteemed by Erasmus, recommending them to Thomas More too. Erasmus addressed him the *Compendium Vitae*, his autobiography in 1524. He died on January 25, 1539, three years later after the death of Erasmus. See also BIETENHOLZ (1986: 109–111).

¹¹ ALLEN (1906: 575).

¹² RUMMEL (2004: 2).

¹³ *Spongia Erasmi aduersus aspergines Hutteni*, Basileae per Io. Frobenium, 1523.

¹⁴ *Catalogus omnium Erasmi lucubrationum*, Basileae: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, 1523. Its sending is also mentioned in the postscript of the *Compendium Vitae*: *Augebo catalogum operum meorum; ex hoc quoque multa colligentur*. ALLEN (1906: 52).

¹⁵ ALLEN (1906: 575–576).

¹⁶ ALLEN (1906: 575).

or a neo-latin short story: the lovers had been torn apart from each other unfairly by various intrigues in such a way, that they never can be together more, since the man became a priest, before he could have married the girl. Otherwise, when Erasmus writes this episode, he depicts his father basically as a positive and likable person.

Gerard betook himself to Rome. There he earned a sufficient livelihood by writing, printing not being then in use. His handwriting was very fine. And he lived after the fashion of youth. After a time he applied his mind to honourable studies. He was well versed in Latin and Greek. He was also no ordinary proficient in Jurisprudence. [...] He attended to lectures of Guarino. He had made copies of all the authors with his own hand. When his parents were informed that he was in Rome, they wrote to him that the young woman whom he had wished to marry was dead. He, taking this to be true, was so grieved that he became a priest and applied his whole mind to religion. When he returned home, he found out the deception; but she never afterwards had any wish to marry, nor did he ever touch her again.¹⁷

Here though Erasmus fakes a little, since actually his father had already been a priest, when his brother and he were born: his brother, Peter was older than him by three years or so. Therefore, both of them had illegitimate birth. In addition, it was a serious disaster at that time, they had to live their whole life with this indelible stigma. It caused serious problems not only morally, but pecuniary. Erasmus has always been annoyed by this fact. He suffered because of this his whole life making desperate efforts to get rid of this defect.

¹⁷ Cf. NICHOLS (1901: 6–7). *Gerardus Romam se contulit. Illic scribendo, nam tum nondum erat ars typographorum rem affatim paravit. Erat autem manu felicissima. Et vixit iuveniliter. Mox applicuit animum ad honesta studia. Graece et Latine pulchre calluit. Quin et in iuris peritia non vulgariter profecerat. [...] Audiuit Guarinum. Omnes auctores sua manu descripserat. Parentes, ubi resciscunt eum esse Romae, scripserunt illi puellam, cuius matrimonium ambierat, esse vita defunctam. Id ille credens prae moerore factus est presbyter, totumque animum ad religionem applicuit. Reversus domum comperit fraudem. Nec illa tamen unquam post voluit nubere, nec ille unquam tetigit eam.* ALLEN (1906: 47–48).

His parents died early during the plague, and the two boys, being orphans, got guardians, who, according to Erasmus, intended them to be a monk from the beginning. And so it happened. Finishing the elementary school they were taken to a convent of the order of Saint Augustine. Otherwise, the monasticism and the monkhood were in Erasmus' black book, and he often gave voice to his negative opinion, also in his autobiographical letters. In the letter to Grunnius when he talks about the years spent between the walls of the convent, he doesn't hesitate initiating the reader into several bizarre details. For example, he talks about one of his fellows, who made use of Erasmus' extraordinary skills in latin language in such a way, that at night he had to give private lessons to that guy free of charge, by courtesy. In addition Erasmus, being a kind and faithful friend, who's prepared to do anything for his pal, did it without a word. In this part, Erasmus makes a remark: '[Erasmus] with all the sincerity of his character, loved Cantelius [sc. his fellow] with a childish and passionate love, [...] as boys of that age often conceive a violent affection for some of their schoolfellows. He did not yet know men's characters, but judged others by himself...'¹⁸

3. Erasmus' brother and their relationship

In the letter to Grunnius, Erasmus uses pseudonyms: he introduces himself under the name of Florentius, while his brother, Peter under the name of Antonius. After their guardians wasted the boys' inheritance, they wanted to dedicate them to God as monks, but the young Erasmus opposed it tooth and nail from the beginning. Therefore, he discussed with his brother, Peter, with whom he had been in a close and sincere relationship for long, that they must scrape together the rest of their money and then go to the University. His brother consents to it. The guardians won't even hear of it of course, so they scold and spank the little Erasmus a lot for his insolence.

¹⁸ Cf. NICHOLS (1904: 351). *Amabat [Erasmus] pro nature suae candore Cantelium puerili vehementique affectu [...], ut fere solet ea aetas fervidos amores in sodales quosdam concipere. Nondum enim noverat mortalium ingenia, sed ex suo animo aestimabat omnes.* ALLEN (1910: 301).

However, his brother, Peter saves his skin, moreover ‘his story has a fine ending,’¹⁹ for he submits to the yoke of the guardians²⁰ without a word. This is the very moment, when Erasmus calls Peter a traitor, calls him Judas in his autobiography. In this scene Erasmus takes the opportunity to depict a very expressive picture about his own and his brother’s character as well as their appearance. He displays his own self like this:

Florentius, like most of those who are born for literature, was unskilful and careless in ordinary buisness. Upon such subjects his simplicity was marvellous [...]. The vigour of his mind was shown only in study [...] having been a student from his early infancy.²¹

[...] His health has always been delicate, and consequently he has been much subject to fever. [...] His character was simple, and so averse to lying, that even as a child he hated any boys that had that habit, and in his old age the very sight of such persons caused him a shudder.²²

By contrast he writes this about his brother:

As he was inert in mind, so he was robust of body, attentive to buisness and in that respect sharp and cunning, thievish in money matters, a brave tippler and an arrant rake, in fine so unlike his brother, that you might suppose him a changeling. For indeed to him, he was never anything but his evil genius.²³

¹⁹ Cf. NICHOLS (1904: 347). *Atque illi quidem pulchre cessit res.* ALLEN (1910: 298).

²⁰ Cf. ALLEN (1910: 298). *...perfidus ille prodito fratre accepit iugum...*

²¹ Cf. NICHOLS (1904: 348). *Erat Florentius, ut fere solent nati litteris, rerum communium et imperitus et negligens, atque in his mira simplicitas; [...] nec alibi quam in studiis valebat ingenium [...] ab infantiae crepundiis versatus in scholis.* ALLEN (1910: 299).

²² Cf. NICHOLS (1901: 11–12.). *Valetudo semper fuit tenera; unde crebro tentabatur febribus. [...] Ingenium erat simplex; adeo abhorrens a mendacio, ut puellus etiam odisset pueros mentientes et senex ad illorum aspectum etiam corpore commoveretur.* ALLEN (1906: 51).

²³ Cf. NICHOLS (1904: 347). *Erat enim, ut ingenio tardus, ita corpore robustus, attentus ad rem, ibi vafer et callidus, pecuniarum furax, strenuus compotor, nec scortator ignavus; in summa, adeo minori dissimilis, ut supposititius videri posset. Nec enim unquam aliud fuit germano quam malus*

They are totally different from each other both in character and in appearance. This is how Erasmus writes about his brother in the letter to Grunnius. If we take a glance at the *Compendium Vitae*, we shall see in that letter, he takes a mention about him no more than once, only alluding to him with one sentence: 'A partner he had, who betrayed his friend.'²⁴ That's all. He completely ignores his existence. However, the two autobiographies basically do not contradict each other. The places, the dates and the main events are all in consonance. Now then, why did this character assassination of his brother? There were practical and emotional causes.

As we could see, both of them had illegitimate birth, that was their stigma suffering through their whole lives. In addition, Erasmus was greatly annoyed by this issue, therefore he left no stone unturned to erase this shameful stain of his past, or at least refine it. When he does not mention his brother in the *Compendium Vitae*, he redefines the relationship of his parents at the same time, since, according to him, his father had not been a consecrated priest, when Erasmus was born, and all the things he says about him are positive. He must save his father first to save himself. Though, pope Julius II made him free in a specific diploma from every canonical restriction he had been suffered because of his illegitimate birth, his brother did not receive these privileges, so through him, Erasmus' connection with his darkest chapter of his past remained, of which he tried to get rid in his whole life. Therefore, his brother's existence was uncomfortable and shameful in his eyes. It is not a coincidence, that in the letter to Grunnius his opinion is so negative of him, and there is not a good thing he can mention about his brother: it seems like he tries to convey the impression, that they are so different from each other, like if they are actually not real brothers. This is exactly the point of the whole character assassination he's doing in the letter to Grunnius. He is the one who draws the final conclusion, namely that they are not brothers by blood, since that is impossible. Although we do not know exactly when Peter died, in 1524 he probably had passed. Erasmus alludes to a loss of a brother which had not affected him speaking of Johannes

genius. ALLEN (1910: 298).

²⁴ Cf. NICHOLS (1901: 9). *Habebat sodalem qui prodidit amicum*. ALLEN (1906: 49).

Froben²⁵ death in 1527. In any case this fact made it easier for him to cover up the last tracks of his brother, and to fully remove him from his life.

4. Conclusions

The main question is what were the goals of Erasmus with these autobiographies? On the one hand, there was a practical, representative function: it was a kind of self-promotion, by which he supported his own self, as well as constructed his own image. Erasmus was extremely careful in his entire life, how to define himself through his texts, and consciously crafted his own portrait fitting for his own ideas. This kind of attitude of his can be found not just in his autobiographies, but in his entire oeuvre. He consciously formed not only his texts, but also his own self-portrait, realizing and using those new opportunities that were offered by the new technology of the 16th century getting more and more popular as a medium, the printing. To be an essential scholar and intellectual icon of the era, also has a huge part of it himself: he spared no effort in self-promotion.²⁶ He did this not only in the world of texts, but visually. Though he has always been unsatisfied with his own appearance, in the *Compendium Vitae* for example he makes a remark characterizing himself, that ‘his friends had great difficulty in extorting from him his consent to be painted.’²⁷ However, in comparison there are several portraits, pictures and engravings of him both from his younger and from his older years. Though it was also an important part of his self-representation. Nobody saw him in person, still everybody knew what looks like.²⁸ By this, he has been developing the book into a ‘multimedia tool.’ On the other hand, it was self-justification. Namely just because he has illegitimate birth, he can be as good as others, moreover even better, so he is entitled to do all the

²⁵ Froben was Erasmus’ publisher and one of his closest friend. On the relationship of Froben with Erasmus see also in details SEBASTIANI (2018).

²⁶ JARDINE (1993: 5).

²⁷ Cf. NICHOLS (1901: 12). ...*vixque extortum est amicorum precibus ut se pingi pateretur*. ALLEN (1906: 51).

²⁸ JARDINE (1993: 5).

things that everyone else can do, that he had lost in the very moment of his birth. Because of a defect, in what he is innocent.

As an author he combined in himself the figure of the fathers of the church and the ancient Greek and Roman citizen by the Latin language and becoming their contemporary, modern-day representative he embodied and animated the past. He constantly shaped his texts, as well as his own character, and these were in permanent interaction with the outside world: sometimes he extended them, sometimes he abridged, if something was successful, he reissued it revised, refreshing its content, according to the current circumstances, keeping the printed text alive in this way, and did not let them to fall out from the common knowledge.²⁹ His own self-representation³⁰ was so successful, so that the radiance made by him overshadowed even his own oeuvre in the end. Shimon Markish remarks aptly in this context, that the writer's only true biography is the oeuvre itself, 'though exactly the oeuvre that is unknown to the reader about Erasmus.'³¹

All in all, Erasmus' autobiographical letters are carefully constructed narratives: although, he often conceals and obscures facts, but only when he feels it necessary, and only in the justified measure. We see what he wants, in such a context, that fits for him, working with very sophisticated methods. The fiction and reality mingle each other in these letters, and all of this happening in a very well-balanced form: the fictional elements serve exactly to emphasize the reality even more. That is why he uses pseudonyms, like Florentius and Antonius. However, these have also a meaning: with the name Florentius, which is from the latin word *florens*,³² he alludes to the antique Roman culture, and defines himself as the most significant representative and successor of the classical Latin language in the modern era. The man of *Bonae Litterae*³³ who will restore Latin to its rightful place. Meanwhile, with the

²⁹ JARDINE (1993: 26).

³⁰ On the humanists conscious self-representation see also GREENBLATT (1980); JARDINE (1993); ENENKEL (2008).

³¹ MARKIS (1976: 6).

³² The meaning of the latin adjective *florens*: blooming, in bloom, flowering; flowery, bright, shining; flourishing, prosperous.

³³ The phrase of *Bonae Litterae* is actually untranslatable, it includes the whole classical lite-

name Antonius he alludes to Marcus Antonius, as the traitor of Rome, which intends to start flourishing again after the civil war. When Erasmus calls Antonius Judas, who betrayed Christ, and indirectly the Church, which is the successor of the Roman Empire, he makes a double allusion, and successfully connects antiquity and christianity with each other as a christian humanist.

Therefore, these letters are a kind of an official autobiography, which he wanted to publish for a wider audience from the beginning. That is why he paid attention to these documents being informative and at the same time entertaining and in literary sophisticated readings. In addition, to avoid self-serving he also filled these texts with pedagogical contents.

The early life of Erasmus until 1488³⁴

28 October 1466. ³⁵	Born in Rotterdam.
1473.	School in Gouda.
1478–1484.	Studies in Deventer.
April 1484.	Erasmus meets with Rudolph Agricola.
1484–1487.	Erasmus in 's-Hertogenbosch with his brother.
spring 1487.	Enters the convent of Steyn.
November 1488.	Makes his profession.

The life of Erasmus of Rotterdam is well known to us from his autobiographical-letters. In one of these letters from 1516 addressed to a certain Lambertus Grunnius, he depicts a very contrasting portrait of himself and of the relationship with his older brother, Peter. However in his two later letters he doesn't mention his brother with a word, which raises interesting questions, especially in the reflection of the first letter, among others, that is why and

rature, science and culture, and as a kind of a higher erudition it was set against the medieval thinking.

³⁴ ALLEN (1906: 584) and VREDELVELD (1993: 803).

³⁵ To Erasmus' age and date of birth see the detailed study of Harry VREDELVELD from 1993, in which he systematically examines all of the places of the erasmian legacy, where Erasmus talks about his age or alludes to it. According to his investigations he dates the birth of Erasmus to 1466.

how he tried to erase the brother's tracks from his life in a philological sense. This paper is trying to find an answer to the reasons for removing him, and why did Erasmus ignore him on purpose and what was the method used to get rid of his brother philologically once and for all?

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Pindarising in 16th-century Württemberg – Johannes Kepler's *Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum* (1591) in the Light of the Epithalamia of Paulus Melissus

The paper presents a Pindarising Neo-Latin epithalamium, that the astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) wrote for his friend Gregor Glarean in 1591, and compares it to similar poems by Paulus Melissus Schede (1539–1602). While earlier critics have compared Kepler's epithalamium mainly to Pindar's epinicians, I focus on the poem's relationship with the Pindarising epithalamia of Paulus Melissus Schede, who was a popular Neo-Latin poet at the time. The comparison reveals that Kepler's epithalamium takes up developments already present in Schede Melissus' epithalamia, such as the separation of the Pindaric form from epinician content and individual variations in tune with the respective addressee in the epithalamium. At the same time, Kepler maintains an independent stance towards both Schede and Pindar. The paper is complemented by an English translation and a chart of the positions of the planets at the time of the wedding.

Keywords: Pindarising, Pindarism, Pindaric, epithalamium, wedding song, occasional poetry, Paulus Melissus Schede, Johannes Kepler

1. Johannes Kepler and his time. Poetry and Science

When the name Johannes Kepler is mentioned, one typically associates him with being an early modern astronomer and his involvement with the heliocentric worldview. Indeed, Kepler's most significant astronomical contribution was the discovery or refinement of the laws of planetary motion. He occupies the space between Copernicus, who proposed the idea that the planets and Earth move around the Sun in circles, and Newton, who formu-

lated the laws of mechanics.¹ In Kepler's era, advancements in astronomical tools, particularly telescopes, allowed for detailed observations of planetary movements. Kepler combined these new observations with Copernicus' theories through mathematics and modified them to align with what he observed in the sky. Ultimately, he discovered that planets move on ellipses, that their speeds depend on their distance from the Sun, and that there is a regular correlation between the size of a planet's orbit and the time it takes to complete that orbit.²

However, when examining Kepler's life in its entirety, there are other notable aspects. Kepler was born in Weil-der-Stadt, Württemberg, in 1571, and received his education through the Protestant monastic school system in Württemberg (1584–1589 in Adelberg and Maulbronn). He studied theology at the *Stift* in Tübingen (1589–1594), where Michael Maestlin taught astronomy and mathematics. Kepler excelled in these subjects and was sent to the Protestant *Stiftsschule* in Graz, where he taught mathematics and astronomy (1594–1600). This school was the Protestant university of Graz at the time, and it was here that Kepler published his first astronomical book, *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1596), concerning the relationship of the distances of the six known planets in the solar system. Kepler's university in Graz was not the predecessor of the present-day Karl-Franzens-University. This is the rival Jesuit University founded in 1585. Despite the religious tolerance in Graz when Kepler arrived, the end of religious tolerance and Protestant culture in Styria soon followed. Kepler and his colleagues were forced to leave Graz and Inner Austria in 1598. Kepler found refuge in Hungary for a brief period before returning to Graz, where he continued his work. In 1600, he went to Prague to work as the assistant of Tycho Brahe, the most prominent astronomer of that era. Kepler succeeded Tycho Brahe as court mathematician in 1601, and during this period he wrote his most significant astronomical book, the *Astronomia Nova* (1609), and worked on the *Rudolphine Tables* (1627). After Rudolph II's death, Kepler became the Mathematician of

¹ POSCH (2017: 49–52).

² KERNER (2022: 307–330); HOLDER (2015: 101–109).

the Estates of Upper Austria in Linz (1612–1627), where he remained until he became the personal astrologer of Wallenstein during the Thirty Years War. Kepler died while traveling in Regensburg in 1630.³

Aside from his contributions to astrodynamics, Kepler was also an engaged natural philosopher, literary artist, and theologian.⁴ These diverse roles were not in conflict for Kepler. He referred to himself as ‘a priest reading from the book of nature’ in the preface to his *Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae*, which in his own view is the reason why he dedicated his life to astronomy and mathematics.⁵ However, astronomy was mainly a *Hilfswissenschaft* of astrology in Early Modernity, and astrology was intertwined with many areas of life, as is evident in Kepler’s role as astrologer for Wallenstein. There is a conflict between science and religion for late-modern people, but it was not present during Kepler’s time.⁶

Furthermore, the exclusivity between creative art and critical science, which is evident in late modernity, did not exist in Kepler’s era. Kepler combined both spheres, often using poetic passages in his scientific works. These passages were not only decorative but explain his process of finding knowledge and convey qualitative points about his research.

2. Kepler’s *Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum*: Introduction

The poem I will be discussing in this paper is Kepler’s *Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum*, a ‘wedding poem in the style of Pindar’ that he wrote for his fellow student, and possibly his teacher or tutor, Gregor Glarean in 1591, when Kepler was just 19 years old and still studying theology in Tübingen.⁷

³ See POSCH (2017) for a comprehensive life of Kepler.

⁴ See ZITELMANN (2016), who explores Kepler’s world view from a theological point of view.

⁵ KGW 7 (9, 10–11): *Denique cum Suae Caesareae Majestatis Vestraque, Proceres, liberalitate, constitutum me veluti sacerdotem Dei Conditoris ex parte libri Naturae intelligam* – ‘Finally, with His Imperial Majesty’s and your, my Nobles, licence, I would like to understand myself as a priest of the Lord Creator [reading] from the Book of Nature.’

⁶ This does not mean that Kepler had an uncritical understanding of religion or astrology, for instance. He rather applied scientific thinking to areas that would appear to stand beyond science to most late modern people. Cf. POSCH (2017: 16).

⁷ See in the Appendix for the entire poem with translation.

Chronologically, this is the second poem of Kepler that has been recorded. As it was written when Kepler was still very young, many of the general considerations when looking at Kepler as a whole are not immediately important for this particular poem. In my opinion, it is a particularly interesting poem as it shows that Kepler's poetry from the very start of his poetic activity was programmatic. One critic has claimed that it was only a 'finger exercise' or the by-product of the social life of an academic in Early Modern Germany.⁸ I hope to show, though, that in its unity this early poem is characteristic of Kepler's artistic mind, and that it is a valid example for Kepler's literary ambition beyond mere exercise.

Kepler's epithalamium follows strictly the meter of Pindar's *Olympian* 1, or what was believed to be the meter of Pindar's *Olympian* 1 in the 16th century,⁹ and is therefore considered a Pindarising poem.¹⁰ The poem was printed, along with two other occasional poems for other occasions probably by Gregor Glarean himself in 1601, ten years after the poem had been written. This print exists today in one version in the Landesbibliothek of Württemberg.¹¹ However, the gap in time and the absence of Kepler himself from the printing process mean that there might be mistakes in the print.

To begin, Kepler's epithalamium is structured like a Pindaric choral ode. It consists of three triads of strophe, antistrophe, and epode, which are metrically built exactly like the triads in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, according to the metrical understanding of Greek choral odes of the 16th century. The only difference is that Kepler's epithalamium consists of only three triads, while *Olympian* 1 consists of four.

The poem begins with a very long heading that explains exactly what it is for:

⁸ SECK (1973: 435–436) seems to suggest this.

⁹ Cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 312).

¹⁰ On the meaning of Pindarising in the 16th century, cf. SCHMITZ (1993: 17–19), and below.

¹¹ GLAREANUS 1601. Cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 318).

For the second act¹² being the first wedding of the very honorable and very learned man, Sir M. Gregor Glarean, from Stuttgart, deacon in Gruibingen, mathematician not of low rank, with the very chaste virgin Anna, daughter of an honest man, Fabian Kommerell, citizen and former councillor of Tübingen, to be celebrated in Tübingen on the 22 June in the year 1591: a wedding song in the style of Pindar.¹³

The first triad of the poem praises the attributes and abilities of the addressee. The strophe praises him as a propagator of Christianity – ‘divine trumpet of Christ’¹⁴ – and with mythological pictures in the style of Pindar – Charis and Maia take care of the special man. In the antistrophe, this mythological course is continued with a special view on Glarean’s talents as a craftsman and creator of models and gadgets – a gift he is given by Daedalus and Hermes. Finally, in the epode, Glarean is described as a gifted astronomer who ‘tames the labyrinthine courses of the stars with the spindle of his genius.’¹⁵

The second triad depicts Gregor Glarean’s involvement as an astrologer. The strophe provides an exemplary description of the horoscopes of two individuals, Amyntas and Deucalion, whose names suggest a young and naive person and an older and wise person, respectively.¹⁶ In the antistrophe, the addressee, who possesses the knowledge to interpret horoscopes, which are ‘strings led by the sacred thumb,’ is portrayed as someone who is ‘related to God’¹⁷ and can therefore guide both the common people and the clever ones. This individual understands that astrology ultimately has no binding power over human beings. The epode continues this argument by acknowledging the Holy Trinity as the only truly universal power and

¹² This refers to the order of the three texts in Glarean’s 1601 publication.

¹³ GLAREANUS (1601: 4v): *In actum secundum Primarum Nuptiarum integerrimi, doctissimique viri, D. M. Gregorii Glareani Stutgardiensis, Diaconi in Gruibingen, Mathematici haudquaquam postremi, cum pudicissimâ virgine Anna, honesti viri, Fabiani Kommerelli, civis, & quondam Senatoris Tubingensis F. Tubingae 10. Cal. Quintil. Anno 1591. celebratarum: Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum.*

¹⁴ 6: *dia buccina Christi.*

¹⁵ 36–37: *Labyrintheosque / Refraenat ingeni turbine gyros.*

¹⁶ See n. 55 and 56.

¹⁷ 69–70: *sacro / ducta pollice fila; 65: congenerem Deo.*

by mentioning Proteus, who can change his own nature, as an example of human beings' ability to shape their own destiny.

In the third triad, Kepler describes a favorable horoscope for the wedding and offers the couple his best wishes. The strophe addresses the Sun and requests that it bring together the other celestial bodies in a horoscope. The antistrophe describes this horoscope in detail, including the placement of Mars in Scorpio and Mercury in the Eleventh House, likely in Leo or Cancer. It is not clear whether or not this horoscope could refer exactly to the horoscope of the day of the wedding.¹⁸ If not, it might represent (partly) an ideal horoscope for a wedding that an astrologer like Glarean would recognize as such. In the epode, Kepler renews his good wishes for the couple, hoping that they will live harmoniously to a ripe old age, have prosperity, children, honour, happiness, and friends.¹⁹ He also asks that God bless them with 'divine warmth'²⁰ and assist them in bearing children.

The epithalamium is signed by Kepler with a Greek salutation expressing felicitation and gratitude.²¹

3. Pindarising in the 16th Century

From a formal standpoint, the epithalamium is clearly indebted to Pindaric choral odes, especially Olympian 1. To fully comprehend the poem, it is essential to contextualize it within the Pindaric or Pindarising tradition of the 16th century. Pindar's odes were made available to a book-reading audience in Western Europe once again in 1513, the year of Aldus Manutius' initial printed edition. This edition was soon followed by Zacharias Kallierges' edition and commentary in 1515, which was widely popularized by a slightly inferior but much less expensive edition by Brubach in 1542, with numerous

¹⁸ See n. 61 and Appendix 2.

¹⁹ 131: *Opes, genus, decus, gaudia, amicos*.

²⁰ 136: *Fotu [...]* *sacro*.

²¹ 142–147: *Scriptum / Συγχαριστίας καὶ εὐχαριστίας / ἔνεκα à / Joanne Kepplero / Villano, / Tubingae 1591*.

reprints.²² By the mid-16th century, Pindar's odes were available to individuals with humanistic interests in Western and Central Europe. At the same time, Pindar became a popular poet for emulation. An important moment in the entry of Pindar into the modern European literary canon seems to be the work of French Grecist and poet Jean Dorat,²³ who influenced the poets of the *Pléiade*, including Pierre de Ronsard, who published his *Quatre premiers liures des Odes* in 1550, which were French poems in the Pindaric style. This appears to have started or given impetus to a fashion of Pindarising poetry in Renaissance France.²⁴ The tradition of composing poems in the style of Pindar seems to have spread from France (and Italy)²⁵ and to have reached neo-Latin and other vernacular languages. It continued to be vibrant well into the Baroque era, with Martin Opitz's (1597–1639) poems in German,²⁶ for example. Kepler's *Melos* is situated in the middle of this development and is, thus, entirely typical of its time.

One feature that sets Kepler's poem apart is that it closely emulates the meter of Pindar's *Olympian* 1. To appreciate this point, it is necessary to remember that Greek lyrical poetry, including choral odes, was only deciphered metrically in the way that is still considered correct today by August Boeckh in the early 19th century.²⁷ In editions and commentaries of Pindar from the 16th century, the text was broken off differently, in shorter cola. Kepler's *Melos* strictly follows the number of syllables and the brevia and longa of the 16th-century editions. This can be demonstrated through a comparison with an excerpt from *Olympian* 1 in the Brubach edition from 1542:²⁸

²² Cf. SCHMITZ (1993: 264–308).

²³ Cf. PFEIFFER (1958: 76–83) for a concise summary of Dorat's achievement as poet and philologist.

²⁴ Cf. SCHMITZ (1993: 17–26), SECK (1973: 435–436).

²⁵ Cf. SCHMITZ (1993: 24–26) on the potential influence of the Italians Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), Gian Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550), Benedetto Lampridio (1478–1540), Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556) and Antonio Minturno (1500–1574) on the Pindaric odes of Ronsard with the older literature.

²⁶ e.g. *Ueber das Absterben Herrn Adams von Bibran auff Profen unnd Damßdorff*, OESTERLEY ed. (1888: 39–40).

²⁷ BOECKHIUS (1811: I; XXVIII–XXXII), cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 312).

²⁸ See also SECK (1973: 445–446) for a comparison with the edition of Ceperinus from 1526.

Pind. *Ol.* 1, 1–9:²⁹

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ
 χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
 ἄτε διαπρέπει νυ-
 τὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου.
 εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύεν,
 ἔλδεαι φίλον ἦτορ,
 μηκέθ' ἀλίου σκόπει
 ἄλλο θαλπνότερον
 ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον,

Kepler, *Melos Hymeneium* 1–9:

1 Uolantum intime mentium
 2 Rector, ὁ Cytharoede
 3 Bombe, quid intonabis?
 4 Querulumne gamelion ille
 5 GLAREANVS excitat,
 6 Dia buccina Christi:
 7 Prodigum salutis an-
 8 cile perpetuae
 9 Deus quod aethere è sereno

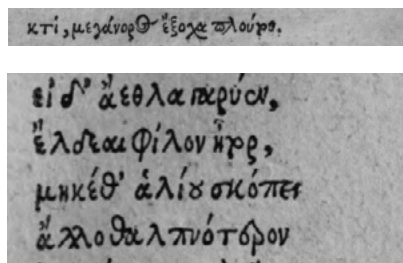
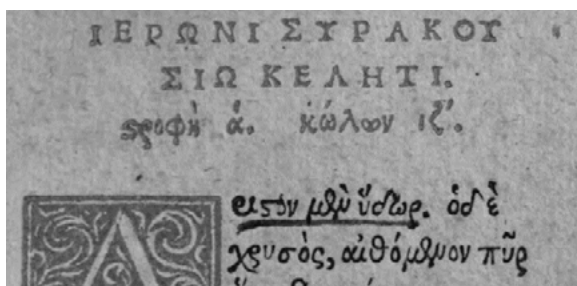


Figure 1: Petrus Brubach, *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*. Frankfurt 1542.
 Digitized by the University of Regensburg. Olympian 1, vv. 1–9, excerpts from pp. 7r, 7v, 8r.

This complete emulation of the form of the odes is a possible but not a necessary part of Pindaric imitation in the 16th century. Many poets only imitate the triadic structure of Pindaric Odes. However, Johannes Kepler may have known very recent Neo-Latin models for his close imitation of the structure. Jean Dorat published his Latin poems in Paris in 1586. His collection includes similarly tight formal imitations of Pindar, such as his ode *Ad Ronsardum*,³⁰ for his poet-friend Ronsard, who himself wrote Pindaric odes in French. This ode follows the structure of Pindar's Olympian 2 in similar fashion.

²⁹ Text after BRUBACHIUS (1542), cf. figure 1.

³⁰ AURATUS LEMOVICIS (1586: 176–181) *Ad Ronsardum. Ode ad numeros Pindaricos*.

4. Kepler's *Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum* between convention, innovation and accident

After examining the context of Pindaric poetry in the 16th century, it is necessary to consider how young Kepler created the *Melos Hymeneium*. This poem follows different conventions of the time, including a social convention in which intellectuals exchanged occasional Latin poems for events in their lives.³¹ Additionally, it was not uncommon and fashionable to write occasional poems in the style and form of Pindar, reflecting thus a literary-generic convention.

The school system that Kepler was educated in was an important factor in enabling him to produce such a poem, as it included creative writing exercises in Latin in imitation of classical models from a relatively early age.³² Friedrich Seck has fittingly compared the writing of neo-Latin poetry to the playing of the piano in the 19th century as a typical pastime of (aspiring) members of the cultural elite.³³ Young Kepler's studies in Tübingen included besides mathematics and astronomy also Latin and Greek language and rhetorics, which at the time were represented by the notable philologist Martin Crusius (1526-1607). Crusius' teachings and example certainly shaped Kepler and furnished the necessary skills for the writing of Latin poetry.³⁴

While Pindaric occasional poems were relatively common, epithalamia in the style of Pindar were not present in the earlier French tradition of the 16th century, nor does anything in the odes of Pindar themselves make them

³¹ Cf. SECK (1973: 436–437).

³² Cf. HOLTZ 2022; SECK (1973: 428–433).

³³ SECK (1973: 439).

³⁴ Kepler's student relationship to Crusius can be grasped in Kepler's self-characterisation from 1597, within which he remembers to have striven to learn, all examples from Crusius' grammar by heart' (*Grammaticae Crusij omnia exempla ediscere tentavit.*) and characterises his own talents as a writer in comparison of the famous rhetorician: 'He [= Kepler himself] was even with Crusius in his alertness for super-fine matters, much inferior in his industriousness, superior in his judgement. The other (= Crusius) worked by bringing things together, he (= Kepler) by separating them, the other a rake, he a wedge' (*Crusio par diligentia minutula, labore longe inferior, iudicio major. Laborabat ille colligendo, hic separando, ille rastrum, hic cuneus.*) KGW 19, 328–329; cf. ZITELMANN (2016: 57); SECK–BALZERT (2020: 13).

appear particularly suitable to be reshaped as epithalamia. The particular combination of Pindar's odes and wedding poems would be a far-reaching expansion of the Pindaric tradition. 19 year-old Kepler would have been a literary innovator of astonishing independence, if he performed this feat without a model.

Friedrich Seck treats the combination of Pindar and wedding poem as an accident and suggests that young Kepler meant it to be a difficult finger exercise for showing off, and, thus, totally missed the point of his model.³⁵ Kepler himself remembered this poem a couple of years later in a way that supports Seck's argument. In the description of his own character in 1598, he lists his *Melos* as one of the difficult feats he has achieved so far, only mentioning his model (Pindar), not the fit between the model and the content (wedding): 'He wrote a poem in the style of Pindar.'³⁶ Pindar would have been a fitting object to show off in this way: he was thought of as the most complicated Greek poet, and one of the Greek course books of the 16th century that Kepler might have known presented *Olympian* 1 as the marker of perfection at the end of its reading syllabus.³⁷ However, in the opinion of this reader, the *Melos Hymeneium* has too much artistic unity to be explicable by such accidents alone.

The praise of the groom, Gregor Glarean, artfully shows different aspects of the man in an organic order, and intertwined with digressions, that truly resembles Pindar's praise of Hieron, naturally in a parodic fashion. After Glarean's mythological birth and education (13–23), we see him in action as an engineer making a model of the world (24–34). This model, whose purpose is to understand celestial mechanics leads to a description of Glarean's activities as an astronomer (35–47), which are the foundation of his activity as astrologer, which we perceive, like before, in the shape of the results: his horoscopes and his counsels gained from astrology (48–64). This leads us back to the man and his model of the solar system. Glarean is

³⁵ SECK-BALZERT (2020: 311); SECK (1973: 436) 'schon im Ansatz verfehlt.'

³⁶ *Scripsit melos Pindaricum*, KGW (19, 328, 7, 30). For a translation and commentary, see HAMMER (1971: 16–30; 87–90), see also SECK (1973: 434–436).

³⁷ CLENARDUS (1557: 380–388) with an interlinear translation into Latin.

shown as the god of his model (65–74), a variation of the ever-present hubris motive in Pindar's Odes,³⁸ which leads to a digression on the relationship of God, Man, the free will and the role of astrology (75–94). In the end, the various strings are brought together in a possibly idealized horoscope for the wedding day (95–128) including a call to the sun that resembles a similar passage in *Olympian* 1.³⁹

The self-conscious, meta-poetic quality of the *Melos* comes to the fore even more, when one considers a contemporary model. The idea to write an epithalamium in the style of Pindar, was not an innovation of young Kepler but had been done a little time before by Paul Melissus Schede (1539–1602),⁴⁰ a famous German neo-Latin poet and *poeta laureatus* of Emperor Ferdinand I. These Pindaric epithalamia had been published in 1586 in the second edition of his collection *Schediasmata Poetica*. Paulus Melissus fills the gap between the Pindaric poets in France, who wrote Latin and French, and those in Germany, who at the time wrote mainly in Latin: Paulus Melissus spent time in Paris in 1567/8 and again in 1584/5 where he met Pierre de Ronsard. His Pindaric epithalamia, which in the German context had to be written in Latin and not in German, were heavily influenced by these encounters. An important innovation in Schede's Pindaric poems is that they address not only people from the nobility, like the Pindaric poems of Dorat and De Ronsard, but mainly urban bourgeois people.⁴¹

5. Paulus Melissus Schede and his Pindarising Epithalamia⁴²

There are three extant Pindaric epithalamia in Paulus Melissus' *Schediasmata*, all of which are addressed to bourgeois city patricians: 1. *In Nuptias Sebaldi Welseri*, 2. *Ioanni Iacobo et Ioanni Ludovico Hainzelis, patriciis Augustanis*,

³⁸ Cf. DICKIE 1984, GRIFFITH (2009: 76).

³⁹ *Melos Hymeneium* 95–100; Pind. *Ol.* 1, 5–7; for other markers of Pindaric style in the poem see SECK-BALZERT (2020: 314–317).

⁴⁰ Cf. ROBERT (2007: 205–213) with a detailed biography.

⁴¹ Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 247–252).

⁴² Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 252–260) for an extensive treatment of the poems.

nuptias celebrantibus, 3. *Abelo Strasburgo sponso*.⁴³ The interesting specific elements of each of these poems will be presented, as they provide a basis for comparison with Kepler's *Melos*.

The first Pindaric epithalamium is the wedding poem for Sebald Welser, a patrician in Augsburg and Nuremberg.⁴⁴ This poem is interesting with respect to its structure and focus on the generic conventions of the epithalamium. It can be seen as the archetype of Paulus Melissus' Pindaric epithalamia. The poem consists of two triads, with the first Strophe addressing the bride and groom in conjunction with the Muses. The first antistrophe calls for the joys of marriage, while the first epode praises the beauty of the bride. The second strophe encourages the groom to appreciate the beauty of his future wife, and the second antistrophe calls for the groom's mother to accept the bride into the family and for the bride's father to do the same with the groom. Finally, the second epode expresses the hope that the bride's father will have a long life and, more significantly, procreate through his children, like the mythical phoenix. This imagery at the same time encourages the newlyweds to have many children.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of this Pindaric poem is that, aside from its triadic form, which metrically resembles a Pindaric ode, its content is entirely that of an epithalamium, not at all epinician. This is markedly different from Dorat's or De Ronsard's Pindaric Odes, which typically relate to a contemporary hero, often a French nobleman, and, thus, maintain some degree of panegyric-epinician content. In Melissus' ode, there is none of this. Only the form, the metre, and some stylistic features, such as the use of compound neologisms, are Pindaric at first glance. The most obvious of these stylistic markers is the compressed, obscure *pars mythica* in the wish for many children at the end of the epithalamium, via the reference to the phoenix.

⁴³ MELISSUS (1586: 41–43; 35–36; 44–46). See also SCHULTHEISS (2015: 254–256; 262–267) with translations.

⁴⁴ Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 252–253).

In fact, Schede's turn towards epithalamia in Pindaric form takes up a faint wedding theme present in some of Pindar's odes: in the *pars mythica* of Olympian 1, Pelops turns to horse-racing to win Hippodameia and is allowed to marry her as a result of his victory; in the beginning of Olympian 7, Pindar compares himself, who is presenting epinician odes to winners, with a father, who presents a bowl of vine to his son-in-law at the wedding day; and, in the *pars mythica* of Nemean 5, Peleus, who successfully rejected the overtures of Acastus' wife Hippolyta, is awarded with the hand of Thetis.⁴⁵ One ode even combines the motives of athletic victory and of marriage on different levels over its entire length: in Pythian 9, Telesikrates' victory at Pytho serves as a pretext to tell the marriage story of Apollo and Kyrene in an extensive *pars mythica*, which throws a light on the young victor, who is encouraged to use his new-won fame to find a wife in his home polis; this hope is matched with the story of Telesikrates' ancestor Alexidamos, who won his wife in a footrace.⁴⁶ In none of Pindar's odes, though, not even in Pythian 9, is the epinician replaced completely by an epithalamium in the way Schede has chosen to do in his Pindaric epithalamia.

With Paulus Melissus Schede's epithalamia published, the abolition of epinician content in a Pindaric ode, which later became common in German baroque poetry,⁴⁷ is already an established artistic possibility for young Kepler in 1591. This was likely a prerequisite for his decision to compose an astrological epithalamium in Pindaric form. In the light of Schede's epithalamia, Kepler's work appears as a continuation of what Schede had begun before him.

Another interesting point of reference for Kepler's transformation of his model Schede is the wedding poem for the brothers Johann Jakob and Johann Ludwig Hainzel, patricians from Augsburg.⁴⁸ One of the marked features of Schede's epithalamium for Sebald Welser is the poem's restriction to content

⁴⁵ Pind. *O.* 1, 67–71; 88–89; 7, 1–10; *N.* 5, 25–37.

⁴⁶ Pind. *P.* 9, 1–70; 97–100; 98–123; vgl. KÖHNKEN (1985) with an interpretation unveiling the parallel of marriage and ultimate satisfaction after a victory.

⁴⁷ SCHULTHEISS (2015: 259).

⁴⁸ Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 253–254).

that pertains solely to the wedding occasion. This is atypical of Pindar's odes, which generally contain aphoristic or sententia-like parts that reference general ideas of religion, wisdom, or virtue. Schede's second poem is notable because it contains such a portion in its second antistrophe:

[...] nam probis
 Probitas comes est: prava sequuntur
 Stirpe sati pravorum.
 Felix propago, tuam disce
 Sentiscere laudem, et novum adorea 50
 Nosse nomen. Ut bonae gaudent
 Bonum arbores tulisse fructum;
 Prole sic bene moratâ ipsi
 Exhilarantur honestanturque parentes.
 Deme famam et ipsum honorem; 60
 Laudi quid hoc in orbe aut gloriae est?

[...] Because righteousness is the companion of the righteous: odd things are followed through by those that have been born from a tribe of odd people. Happy offspring, learn to listen to words of praise in your honour and to know the new name of glory. As good trees rejoice to have brought forth good fruit, likewise parents shall be joyous and feel themselves honoured by a well-mannered offspring. Leave aside fame and honour itself – what is there in this world worthy of praise or glory?

Even though this passage is completely attuned to the topic of parental pride in one's offspring – one of the desired results of marriage – the excursus can stand much more independently than any part of the epithalamium for Sebald Welser could. This passage is in this respect more Pindaric than the rest of the epithalamium.⁴⁹

It is worth noting that a similar passage can be found in Johannes Kepler's *Melos Hymenaeum Pindaricum*. However, what sets Kepler's passage apart is its even greater deviation from the topic of marriage: the second epode of Kepler's poem provides a general observation on the state of human beings in the world in relation to astrology.⁵⁰ This departure from the central theme of marriage in a Pindaric epithalamium is a noteworthy aspect of Kepler's work and highlights his experimentation with the Pindaric form:

⁴⁹ Notably, v. 59 is also reminiscent of a similar passage in Pind. O. 10, 86–87: ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ / ποθαινὸς – 'but like a child that is born from its mother's womb is longed for by the father'.

⁵⁰ See above.

Neque enim
 Cathenata vis adurget hominem 80
 Poli, neque necesse ferreum.

Epodos Col. 13.

Sed illa verenda Nati
 Patris halitusque
 Fouentis vnitas ordia rerum
 Vt initio omnium seminaverant: 85
 Teres gremium septiformis aethrae,
 Citosque omniparentis orbis ambitus,
 Doctasque Elementa flammulas
 Formare molliter
 Et fingere motus 90
 Corde in sequare Protheos,
 Suae domuêre Iconis
 Potenti voluntate, hominis, Deûm
 Arbitrio potiti.

Because neither
 the power of chains of Heaven urges Man
 forward, nor an iron necessity.

2nd Epode

But that venerable unity of the Son,
 the Father and the well-meaning
 Spirit had sown the order of the world
 as if for the beginning of everything:
 the rounded womb of the sevenfold ether,
 the quick, all-bearing courses of the heavenly
 bodies,
 and the little flames that are able to softly
 form the elements
 and to instill impulses
 in the docile heart of Protheus
 to rule about his own shape
 with a mighty will, as he was a man,
 endowed with the freedom of the gods.

In this excursus that is thematically related to the poem but stands apart from the rest, Johannes Kepler proclaims the view that astrology has no binding power over the human being (or at least over human beings who are like Proteus). The reason for this is theological: the Holy Trinity, which stands at the beginning of all worldly things, endows the human being with free will, which allows them to change their nature and their fate like Proteus can change his physical appearance. This is a view of astrology that Kepler has repeated often in later writings.⁵¹

The similarity between this excursus and the excursus in Paulus Melissus' poem lies mainly in the form. One point of particular interest is the enjambement between the strophes at the beginning of both excursus. Enjambement is a common stylistic element in Pindar's odes or one could even say that in Pindar's odes usually the different parts of the triads do not serve to organize the ode thematically but only rhythmically.⁵² In the odes of

⁵¹ Cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 312).

⁵² Cf. GIANNINI (2008).

the 16th century and also in Paulus Melissus Schede's and in Johannes Kepler's ode(s), strophe, antistrophe and epode usually do represent thematic blocks.⁵³ Therefore, it seems to be no chance that Paulus Melissus used a Pindaric enjambement in his Pindaric excursus in his epithalamium to the brothers Hainzel. Kepler took this combination of conspicuously Pindaric elements from his model, which is not only Pindar but also Schede.

Schede's epithalamium *Abelo Strasburgo sponso* 'For the groom Abel Strasburger' consists only of one triad. Abel Strasburger was an advocate, who also wrote poetry and probably liked to think of himself as a poet.⁵⁴ Paulus Melissus Schede as I have described, was the closest thing to a professional poet one could have in Early Modernity. So, this epithalamium is written from one poet to another poet.

It is therefore laden with poetological and intertextual allusions that are meant to speak to the other poet. The topic of the wedding and the couple is secondary. The poem begins with an address to the groom that calls him *lep-idulum venustulumque* – 'my cute and lovely one' and thus speaks to the poet in the most intimate manner of friendship. The rest of the strophe is used to ask two questions: In short: Isn't there a choir of nymphs to sing a wedding song in your parts? Must I sing your wedding song? In the following antistrophe, the poet suggests other famous poets and rhetoricians of the time who might be more suitable: Gregor Bersman, the professor for philology and ethics in Leipzig, Johannes Caselius, professor for Greek, philosophy and rhetoric in Helmstedt, and Nathan Chytraeus, a famous humanist and author of three books of epithalamia and epitaphs. The first half of the poem is thus spent on feigned diversions and a topical statement of humility – many others would be more fit to sing a wedding song. The rest of the antistrophe is spent on a preparation of the wedding: Juno is appealed to; the evening star and the other stars bring the night and invite for the wedding, which can be read here as an invitation for sex. The epode, finally, shows the couple kissing each other madly and encourages the couple to have sex. The

⁵³ Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 249–250; 253).

⁵⁴ Cf. SCHULTHEISS (2015: 254); KARRER (1993: 442).

epode is highly reminiscent of parts of various carmina of Catullus, particularly *carmen* 5, the famous *da mihi basia mille*, and *carmen* 99.⁵⁵

While being a creative take on the topic of wedding, the wedding song for Abel Strasburger works mainly as a metapoetical piece. The topical humble refusal of the poet to take on his task fills half of the poem. The rest is about sex, artfully clad in reminiscences of Catullus, and thus skips most parts of a conventional epithalamium. From a metapoetical point of view it is an overly obvious collection of topoi from Catullus. In both respects, the delay of the wedding by the poet in the first half and the overly obvious haste of the poem in the second half create a comic effect and may, at the same time, express the state of mind of the young couple in the moment of marriage – again not without an element of humour.

Also this third epithalamium of Schede is an interesting model for Kepler's *Melos*. Schede's epithalamium for Strasburger plays with the fact that Schede and Strasburger are both poets and that we are therefore witnessing a take on an epithalamium from one poet to another. This special situation allows Schede to almost completely drop the conventions of the epithalamium with a comic effect. The epithalamium that is announced turns out to be entirely about the groom, and about the groom as a reader of Catullus. Similarly, Kepler's *Melos Hymeneium* is announced and concluded as an epithalamium, but is in fact a poem for the groom, that addresses him not mainly in his function of groom but as an astronomer, astrologist and theologian. The relationship between the poet and the addressee in Kepler's *Melos*, thus, mirrors the same relationship in Schede's *Abelo Strasburgo sponso*: here a poet writes to a poet about poetry, there an astronomer-astrologer-theologian writes to another one about astronomy, astrology and theology. Only the barest frame of the epithalamium is kept. Kepler seems to have adopted the degree of individual adaptation that Schede introduced to Pindaric poetry and applies it to his and his addressee's circumstances.

⁵⁵ SCHULTHEISS (2015: 256–258).

6. Conclusion: Schede's Influence on Kepler's *Melos* and Kepler's Artistic Independence

Comparing Kepler's *Melos* with the Pindarising epithalamia of Paulus Melissus Schede, it becomes clear that Kepler was aware of either Schede's work, or something similar to it. As Schede was the most famous contemporary Neo-Latin poet of the time, and the first person to compose Pindarising epithalamia, publishing them five years before Kepler wrote his *Melos*, it is highly likely that Schede's epithalamia were Kepler's model. The similarities between the pronounced combination of Pindaric enjambement and Pindaric excursus and the singular focus on the grooms' capacities in both Schede's and Kepler's wedding songs add weight to this claim.

Kepler's *Melos*, thus, must be looked at completely differently than before. This is not merely a formally close and thematically awkward imitation of Pindar, but rather a demonstration of Kepler's knowledge of the Pindarising tradition of the 16th century, specifically of the late 1580s. Kepler is completely up-to-date, aware of the latest contemporary poetry, and he uses it as a model for his own work, while continuing to develop Pindaric poetry in his own way. Kepler fills his academic version of the epithalamium with content that is fitting for the audience he had in mind, taking the tradition established by Schede and transforming it.

Furthermore, Kepler takes a literary stance in contrast to Schede. Although both use the Pindaric form, Schede employs themes from love poetry and the epithalamium tradition, while Kepler uses the form to discuss theological subjects and astrology. Kepler's *Melos* is, in some respects, closer to Pindar, Dorat, and De Ronsard than to Schede, particularly in the choice of the panegyric of the ingenious man rather than the poet or lover. Kepler also follows Pindar more closely in the form and the choice of his devices. In sum, Kepler's *Melos hymenaeum Pindaricum* reveals a young poet who is not only capable of setting words in a meter but of playing in the field of literature, interacting with his contemporaries, and in possession of his own unique voice.

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Appendix 1

Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum – Text and Translation

IN ACTVM SECVNDUM
 Primarum Nuptiarum
 INTEGERRIMI,
 DOCTISSIMIQUE VIRI, D.
 M. GREGORII GLAREANI
 Stutgardiensis, Diaconi in Gruibingen,
 Mathematici haudquaquam postremi,
 cum pudicissimâ virgine Anna,
 honesti viri, Fabiani Kommerelli, ciuis,
 et quondam Senatoris Tubingensis
 F. Tubingae 10. Cal. Quintil. Anno 1591.
 celebratarum:

Melos Hymeneium Pindaricum.

Stropha 1. Col. 17.

Uolantum intime mentium	
Rector, ô Cytharoede	
Bombe, quid intonabis?	
Querulumne gamelion ille	
GLAREANVS excitat,	5
Dia buccina Christi:	
Prodigum salutis an-	
cile perpetuae	
Deus quod aethere è sereno	
Humo indulsit? illi apex	10
Morum et eruditionis	
Carptus, obumbrat Caput.	
Venerigena Charis	
Ventre matris editum	
Manibus abluit tepidulis.	15
Paternas Atlantias dedit aquas,	
Suique apice montis abdidit.	

Antistropha 17.

Manum Daedalus, ingenI	
Argicida recessus	
Fingere iuſſi, vterque	20
Juue ne obstupuere polito	

Caeteros nigrae supra
 Continentis alumnos.
 Iuſſa quercus, illius
 Ad manus sequitur. 25
 Fit orbici toreuma mundi:
 Fit ingentis aetheris
 Compes, vnde concitatum
 Implicitis orbitis,
 Celeriter oculo 30
 Comprehendit altero:
 Fit aqua et eminentis humi apex:
 Fit vmbellae iter volucre tenuis,
 Breuis spacia lucis indicans.

Epodos Col. 13.

Vagos numerat ille motus, 35
 Labyrintheosque
 Refraenat ingenI turbine gyros.
 Quadrifidus ipse vix certius suum
 Olympus iter nouit aut reuoluit.
 Fatigata vbi lumina obsidet sopor, 40
 Mortalibus atque caeteris
 Muta incubat quies
 Tunc hic sua pernox
 Stat sydera intuens: iuuat
 Sagacia commercia 45
 Inire, et choros cernere lacteo
 Tripudiare circo.

Stropha 2. Col. 17.

Libris inde patentibus
 Sera secula pandit.
 Indicio futuri 50
 Noua pagina surgit. Amyntae
 Scorpionum reciprocatur
 Promptus aethere Stilbon.
 Cyprida inclytâ locat
 Parte Deucalion. 55
 Nec respuit benigna Phoebe.
 Hic ergò pius sapit.
 Asserit Ceres fluenteis
 Diuitias: lubrica

Stropha 3. Col. 17.

Tuam ô qui faciem inspicis,	95
Vndiquaque resultans,	
Aetheris vmbilice,	
Vitreum per inane fluentum	
Fulgurum scatebra, sol,	
Quae reflexa resorbes:	100
Siue equis magis placet	
Turbinare rotas,	
Tuos coire Phoebe manda	
Clientes: et his nouis	
Machinatione sponis	105
Vnanimi gignere	
Facileque leueque	
Coniugale vinculum.	
Age per angiportum itiner a-	
Ge sex limites: repone solia	110
Quaterna ter: et ordines loca.	

Antistropha. Col. 17.

Nepam viuificus premat	
Primus ordine Mauors.	
Majugenam, per aedem	
Vehat vndecimam Tegeaea.	115
Idalis retrogradi	
Dura tergora Cancri	
Occupet, procacibus	
Intuens oculis	
Agenoris feram, tenebras	120
Cadentem sub inferas.	
Aede cude opes secundâ	
Aegoceroti incubans	
Pueriuore senex.	
Noctiluca Iuppiter-	125
Que geminos petat fretigenas	
Domo quintâ. At ô, sed axe medio	
Leonis, Hyperion, ad iubas.	

Epodos Col. 13.

Pyli serite consonanter	
Senis aeuitatem:	130
Opes, genus, decus, gaudia, amicos	

Serite toro coniugum novo.
 Sed induperator ille vester
 Deus conditor ille, VELLE cuius, est
 Tellusque polusque et omnia, 135
 Fotu incubans sacro
 Maturet aristas.
 Sic illius sacro gregi, Hic
 Ministerio, plurimos
 Suo copulet terrigenas, humum 140
 Ingenerans Olympo.

Scriptum
 Συγχαριστίας καὶ εὐχαριστίας
 ἔνεκα ἃ
 Joanne Kepplero 145
 Villano,
 Tubingae 1591.⁵⁶

For the second act being the first wedding of the very honorable and very learned man, Sir M. Gregor Glarean, from Stuttgart, deacon in Gruibingen, mathematician not of low rank, with the very chaste virgin Anna, daughter of an honest man, Fabian Kommerell, citizen and former councillor of Tübingen, to be celebrated in Tübingen on the 22 June in the year 1591: a wedding song in the style of Pindar.

1st Strophe

Most expert commander of floating spirits, oh low-pitched singer to the cithara, what will you start to play? Does this Glarean, the divine trumpet of Christ, elicit a soft sounding wedding song, this holy shield, overabundant with eternal salvation, whom God has granted to Earth from the Heavens? A wreath, plucked from good manners and erudition, obumbrates his head. Charis, born from Venus, washed him with her dear, warm hands, after he had been born from his mother's womb. The daughter of Atlas⁵⁷ gave him water from her father and kept him hidden at the summit of her mountain.⁵⁸

1st Antistrophe

Daedalus was ordered to form his hand, the Argicide⁵⁹ to form his innermost genius; both of them were astonished about the result, as the young man was polished beyond

⁵⁶ Text after SECK-BALZERT (2020).

⁵⁷ Maia.

⁵⁸ Mt Cyllene.

⁵⁹ Hermes.

compare with the other children of the black Earth. When he commands the oak, it follows his hands exactly. A relief of the round world is made. Fetters for the vast heaven, through which he can grasp the confusion caused by the entangled orbits quickly with a second glance. Water and the high point of the land that protrudes are formed. The fleeting path of a faint shadow, which indicates the intervals of short daylight, is made.

1st Epode

He counts the wandering movements and tames the Labyrinthine courses of the stars with the spindle of his genius.⁶⁰ Even the fourfold heaven itself hardly has safer knowledge of its path, nor could it spool it off with more certainty. When sleep besieges the tired eyes and mute silence holds sway over the other mortals, then he is up all through the night keeping watch over his stars, and he is happy to enter into keen-sighted businesses and to watch the dance troupes perform a dance in triple time in the Milky Way.

2nd Strophe

From this he reveals later ages as if from open books. As a sign of the future a new page arises. Visible in the sky at first, Mercury brings the scorpion back to Amyntas.⁶¹ Deucalion has Venus in a glorious place.⁶² Also the benign Moon does not reject him. Thus, this man is pious and wise. Ceres grants flowing riches.⁶³ The inconstant wheel of the

⁶⁰ *turbo* means (a part of) the spindle, cf. eg. Cat. 64, 314. Glarean tames the unfathomable movements of the celestial bodies with his mind, like a spinner tames the tangled fibers of wool or another material with the spindle.

⁶¹ The passage is mysterious, cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 315); Gregor Glarean is a practising astrologer (48–51). V. 51ff gives an example for this activity and alludes to the horoscope of an ‚Amyntas‘ that might have meant something for the poet and his audience. Amyntas is a typical bucolic name (eg. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 37) that is often used exchangeably as a name for a typical shepherd (boy) and could therefore easily be a stand-in for another name or a coded name. The astronomical-astrological situation in the horoscope would be the following: when Mercury is visible as the first ‚star‘ (*promptus aethere*), i.e. when Mercury is at its furthest eastern elongation, at the point of its greatest brightness (*Stilbon*), when it is briefly visible as the first evening star just after sunset (this is the only time when Mercury is ever visible), cf. KERNER (2020: 55–56), and when it is either in the scorpion or in some relationship (aspect) to something in the scorpion, which would affect Amyntas. *reciprocat* may imply that the ‚bringing back‘ of the scorpion’s influence has something to do with Mercury’s retrograde motion (= apparent movement against the direction of the stars’ movement from the earth perspective) just after reaching its maximum elongation, when Mercury can actually return to (and thus ‚bring back‘) a relationship with (something in) the scorpion that it has just been in a little time before.

⁶² Deucalion, a name from the myth used similarly like Amyntas before.

⁶³ *fluenteis* is an uncommon form = *fluentes*? cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 89).

goddess sways after it has been hit by the persistent light of the old man of Leucas.⁶⁴ Bellona ponders sacrilegious weapons. The god of the Getes⁶⁵ occupies Jupiter.

2nd *Antistrophe*

O man, who is related to God⁶⁶ and a partaker in the treasures of the celestial vault: it is his destiny, that he brings in a picture of the ever-returning world the strings led by the sacred thumb. Instead of the deity, he interdicts and commands with prophetic spirit, for the raw populace to pursue this, for the clever person to pursue that: not to be too afraid of the menacing, horrifying rage of heaven, not to think God all too friendly towards their misdeeds. Because neither the power of chains of Heaven urges Man forward, nor an iron necessity.

2nd *Epode*

But that venerable unity of the Son, the Father and the well-meaning Spirit had sown the order of the world as if for the beginning of everything: the rounded womb of the sevenfold ether, the quick, all-bearing courses of the heavenly bodies, and the little flames that are able to softly form the elements and to instill impulses in the docile heart of Protheus to rule about his own shape with a mighty will, as he was a man, endowed with the freedom of the gods.

3rd *Strophe*

Oh you, who looks at his own face, as you are reflected from everywhere, navel of the sky, bubbling spring of flashes of lightning that travel through the translucent, empty space, Sun, who drinks up his own reflections: be it that you prefer horses to turn your wheels, command your clients, Phoebus, to come together and beget with unanimous effort for these newly weds a comfortable and easy marriage bond. Make a path through the narrow passage, make six boundary lines, put up twelve thrones and assign dominions their place.

⁶⁴ *Leucadius senex* is identified as Saturn in Kepler's *Votum Gratulatorium*, 22, of his *Nyctthemeron Augustale*, cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 316; 447). The connection between the god and the place is not clear; Leucas sported a temple of Apollon and was known for human sacrifice (Strab. 10, 2, 8–9), cf. STRAUCH.

⁶⁵ Mars, cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 316).

⁶⁶ Glarean made a model of the solar system. He is the God of his model like God is the God of the solar system.

*3rd Antistrophe*⁶⁷

The scorpion⁶⁸ shall be pressed by enlivening Mars, first in line. The one born from Maia⁶⁹ shall be led through the eleventh house by the Tegeaeon.⁷⁰ Idalis⁷¹ shall occupy the hard backside of backward-striding Cancer and watch with frivolous gaze the beast of Agenor,⁷² which sinks below the shadows of the Underworld.⁷³ Mint riches in the second house, while lying on the Wild Goat, child-eating old man.⁷⁴ Moon and Jupiter shall look for the seaborne twins in the fifth house.⁷⁵ And you, Sun, in the middle of the sky near the Lion's mane.

⁶⁷ The question, whether the horoscope given here, is a horoscope of the day of the wedding, is complex and cannot be resolved here. Seck states correctly, with reference to Günther Oesmann, that the position of the Sun in the Lion, 127–128, cannot be reconciled with the date of the wedding, SECK–BALZERT (2020: 313). Other positions are remarkably close, though, to those in the actual sky in Tübingen on 22 June 1591. Württemberg still used the Julian Calendar in 1591, cf. GROTEFEND (1922: 27). 22 June 1591 in Tübingen according to the Julian Calendar corresponds to 2 July 1591 according to our Gregorian Calendar. On this day, Mercury and Venus were in the Crab; Jupiter and the Moon indeed had had a conjunction the day before (and were, thus, still very close to each other), though not in the Fishes or Twins but in the (twinlike?) Scales; Mars is not in the Scorpion but in the nearby Archer; Saturn does not find itself in the Wild Goat but in the Twins directly opposite to the Goat, cf. Appendix 2. It could be that Kepler intended to give a horoscope of the wedding day and made mistakes, some of which might be due to either faulty ephemerides etc or mistakes in his imagination. It seems that he mostly got things right that would be visible with the naked eye in Tübingen at night (Jupiter, Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars). The possible mistakes were made with those celestial bodies, whose positions in the Zodiac have to be inferred or calculated (Sun, Saturn near the Sun), cf. Appendix 2. On the other hand, our lack of understanding of his metaphors for astrological relationships (*incubat, petat* etc.) might blur our understanding of his intended meaning. These could point not to the positions but to some other meaningful relationships (trines, oppositions etc.). The description of the Sun's position 'near the Lion's mane' while it would have been in the Twins is astonishing, especially if he got Venus and Mercury right, 114–118. One could make this mistake by 'counting one down (the Crab to the Lion) instead of one up (the Crab to the Twins).' It is hard to imagine, though, that Kepler would not have known where the Sun was in the Zodiac at any given day.

⁶⁸ Cicero uses *nepa* in his translation of Aratus both for the Crab and for the Scorpion, e.g. Cic. *Arat.* 216 (Crab); 405 (Scorpion). The Scorpion is much closer to Mars's position on the day.

⁶⁹ Mercury.

⁷⁰ Callisto, who is the Great Bear, cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 316), is positioned in the vicinity of the Lion, the Crab, and the Twins. Mercury, like any planet, is usually seen from Earth a little above or below the ecliptic, the Sun's path that determines which star signs are part of the Zodiac. Mercury, though, would never be far enough from the ecliptic to appear in the Great Bear. The passage is mysterious. One could imagine that Callisto pulls Mercury while he is travelling through the signs in her vicinity mentioned above.

⁷¹ Venus, cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 316).

⁷² The Bull, cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 316).

⁷³ Below the horizon.

⁷⁴ Saturn.

⁷⁵ 'the seaborne twins' could refer to the sign Fishes, which is usually imagined as two fishes, cf. SECK–BALZERT (2020: 317). One could also think of the constellation Twins, which, like

3rd Epode

Harmoniously lay the foundations for as many years as those of the old man of Pylos.⁷⁶ With the new marriage of yourselves, spouses, lay the foundations for riches, offspring, honour, happiness and friends. But He, your master, He, God the creator, who has the willing and the Earth and the Heaven and all, may he, incubating with his divine warmth, bring the ears to maturity. In the same manner, shall this one,⁷⁷ through his service, attach very many inhabitants of Earth to His divine flock, remaking Earth through Heaven.

This has been written as congratulation and out of thankfulness by Johannes Kepler from Weil, in Tübingen 1591.

every star sign, arises from out of the sea, or the constellation Scales, which like the fishes has a somewhat twinlike shape and is the actual position of Moon and Jupiter on the day, see Appendix 2.

⁷⁶ Nestor, cf. SECK-BALZERT (2020: 317).

⁷⁷ Gregor Glarean, who as a priest can, in turn to (*sic*) God's generosity, draw people to God's flock.

Appendix 2

Table of the positions of Sun, Moon and the planets on 22 June 1591, Julian Calendar (= 2 July 1591, Gregorian Calendar) and the positions inferred from the Melos Hymeneium 112–128.

Ce- lestial bodies	Position on 22 June 1591 (Julian = 2 July, Gregori- an)		Position according to the <i>Melos</i>		Match
	Ecliptic longi- tude	Sidereal constellation	Ecliptic longitude	Sidereal constellation	
Sun	99–101°	Twins	132–168°	Lion	no
Moon	224–237°	Scales, Scor- pion	?	Twins?, Fishes?, Scales?	(yes?, matched with Jupiter!)
Mercu- ry	125–126°	Crab	85–168°	Twins, Crab, Lion	yes
Venus	129–131°	Crab	112–133°	Crab	yes
Mars	262–263°	Archer	235–264°	Scorpion	yes ⁷⁸
Jupiter	218–219°	Scales	?	Twins?, Fishes?, Scales?	(yes?, matched with Moon!)
Saturn	93–94°	Gemini	294–322°	Goat	no

This research has made use of the Stellarium planetarium (version 0.22.5.0).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The sidereal constellations, which correspond to what is visible in the sky, are not as clearly divisible as the tropical zodiac signs, cf. KERNER (2022: 43–44; 193–197). Looking at the sky, Mars would have appeared to be between the Archer and the Scorpion, although it was in what astronomers today would consider to be part of the Archer.

⁷⁹ Cf. ZOTTI et al. (2021).

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Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*: The Glorious Ability to Create (and Translate) Humor

The paper regards Plautus' Miles Gloriosus in terms of comedy type and methods used for achieving comic effect. For this purpose, we consider two episodes from the plot, both containing a repetitive motif – an idea that is continuously reiterated by the characters throughout the respective act. These occurrences are subjected to analysis to determine the essence of humor contained within them – apart from their repetitiveness. After exploring some specific examples in the original, we then compare them to their counterparts in the Bulgarian translation from 1978 made by the Bulgarian translator Alexander Nichev. The aim of the study is to outline the techniques for creating humor within those repetitive parts in the original mainly with regard to the language style and the way humor is transferred in Bulgarian language – what strategies and/or procedures are applied and has the comic effect been achieved.

Keywords: translation studies, ancient literature, ancient comedy, Plautus, humor, Bulgarian translation

Laughter is a universal phenomenon and one of its agents is humor. When it comes to humor, we react to it naturally. That is if we understand it. Only when we do not understand a joke, we start to question why it was funny and what was missing for us to appreciate it. And if we persist on analysing, we eventually discover that there are various techniques for creating humor and achieving comic effect. One of those techniques is repetitiveness.

In the Plautine drama *Miles Gloriosus* there are two repetitive motifs, which encompass a great portion of the play. In this text we will review them as a background to some techniques for creating verbal humor (alongside the repetitive motifs) and their translation in Bulgarian.

Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* is one of the four Plautine comedies translated in Bulgarian. It has only one translation to this day, which was published in an authoritative edition of collection of ancient drama texts in 1978. This year is part of a certain period (from 1956 to 1995) in the Bulgarian literary tradition of translating ancient texts, which is characterized by renewed interest toward classical works after approximately a decade without any such texts.¹

We can regard verse 138 of the drama as the logical beginning of the episode containing the repetitive motif which we will call 'to not see what he sees' as it is in verse 149 where we encounter it initially. The first scene of the second act, to which these verses belong, serves as a delayed prologue. There the cunning slave Palaestrio discloses to the audience that his previous master (Pleusicles) was cheated off his love when the soldier Pyrgopolynices kidnapped and took away his woman Philocomasium. During his attempt to notify his master of what happened, Palaestrio is captured and given to Pyrgopolynices as a gift but still manages to inform Pleusicles of the situation. When Pleusicles arrives at Ephesus, where they all are located, he finds residence at the soldier's neighbour's house – Periplectomenus. Palaestrio momentarily conjures a plan how to reunite the lovers *and* at the same time trick Sceledrus, the slave left to guard Philocomasium, so he will not see what he sees. Sceledrus is introduced as a person of no great value (*nam meus conservos est homo haud magni preti*²) so the schemes are bound to be successful. This all happens with the approval of the neighbor.

ei nos facitis fabricis et doctis dolis
glaucumam ob oculos obiciemus eumque ita
faciemus ut quod viderit ne viderit.
(Pl. M. Gl. 147–149)

¹ ATANASOV (2002).

² Because my fellow slave is a man without great value (All English translations belong to the author of this paper and are mainly literal).

We with witty tricks and skilful deceptions
will throw dust in his eyes and thus
we will make him to not see what he sees.

The central trick is a hole in Philocomasium's room by which she can cross unnoticed to the neighbour's house to see her lover, and the deception is Philocomasium pretending to be her twin sister who allegedly is staying at the neighbour's house with *her* lover.

ita sublinetur os custodi mulieris.
(Pl. *M. Gl.* 153)

Thus, the woman's guard will be mocked.

At the start of the next scene the events begin to unfold a few steps back as someone (still unknown for the characters, even for Palaestrio) has climbed on the roof of Periplectomenus' house and have seen Philocomasium kissing her lover. Ahead lies the unveiling of this mystery person as well as the witty plan of how to deceive him and cheat him off of his knowledge.

For the purpose of this analysis, we will review the moments where our repetitive moment is present only briefly. In short it looks like this:

Whoever has seen her, convince them not to have seen her.
Whatever has been seen, make it to not have been seen.
I am certain I have seen ...
So, he has seen?
I have seen for sure ...
For sure? You have not seen
I know for sure that I have seen
You still claim you have seen?
What else can I tell you except what I have seen?
You say you have seen her there?

What if I make you see her here?

Go on, I want to know if I have seen what I have seen.

Then comes Philocomasium

Are you saying you have seen me there?

You see more than you see

I will not be convinced I have not seen what I have seen

Then comes the story for the twin sister

What I believe I have seen, now I think I have not seen

I have not seen even if I have seen

Then comes “the twin” herself and a chain of lines Is it her/ it is not her/ it is her/ Am I who/ You are her/ I am not her and so on. Then:

You have seen but you have misjudged what you have seen

Even now I do not know what I have seen

Sceledrus checks both houses for each of the twin sisters.

So, have you seen?

I have seen (why deny what I have seen) but I thought I have seen the other.

From now on you will not see even what you have seen

We have deceived him to not have seen what he has seen

As *we* can see this repetitive motif plays with audience’s expectations and thus creates humorous effect by itself – firstly by the audience recognizing its repetitiveness (in some variations), then by anticipating its appearance again and again and finally by awaiting its end, which probably does not

come as quickly as expected, because it continues to drag on and on until it reaches levels of absurdity. Every stage of this process brings comic relief for different reasons, but our study will not be concerned with them. This chain of repetitions inspires other comical moments during its continuance, more or less connected with the 'seeing' theme. Furthermore, because this chain spreads along around 400 verses, there are plenty opportunities for even more instances eliciting laughter. And Plautus is nothing if not opportunistic for creating humor whenever possible. Those instances vary among alliterations, metaphors, wordplay, specific military language, accumulation of words from one grammatical category, irony, farce, etc.

We will review three such examples, interconnected by wordplay on Sceledrus' name to which this repetitive motif serves as a background, and one similar example of wordplay, again at Sceledrus' expense, from the second repetitive moment.

This motif is introduced in the next – the III act – and pervades the storyline until around the middle of the IV act. Thus, it is longer than the previous motif but is present mostly with different parts of its whole – that is, the whole plan for tricking the soldier and ensuring the happy ending for the two young lovers. Palaestrio's plan, *lepidam sycophantiam*³ by his own words, is presented in its entirety from line 782 and on and consists of Periplectomenus procuring two women – one as beautiful and young as possible (*quam lepidissimam potis quamque adulescentem maxime* [Pl. M. Gl. 788]), in which the heart and soul are full of banter and guile (*cui facetiarum cor pectusque sit plenum et doli* [Pl. M. Gl. 783]), which has self-interest, sustains body with body and has sound mind (*quae sit quaestuosa, quae alat corpus corpore / cuique sapiat pectus* [Pl. M. Gl. 785–786]). She has to be brought to Periplectomenus' house glamorized as a matron and must present herself as Periplectomenus' wife. This will be Acroteleutium's role. The second woman should also be cunning and must play the role of the matron's maid. For that the actual maid of Acroteleutium – Milphidippa – is chosen. After the procurement of the women Periplectomenus has to instruct Acroteleutium

³ Beautiful scheme.

to behave as his wife but also as if she is enamored of the soldier and wants to send him a ring through her maid as a token of her love. Then the maid should pass the ring onto Palaestrio so he can present it to the soldier as if he is the mediator of the entire deal *Pl. M. Gl.* 798). One line later the key part of the plan is repeated (although with some additional explanation) by Palaestrio, thus setting the beginning of the repetition:

ei dabo, aps tua mi uxore dicam delatum et datum,
ut sese ad eum conciliarem ...
(*Pl. M. Gl.* 800–801)

I will give it to him, I will say it was brought and given to me by your wife in order to recommend her to him ...

Thenceforth about eight instances take place where this plan is mentioned. After laying it out in front of Periplectomenus, it is then needed for the old man to explain everything to the two women. This, however, is not shown to us as audience in detail, but we understand it has taken place by Periplectomenus' words. This is also the first teasing with the repetitive motif itself.

Per. Rem omnem tibi, Acroteleutium, tibi que una, Milphidippa,
domi demonstravi in ordine. hanc fabricam fallaciasque
minus si tenetis, denuo volo percipiatis plane;
satis si intellegitis, aliud est quod potius fabulemur.
(*Pl. M. Gl.* 874–877)

Per. I explained the whole deal to you, Acroteleutium, along with you, Milphidippa,
at home in turn. This trickery and cleverness
if you don't grasp enough, I want for you to understand clearly;
if you understand enough, there is something else we should rather discuss.

After Periplectomenus has secured that the plan has been understood, it is Palaestrio's turn to do the same. Although this time, as diligent plan-maker, he goes over every step one by one and waits at each for Acroteleutium's confirmation (Pl. *M. Gl.* 902–914). During this conversation there are two more distinguishable instances which play with the absurdity of the motif of repetition and the characters' thorough comprehensiveness. After confirming two of Palaestrio's steps of the plan with phrases such as 'It will happen' (*Fiet*) and 'It will be so' (*Sic futurum est*), the third response of Acroteleutium – 'You could have been a great soothsayer, because you say the things that will be' (*Bonus vates poteras esse, nam quae sunt futura dicis* [Pl. *M. Gl.* 911]) sounds comical, and even if we presume it was not uttered mockingly but seriously it would amplify its comic effect even more (because, after all, he has devised the plan). This adds another layer of humor on top of the initial one, created by the constant repetition of the plan (much like in the previous repetitive motif which, in a way, has set the tone for this one and magnifies its comicality even more).

The second instance, which brings to an end this particular variation of the plan's continuous revision, is when Periplectomenus asks what probably most of the audience wants to know – 'Why are such reminders needed of things that they remember?' (*Quid istis nunc memoratis opust quae commemorare?* [Pl. *M. Gl.* 914]). Plautus uses the repetition technique to create humor and then makes his own characters mock it.

There are six more instances repeating the plan or parts of the plan, most of which are from its actual enactment in front of the soldier, as well as another instance of mocking the repetitiveness: when Milphidippa asks Palaestrio how to trick Pyrgopolynices, he starts to utter the already well-known (part of) the plan – 'By pretending she is in love with him –' (*Quasi hunc depereat* – [Pl. *M. Gl.* 1026]), but she cuts him off with the words 'I know this' (*Teneo istuc* [ibid.]).

The first instance, which we will consider, is when Sceledrus encloses to Palaestrio that he has seen Philocomasium with another man.

Quod ego, Sceledre, scelus ex te audio?

(Pl. M. Gl. 289)

What evildoing,⁴ Sceledrus, am I hearing from you?

Скот си ти, Скеледре!

(Nichev 1978: 363)

You are a brute, Sceledrus!

Sceledrus' name is a wordplay on the Latin word *scelus*, which means evil-doing, crime, villainy, wickedness and by extension – criminal, villain, felon. The two words are directly juxtaposed, as if to inform anyone who has not figured out the connection yet. The resemblance is blunted by the ending of the vocative case (*Sceledre*). In the nominative clause the euphony connects the two more effectively – Sceledrus-scelus. Nevertheless, the wordplay is clear and by positioning them consecutively, the connotations of *scelus* are in a way attributed to Sceledrus as additional definition of his character – next to 'a person of no great value'.

In the context of the Latin original *scelus* is meant as something done wrong or with evil intentions. In the Bulgarian translation, however, the translator has preferred the figurative meaning of *scelus* (criminal, villain, felon) and have used it as a predicate noun ('Скот си ти, Скеледре'/You are a brute, Sceledrus; notice the similar sounding of the two initial letters 'Ск' ([sk])-'Sc'). The word 'ском', used here, means a domesticated animal, livestock, but it *also* has a figurative meaning – scurvy, villainous person. In this regard it approximates some of the connotations of *scelus*. We may also notice that in Bulgarian both 'ском' and 'Скеледре' start with [sk] which corresponds to the similarity between the starting sounds of *scelus* and *Sceledre* in Latin. However, if we are not searching for such similarities, we might miss this and miss overall the intended connection between 'ском' and 'Скеледре' as the original words are much more alike than those in the Bulgarian translation. Two similar letters are not sufficient for immediate connection of the

⁴ Because we are looking for a meaning denoting action.

two words on phonetic level and then eventually, by extension, on connotative level. Part of the satisfaction which humor elicits comes from recognizing that there is some kind of joke and that a person has managed to perceive it. Though there is an explanatory note, which points out the alliteration, it does not mention the connection on semantic level and what it alludes about the character. This is also valid for the next two examples.

nescio quae te, Sceledre, scelera suscitant.

(Pl. *M. Gl.* 330)

I don't know what villainies, Sceledre, incite you.

Скеледре, едра глупост те мори!

(Nichev 1978: 365)

Sceledre, large stupidity plagues you!

Here, in the Latin original, we can observe the same juxtaposition, although this time the form of *scelus* is in its Nom. Pl. form (*scelera*). Because of that it has even more similarities on phonetic level with the word *Sceledre*. The alliteration here is extended by the word *suscitant* – also starting with 's' and containing the [stj] sound of the previous two words. The meaning of *scelera* is the same as in the previous example – referring to some evildoings.

The Bulgarian translation differs significantly from the previous example, even though in the Latin original the usage is more or less the same. Seemingly the alliteration is absent, although when we examine the sentence carefully, we notice that in the peculiar collocation '*едра глупост*' (large stupidity) there is a sequence of letters which corresponds to the same one in *Скеледре*, namely '*едр*' [edr]. This can explain the odd choice of the adjective '*едра*' (large) instead of a more appropriate one. We could go even further as to suggest that the choice of '*глупост*' (stupidity) for *scelera* instead of something closer to the meaning 'evildoing, villainy' is justified not only by the need of (semi-)suitable noun for the adjective '*едра*' (large) but also by the presence of the phonemes 'л' [l] and 'cm' [st] in '*глупост*'. In this way,

although not ultimate, the translator has managed to resemble the sounds in ‘Sceledre’ but in reverse.⁵ So, it looks something like this:

Ск – л – едр – едр – (г)л – ст

Even though the translator has moved away from the exact connotations of *scelera*, his choice is a meaningful addition to the list of words defining Sceledrus’ character and is plausible for the situation (i.e., he is so stupid, that he has started seeing things that are not there). The phonetic pattern of word choice is discernible. Nevertheless, the comic effect here is weaker than in the original because there are too many connections to be made and the recognition of the wordplay is not immediate but rather arduous.

tun, Sceledre, hic, scelerum caput

(Pl. M. Gl. 494)

Did you, Sceledrus, here, head of evildoings

Ти ли, хей, Скеледре, скверна твар

(Nichev 1978: 375)

Did you, hey, Sceledrus, vile creature

The third and last play on Sceledrus’ name with *scelus* occurs when Periplectomenus addresses him. He calls him *scelerum caput* which literally means ‘head of evildoings’. This time *Sceledre* and *scelerum* are separated by *hic*, but this is not an obstacle before the wordplay’s recognition. On the contrary, this plays with the previously established pattern. It also is able to achieve similarity in sound dynamic – *tun, Sceledre / hic, scelerum*.

In the Bulgarian translation the separating word *hic* is relocated in front of *Sceledre*, so that the two can again be next to each other, probably because in the Bulgarian version the wordplay did not establish a pattern with

⁵ Regarding the resemblance between [sk] and [st] – [k] and [t] are both voiceless plosives, differing only in the place of articulation, so they truly have grounds for similarity.

the previous two instances and must rely on the proximity of the words for recognition. Otherwise, the translator has chosen another synonym for someone unworthy and animal-like and in this regard stays consistent. Furthermore, the chosen adjective 'скверна' (vile) starts appropriately with [sk] sounds and together with the noun 'твар' (creature) and 'Скеледрe' they repeat another sound effect: (e)ðp – β(e)p – β(a)p [(e)dr – v(e)r – v(a)r]. The comic effect in the original, however, is accumulating with every new occurrence of this particular wordplay, so by the third appearance it can even play with itself by (slightly) cheating the expectations. As we said, recognition of a joke's existence is important for achieving humorous effect and satisfaction in the audience. The repetitive pattern in the original helps the wordplay in this regard, which cannot be said for the Bulgarian translation where every instance, seemingly, is a standalone one.

Although the three examples are not as interconnected in the Bulgarian version as in the original, their translation seems to be driven by one principle – to achieve a similar level of comic effect to that of the Latin text and at the same time, to preserve as much of the utterance's other characteristics – form, sound effect, meaning – as possible.

Amid the humorous background of the second repetitive motif, there are many other comical occurrences. We will put under consideration one of them. It is yet another ridicule of the second most preferred character for mockery after Pyrgopolynices – Sceledrus. Because by this point he is well-known, the comic effect of this ridicule is much more effective than if it was made at someone else's, less known character's, expense. True to himself, Plautus seizes the opportunity to utilize Sceledrus' character for comic effect one last time. Sceledrus himself is not present in this scene. Palaestrio is looking for him but stumbles upon his mate – they were put in charge of the cellar and it seems they have abused their post by drinking from the wine. As a result, Sceledrus has fallen asleep and becomes yet again the perfect target for mockery and a fruitful source of comedy. When Palaestrio inquires about his status, Lucrio – Sceledrus' mate, answers with a sort of wordplay.

Lvcio Non operaest Sceledro. **Pal.** Quid iam? **Lvc.** Sorbet dormiens.

Pal. Quid, sorbet? **Lvc.** Illud, stertit, volui dicere.

sed quia consimile est, quom stertas, quasi sorbeas—

Pal. Eho an dormit Sceledrus intus? **Lvc.** Non naso quidem,

nam eo magnum clamat. ...

(Pl. *M. Gl.* 818–822)

Lucrio There is no work for Sceledrus. **Pal.** Why? **Luc.** He slurps while sleeping.

Pal. What, he slurps? **Luc.** This, snores, I wished to say.

But because it's all the same, when one snores as if he slurps—

Pal. Hey, is Sceledrus sleeping in there? **Luc.** Not with his nose, he isn't, because he makes a lot of noise. ...

Лукрион: Не може.

Палестрион: Как така?

Лукрион: Заспал е, смърка си...

Палестрион: Как, смърка ли?

Лукрион: Не, „хърка“ бе в главата ми.

Но хъркането – то е като смъркане...

Палестрион: Какво, Скеледър спи ли там?

Лукрион: Не спи... с носа.

Шуми със него. ...

(Nichev 1978: 389–390)

Lucrio: He can't.

Palaestrio: Why is that?

Lucrio: He's fallen asleep, snuffing...

Palaestrio: What, he is snuffing?

Lucrio: No, 'snoring' was in my mind.

But the snoring – it's like snuffing...

Palaestrio: What, is Sceledrus sleeping there?

Lucrio: He doesn't sleep... with his nose.
He is making noise with it. ...

The first part of the wordplay is on the similar sounding of the words *sorbet*⁶ and *stertit*. Although there are differences between the two, they both start with an [s], have an [r] in the middle, followed by a consonant, and end with a [t], preceded by a soft vowel. The second part of the wordplay is again sound based, but this time it concerns the sounds someone makes when he actualizes those words – that is when he slurps and snores. Here they are regarded as similar (even more, having in mind the second meaning of *sorbeo*) and thus a parallel is drawn between the act of sleeping and the act of drinking, that has taken place beforehand and about which we learn a few lines later. In result we are urged to imagine a very loud, non-typical snoring and according to the humor theory of incongruity every such occurrence (not the one that is expected or usual) can be amusing and therefore can create comic effect. The last part of the wordplay about Sceledrus' snoring is when Palaestrio interrupts Lucrio's comparison of Sceledrus' snoring to slurping with the question 'is Sceledrus sleeping' (having been able to connect the elicited sounds to their respective actions). Lucrio answers the question semantically correctly but is ignoring the pragmatics. He says, 'Not with his nose' and thus cheats the expectations about the reply to this type of question ('Yes, he is sleeping' or 'No, he is not sleeping' for example). With this Lucrio draws the attention back to the unusual and loud snoring sound and with this yet another layer is added to the accumulated comic effect.

In the Bulgarian translation the existence of a sound effect is preserved. It relies on the identical endings of the two words – '*смърка*' (for *sorbet*) and '*хърка*' (for *stertit*) (in contrast to a suitable alliteration, for example),

⁶ '*Sorbeo* means not only "to drink up," but to make that gulping noise in snoring which is produced by inhaling the breath with the mouth open, and the head thrown back. Palaestrio purposely misunderstands him, for the purpose of getting a confession out of him' (RILEY 1912: n.2). In his English translation Riley has translated the word *sorbet* as gulping. We have chosen 'slurps' in an effort to better illustrate the phonetic similarities.

which makes the two words similar in sounding in a different way but still very successful, if not even more than in the original. On semantical level there is also an obvious effort for transferring the second, hidden meaning of the word *sorbet* as ‘something that elicits a distinctive sound’, although not through open mouth but with the nose. This is the meaning of the word ‘*смърка*’ – ‘doing something with or taking something through the nose’. Probably because of the potential opportunity to convey the idea of a certain sound, which can be attributed to both drinking *and* snoring, the word ‘*смърка*’ is chosen, although it does not have a direct connotation to the act of drinking. However, it has the same ending with yet another word – ‘*кърка*’, which has the meaning of ‘drinking a lot’ and is mentioned in the explanatory note,⁷ accompanying this wordplay. All this results in a not so exact and direct transfer of the similarities on semantical level between *sorbet* and *stertit* in the corresponding couple of ‘*смърка*’ and ‘*хърка*’. Still, because the sounding of the words in the Bulgarian translation is much more similar (they rhyme) compared to the one in the original, and because sound effect is instantaneously perceived by the audience, whereas the understanding of the wordplay on semantical level takes a little time, this similarity helps with the indication that there is something funny in those words and it is possible that it does not stop at the sound level (so by the existence of one fast transferred effect, the audience might be urged to look even deeper – towards the meanings of the words, in order to find more hidden connections).

Translation of humor, especially verbal humor, is one of the most difficult aspects of translation and it is not surprising it is one of the less studied ones.⁸ There are many classifications and translation models but not many of them are concerned with humor and the difficulties it presents. One of the most detailed and prescriptive models of translation, considered the classical example amongst this kind of classifications, belongs to Jean-Paul Vinay

⁷ Lucrio is drunk and can't control his tongue, which confuses ‘*смъркане*’ (the act of ‘*смъркам*’) with ‘*къркане*’ (the act of ‘*къркам*’). From the following dialogue it is understood that by ‘*смъркане*’ he means drinking. НИЧЕВ (1978: 396, n. 36).

⁸ CHIARO (2001: 570).

and Jean Darbelnet.⁹ They distinguish between a general orientation of the translation, named a strategy – orientation towards literal or free translation, towards the target text or source text, etc.), and the translation of a particular instance, occurrence or phenomenon using specific procedures (e.g., borrowing of a word from the source language, the addition of an explanation or a footnote in the TT, etc.).¹⁰ When concerned with humor translation, the functional aspect and the equivalent effect are essential in order for the comic text to remain comic. For this purpose, two procedures from Vinay and Darbelnet's method can be used – namely adaptation¹¹ and equivalence¹², and, of course, a main strategy towards the preservation of the comic effect can also be applied to achieve the desired result (if preference is given to the target text and its audience perception for example). The terminology of W. Koller and his five types of equivalence is also applicable. In our case may be said that the Bulgarian translator Al. Nichev has utilised more than one type of those five equivalences for whichever one instance, because in the reviewed examples the humor is achieved not only through 'sound play' and sound effects (similarity in the sounding of the words and/or other such tricks) – for which the formal equivalence¹³ may be accounted, but also through ambiguity of the words' sense – for which we can point to connotative¹⁴ and/or pragmatic¹⁵ equivalence. Another theory useful for humor translation is the *skopos* theory – a collaboration between Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiss. It is a functional theory in which the purpose of the text takes precedence – in our case that is to achieve comicality and to elicit

⁹ MUNDAY (2016: 87–88).

¹⁰ MUNDAY (2016: 88).

¹¹ 'This involves changing the cultural reference when a situation in the source culture does not exist in the target culture' MUNDAY (2016: 91).

¹² Also called idiomatic translation. Vinay and Darbelnet use this term 'to refer to cases where languages describe the same situation by different stylistic or structural means. ... The use of equivalence in this restricted sense should not be confused with the more common theoretical use' in the methods of Nida and Koller for example (ibid).

¹³ 'Related to the form and aesthetics of the text, includes wordplays and the individual stylistic features of the ST' (source text) MUNDAY (2016: 75).

¹⁴ 'Related to lexical choices, especially between near-synonyms' (ibid).

¹⁵ 'Oriented towards the receiver of the text or message' (ibid).

laughter. All the mentioned methods can be listed as evident in the Bulgarian translation of the reviewed examples. There is an overall aspiration for compliance with the text function for preserving the comism first and foremost (or in other words – achieving pragmatic equivalence) but also, if possible, for preserving at least some of the formal and/or connotative aspects of the words, phrases, or even whole lines, although the main impression is that one should be sacrificed for the sake of the other.

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The Trojan Women by Jan Kłata – Tragedy on WW III¹

In my paper I talk about my/our work on The Trojan Women directed by Jan Kłata in Wybrzeże Theatre in Gdańsk (date of premiere 8th September 2018). I worked as the dramaturge of the play. The show was acclaimed by theatre critics as the best show of the season. It depicts all that Homer did not tell us in his Iliad: what the first morning after the seizure of Troy looked like. In our play, we preserve the poetic style and imagery of the ancient text written by Euripides. In our show we do not present white, classical marble sculpture-like characters: the show depicts the Greeks as cruel barbarians, who could not even make good use of their own victory. In my paper I describe our work on that show, familiarize the reader with our decisions and problems that we had found during our work.

Keywords: Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, Jan Kłata, Polish theatre, reception

Jan Kłata is one of the most distinctive contemporary European directors and recent recipient of European Theatre Prize (2018). He studied drama directing first in Warsaw and then at the PWST in Kraków. Worked as an assistant to Jerzy Grzegorzewski, Jerzy Jarocki, and Krystian Lupa. On graduation he worked as a copywriter, music journalist, and director of a TV talk show. His first professional production was Nikolai Gogol's *The Inspector General* for the Jerzy Szaniawski Dramatic Theatre in Wałbrzych (2003). A month later Kłata staged his own drama, *Grejprut's Smile*, at the Polski Theatre in Wrocław in 2004 his *H. after William Shakespeare's Hamlet* for the Wybrzeże Theatre had its high-profile premiere at the Gdańsk Shipyard. From that time,

¹I discussed this production in my monograph, *Trojanki Jana Kłaty* (Kraków 2019) and in the article: *Dramaturg pod Troją – praca nad tekstem „Trojanek” w reżyserii Jana Kłaty*. *Meander* 75 (2020) 219–230.

the director has constantly worked with Poland's most interesting stages, including the TR Warszawa, National Sary Theatre in Kraków, Polski Theatre in Wrocław, and Polski Theatre in Bydgoszcz. In 2006 he won the Passport Award of the *Polityka* weekly in the Theatre category for his innovative reading of the classics, and for his passion and tenacity in examining national myths and diagnosing the Polish reality. In 2013–17 Kłata was the director of the National Sary Theatre in Kraków, where he directed *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (2006), *Oresteia* (2007), *Trylogy* (2009), *The Wedding of Count Orgaz* (2010), *To Damascus* (2013), *Ubu Roi* (2014), *King Lear* (2014), *Enemy of the People* (2015), and *The Wedding* (2017). After many years Jan Kłata has returned to the Wybrzeże Theatre in Gdańsk to stage *The Trojan Women* by Euripides².

"I work with dramaturgs because for me theatre is not a form of illustrating literature."³

Jan Kłata

The history of ancient Greece is the cultural capital of the European civilisation. And although more than two and a half thousand years have passed (and, consequently, we do not feel much of a bond with our great ancestors), we keep repeating all the clichés about the origin of democracy, philosophy, and theatre or that the dilemmas of Sophocles' *King Oedipus* are universal. As if we are too shy to admit that we are now characterised by a completely different cultural metabolism, where our problems and world views are completely different.

² Script: Euripides.

Director: Jan Kłata.

Translation: Jerzy Łanowski.

Dramaturgy: Olga Śmiechowicz.

Scenography and wardrobe: Mirek Kaczmarek.

Music: Michał Nihil Kuźniak.

Stage movement: Maćko Prusak.

Cast: Dorota Kolak, Sylwia Góra-Weber, Magdalena Boć, Małgorzata Brajner, Małgorzata Gorol, Michał Kowalski, Katarzyna Dąlek, Grzegorz Gzyl, Robert Ninkiewicz, Jacek Labi-jak, Piotr Biedroń, Agata Bykowska, Cezary Rybiński, Magdalena Gorzelańczyk, Antoni Łaciński/ Marcel Pawłowski, Michał Jaros, Katarzyna Figura, Krzysztof Matuszewski.

³ DERKACZEW (2010: 56).

When we speak and think about ancient Greece, we deal with a culture and a language that disappeared. We can only listen to the echo of voices saved on worn and torn papyrus rolls; encoded in a language that is very context-sensitive and, consequently, ambiguous. We are not able to determine exactly what ancient authors wanted to communicate to their community. We cannot define the context in which they wrote their works. We should also not assume that they left a universal message for us. Having written their plays Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides most certainly did not expect them to be read and staged over two and a half thousand years later. Their field of art was just as ephemeral and perishable as Michelangelo's snowman.⁴

In the fifth century BC no one bothered to archive the dramatic texts, neither did anyone record their authors' biographies⁵. I would, therefore, advise caution in making a statement that the works that have survived are masterpieces. It rather seems that the works of authors who were the avant-garde of the literature of the time, written out in single copies, known only to a narrow circle of recipients, did not stand the test of time⁶. The texts we read today were transcribed in the greatest number of copies and therefore constituted the Byzantine school reading canon⁷. As the Ottoman army approached the walls of Constantinople, the fleeing scholars took the most precious manuscripts including the texts of ancient tragedies as we know them today. On this basis, Italian printers prepared editions that spread throughout Renaissance Europe, laying the foundations for modern humanism⁸.

We are, therefore, the beneficiaries of ancient Greece. The founders of democratic Europe probably believed that the modern world would end differently from democratic Athens, which lost the Peloponnesian War and never returned to its former glory. However, it is more for pretension than out of actual spiritual needs that we buy collector's editions of hardly comprehensible

⁴ WALTON (2006: 5).

⁵ The first one to commission the archiving of dramatic texts was Lycurgus of Athens ca. 330 BC. See: REYNOLDS (2009: 20).

⁶ See Agathon's lost play *Anthos*. Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX. 20.

⁷ MARCINIAK (2004: 49).

⁸ WILSON (1992: 133).

philosophers debating the birth of human thought and shadows of the real world flickering on the wall of a cave forgotten by gods and people.

In this context, the contemporary understanding of ancient drama looks particularly interesting. Old texts are used to talk about sexual minorities⁹, innocent victims of the Holocaust¹⁰, emancipated feminism¹¹ and even about the last years of Lech Wałęsa's political activity.¹² These are the best examples of an easily noticeable tendency: each era has its own vision of antiquity and uses it for its own purposes.¹³ The newest productions of ancient texts in Poland which I am referring to are textbook examples of "recycling".¹⁴ Marvin Carlson in his book *The Haunted Stage. The Theatre as Memory Machine* claimed that drama has always been a genre "haunted" by the memory of the past.¹⁵ According to Carlson, its main goal is to present the already well-known stories in a new way. The main task of the authors is to modify the protagonists, events, and sometimes entire narrative schemes – to give them a new perspective and propose new interpretative possibilities thus equipping well-known stories with new meanings.

Since modern languages continue to evolve, each era needs new translations adapting old texts to the changing language standards and enabling further reinterpretations, conditioned by the current historical and social situation. At this point, an individual appears – increasingly compared to the extinct dodo bird¹⁶, also referred to as "bookosaur"¹⁷ – it is the classical

⁹ See: *Frogs*, directed by Michał Borczuch. Date and place of premiere: May 6, 2018, Studio Theatre, Warsaw.

¹⁰ See: *(A)pollonia*, directed by Krzysztof Warlikowski. Date and place of premiere: May 16, 2009, Nowy Theatre, Warsaw.

¹¹ See: *The Bacchae*, directed by Maja Kleczewska. Date and place of premiere: December 7, 2018, Jan Kochanowski Theatre, Warsaw.

¹² See: *Wałęsa at Colonus*, directed by Bartosz Szydlowski. Date and place of premiere: September 8, 2018, Łaźnia Nowa Theatre, Kraków.

¹³ This is why, in this context, the best manifestation of the contemporary understanding of ancient drama recently seems to me to be the vegetable version of Sophocles' *King Oedipus* directed by Jason Wishnow. See: *Oedipus the Movie* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OkMqp_a188

¹⁴ Recycling – changing the perception of old works of art. See: JOSETTE (2010: 41).

¹⁵ CARLSON (2003).

¹⁶ HANSON (1998: 5).

¹⁷ HANSON (1998: xvii).

philologist. With the postmodern revolution in literary research, the work of a philologist and translator is no longer perceived as a cross-lingual transfer, but rather as a complex and multidimensional space for intercultural contacts¹⁸. The category still in force in the first half of the 20th century, ie. whether or not a translation is faithful to the original are no longer dominant in the eyes of literature researchers. According to this trend, the basic task of a translator is to assume a liminal position between cultures and to facilitate mutual understanding¹⁹. Translation is to be, above all, a “celebration of cultural differences”²⁰, and antiquity offers the horn of plenty filled with those.

Dramaturgs, philologists, translators preparing an ancient text for a contemporary production do not have the opportunity of looking into the mind of the author who after the third dress rehearsal (was there one in the days of Euripides?) would enter the orchestra of the Theatre of Dionysus and look at the still empty seats of audience. *The Trojan Women* were first produced in 415 BC, shortly after the Athenian pacification of the island of Melos. Its inhabitants quite naively assumed that they could withdraw from their military alliance with Athens with impunity. Athens responded by sending a disciplinary troop of soldiers - all the men were killed, the women and children were enslaved, which was supposed to be a clear warning for the other allies.

In response to these events, Euripides wrote a tragedy about what Homer in the *Iliad* failed to tell us: the morning after the Greeks conquered Troy and how the victors dealt with their victims. The Trojan women in the title of the play are representatives of the royal family, who found themselves at the very bottom of human existence and became the sexual slaves of Greek commanders. The victors could not handle their victory. In one night, they wanted to make up for the ten years they had spent at the walls of Troy, far away from their homes and families. The murder of innocent people was at its best, even though the war was already over. It is hard to believe that Euripides came up with such a topic without regard to recent events.²¹ We

¹⁸ HEYDEL (2009: 21).

¹⁹ BASSNETT (1998: 106).

²⁰ BAL (2015: 34).

²¹ However, this is what Hugh Bowden among others claims in his book: *Classical Athens*

can assume with a great deal of certainty that all those sitting in the audience were perfectly aware that the tragedian used a mythological allegory: the actors were talking about Troy, about the Greeks of ancient/mythical times, but in fact everyone thought about contemporary Melos. The Athenians were particularly self-conscious,²² which is why Euripides did not win the tragedy competition. Did he foresee how his art would be received?

The ancient theatre first and foremost asked questions. One of the most important things the Greeks have taught us is to not give straight, clear answers, and to assume different options and consider their different consequences.²³ As a result of the subsequent interpretation Euripides' *The Trojan Women* quickly became a symbol of "Everywar".²⁴

At the beginning of our work, it seemed particularly desirable to portray *The Trojan Women* in the context of the upcoming World War III. Especially since we undertook to stage a text about the collapse of a wealthy port city in Gdańsk, which is a wealthy port city itself. It would be equally easy to rewrite this story as one about the fate of the women on the Wilhelm Gustloff ship or those who fell into the hands of Soviet soldiers on their way to Berlin in 1945. When we read *The Trojan Women*, we first and foremost think of the timeless suffering of women, who have been sucked into the devastating war machine. Why is it so easy for us to forget that the Greeks who murdered them, gave us democracy, philosophy and theatre?

"This is what may be the most fascinating about Euripides' writing. The contrast between the two perceptions of ancient reality. The first one being the one we would like to have: a civilised world, built on philosophy, art, noble democratic politics, the golden age of humanity. Conservative circles are eager to cultivate such a vision, which is a completely untrue half-truth. Thus, in a surprisingly coherent way with Euripides' vision, they implement a certain mechanism of social deception. With this activity the community

and the Delphic Oracle. *Divination and Democracy*. BOWDEN (2005: 52–53).

²² See: Phrynichus *Capture of Miletus* – the tragedian was fined because he publicly criticized Athens for not helping Miletus.

²³ AUDEN (2017: 41).

²⁴ MILLS (2010: 165).

“feels good” by being hypocritical about the past and by giving it a propaganda-smooth image. On the other hand, there is the image of the antiquity that Euripides put in the foreground: Greek heroes as war criminals. I am trying to imagine how much courage it took to say something like that in public, to throw such a production before the eyes of the Athenian audience, intoxicated with imperial visions.”²⁵

The ancient Greeks were far from the nobility of the marble sculptures, which became the basis for Joachim Winckelmann’s canon of ancient beauty.²⁶ Convinced of their own greatness, they considered themselves superior to other nations,²⁷ but they themselves occasionally behaved like the barbarians they despised. The pacification of Melos was not an isolated example. Our primary task, therefore, was to bring to light what Euripides wanted to say and what cost him the competition. By strictly following the text, we went against the popular beliefs regarding classical texts and culture. We used a classical work of art to change contemporary thinking about the ancient times. Rather than recycling mythical stories it is much more interesting and radical to recycle human beliefs and perform a deep surgical procedure on an idealistic image imprinted during high school history lessons.

Therefore, the liminal space between the text and the performance became our battlefield. I do not think there exists a theoretician who can precisely define the role of text in the context of its performance.²⁸ In their work, artists try to negotiate the creation of a new entity between the two dimensions. Or perhaps the safest thing to say is that we use words to carve space for imagination? What complicates matters even more is that, in Jan Klata’s opinion, performing a Greek tragedy is not about performing words. The actor, through his presence, is to create a reality that is, in fact, far from realism. In our production it is, therefore, the norm that actors play *against* the meanings assigned by Euripides: if a character says that he is kneeling before someone in a begging gesture - he remains still, if he speaks of despair - he

²⁵ GULDA (2018: 12).

²⁶ PAINTER (2010: 61).

²⁷ Thuc. 2.34–46.

²⁸ WORTHEN (2010: xii).

remains collected. This is in line with the principle that if you speak about something, there is no use showing it as well. All our work on this production was guided by the principle of not giving the viewer what they expected. Even the poster is misleading in a way as it suggests a comedy, not a tragedy filled with cruelty. An analysis of our work on this production would therefore primarily be a report on what we did *not* present to the audience.

At the beginning of the performance, we see the world from the Greek perspective. Poseidon, Zeus' elder brother, god of the sea and earthquakes and protector of sailors runs onto the stage. With his narration, he introduces the audience to the time and place of the action. Athena inspired Odysseus to build a big wooden horse... And dawn has just broken the morning after the capture of Troy. According to one myth Poseidon built fortifications for the city together with Apollo. It is valid, therefore, that when he stands to look down on Troy made of sand, he does not mourn the people, but the "beautiful walls". Athena, the goddess of wisdom and rightful war, sneaks up behind his back. She pushes him when he least expects it and he falls onto the sand. There is nothing left of Priam's city, which causes her uncontrollable laughing attack. She came to persuade her uncle to join forces. She looks for bloody revenge on the Greeks who have desecrated her temple²⁹ and she presents Poseidon with an attractive vision of an all-encompassing extermination and she wants to make their homecoming a coming home to pain.

The audience should be horrified: thanks to Athena, the Greeks conquered Troy, also thanks to her - they will never return home. The deities in the universe of Homer's epics were created in the image of man. They are, therefore, both unpredictable and vindictive. They are characterised by "Old Testament cruelty". In Klata's production they wear white doctor gowns. It is not entirely clear whether they are residents of a mental hospital or sadistic scientists who have set up their own Westworld - a theme park of violence.³⁰ In Euripides' religious view of the world, gods not only exist they are also

²⁹ Ajax abducted (and probably raped) Cassandra who hid inside Athena's temple. The Greeks decided not to punish the warrior which caused the punishment of the whole Greek 'army'. Sophocles dedicated his lost tragedy *Ajax the Locrian* to this story.

³⁰ *Westworld* – an American science-fiction television series (2016).

interested in our fate. And worst of all, they can interfere with it at any time. Throughout the production, therefore, we will watch the triumphant Greeks, unaware of what awaits them, abuse their power over the victims.

Polyxena, Sophocles' lost tragedy, opened with the ghost of Achilles demanding that the innocent girl be sacrificed at his grave.³¹ Euripides' *Hecuba* began with the appearance of the ghost of Polydorus, the youngest son of king Priam. At the beginning of the war, he was sent back to the court of Polymestor, the king of Thrace and a friend of the family. When the Greeks captured Troy, the traitor killed the child and threw the body into the sea. When Athena and Poseidon descend from the stage high above the heads of the audience, a corpse appears, gruesomely hung from the batten³² – not *deus*, but a *cadaver ex machina*.³³ Its presence introduces the metaphysical level into the performance. It is a child played by an adult man who lets a grudge against his father smoulder because he had not been allowed to die in a heroic fight.³⁴ It prophesises what we are about to witness. His words become a sacred text, not one that can escape the audience's attention. They hide *ananke*³⁵ – the inevitable laws of fate.

The light on the stage does not brighten up until after this prologue when we see the Trojan Women emerging from behind the corpses. At first, we wanted them to be introduced by the sound of electric razors - all women would be shaving their heads. However, in this case a truly powerful effect would only be achieved during the premiere performance. Jan Klata believes that the chorus in a Greek tragedy is absolutely critical. From the very beginning of working on any production the question has to be answered: what is

³¹ MICHELAKIS (2002: 79).

³² Initially, we wanted to vacuum seal it in the same way as meat is sealed for curing at slaughterhouses. Unfortunately, this turned out to be technically impossible because an actor "packed" this way would not be able to say a word.

³³ When we perform outside the Wybrzeże Theatre, it often turns out that there is not enough machinery to allow the actor to be lowered from the ceiling. In such cases, we use an aerial platform which is a rather perverted reference to ancient stage practice. The device referred to as γέρανός – "a crane" was used to represent divine epiphanies.

³⁴ The Little Insurrectionist statue in Warsaw was an important inspiration when we were creating this scene.

³⁵ Gr. ἀνάγκη - necessity.

its ontological status? The Trojan women, members of the reigning family, will be randomly distributed among the Greek commanders as luxury goods. They all wear the same nylon black robe, a symbol of their community and enslavement, which imposed a very precise planning of the stage movement.

The incorporation of Hecuba (the protagonist) into the common self of the chorus is also an interesting formal approach (against the structure of the ancient text). Their one shared costume becomes a neural connection. It also serves an aesthetic function – it completely de-womanises the Trojan women who had become sexual slaves for the Greek soldiers. It is only at the end of the performance, as they “come out of the robe” that we see how beautiful these women are. It makes it possible for the chorus to resonate the actions of the queen not only through the text, but also on a somatic level. The community of suffering they create does not allow for individualisation. All the lines of the chorus are spoken out together, but when the words are no longer sufficient, we reach for the exclamations of pain that have been preserved to our times in the ancient text. We regulate and blend them - from the moment when we can no longer name emotions. The actresses exclaim: *feu feu, ottototototoi, oimoi, popoi*. When working on these scenes we had to overstep our perception of the potential of the sounds which actresses can produce. We had to process them with acoustic machinery to create a “phonosphere of pain”.

Associations with the ancient formula *pathei mathos* spring to mind. Hecuba's hair turned white overnight. We had to make the paradox of her situation work. The queen of the gold-rich Trojans became a servant. It is a convention in the texts of the Greek tragedy that if the gods doom an unfortunate individual, it means that that individual manifested exceptional *hubris*. What did Hecuba do to make Zeus spare her life only to make her watch her loved ones die? Most importantly, her character is not sentimental about all of this. In the ten years of devastating war, she learned to function in the harsh male world. She has got the strength to one day shift to the side of the oppressors. She takes revenge on Polymestor by killing his children, who are in fact her own grandsons...³⁶ Only then does the chorus leave her.

³⁶ Polymestor was the husband of Ilione, the eldest daughter of Hecuba and Priam.

The Trojan women do not want to be part of the murder she committed. Our task was to stress very strongly that revenge does not erase the evil that has already taken place, it only sets off the spiral of subsequent murders.

The reversed perspective is crucial in *The Trojan Women*. Aeschylus used a similar approach in *The Persians*. History is not written here by the victors but by the defenceless women. The barbarism of the Greeks is embodied by the way they are treated. If we remember that the results of the tragedy competition were decided by men, it is hardly surprising that Euripides lost. The Greek troops appear only at the beginning of the second act, in the scene of the trial of Helen of Troy. They wear outdated costumes and masks reflecting the faces of Greek gods. We look at them and hear the repulsive sounds of male bodily functions. Savageness. For ten years they stayed in tents and looked at the walls they could not conquer. They fantasized so many times about the moment they would walk into Troy with flamethrowers...

Menelaus, Odysseus, Talthybius - all of Euripides' characters are represented against the perception of a common viewer. Menelaus not only failed to control his own wife, but also had to ask his elder brother for help to bring her home. Against his character, he had to play the role of a leader. Although after ten years spent in besieging Troy, the soldiers teased him for having an armour without a single scratch. During the scene of trial, he should kill Helena in front of the whole army so that everyone could see that their efforts were not in vain. The problem is that Menelaus is pathologically in love with her. One look at her and he forgets ten years of war.

We present Odysseus in a similar way. "A brave warrior, a great speaker, a wise advisor, a skilful diplomat, the cleverest of the Greeks"³⁷ – so much for the encyclopaedia. In Jan Klata's interpretation it was Odysseus who came up with Achilles' ghost. A community of winners needed a great ceremony, thanks to which simple soldiers would see that it is worth dying a brave death for their homeland. Ritual killing of the enemy on the grave of the greatest hero seemed like a perfect idea. Therefore, the youngest daughter of King Priam, Polyxena, is going to be sacrificed. And although the au-

³⁷ Encyklopedia PWN online: <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Odyseusz;3950117.html>

dience hopes until the last moment that a god will intervene, the brave girl is not saved. See the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia who is saved last minute by Artemis. Her body is still warm when the Greek soldiers gang-rape her. There is no direct reference or allusion to this situation in Euripides' text. However, this was the best moment to show the scale of the cruelty the Greeks had allowed themselves to inflict on the Trojans.

Odysseus is lying all the time. He is a cunning, grey eminence, who does not have to be the official commander, it is enough that he suggests solutions at the right moments. When he snuck into Troy as a spy, he seduced Hecuba to get as much information as possible.³⁸ But now that the war is over, he no longer remembers that the queen let him go free instead of surrendering him to Priam. He makes her painfully aware that she was merely used to act as a silver bullet, which may open up a new field of interpretation for us. If we are right to interpret from Euripides that something happened between the Trojan queen and the king of Ithaca, it opens up a field for speculation as to whether Polyxena is not his daughter. For some reason, when Hecuba instructs her what words she should use to plead for her life, she says: "Here is your plea: he too has children."³⁹ However, it is more important to form a community around the spirit of the deceased hero than private sentiments.

It was also Odysseus who convinced the Greek commanders that Astyanax, Hector's only son, had to be killed.⁴⁰ Though again the viewers do not get what they expect. Astyanax is not a delightful baby on Andromache's chest. He is a spoiled brat from Young Fathers' *Toy* video. Sent to cadet school early, he is a stranger to his own family. After his father's death, he suddenly became the only hope that one day Troy would come back to life. However, he does not arouse the slightest sympathy.

³⁸ According to the myth it was Helen who discovered Odysseus in Troy. Without a clear answer, the question remains as to why Euripides needed this change. What interpretation and associations did he want to suggest to his audience?

³⁹ *Hecuba*. 340.

⁴⁰ *The Trojan Women*. 828.

Researchers like to consider Talthybius as the only positive character in *The Trojan Women*.⁴¹ At text level, it seems that he is the one who only truly sympathizes with Hecuba's fate. But already ancient tragedy writers knew perfectly well that saying something is one thing, whereas thinking it is quite another. In Jan Klata's interpretation, he is a psychopath who sadistically enjoys every suffering he sees. He waited ten years for this moment. And now that he is the only source of information for the queen about her and her daughters' fate, he has suddenly become reticent. He doses the information to Hecuba, consciously and perversely playing with ambiguities. What does it mean that Polyxena is going to be "free of trouble"? The viewers should be hoping for a happy ending. They cannot suspect that Talthybius has just euphemistically communicated that to die is better than to live in captivity. His words are like bullets. He is fascinated to see the reactions of women who have lost everything in one night. He himself does not believe that the fate of man can change like that.⁴²

Jan Klata dreamt of staging a full tetralogy: three tragedies and one satyr play at the end. Initially, we wanted to combine *The Trojan Women*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, and to stage *Helen* as a satyr play. The plot of *Andromache*, however, would have disturbed the whole setting. So we created a dilogy (*The Trojan Women*, *Hecuba* with *Helen* as a satyr play. According to the ancient convention, after such an incredible dose of suffering it was necessary to open the safety valve. Therefore, still during the applause, after the end of the second act (when the audience is absolutely convinced that after the grand finale with Cassandra's rage, the performance is over), they hear a deep, male voice from the loudspeakers reading Euripides' *Helen* in the Greek original. We return to the world premiere version when *Helen* was played by a man and we employ a full range of comedy tricks typical of satyr play. In such an epilogue we tell the story of the Trojan War, which Euripides most probably knew from Stesichorus' *The Cypria*. *Helen* has never been to Troy. Jealous Hera created a phantom kidnapped by Paris. Tyndareus' real daughter was

⁴¹ GILMARTIN (1970: 213–222).

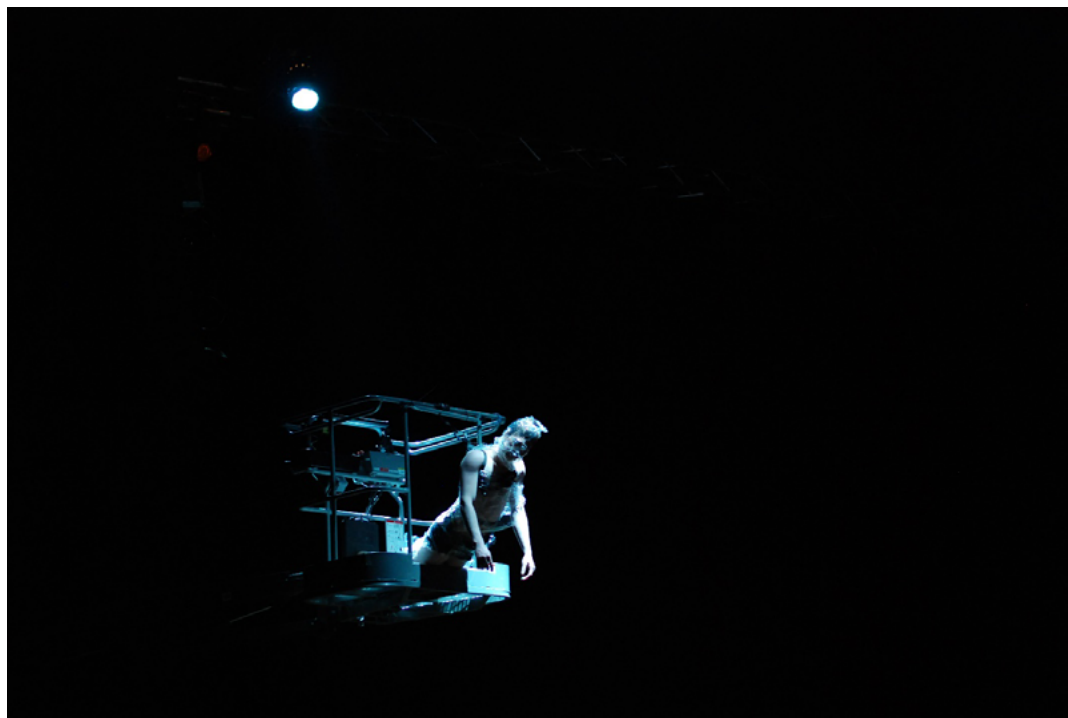
⁴² *Hecuba*. 490.

in Egypt at the court of King Theoklymenos throughout the Trojan War. It is here that Menelaus, a shipwrecked survivor of a ship returning from Troy, finds her. After many years of separation, a happy meeting of lovers takes place. Contrary to everything the audience has seen so far, they start cheering for this love. However, even if the audience starts laughing, such an ending does not bring solace. "Oh, unhappy Troy! Through deeds not done by yourself, you are ruined, and have suffered pitiably"⁴³ is the most painful summary of the story we are telling.



"The Trojan Women" Theatre Poster by Mirek Kaczmarek

⁴³ *Helena*. 365.



“Polydorus (γέγονος)” Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



“Polydorus and Cassandra. Rehearsal.” Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



"Cassandra" Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



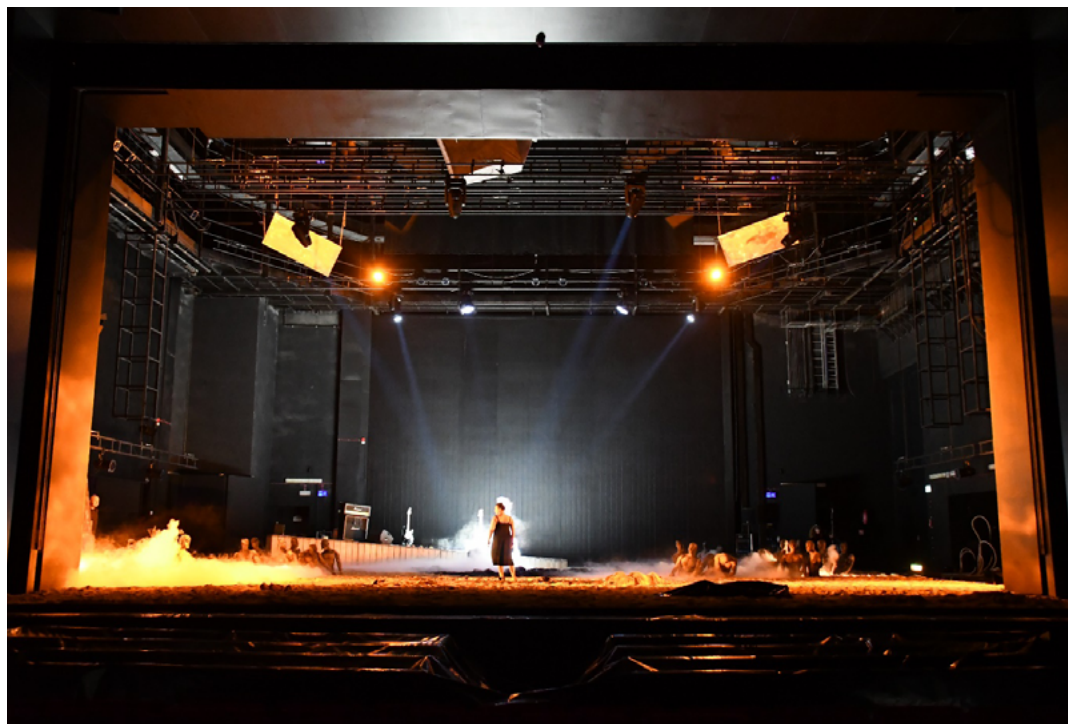
"The Trojan Women" Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



"Polyxena after the Rape Scene" Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



"Agamemnon and Hecuba. Reheasal." Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz



"Hecuba. Final scene." Photograph by Olga Śmiechowicz

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Science Communication in the Humanities. Principles and Practical Examples

Science communication is an important topic in Natural Sciences and is also on the rise in the Humanities. For researchers there are different ways of science communication. It can be done face-to-face or even through new media. This includes the internet, with its various platforms. The internet offers a way for quick knowledge exchange, networking, and science communication. Science communication often seems to be a burden, as concepts and target groups have to be well thought through and this often has to be done beside the actual research work. However, it also has many advantages for researchers in the Humanities. In addition to a brief introduction to science communication and concept development, this article aims to present different platforms and successful examples of science communication from the Humanities.

Keywords: Science communication, Instagram, Blog, New Media, Science Slam, Communication methods, Humanities

1. Introduction

The term *science communication* has been used more and more recently. Science communication has always been an important topic in Natural Sciences and especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, it has become increasingly important to educate people in an understandable way using the right methods of science communication. But the topic is also on the rise in the Humanities. It is becoming more important to also communicate the work in the Humanities outside the usual communication lectures, such as scientific lectures. Beside print journals, documentary series and museum exhibitions there are many more ways to present archaeological research to a wider au-

dience. This article¹ should give a theoretical overview to science communication, provide the steps on how to create a science communication concept and present different ways of science communications (especially on social media) with their successful examples from the Humanities.

2. What is science communication?

According to Burns et al. 2003 'Science communication may be defined as the use of appropriate skills, media, activities, and dialogue to produce one or more of the following personal responses to science.'² These responses are called the vowel analogy. The vowels stand for certain principles of science communication:³

A: Awareness, which includes familiarity with new aspects of science

E: Enjoyment or other affective responses, e.g. the appreciation of science as entertainment or art

I: Interest, as demonstrated by the voluntary involvement with science or its communication

O: Opinions, that form, reshape or confirm science-related attitudes

U: Understanding of science, its content, processes, and social factors.⁴

The aim of science communication is not only to impart knowledge, but also interest and joy. It should create awareness of science and shape attitudes towards it. One of the two main aims of science communication is the public awareness of science. It is shortened as PAS and is about a positive stance on

¹ This article and the author's presentation at Sapiens Ubique Civis IX were prepared after participating in the training course "Wissenschaftskommunikation" on May 09th and 10th, 2022 at the University of Graz, held by Th. Gremsl, (H. Jungwirth) and H. Walter. The course enabled the author to learn the basics of science communication and to provide basic literature.

² The definition according to BURNS et al. is the common definition of science communication, which is still used by most of the subsequent researchers after 20 years.

³ BURNS et al. (2003: 191).

⁴ BURNS et al. (2003: 191).

science.⁵ The other aim is the public understanding of science. It is shortened as PUS and is about the understanding of scientific content based on a solid scientific knowledge. It is also about the understanding of research methods and the whole process.⁶ Especially PUS is important because science concerns most of our lives, so the understanding of scientific content should be also important for all of us.⁷ The further development of PUS is PUR, the public understanding of research.⁸ This concerns not only Natural Sciences, even the Humanities concern many of our lives. For example, archaeology is also responsible for communicating socially relevant scientific content. The interpretation of cultural artifacts and human behavior can cause to communicate the human story behind the scientific data.⁹ Another point is that a lot of public or political decisions are based on it, for example, when it comes to building projects in archaeologically known areas. Research is also aided by public money and this aid should be based on a solid base of general knowledge.¹⁰

For a researcher, science communication sometimes seems to be a burden. It takes a lot of time and most of the time it is not considered as research evaluation or for a research career.¹¹ Sometimes the researchers also have to justify time spent away from research, their institutions, and colleagues.¹² But it gains in importance in the ranking for project applications. And even researchers can benefit from science communication because it is possible to reflect the social significance of their own research, to exchange with other people, and to gain new perspectives. In addition there are more benefits like image cultivation or self-advertisement, resource acquisition, the recruitment of junior staff, and gaining acceptance in general.¹³

⁵ BURNS et al. (2003: 186).

⁶ BURNS et al. (2003: 184).

⁷ DURANT et al. (1989: 11).

⁸ WEITZE–HECKL (2016: 172–174).

⁹ MELVILLE (2014: 6511).

¹⁰ Why PUS is important for the Natural Sciences see also DURANT et al. (1989: 11).

¹¹ WEITZE–HECKL (2016: 142–145).

¹² MELVILLE (2014: 6512).

¹³ PANSEGRAU et al. (2011).

These points can be applied to the Humanities as well. In the case of archaeology, image cultivation is very important for smaller sites or research areas to gain more attention. Gaining more attention can also help to promote a project or an excavation. The public outreach supports research projects and can positively influence the archaeological funding.¹⁴ The recruitment of junior staff is important especially at universities to interest students for the work in Humanities. In comparison to Natural Sciences, law or business administration there are fewer people studying certain fields of study in the Humanities.¹⁵ Sometimes acceptance seems to be a big problem in the Humanities too. One who is not related to the subject doesn't understand why money and resources are funding our research. Sometimes there is a lack of understanding for archaeological research or a specific field of study. Especially concerning archaeology many people only know about the digging, but are not aware of the whole process, which is often related to the fact that it is not included in the school curriculum. In this context it is important to create awareness that archaeology is not only about an excavation and has nothing to do with treasure hunting.¹⁶ Awareness has to be created that archaeological work also contains e.g. the preparation of an excavation, research work, and a lot of interdisciplinary work. Especially in rural areas it might be wise to highlight archaeological work to counter illegal excavations. People must be made aware that archaeological excavations most of the time unearth a stratigraphy or other finds which are valuable for the research but not hundreds of gold coins with a high monetary value. The right way of science communication could raise more awareness in this occasion.

¹⁴ MELVILLE (2014: 6512).

¹⁵ The student statistics of the University of Graz show the following figures for the winter term of 2022: 88 students in Archaeology, 66 students in Ancient History and 41 students in total for Classical Philology, Latin and Greek inscribed for a BA-program. In comparison there are 167 students in Chemistry, 499 students in Biology and 90 students in Business Administration inscribed for a BA-program (excluding teacher trainees). (Studierendenstatistik Universität Graz, available for internal use, accessed on January 19th, 2023).

¹⁶ See also the media coverage about archeological findings, which are often connected with the term "treasure"; to the image of archaeologists in the media: KAESER (2010: 49–61).

3. Creating a science communication concept

There are a few basics for creating a science communication concept that can be applied to all research areas. These steps are mainly used by individuals who want to start with science communication. The first step is raising awareness for oneself. Before working out the concept, one should answer these questions for oneself: for whom, what, why, where, and how.¹⁷

The question for whom means defining the audience. Sometimes the communication of archaeology is explained with a public interest.¹⁸ But it is not possible to do science communication for the public because one has to be aware that there is not the one homogeneous public but many publics. It could be colleagues, laymen like children or other professional groups, politicians or people from the media. The audience must also be aligned with the platform of science communication.¹⁹ It is important to deal with the audiences' previous knowledge, their interests, their educational background, and their perspectives.²⁰ After defining the audience an aim can be set. The aim must be agreed with the selected audience, which should also have benefits from it.²¹ When it comes to the topic and the message attention should be paid to the general topic at first. Second, the content must be sharpened, again matched with the selected audience.²²

In science communication the language is very important. The use of technical terms must be considered and, if possible, no technical terms or abbreviations should be used. There should be as many as necessary and as little as possible, and they should be explained in an understandable way.²³ These are just a few tips to consider when first preparing a concept. How

¹⁷ KÖNNEKER (2012: 10).

¹⁸ KARL (2012: 23).

¹⁹ See also the last paragraph of this section.

²⁰ KÖNNEKER (2012: 4–7); WEITZE–HECKL (2016: 48–51).

²¹ See also KÖNNEKER (2012: 8–9) about the intended effect and communicative attitude.

²² KÖNNEKER (2012: 13; 16–17).

²³ KÖNNEKER (2012: 160).

ever, the use of language is a much more complex issue that cannot be discussed here due to its scope.²⁴

In connection with defining the audience and the target, the style of communication can be also deduced. Science communication can be done by dialogue (lectures at schools or for a community, guided tours), engagement, and participation (practical exercises or public archaeology projects).²⁵ But it can also be done through the media, like TV, websites, podcasts or social media. The communication style has to be matched with the audience and the aim. Children might be reached via lectures at schools where they can learn something in a playful manner. Teenagers and young adults might be reached on social media, and adults might be reached on social media or science-to-public lectures for example. If social media is chosen as science communication-platform, it is important to choose the right channel because different audiences can be reached on different channels.²⁶

4. Social Media as a science communication platform

Nowadays, the internet and digital multimedia have overtaken television as the main medium of communication.²⁷ The use of social media can, both professionally and privately, have advantages and disadvantages. In the simplest case, social media can be used as highly personalized and relevant “table of contents”, where it is possible to keep up to date with current research, popular science, and even with topics such as science policy, funding, publishing, or personal career development. Some social media platforms can also be used as tools for professional networking, either within specific subject fields or across different disciplines, and professions. The value of social media with entirely open networks cannot be underestimated, com-

²⁴ For the use of language in the context of science communication see also LIEDTKE–TUCHEN (2018: 413–422) with further literature.

²⁵ See also MELVILLE (2014: 6511).

²⁶ See also AUXIER–ANDERSON (2021) <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2021/04/07/social-media-use-in-2021/> (accessed on January 21st, 2023).

²⁷ MELVILLE (2014: 6513).

pared to purely academic-focused sites like *ResearchGate* or *Academia.edu*. These open platforms not only allow the dialogue between researchers, but also offer the possibility for conversation between science communicators and journalists, teachers, students, researchers, and professionals from other disciplines, and other interested non-experts.²⁸

The active participation in social media networks allows researchers to spread research findings quickly and effectively and to raise their own profile, or the profile of their research groups or institution. So the use of social media can also be highly beneficial by offering new perspectives on their own research through.²⁹ New media allows a lot of different possibilities for doing science communication. In this context some of these platforms and their examples of (archaeological) science communication should be presented.³⁰

Blog

Considering a blog as science communication platform has many advantages. Blogs are one of the most popular and widely used forms of academic publishing. The possibility of blogging is used by researchers in many ways. Not only are summaries of their work or articles published on blogs, but news and entire articles are also exchanged.³¹ Through the possibility of commenting, blogs can also serve as a discussion platform.³²

Compared to classical scientific journals, and thus linear texts, blogs have several advantages. One of the advantages is that they have open data, codes, and materials. They use open peer review. Blogs also have no reputation filter, as anyone can express their opinion as long as it does not violate free speech laws. In addition, blogs have better error correction and are open access.³³ Other advantages are that writing a blog article is long-lasting and

²⁸ OSTERRIEDER (2013: 3).

²⁹ OSTERRIEDER (2013: 3).

³⁰ The presentation of the platforms does not follow a specific ranking.

³¹ KÖNNEKER (2012: 180–188).

³² SCHMIDT (2018: 13).

³³ <https://principia-scientific.org/five-reasons-science-blogs-beat-mainstream-journals/> (Lakens 2017, accessed on January 19th, 2023).

it can be found through the search engine *Google*. A blog is a robust platform to build one's own online reputation. But there are also some disadvantages. It takes a lot of time to create a high-quality scientific blog article and it has to be promoted through other social media platforms, like Twitter, Facebook or even Instagram.³⁴ Although the popularisation of science through online platforms has great social benefits and is essential for further development, a scientific blog is currently a low or insufficient element for a research career. A blogpost can be a good way to make research transparent, but creating a blogpost often takes too much time away from writing articles and books, which are essential for a research career.³⁵

Blogs have already been used in the Humanities for quite a long time. There are even blogs on certain topics in addition to newspapers, such as the archaeological blog by the Austrian newspaper *Der Standard*, which is presenting current research topics.³⁶ Another example is the blog from *Stadtarchäologie Wien*³⁷ which is mostly used to present findings and is written for scientific and nonscientific readers.³⁸ On this blog most of the titles are plays on words, which are used to gain attention, such as the article about the finds of a specific excavation at Vienna which contains an unusually high proportion of plate fragments. It has the title *Tischlein deck dich*,³⁹ what is referring to the novel of the magic wishing table. Another one is named *Jingle bells*, which was published shortly before Christmas and deals with bells from the excavation at Frankhplatz, Vienna⁴⁰. The titles already attract attention and encourage the reader to engage with the topics,⁴¹ In

³⁴ WEITZE–HECKL (2016: 192).

³⁵ See also on the pressure to publish: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wissen/forschung-politik/junge-wissenschaftler-stehen-unter-starkem-publikationsdruck-15664959.html> (accessed on July 5th, 2023).

³⁶ <https://www.derstandard.at/wissenschaft/wissensblogs/archaeologieblog> (accessed on January 19th, 2023).

³⁷ The blog is a part of the website from *Stadtarchäologie Wien*. The articles are written by Mag. Christine Ranseder and Mag. Ingeborg Gaisbauer.

³⁸ <https://stadtarchaeologie.at> (accessed on January 19th, 2023).

³⁹ <https://stadtarchaeologie.at/tischlein-deck-dich/> (accessed on January 19th, 2023).

⁴⁰ <https://stadtarchaeologie.at/jingle-bells/> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁴¹ Advices for the written and spoken language in science communication see for example: HOLZER et al. (2015: 16–23); WEITZE–HECKL (2016: 55–66;); KÖNNEKER (2012).

the year of 2022 the blog listed more than 56,000 accesses.⁴² The statistics also show that older blog entries are still being accessed years later which demonstrates that it pays to build up a blog constantly over the years. The reading behaviour also shows that there are no preferences for specific topics and that the accesses are evenly distributed over weekdays and months. Peaks can be observed in connection with current events. An example is the excavation at Michaelerplatz in Vienna in the year of 2023, which was also reported on Austrian television and newspapers. At this time the blog recorded over 4,500 hits in a few days, with daily peaks of over 1,200 hits.⁴³ But the authors experience also the already mentioned “disadvantage” of creating a blog: it takes a lot of time creating a blog-article in this quality which is why due to the ever-increasing workload it is no longer possible to publish a weekly blogpost.⁴⁴ The feedback from readers is consistently positive. In 2019 it was also listed as number 2 among archaeological blogs from the newspaper *DerStandard*.⁴⁵

Podcasts

Podcasts can also be used as a modern format of science communication. They can aim at a group of nonscientific interested people but also at specialists of a certain topic. Podcasts are known to be audio or video contributions that resemble radio or television programs and can be used via the internet. In the meantime, podcasts can also be accessed conveniently via smartphones, tablets or computers without subscriptions. In the scientific field, podcasts are often offered as a supplement to (online) journals or science

⁴² My special thanks go to Mag. Christine Ranseder from Stadtarchäologie Wien. Despite the heavy workload, she took the time to answer all my questions about the blog experience and filtered out data by hand. The following descriptions refer to the information provided by her.

⁴³ Here I would like to mention that there is no special advertisement for the blog. New blog articles are only published through Facebook among other news from *Stadtarchäologie Wien*.

⁴⁴ *Stadtarchäologie Wien* has been able to compensate this with its wide range of offerings and contributions in other sections of the website.

⁴⁵ <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000110747741/die-besten-anderen-archaeologieblogs> (accessed on July 20th, 2023).

blogs.⁴⁶ Now there are also independent scientific podcasts, or podcasts produced by specific research institutions or museums. The Humanities have discovered podcasts as a medium of science communication for themselves. There are examples of podcasts for all disciplines of the Humanities. Examples include the classical philology podcast entitled *Unklassisch – Antike und Latein im 21. Jahrhundert*, which deals with various topics ranging from Latin grammar and textual criticism to the question of why one should still learn Latin today. The podcast is run by two philologists from Germany, Patrick Kappacher and Julia Wekel.⁴⁷ An archaeological example is the Austrian podcast *Artefakte erzählen*, which slogan is ‘not to be always deadly serious, but always scientific!’. The principle of the podcast is the dialogue between the archaeologist Susanne Lamm and a layperson interested in archaeology, Natascha Ramic. They talk about topics in classical and provincial Roman archaeology and also welcome guests who present their research.⁴⁸ Another noteworthy Austrian podcast is *Im Museum* by Iris Borovčnik and Andreas Fischer. As already mentioned there are specific podcasts by and about museums but this one deals with different museums, mostly from the Viennese region, and presents different objects of each museum.⁴⁹

The production of a scientific podcast should also be oriented towards the requirements of a science communication concept.⁵⁰ However, other points must also be taken into account, such as the necessary technology or publishing strategies.⁵¹ It is also important to post at regular intervals as a relationship is built between the podcaster and the listeners and they want to rely on certain data.⁵²

⁴⁶ BALL (2020: 122).

⁴⁷ <https://www.unklassisch.de/podcast/> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁴⁸ <https://1lpmzl.podcaster.de> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁴⁹ <https://www.immuseum.at> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁵⁰ See chapter “Creating a science communication concept”.

⁵¹ For a detailed analysis see HAMMERSCHMIDT 2020.

⁵² Presentation „Wissenschaft hören: Warum Podcasts ein effektives Medium für die Wissenschaftskommunikation sind“ by F. Freistetter within the framework of the conference „Brennpunkt WissKomm 22“ on September 24th, 2022 at University of Graz.

YouTube

Video platforms like YouTube offer researchers a very good opportunity to present their work in a highly visualized way and with moving images. However, the predominantly scientific use of videos has so far been to present complex scientific issues in a way that is understandable to lay people.⁵³ Videos can now be produced and edited with just a few tools and a smartphone. However, there are no upper limits for the equipment. The channel *History Calling* on YouTube provides history documentaries based on thoroughly research and reading of original evidences. It is produced by a specialist, an historian from Northern Ireland.⁵⁴

The disadvantages of science communication on YouTube are a lack of differentiation between facts and opinions, information overload as a result of overflowing offers and the emergence of polarized echo chambers. Advantages include the promotion of public discourse on scientific topics, easier access to scientific knowledge and the possibilities of collaborative knowledge building through the interactivity of the YouTube platform.⁵⁵

Instagram

The smartphone application Instagram is used to share pictures and videos. Soon also companies discovered the platform as a way to interact with consumers.⁵⁶ And just like that researchers discovered Instagram to promote their new research, for discussions, and for networking. The platform offers many possibilities for science communication with sharing pictures, videos, reels (short videos), and stories (videos or pictures available for 24 hours). Content can be discussed publicly for all users or via private messages. The community can also be actively involved through surveys.

⁵³ BALL (2020: 124).

⁵⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/@HistoryCalling/about> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁵⁵ BUCHER et al (2022: 23).

⁵⁶ MATTERN (2016: 6–10).

Just like blogs, there are either individual researchers, research networks or even museums which post content on their channels. Instagram can be used as a stand-alone science communication platform, but also in addition to other platforms already presented. Almost all science communication formats presented so far also use Instagram, either to promote content from other platforms or to share additional information. As already mentioned science communication can also be used to raise awareness, especially in the Humanities it can be used to raise awareness for cultural heritage. This is for example shown by the Instagram page @englishheritage. English heritage manages, promotes, and cares for over 400 buildings, monuments, and sites in the United Kingdom. Famous examples are Hadrian's Wall, Stonehenge or Dover Castle.⁵⁷ They promote their places through Instagram and provide more information about the sites. Besides creating more awareness for cultural heritage, the outreach via Instagram also leads to more visitors, which has a positive impact on the funding of English Heritage.⁵⁸ Beside Instagram profiles from individual researcher of the Humanities such as @the_archaeologist_teacup, who provides content about her archaeological research on Instagram, as well on a blog and in a podcast, also the Instagram profile @letsdogabout.science⁵⁹ should be mentioned as an example from the author's home university. The molecular biologist is Austria's first professor for science communication.⁶⁰ With his Instagram channel he provides a platform for different research fields including the Humanities. Among other things, he uploads videos up to one minute interviewing different researchers, who introduce their research fields or answer research questions in an understandable way for the community. One example is the interview with Margit Lindner, professor for Ancient History at the University of Graz, about violence in antiquity.⁶¹

⁵⁷ <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/our-history/> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁵⁸ See also chapter "What is science communication?".

⁵⁹ <https://www.instagram.com/letsdogabout.science/> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁶⁰ <https://www.diepresse.com/5107851/professur-fuer-sehen-staunen-lachen-ausprobieren> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁶¹ <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5UkoPKnoea/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=> (accessed on

Flickr

Flickr also counts as a social network. It is an online-platform for pictures and videos,⁶² where it is possible to share and organize them. At first glance, it does not appear to be a platform for science communication, but with the possibility to post comments, discussions can also arise here. Depending on the content uploaded, the platform also offers the possibility of science communication. This is shown, for example, by the Flickr page of *Biodiversity Heritage Library*,⁶³ where more than 15.000 scientific books dated back until the 15th century are collected and provide scientific content for interested people as well for researchers.⁶⁴

X

The first use of X, formerly known as Twitter, was as a status-messaging service. It is still used for this but nowadays it is adopted widespread by people from all walks of life. It has revolutionized the way people communicate. The platform allows users to share, discuss, and debate ideas and information.⁶⁵ In fact X was used as one of the first social media platforms for science communication. It is possible to use it for publishing new research, to connect with other researchers or as an attendant medium for conferences for example.⁶⁶ The advantages of X are that it takes less time to write a Tweet and it's possible to connect with other researchers very fast. But it is short-lived, not possible to find through search engines, and it takes a lot of time to build a community.⁶⁷ Different examples for archaeological science communication on X can be found. There are museums like the Museum of London

January 25th, 2023).

⁶² BALL (2022: 123).

⁶³ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/biodivlibrary/sets/> (accessed on January 12th, 2023).

⁶⁴ BALL (2022: 123).

⁶⁵ MARCINIAK (2019: 101).

⁶⁶ BALL (2022: 123).

⁶⁷ WEITZE-HECKL (2016: 192).

Archaeology (MOLA),⁶⁸ private persons like the archaeologist Dr. Sophia Adams⁶⁹ or even magazines like the Archaeology Magazine.⁷⁰ Mostly X is used here as an additional medium to advertise projects and events, present findings and so to refer to articles.⁷¹

5. Other formats: Science Slam and Pop-Up-Store

Science Slam

To show the diversity of science communication formats, two other formats should also be mentioned. Science slams are lecture competitions in which researchers present their own research. These are short lectures of limited duration. The lectures should be presented in a generally understandable and entertaining way. The audience evaluates the presentations and chooses a winner. The idea of science slams is based on the poetry slam, a lecture competition with literary texts.⁷² The events usually take place outside academic institutions, for example in clubs or cultural and youth centers, to set themselves apart from traditional academic evening lectures and public lecture series.⁷³ An important point is to find the connection to the audience and to impart basic knowledge, a contemporary topic or rather the connection to it. The inner structure is characterized by some linguistic and medial features. For the most part, an attempt is made to avoid technical language and to use everyday language. There is also a slight tendency to use slang and anglicisms.⁷⁴ Even researchers of the Humanities have discovered the format for themselves like shown by the winners of the Science Slam Vienna 2020, Karina Grömer and Andrea Krapf. Their topic was *Distancing in Bronze Age*. Watching the video, one will realize that all the requirements of a science slam are met: A scientific topic is dealt with in an understandable way,

⁶⁸ <https://twitter.com/MOLArchaeology> (accessed on July 7th, 2023).

⁶⁹ <https://twitter.com/TactileArchaeol> (accessed on July 7th, 2023).

⁷⁰ <https://twitter.com/archaeologymag> (accessed on July 7th, 2023).

⁷¹ See also BALL (2022: 123).

⁷² NIEMANN et al. (2020: 2).

⁷³ HILL (2015: 20).

⁷⁴ HILL (2019: 219).

furthermore there are also humorous features, personal insights, and it is also connected to a current topic (pandemic) already in the title.⁷⁵

Pop-Up-Store

In the year of 2022, the University of Graz realized a pop-up-store as a science communication format. The term pop-up-store⁷⁶ usually refers to a new type of retail shop format that is limited in time and to a single location.⁷⁷ So the format was transferred to a scientific one and held outside the academic institution in the city center of Graz, where it was also possible to reach out to a wider audience. It was open for the public and easy accessible. The format was open to all research fields and provided different activities like lectures, discussions, and workshops. The Humanities have been represented from all of their different research fields. The Institute of Antiquity, for example, was presented by lectures about archaeology in Cyprus,⁷⁸ fashion in antiquity,⁷⁹ animals in archaeology,⁸⁰ writing in cuneiform,⁸¹ or an interdisciplinary talk about war and peace.⁸²

6. Conclusion

Science communication is getting more important in all research fields. New media offers more and more opportunities to present one's own research in different ways. So social media can, on the one hand, be a knowledge

⁷⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xhRZ1ekGsn8&t=339s> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023)

⁷⁶ For a detailed analysis of pop-up stores: KASTNER 2015.

⁷⁷ NIEHM ET AL. (2007: 2).

⁷⁸ <https://popupstore.uni-graz.at/de/veranstaltungen/detail/article/treffpunkt-zypernacc-1/> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023).

⁷⁹ <https://popupstore.uni-graz.at/de/veranstaltungen/detail/article/der-letzte-schrei-mode-vor-2000-jahren-1/> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023).

⁸⁰ <https://popupstore.uni-graz.at/de/veranstaltungen/detail/article/tiere-in-der-archaeologie-1/> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023).

⁸¹ <https://popupstore.uni-graz.at/de/veranstaltungen/detail/article/schreiben-in-keil-schrift-1/> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023).

⁸² <https://popupstore.uni-graz.at/de/veranstaltungen/detail/article/latest-lecture-krieg-und-frieden-2-1/> (accessed on January 2nd, 2023).

base, while on the other hand it is also a good platform for interaction. A discussion can arise within minutes.⁸³ Depending on the platform, it differs how discussions can be held. On platforms such as YouTube, Instagram and sometimes on blogs, it is possible to have a discussion directly in the comment section. On the other hand, listeners of podcasts most of the time have to switch from the original podcast platform to other platforms. These could be forums or other social media channels where the podcast is presented.

But one must be aware to face potential criticism and there is also the risk of fake news which can spread sometimes even faster alongside a real science communication. There are many things to consider when social media is chosen as a platform for science communication. But as long as everything is well planned, the advantages can outweigh the disadvantages and support one's own research.⁸⁴

In any case all of these shown cases require a flexible approach which emphasizes the relevance of research in the Humanities.⁸⁵ Many special topics will not concern the public. But a way around can be built, excluding technical terms, to provide a basic knowledge about antiquity. Putting up on these topics the work in Humanities can be explained to create awareness of our researches. The whole science communication can be built on this quintessence of creating more awareness and this can be done, as shown, through different ways.

So to conclude I want to underline that science communication is getting more important in the Humanities. Most of the time it is an unpaid side-work but still will help with further research funding, creating awareness for working in Humanities, and establishing new contacts. A science communication concept has to be well thought through and always be matched with the audience. New media makes it possible for new researches to communicate quickly and easily with a wider audience. There are far more advantages than disadvantages, which is why you should consider including

⁸³ SCHERZLER (2012: 237).

⁸⁴ See also chapter "What is science communication?" and the advantages of science communication.

⁸⁵ MELVILLE (2014: 6512).

science communication methods in your work and also communicate your work outside of the academic setting.

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The Relationship Between Mater Matuta and Aurora

The Matralia, an event attended only by women to worship Mater Matuta or Mother Matuta, was annually held in Italy on 11th of June. The celebration was bound to start in the morning at the first sight of prima lux—probably this is why Mother Matuta is often identified with several goddesses whose origins and mythology are tied to the celestial sphere. One of these figures known to the Romans was Aurora, the goddess of dawn. In various scriptures, these two female figures are mentioned together with their identities intertwined. This paper aims to further explore these points of connection.

Keywords: Mater Matuta, Matralia, Aurora, Roman religion

Latin poets have commonly used expressions referring to Eos, the Greek goddess, regarding Aurora. We can clearly state the divine nature of Aurora from literary sources, despite the fact that she did not have a cult. However, according to D.S Levene, this was not a rare case in Roman religion, therefore, we know quite little about her actual worship practices.¹ Aurora herself speaks about this in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (13, 587–590).

omnibus inferior, quas sustinet aureus aether,
(nam mihi sunt totum rarissima templa per orbem)
diva tamen, veni, non ut delubra diesque
des mihi sacrificos caliturasque ignibus aras:

I am the least of all, whom the golden heavens hold
(since temples to me are the rarest in all the world),

¹ LEVENE (2012: 56).

yet I come as a goddess: though not that you might give me sanctuaries, or sacred days, or altars to flame with sacrificial fires.²

The expression *rarissima* is a euphemism in this case: in fact, she did not have any temples. The goddess states that one can be a divine being without having a sanctuary. The existence of her cult is not negligible, but it is not what makes her a deity. As a matter of fact, her class, the “category” that she belongs to makes a divine entity: she is the one who ends the darkness and brings light to people and gods alike (Ov. *Met.* 13, 591–593). It is her simple yet quintessential role she plays that makes her a rather important character in Roman mythology.³ Her tradition is somewhat disorganized: in several scriptures, she is mentioned under various names and in different aspects depending on the context and the culture of the given text. It also occurs that she is identified with other mythological creatures and deities, like Mater Matuta.

In contrast to Aurora, Mater Matuta or Mother Matuta was regularly worshipped and celebrated on every 11th of June at the *Matralia* or Mothers’ festival (Ov. *Fas.* 6, 473sq). Her cult was present among women all over Italy: they prayed to her as a goddess of fertility. Therefore, the question emerges: why is the character of Mater Matuta identified in certain sources⁴ with the goddess of dawn, especially in the absence of a proper cult? What is the connection between the two deities? The present study elaborates on the possible parallel between these two characters relying on a number of points of connection.

The first mention of Mater Matuta identified as Aurora can be found in the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius (5, 656–679)⁵.

Tempore item certo roseam Matuta per oras
aetheris auroram differt et lumina pandit,
aut quia sol idem, sub terras ille revertens,

² The study contains the author’s own translations, except where it is marked differently.

³ LEVENE (2012: 56).

⁴ LUCR.; SMITH (2000); MANTZILAS (2018).

⁵ SMITH (2000: 146).

anticipat caelum radiis accendere temptans,
aut quia conveniunt ignes et semina multa
confluere ardoris consuerunt tempore certo,
quae faciunt solis nova semper lumina gigni;
quod genus Idaeis fama est e montibus altis
dispersos ignis orienti lumine cerni,
inde coire globum quasi in unum et conficere orbem.
nec tamen illud in his rebus mirabile debet
esse, quod haec ignis tam certo tempore possint
semina confluere et solis reparare nitorem.
multa videmus enim, certo quae tempore fiunt
omnibus in rebus. florescunt tempore certo
arbusta et certo dimittunt tempore florem.
nec minus in certo dentes cadere imperat aetas
tempore et inpubem molli pubescere veste
et pariter mollem malis demittere barbam.
fulmina postremo nix imbres nubila venti
non nimis incertis fiunt in partibus anni.
namque ubi sic fuerunt causarum exordia prima
atque ita res mundi cecidere ab origine prima,
consequae quoque iam redeunt ex ordine certo.

Matuta also at a fixed hour
Spreadeth the roseate morning out along
The coasts of heaven and deploys the light,
Either because the self-same sun, returning
Under the lands, aspires to seize the sky,
Striving to set it blazing with his rays
Ere he himself appear, or else because
Fires then will congregate and many seeds
Of heat are wont, even at a fixed time,
To stream together- gendering evermore

New suns and light. Just so the story goes
 That from the Idaean mountain-tops are seen
 Dispersed fires upon the break of day
 Which thence combine, as 'twere, into one ball
 And form an orb. Nor yet in these affairs
 Is aught for wonder that these seeds of fire
 Can thus together stream at time so fixed
 And shape anew the splendour of the sun.
 For many facts we see which come to pass
 At fixed time in all things: burgeon shrubs
 At fixed time, and at a fixed time
 They cast their flowers; and Eld commands the teeth,
 At time as surely fixed, to drop away,
 And Youth commands the growing boy to bloom
 With the soft down and let from both his cheeks
 The soft beard fall. And lastly, thunder-bolts,
 Snow, rains, clouds, winds, at seasons of the year
 Nowise unfixed, all do come to pass.
 For where, even from their old primordial start
 Causes have ever worked in such a way,
 And where, even from the world's first origin,
 Thuswise have things befallen, so even now
 After a fixed order they come round
 In sequence also.⁶

Among other topics, Lucretius talks about birth, development, growth, and death in the fifth book of his poetry. The subject of his work is the creation of the world and humankind, their mortality, and their downfall under the harmful influence of civilization. In lines 656–679 describing dawn, the presence of Matuta reflects directly on a different aspect of the goddess. The question of whether Matuta has always been worshipped as the goddess of dawn, or she acquired this as-

⁶ William Ellery Leonard (translator).

sociation through the fusion with another Greek divinity still remains unanswered. It seems that Lucretius implies to the Greek world once when he starts the paragraph with Homer's reference (656–657: the beginning of a new day), and then in lines 663–665 when he speaks about the events that occurred at Mount Ida in Troy (Mount Ida was one of the homes of Cybele or Magna Mater). The notion of birth often appears in the poem of Lucretius: in one of his explanations, the sun seizes the sky; in another one, the seeds of fire unite; then line 662 ends with the word *gigni* referring to the daily rebirth of the sun. The Matralia is not only a celebration of birth but also a celebration of early childhood, which opens the child's way to his growth and development. The elements used by the poet to compose this part of his work are worth mentioning. He does not use nurture as his main motive, but the whole cycle of life. He demonstrates this through plants that grow and then die; through the development of a child, from the appearance of the first teeth to adolescence; and finally through time and how everything with it will reach its own final cycle (669–679). Therefore every moment of birth becomes an integral part of life. So when Lucretius introduces Mother Matuta as the goddess of dawn, fertility, and growth, he gives her a significant place in life's never-ending cycle.⁷

There are multiple possible variations of the origin of the name Matuta⁸: it might be derived from the Latin words *mane* ("early morning"), *manus* ("good, benevolent"), and *maturus* ("mature"). According to Mantzilas, Link combines the words *manus* and *mane* in his work published in 1930. He insists on his idea that Matuta's name is derived from an adjective that has an Indo-European stem **ma-* (meaning "good, at the right time")⁹. Bishpam traces back the meaning of the name Matuta to "dawn mother", because he finds an etymological link between the word Matuta and the adjective *matutinus* ("of the morning"). The word *matutinus* obviously carries along the meaning of dawn, and therefore indicates that Mother Matuta is the goddess of dawn.¹⁰ According to another explanation given by Saint Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei* (4, 8), the name of the goddess is linked to the verb *maturescere* ("to mature")¹¹:

⁷ SMITH (2000: 147–148).

⁸ MANTZILAS (2018: 542).

⁹ MANTZILAS (2018: 542).

¹⁰ SMITH (2000: 143).

¹¹ ROSE (1934: 157).

maturescentibus deam Matutam;
when maturing, to the goddess Matuta

Etymology and the texts of Lucretius show us very well how the forms of the two goddesses intertwined over time. Just like Aurora, the Romans woke up at dawn (*prima luce*) on the day of Matralia to benefit from the *prima lux* brought to them by the Mother of Dawn. This is the first significant moment of the day when she casts misty morning dew on the soil and fields, bestowing the gift of fertility on the world. We can also reason that the early beginning of the Matralia celebration underlines the importance of the “first light”: it is an essential part of development and growth; without it, the cycle of life would cease to go on. This is how we get closer to the meaning of *maturatio*, as we can regard Aurora as not only a dawn goddess but one that is responsible for fertility, which is actually the main role of Mother Matuta.

We can find multiple descriptions of the Matralia in the work of Ovid’s *Fasti*, where even the opening lines imply the presence of Aurora (6, 473–474). She is the one who rises in the East from the river Oceanus once the night is over, then departs and leaves behind her husband Tithonus in their matrimonial bed:

Iam, Phryx, a nuptaquereris, Tithone, relinqui,
et vigil Eois Lucifer exit aquis:

Now you complain, Phrygian Tithonus, abandoned by your bride,
And the vigilant Morning Star leaves the Eastern waters.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, Aurora is a goddess without a cult and without any temples. In contrast stands Mater Matuta, whose sanctuaries are often mentioned in several literary sources, like in the work of Livy *Ab Urbe Condita*. In 5, 19, he is most likely speaking about the temple dedicated to Mother Matuta by King Servius Tullius that the Roman *dictator* Marcus Furius Camillus wanted to dedicate once again after the capture of Veii:

... satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veiiis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae Matris refectam dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam.

as all the preparations for war were now sufficiently advanced, he vowed, in pursuance of a senatorial decree, that on the capture of Veii he would celebrate the Great Games and restore and dedicate the temple of Matuta the Mother, which had been originally dedicated by Servius Tullius.¹²

Later, in 5, 23, we can see that the dedication of the temple had been realized.

Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit, dedicavitque Matutae Matris;

After this he signed a contract for building the temple of Queen Juno on the Aventine and dedicated one to Matuta the Mother.¹³

According to 6, 33, there was another temple dedicated to Mother Matuta in Satricum that miraculously remained intact even after an arson initiated by the Latins—all because of the threatening voices coming from the building that warned the soldiers.

Nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, cum faces pariter sacris profanisque inicerent, quam Matris Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum arcuisse dicitur sed vox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis ni nefandos ignes procul delubris amovissent.

They flung firebrands on sacred and profane buildings alike, and not a single roof of that city escaped except the temple of Mother Matuta. It is stated that it was not any religious scruple or fear of the gods that re-

¹² Rev. Canon Roberts (translator).

¹³ Rev. Canon Roberts (translator).

strained them, but an awful voice which sounded from the temple threatening them with terrible punishment if they did not keep their accursed firebrands far from the shrine.¹⁴

Only matrons (*bonae matres*), that is women in their first marriages (*univirae*), were allowed to attend the celebrations held in temples. It was crucial that these women were not widows already, since every notion of death could negatively affect the goddess. The celebration had to remain entirely pure.¹⁵

There are two rituals that we can associate with Mother Matuta's name: one is the expulsion of a slave girl from the sanctuary, and the second is the prayer for the children of relatives of the gathered women. The first ritual demonstrates a very interesting contradiction in itself, since according to the tradition, only mothers and women of free birth could attend the event. Based on research, we know that slaves were not allowed to set foot in the sanctuary.¹⁶ Despite these rules, the first ritual was to choose a slave woman, bring her to the temple by force, and then chase her out of the temple while hitting her with wooden sticks. After this, the women present at the gathering offered flowers and saffron-colored bread loaves to the goddess as a pledge—the color of saffron was Aurora's most common adjective, second only to "rose-fingered".¹⁷

The second ritual included women holding the children of their relatives in their arms and praying only for them—and not for their own (*Ov. Fas.* 6, 559–562)—to ask the goddess to protect and shelter the present children. Ovid presents the origins of this ritual through the mythology of Ino: after Semele's death, Ino and her husband Athamas decided to raise Bacchus himself, the child of Semele and Iuppiter. Ino had frequently emphasized

¹⁴ Rev. Canon Roberts (translator).

¹⁵ MANTZILAS (2018: 544).

¹⁶ MICHELS (1990: 77).

¹⁷ *Ov. Fas.* 3, 403: *Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia coniunx coeperit et quintae tempora lucis aget...* 'The wife of Tithonus is about to cast dew with her face colored saffron and bring light for the fifth time...'

Ov. Amor. 2, 4, 43: *seu flavent, placuit croceis Aurora capillis.* 'or shining as gold, as Aurora is flaunting with her saffron-colored hair.'

and talked about the child's divine nature, and this angered the goddess Iuno. Iuno, in her jealousy, cast a curse of madness on Athamas, who, as a result, killed one of his sons. To save the other boy, Melicertes, Ino jumped into the sea with him—this is how she became Leucothea, a goddess of the sea, while Palaemon, his son, became a god of the sea (*Ov. Met.* 4, 416–431, 494–541). Ino, therefore, was the guardian of Semele's son, her sister's son, but she would send her own child to death. This story fits the above mentioned aspect of the Matralia, since even though Ino proved to be a cruel mother, she was a good guardian to her nephew. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, finishes this story with the following lines (6, 559–562):

non tamen hanc pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret:
 ipsa parum felix visa fuisse parens.
 alterius prolem melius mandabit illi:
 utilior Baccho quam fuit illa suis.

But let no loving mother pray to her, for her child:
 She herself proved an unfortunate parent.
 Better command her to help another's child:
 She was more use to Bacchus than her own.

Praying for the children of relatives has been a subject of research for a long time and raised many questions. We know that in Rome, only the fathers had the authority and ownership over all of their children—no matter if by blood, adopted or grandchildren. Mothers had no such power to claim, not even over their own children, let alone the children of their sisters.¹⁸

According to Mantzilas, Dumézil was the one who came up with a complex theory providing an explanation for this unique rite. On the day of Matralia, mothers do the same thing that Aurora does every morning by chasing away the darkness: this is the symbol of driving a slave girl out of the temple. He also notes the presence of many similar elements in the cult

¹⁸ ROSE (1934: 156).

of the Vedic goddess Ushas. Ushas (the Roman Aurora) and Ratri (the Roman Nox) are both “mothers” who take care of the Sun. The real mother of the Sun is actually Ratri, and her sister Ushas is the aunt of the Sun. The Sun reaches its full maturity and chases away the malicious, demonic and dangerous darkness (*tenebrae*). This mythology might give an answer to some of the specific rites related to Matralia: for example, the aspect of only once or firstly married women being able to attend the celebration. Surya is the daughter of the Sun, representing an archetype of all new marriages, one aspect of the many of Ushas. Furthermore, there are two rites present at the celebration: one of them, the banishment of the slave from the temple is negative, and the other is positive: the presence of the children of relatives. This symbolizes how the darkness of the night is eventually bound to pass, and the Sun must come up to reign over the sky afterwards.¹⁹

Despite the fact that the exact relationship between the two goddesses is still being researched, in my opinion, we can conclude that there is a truly strong correlation between them. As it is remarked by Lucretius, the existence and role of goddess Aurora overlap Mater Matuta’s cult and her essence. This is because Aurora represents the beginning of each and every day, which is the basis of all growth and development: those of a child and the cycle of life itself. From a religious point of view, it is understandable why Roman mothers were fearful and why they were so keen on pleasing the goddess. They feared that if the goddess does not get enough attention, respect, or gratitude, she might be displeased with her subjects. In her dissatisfaction, she might not encourage the process of ‘maturation’ and with that, the children of Roman women would remain unprotected and unsheltered. It is not only the role played by both Mater Matuta and Aurora that connects them, but also an etymological connection that in some cases leads back to Indo-European roots, just like the origin of the Matralia celebration can be traced back to Vedic rites. Mater Matuta, one divine entity with various aspects and roles, has deep connections to other deities. Her worship and cult were syncretic, a mixture of different myths, as we could see through the

¹⁹ MANTZILAS (2018: 545).

examples previously introduced in this study. She is one of those ancient Mediterranean goddesses who held various powers and who had almost exclusively women as their truest believers and followers.

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